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Thomas Bernard Barton.

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SHAKSPEARE.—The black letter copy of Holinshed's Chronicles, used by Shakspeare, with manuscript notes, and his own signature in full, has lately been found in England.

No doubt of it; and several other precious relics of the same nature will be found, we venture to say, and in due season offered by George Robins, or some other famous auctioneer, to the competition of a curious public. Did not the Common Council of London pay a hundred and forty five pounds sterling, a few weeks ago, for an autograph of Shakspeare, which one of the members, (who voted against the purchase) described as "a few doubtful, illegible, almost obliterated scratches of a pen"? When the ware commands such prices there will be no lack of it in the market.

HOLINSHED (R.) Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland, *woodcuts*, 2 vol. *russia, gilt leaves, fine copy*, £21 fol. 1577

HOLME (Randle) Index to the names contained in the Academy of Armory, by Randle Holme, *boards*, 7s 6d fol. 1821

J. RODD,

9, *Great Newport Street.*] *1847.*

1577.

THE

Firſte volume of the *Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande.*

CONTEYNING,

The deſcription and Chronicles of England, from the firſt inhabiting vnto the conqueſt

The deſcription and Chronicles of Scotland, from the firſt originall of the Scottes nation, till the yeare of our Lorde. 1571.

The deſcription and Chronicles of Yrelande, likewiſe from the firſte originall of that Nation, vntill the yeare. 1547.

Faithfully gathered and ſet forth, by Raphaell Holinſhed.

AT LONDON,
Imprinted for Iohn Harriſon.



God ſaue the Queene,

B. M.
153.373
May 1873



TO THE RIGHT

Honorable and his singular good Lorde,

Sir VVilliam Cecill, Baron of Burghleygh, Knight of *the most noble order of the Garter, Lord high Treasou-*rer of England, Maister of the Courtes of Wardes and Lyueries, and one of the Queenes Maiesties priuie Counsell.



Onsidering with my selfe, *right Honorable and my singular good Lorde, how ready (no doubt) many wil be to accuse me of vayne presumptiõ, for enterprising to deale in this so weighty a worke, and so farre aboue my reache to accomplish: I haue thought good to aduertise your Honour, by what occasion I was first induced to vndertake the same, although the cause that moued mee thereto, hath (in parte) ere this, bene signified vnto your good Lordshippe.*

Where as therfore, that worthie Citizen Reginald VVolfe *late Printer to the Queenes Maiestie, a man well knowen and beholden to your Honour, meant in his life time to publish an vniuersall Cosmographie of the whole worlde, and therewith also certaine perticular Histories of euery knowen nation, amongst other whome he purposed to vse for performance of his entent in that behalfe, he procured me to take in hande the collection of those Histories, and hauing proceeded so far in the same, as little wanted to the accomplishment of that long promised worke, it pleased God to call him to his mercie, after .xxv. yeares trauell spent therein, so that by his vntimely deceasse, no hope remayned to see that performed, whiche we had so long trauayled aboute: those yet whome he left in trust to dispose his things after his*

departure hence, wishing to the benefite of others, that some fruite might follow of that whereabout he had imployed so long time, willed me to continue mine endeuour for their furtherance in the same, whiche although I was ready to do, so farre as mine abilitie would reach, and the rather to answere that trust which the deceassed reposed in me, to see it brought to some perfection: yet when the volume greue so great, as they that were to defray the charges for the Impression, were not willing to go through with the whole, they resolued first to publishe the Histories of Englande, Scotlande, and Irelande, with their descriptions, whiche descriptions, bycause they were not in such readinesse, as those of forreyn countreys, they were enforced to vse the helpe of other better able to do it than I.

William Harison, and Richard Stanyhurst.

Moreouer, the Chartes wherein Maister VVolfe *spent a greate parte of his time, were not founde so complete as wee wished: and againe, vnderstanding of the great charges and notable enterprice of that worthie Gentleman maister Thomas Sackeforde in procuring the Chartes of the seuerall prouinces of this Realme to be sette forth, wee are in hope that in tyme he will deliniate this whole lande so perfectly, as shal be comparable or beyonde any deliniation heretofore made of any other region, and therefore leaue that to his well deserued prayse. If any well willer will imitate him in so prayse worthie a worke for the two other regions, we will be gladde to further his endeuour with all the helpes we may.*

The Histories I haue gathered according to my skill, and conferred the greatest parte with Maister VVolfe *in his life time, to his liking, who procured me so many helpes to the furtherance thereof, that I was lothe to omit any thing that might encreace the Readers knowledge, whiche causeth the booke to grow so great. But receyuing them by partes, and at seuerall times (as I might get them) it may be, that hauing had more regard to the mater than to the apt penning, I haue not so orderly disposed them, as otherwise I ought, choosing rather to*

want

want order, than to defraude the Reader of that whiche for his further vnderstanding might seeme to satisfie his expectation. I therefore moste humbly beseeche your Honour to accept these Chronicles of Englande vnder your protection, and according to your wisedome and accustomed benignitie to beare with my faultes, the rather bicause you were euer so especiall good Lord to Maister VVolfe, *to whome I was singularly beholden, and in whose name I humbly presente this rude worke vnto you, beseeching God, that as he hath made you an instrument to aduaunce his truth, so it may please him to increace his good giftes in you to his glorie, the furtheraunce of the Queenes Maiesties seruice, and comforte of all hir faithfull and louing subiectes.*

Your honours moſt humble to commaunde,
RAPHAEL HOLINSHED.

THE PREFACE
to the Reader.



T is dangerous (gẽtle Reader) to range in ſo large a fielde as I haue here vndertaken, vvhile ſo many ſundry men in diuers things may be able to controll mee, and many excellent vvittes of our countrey (as vvell or better occupied I hope) are able herein to ſurpaſſe me: but ſeing the beſte able do ſeeme to neglect it, let me (though leaſt able) craue pardon to put thẽ in minde not to forget their natiue coũtreis praiſe (vvhich is theyr dutie) the encouragement of theyr vvorthie countrie men, by elders aduauncements and the dauntyng of the vicious, by foure penall examples, to vvhiche ende I take Chronicles and Hiſtories ought chiefly to be vvritten. My labour may ſhevv mine vttermoſt good vvill, of the more learned I require their further enlargement, and of faultfinders diſpenſatiõ till they be more fully enfourmed. It is too commõ that the leaſt able are readieſt to finde fault in maters of leaſt vveight, and therfore I eſteeme the leſſe of their carping, but humbly beſeech the skilfull to ſupplie my vvant, and to haue care of their dutie: and eyther to amend that vvherin I haue fayled, or be content vvith this mine endeuour. For it may pleaſe them to conſidet, that no one can be eye vvitneſſe to all that is vvritten vvithin our time, much leſſe to thoſe things vvhiche happened in former times, and therefore muſt be content vvith reportes of others. Therein I haue bene ſo careful, that I haue ſpared no paynes or helpe of frendes to ſearch out either vvritten or printed auncient Authours, or to enquire of moderne eye vvitneſſes, for the true ſetting dovvne of that vvhiche I haue here deliuered: but I finde ſuch vvant in vvriters for the neceſſary knovvledge of things done in times paſt, and lacke of meane to obtayne ſufficient inſtructions by reporters of the time preſent, and herevvith the vvorthie exploytes of our countrey men ſo many, that it greeueth me I coulde not leaue the ſame to poſteritie (as I vviſhed) to their vvel deſerued praiſe. But I haue here imperted vvhat I could learne, and craue that it may be takẽ in good part. My ſpeech is playne, vvithout any Rethoricall ſhevve of Eloquence, hauing rather a regarde to ſimple truth, than to decking vvordes. I vviſhe I had bene furniſhed vvith ſo perfect inſtructions, and ſo many good gifts, that I might haue pleaſed all kindes of men, but that ſame being ſo rare a thing in any one of the beſt, I beſeech thee (gentle Reader) not to looke for it in me the meaneſt.

But novv for thy further inſtruction to vnderſtand the courſe of theſe my labors. Firſt cõcerning the Hiſtorie of Englãd, as I haue collected the ſame out of many and ſundry Authours, in vvhome vvhat contrarietie, negligence, and raſhneſſe, ſomtime is founde in their reportes, I leaue to the diſcretion of thoſe that haue peruſed theyr

vvorkes: for my parte, I haue in things doubtfull rather choſen to ſhevve the diuerſitie of their vvritings, than by ouer ruling them, and vſing a peremptory cenſure, to frame them to agree to my liking: leauing it neuertheleſſe to eche mans iudgement, to controlle thē as he ſeeth cauſe. If ſome vvhere I ſhevv my fancie vvhat I thinke, and that the ſame diſlyke them, I craue pardon, ſpecially if by probable reaſons or playner matter to be produced, they can ſhevv mine errour, vpō knovvledge vvher-of I ſhalbe ready to reforme it accordingly. VVhere I do beginne the Hiſtorie from the firſt inhabitation of this Iſle, I looke not to content eche mans opinion concerning the originall of them that firſt peopled it, and no maruell: for in matters ſo vncertayne, if I can not ſufficiently content my ſelfe (as in deede I cannot) I knovve not hovv I ſhould ſatisfie others. That vvhiche ſeemeth to me moſt likely, I haue noted, beſeeching the learned (as I truſt they vvill) in ſuch pointes of doubtfull antiquities to beare vvith my skill. Sith for ought I knovv, the matter is not yet decided among the learned, but ſtill they are in controuerſie about it: *Et adhuc ſub iudice lis eſt.* VVell hovv ſoeuer it came firſt to be inhabited, likely it is that at the firſt the vvhole Iſle vvas vnder one Prince and Gouernour, though aftervvardes, and long peraduenture before the Romaines ſet any foote vvithin it, the Monarchie thereof vvas broken, euen vvhen the multitude of the inhabitants grevv to bee great, and ambition entred amongſt them, vvhich hath brought ſo many good policies and ſtates to ruyne and decay.

The Romaines hauing ones got poſſeſsion of the continent that faceth this Iſle, coulde not reſt (as it appeareth) till they had brought the ſame alſo vnder theyr ſubiection: and the ſooner doubtleſſe, by reaſon of the factions amongſt the Princes of the lande, vvhiche the Romaynes (through their accuſtomed skill) coulde turne very vvell to their moſte aduauntage. They poſſeſſed it almoſte fiue hundreth yeares, and longer might haue done, if eyther their inſufferable tiranny had not taken avvay from them the loue of the people, aſvvell here as elſvvhere, either that their ciuill diſcorde aboute the chopping and chaunging of their Emperours, had not ſo vveakened the forces of their Empire, that they vvere not able to defende the ſame againſt the impreſsion of barbarous nations. But as vvee may coniecture by that vvhiche is founde in Hiſtories, aboute that tyme, in vvhiche the Romaine Empire beganne to decline, this lande ſtoode in very vveake ſtate: being ſpoyled of the more parte of all hir able menne, vvhiche vvere ledde avvay into forreine regions, to ſupplie the Romayne armies: and likevviſe perhaps of all neceſſarie armour, vveapon, and treaſure: vvhiche being perceyued of the Saxons, after they vvere receiued into the Ile to ayde the Britons againſt the Scottes and Pictes, then inuading the ſame, miniſtred to them occaſion to attempt the ſeconde conqueſt, vvhiche at length they brought to paſſe, to the ouerthrovv not onely of the Brittiſh dominion, but alſo to the ſubuerſion of the Chriſtian religion, here in this lande: vvhiche chanced as appeareth by Gildas, for the vvicked ſinnes and vnthankefulneſſe of the inhabitants tovvardes God, the chiefe occaſions and cauſes of the tranſmutations of kingdomes, *Nam propter peccata, regna tranſmutantur à gente in gentem.* The Saxons obteyning poſſeſsion of the lande, gouerned the ſame being deuided into ſundry kingdomes, and hauing once ſubdued the Brytons, or at the leaſt vviſe remoued them out of the moſt parte of the Iſle into odde corners and mountaynes, fell at diuiſion among themſelues, and oftentimes vvith vvarre purſued eche other, ſo as no perfect order of gouernement could be framed, nor the Kings grovv to any great puiſſance, eyther to moue vvarres abroade, or ſufficiently to defende themſelues againſt forreyne forces at home: as manifeſtly vvas perceyued, vvhen the Danes and other the Northeaſterne people, being then of great puyſſance by ſea, beganne miſerably to afflict this lande: at the firſt inuading as it vvere but onely the coaſtes and countreys lying neare to the ſea, but aftervvardes vvith mayne armies, they entred into the middle partes of the lande: and although the Engliſhe people at length came vnder one King, and by that meanes

vvere

vvere the better able to reſiſt the enimies, yet at length thoſe Danes ſubdued the vvhole, and had poſſeſsiō thereof for a time, although not long, but that the crovvne returned againe to thoſe of the Saxon line: till ſhortly after by the inſolent dealings of the gouernours, a deuiſion vvas made betvvixt the King and his people, through iuſte puniſhmente decreed by the prouidence of the Almightie, determining for their ſinnes and contempt of his lavves, to deliuer them into the handes of a ſtranger, and therevpon vvhen ſpite and enuie had brought the title in doubte, to vvhom the right in ſucceſsion apperteyned, the Conquerour entred, and they remayned a pray to him and his: vvho plucked all the heades and chiefe in authoritie, ſo clearely vp by the rootes, as fevve or none of them in the ende vvas lefte to ſtande vp againſt him. And herevvith altering the vvhole ſtate, hee planted lavves and ordinaunces as ſtoode moſte for his auayle and ſuretie, vvhich being after qualified vvith more milde and gentle lavves, tooke ſuche effect, that the ſtate hath euer ſithence continued vvhole and vnbroken by vviſe and politike gouernement, although diſquieted, ſometime by ciuill diſſention, to the ruyne commonly of the firſte mouers, as by the ſequele of the hiſtorie ye may ſee.

For the Hiſtorie of Scotlande, I haue for the more parte followed Hector Boece, Iohannes Maior, and Iouan, Ferreri Piemonteſe, ſo farre as they haue continued it, interlaced ſometimes vvith other Authours, as Houeden, Fourdon and ſuch like, although not often, bicauſe I meante rather to deliuer vvhat I founde in their ovvne Hiſtories extant, than to correct them by others, leauing that enterprice to their ovvne countreymen: ſo that vvhat ſoeuer ye reade in the ſame, conſider that a Scottiſhman vvritte it, and an Engliſhman hath but onely tranſlated it into our language; referring the Reader to the Engliſh Hiſtorie, in all maters betvvixte vs and them, to be confronted therevvith as he ſeeth cauſe. For the continuation thereof I vſed the like order, in ſuche copies and notes as Maiſter VVolfe in his life time procured me, ſauing that in theſe laſte yeares I haue inſerted ſome notes, as concerned matters of vvarre betvvixte vs and the Scottes, bicauſe I gotte them not till that parte of the Engliſh Hiſtorie vvas paſte the preſſe.

For Irelande I haue ſhevved in mine Epiſtle Dedicatorie in vvhat ſorte, and by vvhat helpes I haue proceeded therein, onely this I forgotte, to ſignifie that Giraldus Cambrenſis, and Flatsbury, I had not till that parte of the Booke vvas vnder the preſſe, and ſo being conſtreyned to make poſte haſte, coulde not exemplifie out of them all that I vviſhed, neither yet diſpoſe it ſo orderly as had bene conuenient, nor penne it vvith ſo apte vvordes as might ſatisfie either my ſelfe, or thoſe to vvhoſe vevve it is novv like to come. And by reaſon of the like haſte made in the Impreſſion, vvhere I vvas determined to haue tranſpoſed the moſte parte of that vvhiche in the Engliſhe Hiſtorie I had noted, concerning the Conqueſte of Irelande by Henry the ſeconde out of Houeden and others, I had not time thereto, and ſo haue lefte it there remayning, vvhere I firſte noted it, before I determined to make any particular collection of the Iriſhe Hiſtories, bicauſe the ſame commeth there vvell inough in place, as to thoſe that ſhall vouchſafe to turne the Booke it may appeare.

For the computation of the yeares of the vvorlde, I hadde by Maiſter VVoulfes aduiſe followed Functius, but after his deceaſſe Maiſter VVilliam Hariſon made mee partaker of a Chronologie, vvhiche hee had gathered and compiled vvith moſte exquiſite diligence, followvyng Gerardus Mercator, and other late Chronologers, and his ovvne obſeruations, according to the vvhiche I haue reformed the ſame. As for the yeares of our Lorde, and the Kings, I haue ſette them dovvne accordyng to ſuche Authours as ſeeme to bee of beſte

credite

credite in that behalfe, as I doubte not but to the learned and skilfull in Hiſtories, it ſhal appeare: Moreouer, this the Reader hath to conſider, that I do beginne the yeare at the natiuitie of our Lorde, vvhiche is the ſureſt order in my fantaſie that can bee followved.

For the names of perſons, tovvnes and places, as I haue bene diligent to reforme the errours of other (vvhich are to be aſcribed more to the imperfect copies thā to the Authours) ſo may it be that I haue ſome vvhere committed the like faultes, either by negligence or vvant of skill to reſtore them to their full integritie as I vviſhed, but vvhat I haue performed aſvvell in that behalfe, as others, the skilful Reader ſhall eaſily perceyue, and vvithal cōſider (I truſt) vvhat trauel I haue beſtovved to his behofe in theſe tvvo volumes, craving onely, that in recompence thereof, he vvill iudge the beſt, and to make a frendly cōſtruction of my meanings, vvhere ought may ſeeme to haue eſcaped, either my penne or the Printers preſſe, othervviſe than vve could haue vviſhed for his better ſatisfaction. Many things being taken out as they lie in Authours may be thought to giue offence in time preſent, vvhiche referred to the time paſt vvhen the Authour vvritte, are not onely tollerable but alſo allovvable. Therefore good Reader I beſeech thee to vvay the cauſes and circumſtances of ſuch faultes and imperfections, and conſider that the like may creepe into a far leſſe volume than this, and ſhevv me ſo much fauour as hath bene ſhevved to others in like cauſes: and ſithēce I haue done my good vvil, accept the ſame, as I vvith a free and thākful minde do offer it thee, ſo ſhall I thinke my labour vvell beſtovved. For the other Hiſtories vvhiche are already collected, if it pleaſe God to giue abilitie, ſhall in time come to light, vvith ſome ſuch briefe deſcriptions of the forreyn regions, vvhereof they treate, as may the better ſuffiſe to the Readers contentation, and vnderſtanding of the maters conteyned in the ſame Hiſtories, reduced into abridgements out of their great volumes. And thus I ceaſſe further to trouble thy pacience, vviſhing to thee (gentle Reader) ſo much profite, as by reading may be had, and as great cōfort as Goddes holy ſpirite may endue thee vvith.

FINIS.

¶ The names of the Authours from whome this *Historie of England is collected.*

A.

Aelius Spartianus.
Aelius Lampridius.
Asserius Meneuensis.
Alfridus Beuerlacensis.
Aeneas Siluius Senensis.
Auentinus.
Adam Merimouth, with additions.
Antoninus Archiepiscopus Florentinus.
Albertus Crantz.
Alexander Neuill.
Arnoldus Ferronius.
Annius Viterbiensis.
Amianus Marcellinus.
Alliances genealogiques des Roys & Princes de France.
Annales D. Aquitaine per Iean Bouchet.
Annales de Bourgoigne per Guilaume Paradin.
Annales de France per Nicol Giles.
Annales rerum Flandricarū per Iacobum Meir.
Antonius Sabellicus.
Antonius Nebricensis.
Aurea Historia.

B.

Biblia Sacra.
Beda venerabilis.
Berosus.
Brian Tuke knight.
Blondus Forliuiensis.
Berdmondsey, a Regester booke belonging to that house.

C.

Caesars Commentaries.
Cornelius Tacitus.
Chronica Chronicarum.
Chronica de Dunstable, a booke of Annales belōging to the Abbey there.
Chronicon Io. Tilij.
Chronica de Eyton, an historie belonging to that colledge, although compiled by some Northernman, as some suppose named Otherborne.
Chronicles of S. Albon.
Chronica de Abingdon, a booke of Annales belongyng to that house.
Chronica de Teukesbury.
Claudianus.
Chronicon Genebrard.
Chroniques de Normandie.
Chroniques de Britaine.
Chronique de Flandres, published by Denis Sauage.
Continuation de Historie & Chronique de Flandres, by the same Sauage.
Coupon.
Cuspinianus.
Chronica Sancti Albani.
Caxtons Chronicles.
Carion with additions.
Crocksden a register booke belonging to a house of that name in Staffordshire.

D.

Diodorus Siculus.
Dion Cassius.
Dominicus Marius Niger.

E.

Dmerus.
Eusebius.
Eutropius.
Encomium Emmæ, an old Pamphlet written to hir conteyning much good matter for the vnderstanding of the state of this realme in hir time, wherein hir prayse is not pretermitted, and so hath obteyned by reason thereof that title.
Enguerant de Monstrellet.
Eulogium.
Edmond Campion.

F.

Fabian.
Froissart.
Franciscus Tarapha.
Franciscus Petrarcha.
Flauius Vopiscus Siracusanus.
Floriacensis Vigorinensis.

G.

Viciardini Francisco. Guiciardini Ludouico.
Gildas Sapiens.
Galfridus Monemutensis, aliàs Geffrey of Monmouth.
Giraldus Cambrensis.
Guilielmus Malmesburiensis.
Galfridus Vinsauf.
Guilielmus Nouoburgensis.
Guilielmus Thorne.
Gualterus Hemmingford, aliàs Gisburnensis.
Geruasius Dorobernensis.
Geruasius Tilberiensis.
Guilielmus Gemeticensis de ducibus Normaniæ.
Guilielmus Rishanger.
Guilielmus Lambert.
Georgius Lillie.

Guilamme

The Authours names.

Guilamme Paradin.

H.

Higinus.
Henricus Huntingtonenſis.
Humfrey Lhoyd.
Henricus Leiceſtrenſis.
Hector Boece. *Hiſtorie Danion.*
Hiſtoira Eccleſiaſtica Magdeburgenſis.
Henricus Mutius.
Hiſtoria quadripartita ſeu quadrilogium.
Hardings Chronicle.
Halles Chronicles. *Henricus Bradſhaw.*
Henricus Marleburgenſis.
Herodianus.

I.

Iohannes Bale.
Iohannes Leland.
Iacobus Philippus Bergomas.
Iulius Capitolinus. *Iulius Solinus.*
Iohannes Pike with additions.
Iohannes Functius.
Iohn Price, knight. *Iohannes Textor.*
Iohannes Bodinus. *Iohannes Sleidan.*
Iohannes Euerſden a Monke of Bury.
Iohannes or rather Giouan villani a Florentine.
Iohannes Baptiſta Egnatius. *Iohãnes Capgraue.*
Iohannes Fourden. *Iohannes Caius.*
Iacob de Voragine Biſhop of Nebio.
Iean de Bauge a Frenchman wrote a Pamphlet of the warres in Scotlande, during the time that Monſieur de Deſſe remayned there.
Iohn Foxe. *Iohannes Maior.*
Iohn Stow, by whoſe diligent collected Summarie, I haue ben not only ayded, but alſo by diuers rare monuments, ancient wryters, and neceſſarie regiſter Bookes of his, which he hath lente me out of his owne Librarie.
Ioſephus.

L.

Liber conſtitutionum London.
Lucan. *Lelius Giraldus.*

M.

Marianus Scotus.
Matheus Paris.
Matheus VVeſtmonaſter, aliàs Flores hiſtoriarum.
Martin du Bellay, aliàs Monſieur de Langey.
Mamertinus in Panagericũ.
Memoires de la Marche.

N.

Nicephorus. *Nennius.*
Nicholaus Treuet with additions.

O.

Roſius Dorobernenſis.
Oſbernus Dorobernenſis.
Otho Phriſingenſis.

P.

Auſanias. *Paulus Diaconus.*
Paulus Aemilius.
Ponticus Virunnius. *Pomponius Lætus.*
Philippe de Cumeins, aliàs Mõſieur de Argenton.
Polidor Vergil. *Paulus Iouius.*
Platina. *Philippe Melancton.*
Peucerus.
Pomponius Mela.

R.

Rogerus Houeden.
Ranulfus Higeden, aliàs Ceſtrenſis the author of Polichronicon. *Radulfus niger.*
Radulfus Coggeſhall.
Regiſter of the Garter. Richard Grafton
Recordes of Battell Abbey.
Richardus Southwell. *Robert Greene.*
Radulfus de Diceto. *Robert Gaguin.*
Rodericus Archiepiſcopus Toletanus.
Recordes and rolles diuers.

S.

Strabo. *Suetonius.*
Sigebertus Gemblacenſis.
Sidon Apollinaris. *Simon Dunelmenſis.*
Sextus Aurelius Victor.

T.

Rebellius Pollio. *Thomas More knight.*
Thomas Spotte. *Thomas VValſingham.*
Titus Liuius Patauienſis.
Titus Liuius de Foroliuiſijs de vita Henrici. 5.
Thomas Lanquet. *Thomas Couper.*
Taxtor a Monke of Berry. *Theuet.*
Thomas de la More. *Tripartita Hiſtoria.*

V.

Vlcatius Gallicanus.
Volfgangus Lazius.

VV.

VVHethamſteed, a learned man, ſometime Abbot of S. Albons, a Chronicler.
VVilliam Harriſon.
VVilliã Patten of the expeditiõ into Scotlãd. 1574.
VVilliam Procter of VViattes rebellion.
Beſides theſe diuers other Bookes and Treatiſes of Hiſtoricall mater I haue ſeene and peruſed, the names of the Authours beyng vtterly vnknowen.

FINIS.

AN HISTORICALL DE-

scription of the Iſlande of Britayne, with a briefe re-

hearſall of the nature and qualities of the people

of Englande, and of all ſuch com-

modities as are to be

founde in the

ſame.

In the firſt Booke of the Deſcription of Britayne, theſe Chapters are contayned that enſue.

1. Of the ſcituation and quantitie of the Iſle of Britayne.
2. Of the auncient names of this Iſlande.
3. What ſundry nations haue dwelled in this countrey.
4. Whether it be likely that euer there were any Gyants inhabiting in this Iſlande.
5. Of the generall language vſed ſometime in Brytaine.
6. Into howe many kingdomes at once this Iſle hath bene deuided.
7. Of the auncient religion vſed in Brytaine, from the firſt comming of Samothes, before the conuerſion of the ſame vnto the faith of Chriſt.
8. Of the number and names of ſuch Salt Iſlandes as lye diſperſed rounde about vpon the coaſt of Brytaine.
9. Of the ryſing and falles of ſuch ryuers and ſtreames as deſcende into the ſea, without alteration of their names, & firſt of thoſe that lye betweene the Thames and the Sauerne.
10. Of the Sauerne ſtreame, and ſuch falles of ryuers as go into the Sea betweene it and the Humber.
11. Of ſuch riuers as fall into the ſea, betwene Humber & the Thames.
12. Of the fower high waies ſometime made in Brytaine by the Princes of this lande.
13. Of the ayre and ſoyle of the country.
14. Of the generall conſtitution of the bodies of the Brytons.
15. How Brytaine grew at the firſt to be deuided into three porcions.
16. That notwithſtanding the former particion made by Brute, vnto his children, the ſouereinety of the whole Iſlande, remained ſtyll to the Prince of *Lhoegres* and his poſteritie after him.
17. Of the Wall ſometime builded for a particion betweene Englande and the Pictes.

To the Right Honorable, and his singular good Lord *and maister, S. William Brooke Knight, Lord warden of* the cinque Portes, and Baron of Cobham, all increase of the feare and knowledge of God, firme obedience towarde his Prince, infallible loue to the common wealth, and commendable renowme here in this worlde, and in the worlde to come; lyfe euerlasting.

HAVING had iust occasion, Right Honourable, to remayne in London, during the tyme of Midsomer terme last passed, and being earnestlye required of diuers my friends, to set downe some briefe discourse of parcell of those thinges, which I had obserued in the reading of such manifold antiquities as I had perused toward the furniture of a Chronologie, which I had then in hande, I was at the first very loth to yeelde to their desires: first, for that I thought my selfe vnable for want of witte and iudgement, so sodainly and with such speede to take such a charge vppon me: secondly, by cause the dealing therin might proue an impechement vnto mine owne Treatize: and finallye for that I had giuen ouer all study of hystories, as iudging the tyme spent about the same, to be an hinderaunce vnto my more necessarie dealings in that vocation & function whereunto I am called in the myniſtery. But when they were so importunate with me, that no reasonable excuse coulde serue to put by this trauaile, I condescended at the length vnto their yrkesome sute, promising that I woulde spende such voyde time as I had to spare, whyleſt I shoulde be inforced to tarie in the citie, vpon some thing or other that shoulde stande in lieu of a description of my Country. For their partes also they assured me of such helpes as they coulde purchase, and thus with hope of good although, no gaie successe, I went in hande withall, then almost as one leaning altogither vnto memorie, sith my bookes and I were parted by fourtie myles in sonder. In this order also I spent a part of Michaelmas and Hillarie termes insuing, being inforced thereto I say by other businesses which compelled me to keepe in the citie, and absent my selfe from my charge, though in the meane season I had some repaire vnto my librarie, but not so great as the dignitie of the matter required, & yet farre greater then the Printers haste woulde suffer. One helpe, and none of the smalleſt that I obtayned herein was by such commentaries as Leland *had collected sometime of the state of Britaine, bookes vtterly mangled, defaced with wet, and weather, and finally imperfite through want of sundrie volumes: secondly, I gate some knowledge of things by letters and pamphlettes, from sundrie places and shires of Englande, but so discordaunt nowe and then amongeſt themselues, especially in the names and courses of riuers and scituation of townes, that I had oft greater trouble to reconcile them, then to penne the whole discourse of such pointes as they contayned: the thirde ayde did grow by conference with diuers, eyther at the table or secretly alone, wherein I marked in what things the talkers did agree, and wherein they impugned eche other, chooſing in the end the former, and reiecting the later, as one desirous to set forth the truth absolutely, or such things in deede as were most likely to be true. The laſt comfort arose by mine owne reading of such writers as haue heretofore made mention of the condition of our country, in speaking whereof, yf I shoulde make account of the successe, and extraordinary comming by sundrie treatizes not supposed to be extaunt, I shoulde but seeme to pronounce more then may well be sayde with modestie, and say farder of my selfe then this Treatize can beare witnesse of. Howbeit, I referre not this successe wholly vnto my purpose in this Description, but rather giue notice thereof to come to passe in the penning of my Chronologie, whose cromes as it were fell out very well in the framing of this Pamphlete. In the processe therefore of this Booke, if your Honour regarde the substaunce of that which is here declared, I must needes confesse that it is none of mine: but if your Lordshippe haue consideration of the barbarous composition shewed herein,*

herein, that I may boldely clayme and chalenge for myne owne, sith there is no man of any so slender skill, that will defraude me of that reproche, which is due vnto me, for the meere negligence, disorder, and euill disposition of matter, comprehended in the same. Certes I protest before God and your Honour, that I neuer made any choise of stile, or picked wordes, neither regarded to handle this Treatize in such precise order and methode as many other woulde: thinking it sufficient, truely & plainly to set forth such things as I minded to intreate of, rather then with vaine affectation of eloquence to paint out a rotten sepulchre, neither comendable in a writer nor profitable to the reader. How other affayres troubled me in the writing hereof many know, & peraduenture the slackenesse shewed herein can better testifie: but howsoeuer it be done, & whatsoeuer I haue done, I haue had an especiall eye vnto the truth of things, & for the reast, I hope that this foule frizeled Treatize of mine, will prooue a spurre to others, better learned in more skilfull maner to handle the selfe same argument. As for faultes escaped herein as there are diuers, I must needes confesse, both in the penning and printing, so I haue to craue pardon of your Honour, & of all the learned readers. For such was my shortnesse of time allowed in the writing, & so great the speede made in the Printing, that I could seldome with any deliberation peruse, or almost with any iudgement deliberate exactly vpon such notes as were to be inserted. Sometimes in deede their leysure gaue me libertie, but that I applyed in following my vocation, many times their expedition abridged my perusall, and by this later it came to passe, that most of this booke was no sooner penned then printed, neither well conceyued before it came to writing. But it is now to late to excuse the maner of doing. It is possible that your Honour will mislyke hereof, for that I haue not by myne owne trauaile and eyesight viewed such thinges, as I doe here intreate of. In deede I must needes confesse that except it were from the parish where I dwell, vnto your Honour in Kent, or out of London where I was borne, vnto Oxforde and Cambridge where I haue beene brought vp, I neuer trauailed 40. miles in all my lyfe, neuertheless in my report of these thinges, I vse their authorities, who haue performed in their persons whatsoeuer is wanting in mine. It may be in like sort that your Honour will take offence at my rashe and rechlesse behauiour vsed in the composition of this volume, and much more that being scambled vp after this maner, I dare presume to make tendoure of the protection thereof vnto your Lordships handes. But when I consider the singular affectiō that your Ho. doth beare to those that in any wise will trauaile to set forth such things as lye hidden of their countries, without regarde of fine & eloquent handling, & therinto do weigh on mine owne behalfe my bounden duetie and gratefull minde to such a one as hath so many and sundrie wayes profited and preferred me, that otherwise can make no recompence, I can not but cut of all such occasion of doubt, and thereupon exhibite it, such as it is, and so penned as it is vnto your Lordships tuition, vnto whome if it may seeme in any wyse acceptable, I haue my whole desire. And as I am the first that (notwithstanding the great repugnauncie to be seene among our writers) hath taken vpon him so particularly to describe this Isle of Britaine, so I hope the learned and godly will beare withall and reforme with charity where I do treade amisse. As for the curious, & such as can rather euill fauouredly espy then skilfully correct an errour, & sooner carpe at another mans doings then publish any thing of their owne, keping themselues close with an obscure admiration of learning & knowledge among the cōmon sort) I force not what they say hereof, for whether it doe please or displease them, all is one to me, sith I referre my whole trauaile in the gratification of your Honour; & such as are of experience to consider of my trauaile, and the large scope of things purposed in this Treatize, of whome my seruice in this behalfe may be taken in good part, that I will repute for my full recompence, & large guerdon of my labours. The Almighty God preserue your Lordship in cōtinuall health, wealth, and prosperitie, with my good Lady your wyfe, your Honours children, whome God hath indued with a singular towardnesse vnto all vertue & learning, and the rest of reformed familie vnto whome I wish farder increase of his holy spirit, vnderstanding of his worde, augmentation of honour, & finally an earnest zeale to follow his commaundements.

Your Lordships humble seruant,
and houshold Chaplein. W. H.

¶ Of the scituation and quantitie of the Isle of Britayne.

Cap. 1.

How Britaine lyeth from the mayne.

BRITANIA, or Britaine, as we nowe terme it in our Englishe tongue, is an Isle lying in the Ocean sea, directly against that part of Fraunce, which conteyneth Picardie, Normandie, and therto the greatest part of little Britaine, called in time past Armorica of the scituation thereof vpon the sea coast, and before such time as a companie of Britons (eyther led ouer by some of the Romayne Emperours, or flying thither from the tyrannie of such as oppressed them here in this Iland) did settle themselues there, & called it Britaine, after the name of their owne country, from whence they aduentured thither. It hath Irelande vpon the West side, on the North the mayne sea, euen vnto Thule and the Hyperborean, and on the East side also the Germaine Ocean, by which we passe daily thorowe by the trade of merchandise, not only into ỹ low countries of Belgie, but also into Germanie, Frizelande, Denmarke, and Norway, carying from hence thither, and bringing from thence hither, all such necessarie commodities as the seuerall Countries doe yelde: thorow which meanes, and besides common amitie conserued, traffike is maintayned, and the necessitie of eche party abundantly relieued.

The longitude and latitude of this Isle.

It containeth in longitude taken by the middest of the Region 19. degrees exactly: and in latitude 53. degrees, and 30. min. after the opinions of those that haue diligently obserued the same in our dayes, and the faithfull report of such writers as haue left notice therof vnto vs, in their learned treatises to be perpetually remembred. Howbeit wheras some in setting downe of these two lines, haue seemed to vary about the placing of the same, eche of them diuerslie remembring the names of sundrie Cities and townes, whereby they affirme thē to haue their seueral courses: for my part I haue thought good to proceede somewhat after another sort, that is, by deuiding the latest and best Cardes eche way into two equall partes, (so neare as I can possibly bring the same to passe) whereby for the middle of latitude, I produce Caerleil and Newcastell vpon Tyne (whose lōgest day consisteth of 16. houres, 48. minuts) & for the longitude, Newbery, Warwicke, Sheffeld, Skiptō, &c. which dealing in mine opinion, is most easie & indifferent, and lykeliest meane to come by the certayne standing and scituation of our Iland.

Longest day.

The compasse of Britaine.

In lyke maner it hath in breadth from the Piere or poynt of Douer, vnto the farthest part of Cornewall westwardes 320. myles: from thence agayne vnto the poynt of Cathnesse by the Irishe sea, 800. Whereby Polidore and other doe gather that the circuite of the whole Iland of Britaine is 1720. myles, which is full 280. lesse than Cæsar doth sette downe, except there be some difference betweene the Romaine and Britishe myles, whereof heafter I maye make some farther conference.

The forme

The forme and facion of this Isle is lyke vnto a Triangle, Bastarde sworde, Wedge, or Partesant, being broadest in the South part, and gathering still narrower and narrower, till it come to the farthest poynt of Cathnesse Northwarde where it is narrowest of all, and there endeth in maner of a Promontorie, which is not aboue 30. myles ouer, as daply experience doth confirme.

The distance frō the mayne.

The shortest & most vsuall cut that we haue out of our Iland to the maine, is from Douer (the farthest part of Kent eastward) vnto Calice in Picardie, where the breadth of the sea is not aboue 30. myles. Which course as it is now frequented and vsed for the most cōmon & safe passage of such as come into our coūtrie out of Fraunce and diuers other Realmes, so it hath not bene vnknowne of olde time vnto the Romaynes, who for the most part vsed these two hauens for their passage and repassage to and fro, although we finde that nowe and then, diuers of them came also from Bullen and landed at Sandwiche, or some other places of the coast, as to auoyde the force of the wynde and weather, that often molested them in these narrowe seas, best liked for their safegardes. Betweene the part of Hollande also, which lyeth nere the mouth of the Rhene, and this our Iland, are 900. furlonges, as Solinus sayeth, besides diuers other writers, which being conuerted into Englishe myles, doe yelde one hundred and twelue, and foure odde furlongs, whereby the iust distaunce of Britayne from that part of the mayne also, doth certainly appeare to be much lesse than the common Mappes of our Countrie haue hitherto set downe.

Lib. 4.

Of the auncient names of this Iland.

Cap. 2.

IN the diligent perusal of their treatises that haue written of the state of this our Iland, I finde that at the first it seemed to be a percel of the Celtike kingdome, whereof Dis otherwyse called Samothes, one of the sonnes of Ja-

Dis, Samothes.

phet was the Saturne or originall beginner, and of him thencefoorth for a long time called Samothea. Afterwarde in processe of tyme when as desire of rule began to take holde in the myndes of men, & ech Prince endeuored to enlarge his owne dominiõs: Albion the sonne of Neptune surnamed Mareoticus (whose mother also was called Amphitrite) hearing of the commodities of the Countrie, and plentifulnesse of soyle here, made a voyage ouer, & finding the thing not onely correspondent vnto, but also farre surmounting the report that went of this Iland, it was not long after ere he inuaded ỳ same by force of armes, brought it to his subiection, and finally chaunged the name therof into Albion, whereby the former denomination after Samothes did fall into vtter forgetfulnesse. And thus was this Iland bereft at one time both of hir auncient name, and also of hir lawfull succession of Princes descended of the lyne of Iaphet, vnder whome it had continued by the space of 341. yeres and ix. Princes, as by the Historie folowing shall easily appeare.

Neptunus. Amphitrite Albion.

The first conquest of Britaine.

Britaine vnder the Celts 341. yeares.

To speake somewhat also of Neptune, (sith I haue made mention of him in this place) it shall not be impertinent. You shal vnderstand therefore that for his excellent knowledge in the Arte of Nauigation, he was reputed the most skilful Prince that liued in his time. And therefore, and likewyse for his courage and boldnesse in aduenturing to and fro, he was after his decease honoured as a god, and the protection of such as trauayled by sea committed to his charge. So rude also was ỳ making of shippes wherewith to sayle in his tyme, that for lacke of better experience to calke and trimme the same after they were builded, they vsed to nayle them ouer with rawe hydes, and with such a kinde of Nauie: first Samothes, and then Albion arriued in this Iland.

Neptune God of the sea.

The manner of dressinge of shippes in olde time.

But to proceede, when the sayde Albion had gouerned here in this Countrie by the space of vij. yeares, it came to passe that both he and his brother Bergion were killed by Hercules at the mouth of Rhodanus, as the sayd Hercules passed out of Spaine by the Celtes to go ouer into Italy, and vpõ this occasion (as I gather amõg the writers) not vnworthy to be remembred. It happened in tyme of Lucus king of the Celtes, that Lestrigo and his issue (whõ Dyzis his grandfather had placed ouer the Ianigenes) dyd exercise great tyrannie, not onely ouer his owne kingdome, but also in molestation of such Princes as inhabited rounde about him in most intollerable maner. Moreouer he was not a little incouraged in these his doinges by Neptune his father, who trusted greatly to leaue his xxtij. sonnes settled in the mightiest kingdomes of the worlde, as men of whom he had already conceyued this opinion, that if they had once gotten foote into any Region whatsoeuer, it woulde not be long ere they did by some meanes or other, not onelye establishe their seates, but also increase their limites to the better maintenance of themselues and their posteritie for euermore. To be short therefore, after the Gyantes, and great Princes, or mightie men of the world had conspired and slaine the aforesayd Dyzis: Hercules his sonne, surnamed Libius, in the reuenge of his fathers death, proclaymed open warres agaynst them all, and going from place to place, he ceased not to spoyle their kingdomes, and therewithall to kill them that fell into his handes. Finally, hauing among other ouercome the Lomnimi or Geriones in Spayne, and vnderstanding that Lestrigo & his sonnes did yet remayne in Italie, he directed his voyage into those parts, and taking the kingdome of the Celtes in his waye, he remayned for a season with Lucus the king of that Countrie, where he also maried his daughter Galathea, and begat a sonne by hir, calling him after his mothers name Galates, of whome in my Chronologie I haue spoken more at large. In the meane time Albion vnderstanding howe Hercules intended to make warres agaynst his brother Lestrigo, he thought it good to stop him that tyde, and therefore sending for hys brother Bergion, out of the Dzehades (where he also reygned as supreme Lorde and gouernour) they ioyned their powers, & sayled ouer into Fraunce. Being arriued there, it was not long ere they met with Hercules and his armie, neare vnto the mouth of the riuer called Rhodanus, where happened a cruell conflicte betweene them, in which Hercules and hys men were lyke to haue lost the daye, for that they were in maner wearyed with lõg warres, and their munition sore wasted in the last voiage that he had made for Spaine. Herevppon Hercules perceyuing the courages of his souldiours somewhat to abate, & seeing the want of munition likely to be the cause of his fatall day and present ouerthrowe at hande, it came sodenly into his mynde to will eche of them to defende himselfe by throwing of stones at hys enimie, wherof there lay great store then scattered in the place. The policie was no sooner published than put in execution, whereby they so preuayled in thende, that Hercules wan the fielde, their enemies were put to flight, and Albion and his brother both slayne, and buried in that plot. Thus was Britaine ridde of a tyrant, Lucus king of the Celtes deliuered frõ an vsurper (that daily incroched vpon him also euen in his owne kingdome on that side) and

Lestrigo.

Neptune had xxtij. sonnes.

Ianigenes.

the posterity of Noah lying in Italy.

Lomnimi. Geriones.

Galathea.

Galates.

Bergion.

Pomponius Lætus.

Albion slayne.

Lestri-

Lestrigo greatly weakened by the slaughter of his brethren. Of this invention of Hercules in like sort it commeth, that Jupiter father vnto Hercules (who in deede was none other but Osyris) is feygned to throw downe stones from heauen vpon Albion and Bergion, in the defence of Hercules his son: which came so thick vpon them as if great drops of raine or hayle should haue descended from a boue, no man well knowing which waye to turne him from their violence, they came so fast and with so great a strength.

It rayned stones.

But to go forwarde, albeit that Albion and his power were thus discomfited and slayne, yet the name that he gaue vnto thys Iland dyed not, but still remained vnto the time of Brute, who arriuing here in the 1127. before Christ, and 2840. after the creation, not only chaunged it into Britayne (after it had bene called Albion, by the space of 595. yeares) but to declare his souereigntie ouer the reast of the Ilandes also that are about the same, he called them all after the same maner, so that Albion was sayde in tyme to be Britanniarum insula maxima, that is, the greatest of those Iles that bare the name of Britayne.

It is altogither impertinent to discusse whether Hercules came into thys Iland after the death of Albion, or not, although that by an auncient monument seene of late, and the Cape of Hartland in the West countrie, called Promontorium Herculis in olde tyme, diuers of our Bytishe writers doe gather great likelyhode that he shoulde also be here. But syth hys presence or absence maketh nothing wyth the alteration of the name of this our Region and Countrie, I passe it ouer as not incident to my purpose. Neyther will I spend any time in the determination, whether Britayne hath bene sometyme a pereell of the mayne, although it shoulde well seeme so to haue bene, because that before the generall flouode of Noah, we doe not reade of Ilandes. As for the speedie and timely inhabitation thereof, this is myne opinion, that it was inhabited shortly after the diuision of the earth. For I reade that when ech Captayne and his company had their portions assigned vnto them by Noah in the partition that he made of the whole earth among hys posteritie, they neuer ceased to trauayle and search out the vttermest boundes of the same, vntill they founde out their parts allotted, and had seene and vewed the limites thereof, euen vnto the very poles. It shall suffice therefore only to haue touched these things in this manner a farre of, and in returning to our purpose, to

Hercules in Britayne.

Promontorium Herculis.

Do. Marius Niger, cõment. de Britannia. Cap. 2.

Theophilus Antiochenus ad Autolicum.

procéede with the reast concerning the denomination of our Iland, which was known vnto most of the Grékes for a long time, by none other name than Albion, and to say the truth, euen vnto Alexanders daies: notwithstanding that Brute, as I haue sayde, had chaunged the same into Britayne, manye hundred yeares before.

After Brutus I doe not find that any man attempted to chaunge it agayne, vntill the tyme that one Valentinus a rebell, in the dayes of Valentinianus and Valens endeuored to reygne there, and thereuppon as Ierome sayth, procured it to be called Valentia. The like also dyd Theodosius in the remembraunce of the two aforesayde Emperours, as Marcellinus saith, but as neyther of these tooke anye holde among the common sort, so it retayned stil the name of Britaine, vntill the reygne of Ecbert, who about the 800. yeare of grace, gaue forth an especiall Edict, dated at Wyncheſter, that it shoulde be called Angles land, or Angellandt, for which in our time we doe pronounce it England. And this is all, right Honourable, that I haue to say, touching the seuerall names of this Iland, vtterly misliking in the meane season their deuises, which make Hengist the only parent of the later denomination, whereas Ecbert, bicause his auncestours descended from the Angles (one of the seauen Nations that came wyth the Saxons into Britayne, for they were not all of one, but of diuers countries, as Angles, Saxons, Germaynes, Switchers, Norwegiens, &c. and all comprehended vnder ỹ name of Saxons, bicause of Hengist the Saxon & his cõpany that first arryued here before any of the other) and therto hauing now the monarchie & preheminẽce in manner of this whole Iland, called the same after the name of his Countrie from whence his originall came, neyther Hengist, neyther any Quéene named Angla, neyther whatsoeuer derivation ab angulo, as from a corner of the worlde bearing swaye, or hauing ought to doe at all in that behalfe.

Valentia.

In supplemento, Eusebij. lib. 28.

Angellãdt or Angles land.

Only Saxons arryued here at the first with Hengist.

What sundry Nations haue inhabited in this Iland. Cap. 3.

AS fewe or no Nations can iustly boaste themselues to haue continued sithence their countrie was first replenished, wythout any myxture, more or lesse, wyth other people, no more can this our Iland, whose manifolde commodities haue oft allured sundry Princes and famous captaynes of the world to conquere and subdue the same vnto theyr owne subiection. Many sorts of people there-

No Nation voide of myxture, more or lesse.

foꝛe haue comen hither and ſettled thẽſelues here in thys Ile, and firſt of all other a perſell of the linage and poſteritie of Japheth, Samothe-ans. bꝛought in by Samothes in the 1910. after the creation of Adam. Howbeit in pꝛoceſſe of tyme, and after they had indifferently repleniſhed and furniſhed this Iſlande with people (which was done in the ſpace of 335. yeares) Albion the Gyaunt afoꝛe mencioned repayꝛed hither with a companye of his owne race pꝛoceꝺing from Cham, and not onely Chemmi-nites. ſubued the ſame to his owne dominion, but bꝛought all ſuch in lyke ſoꝛt as he found here of the lyne of Japhet, into miſerable ſeruitude and thꝛaldome. After hym alſo, and wythin leſſe than fiue hundꝛed yeares came Bꝛitaines Bꝛute with a great traine of the poſteritie of the diſperſed Troianes in 324. ſhyppes: who rendꝛing the lyke curteſie vnto the Chemmi-nites as they had done afoꝛe vnto the ſeede of Japhet, bꝛought them alſo wholye vnder his rule and gouernaunce, and diuided the whole lande among ſuch Pꝛinces and Captaynes as he in his arriuall here had led out of Greeia with him.

Romaines. From hencefoꝛth I doe not finde any ſound repoꝛt of other natiõ, whatſoeuer that ſhuld aduenture hither to dwell, vntill the Romane Emperours ſubdued it to their dominion, ſauing of a fewe Galles, (and thoſe peraduẽture of Belgie) who firſt comming ouer to robbe and pilfer vpon the coaſtes, did afterwarde plant themſelues foꝛ altogither neare vnto the ſea, and there buylded ſundꝛy cities and townes which they named after thoſe of the maine, from whence they came vnto vs. But after the comming of the Romaynes, it is harde to ſay with how many ſoꝛtes of people we were daply peſtered, almoſt in euery ſeede. Foꝛ as they planted their foꝛwoꝛne Legions in the moſt fertile places of the Realme, and where they might beſt lye foꝛ the ſafegarde of their conqueſtes: ſo their armies did commonly conſiſt of many ſoꝛts of people, and were as I may call them, a confuſed mixture of all other coũtries. Howbeit, I thinke it beſt, bicauſe they did all beare the tytle of Romaynes, to retayne onely that name foꝛ them all, albeit they were wofull gueſtes to this our Iſlande: ſith that wyth them came in all maner of vice and vicious liuing, all ryot and exceſſe of behauioꝛ, which their Legions bꝛought hyther from eche coꝛner of their dominions, foꝛ there was no pꝛouince vnder them from whence they had not ſeruitours.

Scottes Pictes. Howe and when the Scottes ſhould arriue here out of Irelande, and from whence the Pictes ſhoulde come vnto vs, as yet it is vncertaine. Foꝛ although their hiſtoꝛies doe carie great countenance of their antiquitie and continuance in this Iſlande: yet (to ſay fꝛeely what I thinke) I iudge them rather to haue ſtolle in hither, not much afoꝛe the Saxons, than that they ſhould haue bene ſo long here, as from the one hundꝛeth yeare after Chꝛiſt. Reynulph Higden is of the opinion that the Pictes did come into this Iſland in the days of Seuerus, and that Fulgentius their captayne was bꝛother to Martia, the mother of Baſsianus. He addeth furthermoꝛe howe the Pictes foꝛſoke Baſsianus, and held with Caraũſius, who gaue thẽ a poꝛtion of Scotlande to inhabite, and thus wꝛyteth he. But if Herodian be well reade, you ſhal find that ẏ Pictes were ſettled in thys Ile, afoꝛe the time of Seuerus, & yet not ſo ſone as that Tacitus can make any mention of thẽ in the cõqueſt that Agricola his father in law made of ẏ Noꝛth parts of this Iſland. Neyther doe I reade of the Scots oꝛ Pictes afoꝛe the time of Antoninus Verus, in the begynning of whoſe thirde yere (which concurred with the yere of Lucius king of Bꝛitaine) they inuaded thys South part of the Ile, and were reduced to obedience by Trebellius the Legate. Certes the tyme of Samothes and Albion haue ſome likely limitation, and ſo we maye gather of the cõming in of Bꝛute. The voyage that Cæſar made likewyſe is certainely knowne to fall out in the 54. afoꝛe the birth of Chꝛiſt. In lyke ſoꝛt that the Saxons arryued here in the 449. The Danes, and with them the Gothes, Vandales, Noꝛwegians, &c. in the 791. Finally the Noꝛmans in 1066. And Flemminges in the tyme of Henry the firſt (although they came not in by conqueſt, but vppon their humble ſute had a place in Wales aſſigned them to inhabite in, by king Henry then reigning, after the dꝛowning of their countrie) it is eaſie to be pꝛoued. Li. 4. ca. 19.

But when the Pictes and Scottes ſhould enter, neither doe our hyſtories make any repoꝛt, neyther their owne agrée among thẽſelues by manye hundꝛeth yeares. Wherefoꝛe as the tyme of their arriuall here is not to be founde out, ſo it ſhall ſuffice to gyue notice that they are but ſtrangers, and ſuch as by obſcure inuaſion haue neſtled in thys Iſlande.

Saxons. The Saxons became firſt acquainted with thys Ile, by meanes of the pyꝛacie which they daily pꝛactiſed vpon our coaſtes (after they had once begunne to aduenture themſelues alſo vpon the ſeas, thereby to ſeeke out moꝛe wealth then was nowe to begotten in theſe weſt partes of the mayne, which they & their neighboꝛs had alreadie ſpoyled in moſt

lamenta-

lamentable and barbarous maner) howbeit they neuer durſt preſume to inhabite in this Iſland, vntill they were ſent for by Uortiger to ſerue him in his warres agaynſt ỹ Pictes & Scottes: after that the Romaines had giuen vs ouer, & left vs wholy to our owne defence & regiment. Being therefore comen in thyer bottomes or kéeles, & in ſhort time eſpying the ydle & negligent behauiour of ỹ Brytons and fertilitie of our ſoyle, they were not a little inflamed to make a full conqueſt of ſuch as they came to ayde and ſuccour. Herevpon alſo they fell by little and little to the winding in of greater nũbers of their countrymen with their wyues and children into this region, ſo that within a whyle they began to moleſt the homelings (for ſo I finde ỹ word Indigena, to be engliſhed in an old booke that I haue, wherin Aduena is tranſlated alſo an homeling) and ceaſed not from time to time to cõtinue their purpoſe, vntill they had gotten poſſeſſion of the whole, or at the leaſt wiſe the greateſt part of our coũtry, the Britons in the meane ſeaſon being driuen eyther into Wales & Cornewall, or altogither out of the Iſlande to ſéeke newe inhabitations.

Danes. In like maner the Danes (the next nation that ſucceéded) came at the firſt onely to pilfer & robbe vpon the frontiers of our Iſland, till that in the end being let in by the Welchmen or Brytons to reuenge them vpon the Saxons, they no leſſe plagued the one then the other, their friendes, then their aduerſaries, ſéeking by all meanes poſſible, to eſtabliſh themſelues in the ſure poſſeſſiõ of Brytayne. But ſuch was their ſucceſſe, that they proſpered not long in their deuiſe, for ſo great was their lordlineſſe, their crueltie, and inſatiable deſire of riches, beſide their deteſtable abuſing of chaſt matrones, & young virgines (whoſe huſbandes and parentes were daily inforced to become their drudges and ſlaues whyleſt they ſate at home and fed like Drone bées of the ſweet of their trauayle & labours) that God I ſay would not ſuffer thẽ to continue any whyle ouer vs, but when he ſaw his time he remoued their yoke, and gaue vs libertie, as it were to breath vs, thereby to ſée whether this his ſharpe ſcourge coulde haue moued vs to repentaunce and amendement of our lewde and ſinneſull liues, or not. But whẽ no ſigne therof appeared in our hearts, he called in an other nation to vexe vs;

The Normans. I meane the Normans, a people of whom it is worthily doubted, whether they were more harde and cruell to our countrymen then the Danes, or more heauye and intollerable to our Iſlande then the Saxons or Romaynes, yet ſuch was our lotte, in theſe dayes by the deuine appointed order, that we muſt néedes obey, ſuch as the Lorde dyd ſet ouer vs, & ſo much the rather, for that all power to reſiſt was vtterly taken from vs, and our armes made ſo weake and feéble, that they were not now able to remoue the importable loade of the Normanes from our ſurburdened ſhoulders: And this onely I ſay agayne, becauſe we refuſed grace offred in time and woulde not heare when God by his Preachers did call vs ſo fauourably vnto him.

Thus we ſée howe from time to time this Iſlande hath not onely bene a praye, but as it were a common receptacle for ſtraungers, the naturall homelinges being ſtill cut ſhorter and ſhorter, as I ſayde before, till in the ende they came not onely to be driuen into a corner of this region, but in tyme alſo verie like vtterly to haue ben extinguiſhed. For had not king Edward ſurnamed the ſaint in his time after grieuous warres, made vppon them (wherein Earle Harald, ſonne to Godwine & after king of Englande was his generall) permitted the remnaunt of their women to ioyne in marryage with the Engliſhmen (when the moſt part of their huſbandes & male children were ſlayne with the ſworde) it coulde not haue bene otherwyſe choſen, but their whole race muſt néedes haue ſuſtayned the vttermoſt confuſion, and thereby the memorie of the Britons vtterly haue periſhed.

Whether it be likely that there were euer any Gyaunts inhabiting in this Iſle or not. Cap. 4.

BEſides theſe aforeſayde nations, which haue crept as you haue hearde into our Iſlande, we reade of ſundry Gyaunts that ſhoulde inhabite here, which report as it is not altogither incredible, ſith the poſterities of diuers princes were called by ỹ name: ſo vnto ſome mens eares it ſéemeth ſo ſtraunge a rehearſall, that for the ſame onely they ſuſpect the credite of our whole hyſtorie and reiect it as a fable, vnworthy to be read. For this cauſe therefore I haue nowe taken vpon me to make thys briefe diſcourſe inſuing, therby to proue, that the opiniõ of Gyaunts is not altogither grounded vpon vayne & fabulous narrations, inuented only to delite the eares of the hearers with the report of marueilous things. But that there haue bene ſuch men in déede, as for their hugeneſſe of perſon haue reſembled rather * highe towers then mortall men, although their poſterities are now conſumed, and their monſtrueus races vtterly worne out of knowledge.

* Eſay. 30. verſ. 25.

I dee not meane herin to diſpute, whether

this name was giuen vnto them, rather for their tyrannie and oppreſſion of the people, then for their greateneſſe of bodie, or whether the worde Gygas doeth onelye ſignifie Indigenas, or homelinges, borne in the lande or not, neyther whether all men were of like quantitie in ſtature and farre more greater in olde tyme then at this preſent they be, and yet abſolutely I denie neyther of theſe, ſith very probable reaſons may be brought for eche of thē, but eſpecially the laſt rehearſed, whoſe confirmation dependeth vpon the authorityes of ſundrie auncient writers, who make diuers of Noble race, equall to the Gyauntes in ſtrength, and manhode, and yet doe not gyue the ſame name vnto them, bycauſe their quarels were iuſt, and commonly taken in hande, for defence of the oppreſſed. Example hereof, alſo we may take of Hercules and Antheus, whoſe wreſtling declareth that they were equall in ſtature & ſtomacke, ſuch alſo was the cōurage of Antheus, that being often ouercome, and as it were vtterly vanquiſhed by the ſayde Hercules, yet if he did eſtſones returne agayne into his kingdome, he furthwith recouered his force, returned & helde Hercules tacke, till he gate at the laſt betweene him & home, ſo cutting of the farder hope of the reſtoring of his army, and killing finally his aduerſarie in the field. The like doe our hiſtories repoꝛt of Corineus and Gomagot, who fought a combate hande to hande, till one of them was ſlayne, & yet for all this no man reputeth Corineus for a Gyaunt. But ſith I ſaye it is not my purpoſe to ſtande vppon theſe pointes, I paſſe ouer to ſpeake any more of them, and where as alſo I might haue proceeded in ſuch order, that I ſhoulde firſt ſet downe by many circumſtances, whether any Gyauntes were, then whether they were of ſuch huge & incredible ſtature, as the authours doe remember, and finally whether any of them haue beene in this our ylande or not, I proteſt playnly that my minde is not nowe bent to deale in any ſuch maner, but rather generally to confirme and by ſufficient authoritie that there haue bene mightye men of ſtature, and ſome of them alſo in Britaine, as by particular examples ſhalbe manifeſtly confirmed without ỹ obſeruation of any methode, or ſuch diuiſiō in the rehearſal hereof as ſound order doth require.

Antheus.

Corineus. Gomagot.

Moſes the Prophet of the Lord, writing of the ſtate of things before the floud hath theſe wordes in his booke of generations. In theſe daies ſaith he, there were Giaūts vpō ỹ erth, Beroſus, alſo the Chalde, writeth that nere vnto Libanus there was a city called Denon (which I take to be Henoch, builded ſomtime by Cham) wherein Gyauntes dyd inhabit, who truſting to the ſtrength and hugeneſſe of their bodies, dyd berye great oppreſſion and miſchiefe in the worlde. The Hebrues called them generally by the name of Enach peraduenture of Henoch the ſonne of Cain, frō whom that peſtilēt race at the flud deſcēded.

Cap.6. ver.4.

Anti.li.1.

And of theſe mōſters alſo ſome families remained vnto the time of Moſes, in compariſon of whom the children of Iſraell confeſſed themſelues to be but Graſhoppers, which is one noble teſtimonie that the word Gygas or Enach is ſo well taken for a man of huge ſtature, as for an homeborne childe, wicked tyraunt, and oppreſſour of the people.

Nu.cap.13 verſ.33.& 34.

Furthermore, there is mention made alſo of Og, ſometyme king of Baſan, who was the laſt of the race of the Gyaunts, that was left in the lande of promiſe to be ouercome by the Iſraelites, whoſe bedde was afterwarde ſhewed for a wonder at Rabbath (a citie of the Ammonites) and conteyned 9. cubites in length and 4. in breedth, which cubites I take to be geometricall, that is, eache one fyue of the ſmaller, as dyd thoſe alſo whereof the Arke was made, as our Diuines affirme.

Deut.3. verſ.11. Og of Baſan.

In the firſt of Samuell you ſhall reade of Goliath a philiſtine, the weight of whoſe Target or iacke was of fiue hundreth ſicles, or ſo many ounces, that is, 312. pounde after the rate of a ſicle to an ounce, his ſpeare was like a weauers beame, the onelye head whereof weighed 600. ounces of yron, or 37. pounde and a halfe engliſh, his height alſo was meaſured at 6. cubites and an hande breedth, all which do importe that he was a notable Gyaunt, and a man of great ſtrength to weare ſuch an armour & beweld ſo heauy a launce.

Cap.17. ver.4.5.6. Goliath.

In the ſecond of Samuell, I finde repoꝛt of 4. Gyaunts borne in Geth, of which the third was like vnto Goliath, & the fourth had 24. fingers and toes, whereby it is euident, that the generation of Gyaunts were not extinguiſhed in Paleſtine, vntill the tyme of Dauid, which was 2890. after the floude, nor vterly conſumed in Og, as ſome of our expoſitours woulde haue it.

Cap.21. ver.16. 17.&c.

Now to come vnto our chriſten writers, for although the authorities already alleged out of the worde, are ſufficient to confirme my purpoſe at the full, yet will I not let to ſet downe ſuch other notes as experience hath reuealed, onelye to the ende that the reader ſhall not thinke the name of Gyaunts, with their quantities, and other circumſtaunces, mentioned in the ſcriptures, rather to haue ſome miſticall interpretation, depending vpon them, then that the ſence of the text in this behalfe is to be taken ſimple as it lyeth.

S. Auguſtine

De ciuitate dei lib.15. cap.9. S. Augustine noteth how he saw the toth of a man, wherof he toke good aduisement & pronounced in the ende that it would haue made 100. of his owne, or any other mans that lyued in his tyme. The like hereof also doeth

Iohannes Boccatius. Iohn Bocase set downe, in the 48. Chapter of his fift boke, saying that in ỹ caue of a moũtayne, not farre from Drepanum, (a towne of Sicilia) the body of an exceeding high Gyaunt was discouered, thre of whose teeth did weigh 100. ounces, which being conuerted into English poise, doth yelde 8. pounde and 4. ounces, after twelue ounces to the pounde.

Mat. Westmon. The body of Pallas was founde in Italy, in the yeare of grace. 1038. and being measured it conteined 20. foote in legth, this Pallas was cõpanion with Æneas. There was a carcase also laid bare in England vpõ the shore, (where the beating of the sea had washed away ỹ yearth from the stone wherein it lay) & when it was taken vp, it conteined, 50. foote in measure, as our histories doe reporte. The lyke was seene in Wales, in the yeare. 1087. of 14 foote. In Perth moreouer a village in Scotlande another was taken vp, which to this day they shewe in a Church, vnder the name of little Iohn, being also 14. foote in length as diuers doe affirme which haue beholden the same. In the yeare of grace. 1475. the body of Tulliola daughter vnto Cicero, was taken vp and found higher by not a fewe feete then the common sorte of women liuing in those dayes.

Iohannes Leland. Masseus. &c.

Geruasius Tilberiensis. Geruasius Tilberiensis, hedde Marshall to the King of Arles writeth, in his Chronicle dedicated to Otho. 4. howe that at Isoretum, in the suburbes of Paris, he sawe the body of a man that was twentye foote long, beside the heade and necke, which was missing and not founde, the owner hauing peraduenture bene beheadded for some notable trespasse committed in times past.

Thomas Eliot. A carkasse was taken vp at Iupe Church nere Salisburye but of late to speake of, almost 14 foote long.

Leland. In Gilleland in Come Whitton paroche not far from the chappell of the Moze, fyue miles by East from Carleill, a coffin of stone was founde, and therein the bones of a man, of moze then incredible greatnes.

Richard Grafton. Richarde Grafton, in his Manuell telleth of one whose shinne bone conteined fyue foote, & his scul so great that it was able to receiue 5. peckes of wheate, wherefore by coniecturall symmetrye of these partes, his body must nedes be of 28. foote, or rather moze, if it were diligently discussed.

Siluester Gyraldus. The body of king Arthur being found in the yere 1189. was two foote higher than any man that came to behold ỹ same, finally the carcas of William conqueror was seene not many yeares since, in the Citie of Cane, twelue yn-ches longer, by ỹ iudgment of such as saw it, thã any man which dwelled in the countrey. Al which testimonies I note togither bicause they procede from Christian writers, from whome nothing shoulde bee farther or moze distant, then of set purpose to lie, & feede the world with Fables. Nowe it resteth furthermoze ỹ I set downe, what I haue read therof in Pagane writers, who had alwayes great regarde of their credit, and so ought all men that dedicate any thing vnto posteritie, least in going about otherwise to reape renowme and praise, they doe procure vnto themselues in the ende nothing else but mere contempt and infamy: for my part I will touch rare thinges, and such as to my selfe doe seeme almost incredible: howbeit as I find them, so I note them, requiring your Honour in reading hereof, to let euery Author beare hys owne burden, and euery one his bundle.

Constans fama Galorum.

Plutarche telleth howe Sertorius being in Libia, nere vnto the streetes of Maroco, caused the Sepulchre of Antheus, afore remembred to be opened, for hearing by common report that the saide Gyaunt lay buryed there, whose corps was 50. cubits long at the least, he was so far of frõ crediting the same, that he would not beleue it, vntil he saw the coffin open wherein the bones of the aforesaid prince did rest. To be short therefore, he caused his souldiers to cast downe the hil made somtime ouer the tombe, and finding the bodie in the bottome, after the measure thereof taken, he sawe it manifestly, to be 60. cubits in length, which were ten moze then the people made accompt of.

In vita Sertorij de Antheo.

Philostrate in Heroices sayth, how he sawe the body of a Gyant 30. cubits in length, also the carkasse of another of 22. and the thirde, of 12.

Philostrate

Plinie telleth of an Earthquake at Creta, which discouered the body of a Gyant, which was 46. cubits in length after the Romaine standerde, and by dyuers supposed to be the bodye of Orion or Ætion.

Lib. 7.

Trallianus writeth howe the Athenienses digging on a time in the grounde to laye the foundatiõs of their new walles in the dayes of an Emperour, did finde the bones of Macrosyis in a coffin of harde stone, of 10. cubites in length after the accompt of the Romaine cubite, which was then a foote and an halfe & not much difference from halfe a yarde of our measure nowe in Englande. In the time of Hadriane the emperour the body of a Gyaunt was take vp at Messana conteining 20. foote in length, & hauing a double row of teeth, yet

Trallianus.

ſtanding whole in his chaps, In Dalmatia, manye graues were ſhaken open with an earthquake, in one of which aboue the reſt, a carcaſſe was found whoſe ribbe conteined 16. elles, after the Romaine meaſure, wherby ẏ whole body was iudged to be 64. ſith ẏ lõgeſt rib is cõmonly about ẏ fourth part of a man, as ſome Simmetricies affirme, Arrhian⁹ ſaith that in the time of Alexander the bodies of ẏ Aſianes were generally of huge ſtature, and commonly of 5. cubits, ſuch was the height of Pozus of Inde, whome Alexander vanquiſhed and ouerthrew in battaile. Sudas ſpeaketh in like maner of Ganges, killed likewiſe by the ſayd prince, who farre exceéded Pozus foz he was 10. cubits lõg. But of al theſe this one example ſhall paſſe, which I doe reade alſo in Trallianus ẏ he ſetteth downe in fozme and manner following.

A mouth of 16. foote wide.

In the daies of Tiberius themperoz ſaith he a cozps was left bare oz layde open after an erthquake of which eche toth cõteined 12. ynches ouer at ẏ leſt, now fozaſmuch as in ſuch as bée full mouthed eche chap hath 16. tæth at the leaſt, which is 32. in ẏ whole, néedes muſt the wydeneſſe of this mannes chappes be ſixetéene foote, and the opening of his lippes 10. A large mouth in mine opinion and not to fæde with Ladies of my time, beſides that if occaſion ſerued, it was able to receiue the whole bodye of a man, I meane of ſuch as flouriſh in our daies. Whẽ this carcaſſe was thus founde, euery man marueyled at it and good cauſe why, a meſſenger alſo was ſente vnto Tiberius themperour to know his pleaſure, whether he wold haue the ſame brought ouer vnto Rome oz not, but he fozbade them, willing his Legate not to remoue the deade out of his reſting place, but rather to ſende him a toth out of his head, which being done, he gaue the ſame to a cunning wozkeman, commanding him to ſhape a carcaſſe of light matter, after the pzopozcion of the toth, that at the leaſt by ſuch meanes he might ſatiſfie his curious minde, and the fantaſies of ſuch as are delited with newes.

A counterfeite made of a monſtrous carcaſſe by one toth taken out of ẏ head.

This man was moze fauozable to this mõſter then our paſtis were to the bodies of the dead who tare them in péeces to make money of thẽ.

To be ſhozt whẽ the ymage was once made and ſet vp an end, it appeared rather an huge colloſſy then the true repzeſentation of the carcaſſe of a man, and when it had ſtande in Rome vntill the people were wearye of it and thozowly ſatiſfied with the ſight thereof, he cauſed it to bé broken all to péeces, and the toth ſent againe to the carcaſſe from whence it came, willing them moreouer to couer it diligently, ẏ in any wiſe not to diſmẽber the cozps, noz from thenceforth to bée ſo hardie as to open the ſepulchze any moze. I could rehearſe many mo examples of the bodies of ſuch men, out of Solinus, Sabellicus Cooper, and other, but theſe here ſhall ſuffiſe to pzoue my purpoſe with all. I might tell you in like ſozte of the ſtone which Turnus thzewe at Æneas, which was ſuch as that 12. choſen and picked men

(*Qualia nunc hominum producit corpora tellus.*) were not able to ſturre and remoue out of the place, but I paſſe it ouer, ẏ diuers of the like, concluding that theſe huge blockes were ozdeined and created by God: firſt foz a teſtimonie vnto vs, of his power and myght, ſecondly foz a confirmation that hugeneſſe of bodye is not to be accompted, of as a part of our felicitie, ſith they which poſſeſſed ẏ ſame, were not onely tyzauntes, doltyſh, and eupll men, but alſo oftentimes ouercome euen by the weake and feéble. Finally they were ſuch in déede as in whome the Lozde delited not, accozding to the ſaying of the Pzophet Baruch.

Vis vnita fortior eſt eadem diſperſa.

Ibi fuerunt gigantes nominati, illi qui ab initio fuerunt ſtatura magna, ſcientes bellum, hos non elegit dominus, neque illis viam diſciplinæ dedit, propterea perierunt, & queniam nõ habuerunt ſapientiam, interierunt propter ſuam inſipientiam. &c. Cap. 3. 36.

There were the Gyants, famous from the beginning, that were of ſo great ſtature ẏ ſo expert in warre. Thoſe did not the Lozde chooſe neither gaue he the way of knowledge vnto them. But they were deſtroied, becauſe they had no wiſedome, and periſhed thzough their owne folliſhneſſe.

Of the generall Language vſed from time to time in Britaine. Chap. 5.

Bzytiſh.

WHat language came firſt wyth Samothes ẏ afterwarde with Albion, ẏ the Gyants of his cõpanie, it is hearde foz me to determine, ſith nothing of ſound credit remayneth in wzitting which maye reſolue vs in the truth hereof, yet of ſo much are we certeine, that the ſpeach of ẏ auncient Bzitons, and of the Celtes had great affinitie one with another, ſo that they were either all one, oz at the leaſt wyſe ſuch as eyther nation wyth ſmal helpe of interpzeters might vnderſtand other, and readily diſcerne what the ſpeaker did meane.

Small difference betwene ẏ bzittiſh ẏ Celtike languages.

The Bzittiſh tongue doth yet remayne in that part of the Iſlande, which is nowe called Wales, whether the Bzitons were dzuẽ after the Saxons had made a full conqueſt of the other, which we nowe call Englande, although the pziſtinate integritie thzof be not a little

Bzittiſh corzupted by the Latine and Saxon ſpeaches.

a little diminiſhed by mixture of the Latine & Saxon ſpeaches, howbeit, many poeſies and writings, (in making whereof that nation hath euermore excelled) are yet extant in my time, whereby ſome difference betweene the auncient & preſent language, may eaſily be diſcerned, notwithſtanding that amõg all theſe there is nothing to be founde, which can ſet downe any ſounde teſtimonie of their owne originall, in remembraunce whereof, their Bardes & cunning men haue bene moſt ſlacke and negligent. It is a ſpeache in mine opinio much sauouring of that, which was ſometime vſed in Grecia, and learned by the reliques of the Troyanes, whyleſt they were captiue there, but how ſoeuer the matter ſtandeth, after it came once ouer into this Iſlande, ſure it is, that it could neuer be extinguiſhed for all the attẽpts that the Romains, Saxons, Normans, and Engliſhmen coulde make againſt that nation, in any maner of wyſe.

The Britons deligent in petigrees.

Petigrées & genealogies alſo the Welche Britons haue plentie in their owne tongue, inſomuch that many of them can readily deriue the ſame, eyther from Brute or ſome of his bande, euen vnto Æneas and other of the Troyanes, and ſo forth vnto Noah without any maner of ſtoppe, but as I know not what credite is to be giuen vnto them in this behalfe, ſo I dare not abſolutely impugne their aſſertions, ſith that in times paſt all nations (learning it no dout of the Hebrues) did very ſolemnely preſerue the Cataloges of their diſcent, thereby eyther to ſhew themſelues of auncient and noble race, or elſe to be diſcended from ſome one of the goddes.

Latine.

Next vnto the Britiſhe ſpeache, the latine tongue was brought in by the Romaines, whereof I will not ſay much, becauſe there are few which be not ſkilfull in ỹ ſame. Howbeit as the ſpeache it ſelfe is eaſie and delectable, ſo hath it peruerted the names of the auncient ryuers, regions, and cities of Britayne in ſuch wyſe, that in theſe our dayes their olde Britiſh denominations are quite growen out of memorie, and thoſe of the new latine, left as moſt incertayne. This remayneth alſo vnto my tyme, borowed from the Romaynes that all our dedes, euidences, charters, and writinges of recorde, are ſet downe in the latine tongue, and thereunto the copies and courtrolles, and proceſſes of courtes and leetes regiſtred in the ſame.

The Saxon tong.

The third language apparauntly knowen is the Scythian or highe Dutche, brought in at the firſt by the Saxons, an hard and rough kinde of ſpeach god wotte, when our nation was brought firſt into acquaintance withall, but now chaunged with vs into a farre more fine and eaſie kind of vtteraunce, and ſo poliſhed, and helped with new and milder wordes that it is to be auouched howe there is no one ſpeache vnder the ſonne ſpoken in our time, that hath or can haue more varietie of words, copie of phraſes, or figures or floures of eloquence, thẽ hath our Engliſhe tongue, although ſome haue affirmed vs rather to barke as dogs, then talke like men, becauſe the moſt of our wordes (as they doe in dede) incline vnto one ſyllable.

The Frẽche tong.

After the Saxon tongue came the Normã or Frenche language, ouer into our countrey and therein were our lawes written for a lõg tyme, our children alſo were by an eſpeciall decree taught firſt to ſpeake the ſame, and all to exile the Engliſhe and Britiſhe ſpeaches out of the coũtry, but in vaine, for in the time of king Edwarde the firſt, and towarde the latter ende of his reigne, the Frenche it ſelfe ceaſed to be ſpoken generally, and then beganne the Engliſhe to recouer and growe in more eſtimation then before, notwithſtãding that amõg our artificers, ỹ moſt part of their implements & tooles reteine ſtil their French denominatiõs to theſe our daies, as the language it ſelf, is vſed likewiſe in ſũdry courts, bookes and matters of law, whereof here is no place to make any farder rehearſall. Afterward alſo, by the diligent trauaile of Geffray Chauſer, and John Gowre in the time of Richard the ſecond, & after thẽ of John Scogã, & John Lydgate monke of Berry, our tong was brought to an excellent paſſe, notwithſtanding that it neuer came, vnto the type of perfection, vntill the time of Quẽne Elizabeth, wherein many excellent writers haue fully accompliſhed the ornature of the ſame, to their great prayſe and immortall commẽdation. But as this excellencie of the Engliſh tongue is founde in one, and the ſouth part of this Iſlande, ſo in Wales the greateſt nũber as I ſayde retayne ſtill their owne auncient language, that of the North part of the ſayd countrey, being leſſe corrupted then the other, and therefore reputed for the better in their owne eſtimation and iudgement.

The Cornish tõgue.

The Cornish and Deuonſhire men, haue a ſpeach in like ſorte of their owne, and ſuch as hath in dede more affinity with the Armoricane tongue, then I can well diſcuſſe of, yet in mine opinio they are both but a corrupted kinde of Britiſh, albeit ſo farre degenerating in theſe dayes, that if eyther of them do mete with a Welch man, they are not able at the firſt to vnderſtand one another, except here and there in ſome odde wordes, without the helpe of interpretours. And no marueile

in

in mine opinion that the Brittiſh of Cornewall is thus corrupted, ſith the Welch tong that is ſpoken in the north and ſouth part of Wales, doth differ ſo much in it ſelfe as the Engliſh vſed in Scotlande, doth from that which is ſpoken among vs here in this ſide of the Iſlande, as I haue ſaide already.

Scottiſhe engliſh. The Scottiſh engliſhe is much broader and leſſe pleaſaunt in vtterance, then ours, becauſe that nation hath not hitherto indeuoured to bring the ſame to any perfit order, and yet it is ſuch in maner, as Engliſhmen themſelues doe ſpeake; for the moſt part beyonde the Trent, whether the aforeſayde amendement of our language, hath not as yet very much extended it ſelfe.

Thus we ſée how that vnder the dominion of the kinge of Englande, and in the ſouth partes of the realme, we haue three ſeuerall tongues, that is to ſay, Engliſh, Brytiſh, & Corniſh, and euen ſo many are in Scotland, if you accompt the Engliſhe ſpeach for one: notwithſtanding that for breadth and quantitie of the Region, it be ſomewhat leſſe to ſée to then the other. For in the North part of the Region, where the wilde Scottes, otherwyſe called the Redſhankes, or Rough footed Scottes (becauſe they go bare footed & clad in mantels ouer their ſaffron ſhirtes after the Iriſhe maner) doe inhabite, they ſpeake good Iriſhe, whereby they ſhew their originall to haue in times paſt bene fetched out of Irelande.

The wilde Scottes.

Redſhāks. Rough footed Scots.

Iriſh ſpeche.

In the Iſles of the Orcades, or Orkeney, as they now call them, and ſuch coaſtes of Britaine as doe abutte vpon the ſame, the Gottiſh or Dainſh ſpeach is altogither in vſe, by reaſon as I take it, that the princes of Norway helde thoſe Iſlandes ſo long vnder their ſubiection, albeit they were otherwyſe reputed, rather to belong vnto Irelande, becauſe that the very ſoyle of them is enemie to poyſon, as ſome write, although for my part I had neuer experience of the truth hereof. And thus much haue I thought good to ſpeake of theſe fiue languages nowe vſually ſpoken within the limites of our Iſlande.

Into how many kingdomes the Iſle of Britaine hath bene deuided at once in olde time. Cap. 6.

Brittaine at the firſt one entier kingdome.

IT is not to be doubted, but that at the firſt the whole Iſlande was ruled by one onely prince, and ſo continued from time to time, vntill ciuile diſcorde, grounded vpon ambitions deſire to reigne, cauſed the ſame to be gouerned by diuers. And this I meane ſo wel of the time before the comming of Brute, as after the extinction of his whole race and poſterity. Howbeit as it is incerteine, into how many regions it was ſeuered after the firſt partition, ſo it is moſt ſure that this latter diſturbed eſtate of regiment, continued in the ſame, not onely vntill the time of Cæſar, but alſo in maner vnto the dayes of Lucius, with whome the whole race of the Britons had an ende, and the Romaynes full poſſeſſiō of this Iſlande, who gouerned it by Legates after the maner of a prouince. It ſhould ſeme alſo ỹ within a whyle after the time of Dunwallon (who rather brought thoſe 4. Princes that vſurped in his tyme to obedience, then extinguiſhed their titles, and ſuch partition as they had made of the Iſlande among thēſelues) eche great citie had hir frēdome and ſeuerall kinde of regiment, proper vnto hir ſelfe, beſide a large circuite of the country appertinent vnto the ſame, wherin were ſundrye other cities alſo of leſſe name, which ought homage & all ſubiection vnto the greater ſorte. And to ſay truth hereof, it came to paſſe, that eache region, whereinto this Iſlande was than deuided, toke his name of ſome one of theſe as many appeare by that of the Trinobantes, which was ſo called of Trinobantum the chiefe citie of that portion, whoſe Territories, contayned all Eſſex, Middleſex, and part of Hertfordſhire, euen as the iuriſdictiō of the Biſhop of London is now extēded, for the ouerſight of ſuch things as belong vnto the Church. Eche of the gouernours alſo of theſe regions, called themſelues kings, and therevnto eyther of them daily made warre vpon other, for the inlarging of their limites. But foraſmuch as I am not able to ſaye howe many dyd chalenge this authoritie at once, and howe long they reigned ouer their ſeuerall portions, I will paſſe ouer theſe auncient times, and come nēerer vnto our owne, I meane the 600. yere of Chriſt, whereof we haue more certayne notice, & at which ſeaſon there is euident proofe, that there were 12. or 13. kinges reigning in this Iſlande.

Wales deuided into three kingdomes.

We finde therefore for the firſt, howe that Wales had hir three ſeuerall kingdomes, although that portion of the Iſlande extended in thoſe dayes no farder thē about 200. miles in length, & one hundred in breadth, and was cut from Lhoegres by the riuers Sauerne & Dée, of which two ſtreames this doth fall into the Iriſh ſea at Cheſter, the other into the mayne Ocean, betwixt Somerſetſhire and Southwales, as their ſeuerall courſes doe witneſſe more at large.

In the beginning it was deuided into two kingdomes onely, that is to ſay, Venedotia, Gwinhed,

Gwinhed. Gwinhed, and Demetia, for which we now vſe moſt commonlye the names of South and North Wales, but in proceſſe of tyme a thirde ſprange vp in the verye middeſt betwéne them both, which from thencefoorth was called Powyſy, as ſhalbe ſhewed hereafter.

The firſt of theſe thrée, being called as I ſayd Northwales or Venedotia (or as Paulus Iouius ſaith Malfabrene, for he deuideth wales alſo into thrée regions, of whiche he calleth ỹ firſt Dumbera, the ſeconde Berfrona, & the third Malfabrene) lyeth directly ouer againſt ỹ Iſle of Angleſey. It containeth 4. regions, of which the ſayde Iſland is the firſt, & whereof in the chapter inſuing I wil intreate more at large. The ſeconde is called Arfon, and ſituate betwéne two ryuers, the Segwy & the Conwy: The thirde is Merioneth, & as it is ſeuered from Arfon by the Conwy, ſo is it ſeparated from Tegenia, (otherwyſe called Stradcluyd & Igenia the fourth regiõ) by the riuer Cluda. Finally the limits alſo of thys latter: are extended alſo, euen vnto the Dée it ſelfe, and of theſe 4. Regions, conſiſteth the kingdome of Venedotia, wherof in times paſt the region of the Canges was not the ſmalleſt portion.

Venedotia.

Angleſey.

Arfon.

Merioneth.

Stradcluyd or Tegenia.

Powyſy. The kingdome of Powyſy, laſt of all erected, as I ſayde, hath on the north ſide Gwinhed on the Eaſt (from Cheſter to Hereforde, or rather the Deane forreſt) Englande: on the ſouth and weſt the ryuer Wy, and very highe hilles, whereby it is notablye ſeuered from Southwales, the chiefe citie thereof being Shroplhyre, that nowe is inhabited with mére Engliſh, and where, in olde time the kinges of Powyſy dyd dwell and holde their pallaces. Upon the limits of this kingdome, and not farre from Holt caſtell, vpon eache ſide of the riuer, as the chanell nowe runneth, ſtode ſometime the famous Monaſtery of Bãgor, whyleſt the abated glory of the Britons, yet remayned vnextinguiſhed, & herin were 2100. monkes, of which, the learned ſort dyd preache the Goſpell, and the vnlearned laboured with their hands, therby to mainteyne themſelues, and to ſuſtaine their preachers. This Region was in lyke ſort deuided afterward in twaine, of which, the one was called Mailor or Mailroſſe, the other retayned ſtill hir olde denomination, & of theſe the firſt lay by ſouth, and the latter by north of the Sauerne, whereof let this ſuffice, ſith mine intent is not as nowe to make any preciſe deſcriptiõ, of the particulars of Wales, but onely to ſhewe, howe thoſe regions laye, which ſometime were knowen to be gouerned in that countrey.

Bangor.

The third kingdome is Demetia, or Southwales, ſometime knowen for the region of the Syllures, whereunto I alſo am perſwaded, that the Ordolukes lay in the Eaſt part thereof, and extended their region, euen vnto the Sauerne: but howſoeuer that matter falleth out, Demetia hath the Sauerne on hir ſouth, the Iriſh ſea on hir weſt partes, on the eaſt the Sauerne only, and by North the land of Powyſy, whereof I ſpake of late. Demetia.

Of this region alſo Caermarden, which the olde writers call Maridunum, was the chiefe pallace, vntill at the laſt thorowe forren and ciuill inuaſions of enimies, that the Princes thereof were conſtrayned to remoue theyr courts to Dinefar (which is in Cantermawr, and ſituate neuertheleſſe vppon the ſame ryuer Towye whereon Caermarden ſtandeth) where it is farre better defended with high hilles, thicke woodes, craggy rockes, and dœpe mariſes. In this region alſo lyeth Pembroke shyre, whoſe hauens haue bene in olde time very much regarded, and there in likewyſe is Milforde hauen, whereof the Welch wyſards doe dreame ſtraunge toyes, which they beléeue, ſhall one daye come to paſſe.

That Scotlande had in theſe dayes two kingdomes, (beſides that of the Orchades) wherof the one conſiſted of the Pictes, & was called Pightland or Pictlande, the other of the Scottiſh race, & named Scotland: I hope no wiſe man will readily denie. The whole regiõ or portion of the Iſle beyonde the Scottiſh ſea alſo was ſo diuided that ỹ Pictes lay on the Eaſt ſide, and the Scots, on the Weſt, eche of them being ſeuered from other, eyther by huge hilles or great lakes and riuers, that ran out of the South into the north betwéne them: Wherefore the caſe being ſo playne, I will ſay no more of theſe two but proceéde in order wyth the rehearſall of the reſt of the particular kingdoms of this our ſouth part of ỹ Ile, limiting out ỹ ſame by shyres as they now lye, ſo nere as I cã, for otherwiſe it ſhalbe impoſſible for me to leaue certaine notice of the likelieſt quantities of theſe their ſeuerall portions. Pictland. Scotland. Pictes. Scottes.

The firſt of theſe kingdomes therfore was begonne in Kent by Henghiſt in the 456. of Chriſt, and thereof called the kingdome of Kent: and as the limites thereof extended it ſelf no farther then the ſayde countie (ỹ chiefe Citie whereof was Dorobernia or Canterbury) ſo it endured well nere by the ſpace of 400. yeares, before it was made an Earledome, and vnited by Inas vnto that of the Weſt Saxons, Athelſtane his ſonne, being ỹ firſt Earle or heretoche of the ſame. Maiſter Kẽt Henghiſt.

Lambert,

Lambert in his hyſtorie of Kent doth gather, by very probable coniectures, that this part of the Iſlande was firſt inhabited, by Samothes, and afterwarde by Albion: but howſoeuer that caſe ſtandeth, ſure it is that it hath bene the onely doore, whereby the Romaines and Saxons made their entrie vnto the conqueſt of the region. And as this cannot be denyed, ſo it was the onelye place by which the knowledge of Chriſt was firſt brought ouer vnto vs, whereby we became partakers of ſaluation, and from the darkneſſe of miſty errour, true conuerts vnto the light, & bright beames of the ſhining truth, to our eternall benefit, and endleſſe comforts hereafter.

Southſax. Ella. The ſeconde kingdome conteined only Suſſex & a part of Surrey, which Ella the Saxon firſt helde: who alſo erected his chiefe pallace at Chichester, whē he had deſtroied Andredſwalde in the 492. of Chriſt, and after it had continued by the ſpace of 232. yeares, it ceaſed being the very leaſt kingdome of all the reſt, which were founded in this yle after the comming of the Saxons.

Eſtſax. Erkenwyn. The third regiment was of the Eaſt Saxons, or Trinobātes. This kingdome began vnder Erkenwyne, whoſe chiefe ſeate was in Londō (or Colcheſter) & cōteined whole Eſſex, & part of Herfordſhyre. It indured alſo much about the prieke of 303. yeres, & was diuided frō that of the Eaſt angles onely by the riuer Stour, as Houeden & other doe report, & ſo it continueth ſeperated from Suffolke euen vnto our times, although the ſayde riuer be growne very ſmall, and not of ſuch greatnes as it hath bene in times paſt, by reaſon that our Country men make ſmall accompt of riuers, thinking carriage made by horſe & cart to be the leſſe chargeable waye. But herein how far they are deceyued, I will elſewhere make manifeſt declaration.

Weſtſax. The fourth kingdome was of ỹ Weſt Saxons, and ſo called becauſe it lay in the Weſt part of the realme, as that of Eſſex did in the Eaſt, of Suſſex and South. It began in the

Cerdȳc. yeare of grace 519. vnder Cerdyc, & indured vntil the comming of ỹ Normanes, including Wiltſhyre, Barkeſhyre, Dorſet, Southampton, Sūmerſetſhyre Glocterſhyre, ſome part of Deuonſhyre (which the Britons occupied not) Cornewal and the reſt of Surrey, as the beſt authours do ſet downe. The chiefe Citie of this kingdome alſo was Wincheſter, except my memory doe fayle me.

Bȳrnicia, alias Northumberland, Ida. The fift kingdome beganne vnder Ida, in the 548. of Chriſt being called now Northūberland becauſe it laye by North of the riuer Humber, it conteined all that region which as it ſhoulde ſeeme, was in time paſt eyther wholly appertaining to ỹ Brigants, or where of the ſayde Brigants, did poſſeſſe the greater part. The chiefe Citie of the ſame in like maner was Yorke, as Leyland and other doe ſet downe, who adde thereto that it extended frō the humber vnto the Scottiſh ſea.

Deira, Ella. Afterwarde in the yeare of grace 560. it was parted in twaine, vnder Adda, that yelded vp all hys portion, which laye betweene humber and the Tine vnto his Brother Ella (according to their Fathers appointment) who called it Deira, or Southumberlande, but reteyning the reſt ſtil vnto his owne vſe, he diminiſhed not his title, but wrote himſelf as before king of al Northumberland. Howbeit after 91. yeres, it was reunited againe, & ſo continued vntill Alfrede united the whole to his kingdome, in the 331. after Ida, or 878. after the birth of Jeſus Chriſt our Sauiour.

Eaſtangles Offa, a quo offelinge. The 7. kingdome, called of the Eaſtangles began at Norwitch in the 561. after Chriſt, vnder Offa, of whom they were lōg time after called Offelings. This included all Norfolke, Suffolke, Cābridgeſhyre, & Ely, & cōtinuing 228. yeres it flouriſhed only 35. yeres in perfite eſtate of Liberte, the reaſt being conſumed vnder the trybute and vaſſallage of the mercias, who had ỹ ſouereigntye therof, & helde it with great honour. Some take this region to be all one with that of the Iceues, but as yet for my part I cannot yelde to their aſſertions, I meane it of Lelande, himſelfe, whoſe helpe I vſe altogither in theſe collections, albeit in this behalfe I am not reſolued, that he doth iudge aright.

Mertia. Creodda. The 8. and laſt was that of Mercia, which indured 291. yeares, and for greatneſſe of circuit, exceeded all the reaſt. It toke the name eyther of Meare the Saxon word, becauſe the limits of moſt of the other kingdomes abutted vpō the ſame, or elſe for that the lawes of Mercia, were firſt vſed in that part of the Iſlande. But as the later is but a mere coniecture of ſome, ſo it began vnder Creodda, in ỹ 585. and indured well nere 300. yeres, before it was vnited to that of the Weſt Saxons by Alfrede, then reigning in the kingdome. Before him the Danes had gotten holde thereof, and placed one Ceolulphe an Ideote in the ſame, but as he was ſone reiected for his folly, ſo it was not long after ere the ſayde Alfrede annexed it to his kingdome.

Limits of Mercia. The limites of the Mertian dominiōs, conteined Lincolne, Northamptō, Cheſter, Darby, Nottingham, Stafford, Huntington Rutlande, Oxford, Buckingham, Worceſter, Bedforde ſhyres, and the greateſt part of Shropſhyre (which the Welch occupied not) Lancaſter, Gloceſter, Hereford (alias Hurchford)

forde) Marwyc and Hertforde ſhyres, the reſt of whoſe territories were holden by ſuch princes of other kingdomes thorow force as bordered vpõ the ſame. And thus much haue I thought good to leaue in memorye of the aforeſaid kingdomes, not omitting in ỳ meane time somewhat here to remember of the diuiſion of the Iſland alſo into Prouinces, as the Romaines ſeuered it whiles they remayned in theſe parts. Which being done, I hope that I haue fullye diſcharged whatſoeuer is promiſed in the title of this Chapter.

The Romaines therefore hauing obteined the poſſeſſion of this Iſland, deuided the ſame at ỳ laſt into fiue Prouinces. The firſt whereof was named Britãnia prima, & conteined the eaſt part of England (as ſome doe gather) frõ ỳ Trent vnto ỳ Twede. The ſecond was called Valentia, & included the Weſt ſide as they note it, frõ Lirpole vnto Cokermouth. The thirde hight Britannia ſecunda, and was that portion of the Ile which laye Southwardes, betweene the Trent and the Thames. The fourth was ſurnamed Flauia Ceſarienſis: and contayned all the countrey which remayned betweene Douer & the Sauerne, I meane by ſouth of the Thames, and wherevnto in lyke ſort, Cornewall and Wales were orderly aſſigned. The fift and laſt part was then named Maxima Ceſarienſis, now Scotland. The moſt barren of all the reſt, & yet not vnſought out of the Romaines, becauſe of the great plentie of fiſhe and foule, fine Alabaſtar and harde Marble, that are ingendred and to be had in the ſame, for furniture of houſholde and curious buylding, wherein they much delited.

Britannia prima.

Valentia.

Britannia ſecunda.

Flauia Ceſarienſis.

Maxima Ceſarienſis.

Of the auncient Religion vſed in this Iſland, from the comming of Samothes vnto the conuerſion of the ſame vnto the faith of Chriſt. Cap 8.

IT is not to be doubted, but at the firſt and ſo long as the poſteritie of Japhet onelye, reigned in this Iſlande, that the true knowledge and forme of religion brought in by Samothes, was exerciſed among the Britains. And although peraduenture in proceſſe of time, either thorow curioſitie, or negligence (ỳ onely corrupters of true pietie and godlyneſſe) it might a little decay, yet when it was at the worſt, it farre exceeded the beſt of that which afterwarde came in with Albion, and his Chemminites, as maye be gathered by vewe of the ſuperſticious rites, which Cham and hys ſucceſſours dyd plant in other countries, yet to be found in Authors.

Samothes.

What other learning Magus the ſonne of Samothes taught after his fathers death whẽ he alſo came to the kingdome, beſide thys which concerned the true honoring of God, I can not eaſily ſaye, but that it ſhoulde bee naturall Philoſophie, and Aſtrology (wherby his diſciples, gathered a kinde of foreknowledge of thinges to come) the verye vſe of the worde Magus, among the Perſians doth yeeld no incertaine teſtimony.

Magus.

In lyke maner, it ſhoulde ſeeme that Sarron ſonne vnto the ſayde Magus, diligentlye followed the ſteppes of hys father, & thereto opened Schooles of learning in ſundrie places, both among the Celtes and Britaines, whereby ſuch as were his Auditours, grewe to be called Sarronides, notwithſtanding, that aſwell the Sarronides as the Magi, (otherwiſe called Maguſei) & Druiydes, were generally called Samothei, or Semnothei, of Samothies ſtil among the Grecians, as Ariſtotle in his de magia, doth confeſſe, and calling them Galles, hee addeth thereunto that they firſt brought the knowledge of Letters, and good learning vnto the Greekes.

Sarron.

Samothei. Semnothei.

Druiyus the ſonne of Sarron (as a ſcholler of his fathers owne teaching) ſeemed to be exquiſite in all thinges, that pertayned vnto the deuine or humaine knowledge: and therfore I may ſafely pronounce, that he excelled not onely in the ſkill of Philoſophie: and the Quadriuialles, but alſo in the true Theologie, whereby the right ſeruice of God was kept & preſerued in puritie. He wrote moreouer ſundry precepts, and rules of religious doctrine, which among the Celtes were reſerued very religiouſly, and had in great eſtimation among ſuch as ſought vnto them.

Druiyus.

Howbeit and in what order this Prince left the ſtate of religiõ, I meane for thoſe publike orders in adminiſtration of particular rites and ceremonies, as yet I do not reade: howbeit this is moſt certayne that after he dyed, the purity of his doctrine began ſomewhat to decaye, for ſuch is the nature of man that it will not ſuffer any good thing long to remaine as it is left, but (either by additiõ or ſubſtraction of this or that, to or from the ſame) ſo to chop & chaunge withal, frõ time to time, that there is nothing of more difficulty, for ſuch as doe come after thẽ, then to find out the puritie of the originall and reſtore the ſame againe vnto hir former perfection.

Corrupters of religion.

In the beginning this Druiyus did preach vnto his hearers, that the ſoule of man is immortall, that God is omnipotent, merciefull as a father in ſhewing fauor vnto the godly, and iuſt as an vpright Iudge, in puniſhing of the wicked. That the ſecrets of mans hart

Cæſar.

ars

are not vnknowen, and only knowen to him, and that as the worlde and all that is therein had their beginning by him, at his owne will, so shall all things likewise haue an end, when he shal see his time. He taught them also howe to obserue the courses of ỹ heauens, and motions of the planetes, to finde out the true quantities of the celestiall bodyes, and thereto the compasse of the earth, and hidden natures of thinges contayned in the same. But alas this integritie continued not long among his successours, for vnto the immortalitie of the soule, they added, that after death it went in to another bodye, the seconde or succedent, being alwayes, eyther more noble, or more vile than the former, as the partie deserued by his merites, whyleſt he liued here on earth. For said they (of whō Pythagoras also had, and taught this errour,) if the soule appertayned at ỹ firſt to a king, & he in this estate did not leade his lyfe worthie of this calling, it should after his decease be shut vp in ỹ bodie of a slaue, begger, cocke, Owle, Dogge, Ape, Horse, Asse, Worme, or Monster, there to remaine as in a place of purgation & punishmēt, for a certaine periode of time. Beside this, it should peraduēture sustaine often translation from one bodie vnto another, according to the quantitie and qualitie of his dooinges here on earth, till it should finally be purified, and restored againe to another humaine bodie, wherein if it behaued it selfe more orderly then at the firſt: after the next death, it shoulde be preferred, eyther to the bodie of a king, or other great estate. And thus they made a perpetuall circulation, or reuolution of our soules, much like vnto the continuall motion of the heauens, which neuer standeth stil, nor long yeld one representatiō and figure. They brought in also the worshipping of many goddes, and their seuerall sacrifices, they honoured likewyse the Oke, wheron the Mistle groweth, and daily deuised infinitie other toyes, (for errour is neuer assured of hir owne dooinges) wherof neyther Samothes, nor Barron, Magus, nor Dzuipus did leaue them any preſcription.

Strabo.li.4. Socion.lib. succeſſ. Cicero diuinat.1.

Plinius.lib. 16.cap.vltimo.

Oke honored wheron mistle did grow, & so doe our sorcerers euen to this day thinking some spirits to bealle about the same, for hidden treasure.

These things are partly touched by Cicero, Strabo, Plinie, Sotion, Laertius, Theophrast, Aristotle, and partly also by Cæsar, and other authours of later time, who for the most part do cōfesse, ỹ the chiefe schole of the Dzuipdes was holden here in Britaine, whether the Dzuipdes also themselues, that dwelt amōg the Galles, would often resorte to come by the more skill, and sure vnderstanding of the misteries of that doctrine.

Estimation of the

Furthermore, in Britaine, and among the Galles, and to saye the truth, generally in all places where the Dzuipsh religion was frequented, such was the estimatiō of the Priestes of this profession, that there was little or nothing done without their skilfull aduise, no not in ciuill causes, pertayning to the regiment of the common wealth and countrey. They had the charge also of all sacrifices, publicke and priuate, they interpreted Dzacles, preached of religion, and were neuer without great numbers of yong men, that hearde thē with great diligence, as they taught, frō time to time.

Dzuipdes or Dzuipsh priestes.

Touching their persons also, they were exempt from all tempozal seruices, impositiōs, tributes, and exercise of the warres, which immunitie caused the greater companies of Scholliers to flocke vnto thē, from all places & learne their trades. Of these likewise, some remayned with them seuen, eyght, tenne, or twelue yeares, still learning the secretes of those vnwritten mysteries by heart, which were to be had amongst them, and commonly pronounced in verses. And this policie, as I take it, they vsed onely to preserue their religion from contempt, whereinto it might easye haue fallen, if any bookes thereof had happened into the hands of the commō sorte. It helped also not a little in ỹ exercise of their memories, whereunto bookes are vtter enemies, insomuch as he that was skilfull in the Dzuipsh religion, would not let readily to rehearse many hundzedes of verses, and not to fayle in one tytle, in the whole processe of this his laborious repetition. But as they dealt in this order for matters of their religiō, so in ciuill affaires, historical Treatises, & setting downe of lawes, they vsed like order and letters almost with the Grecians, wherby it is easy to be seene, that they retayned this kinde of writting frō Dzuipus (the originall founder of their religion) and that this yland hath not beene voyde of letters and learned men, euen sith it was firſt inhabited.

Immunitie of the clergy greater vnder Idolatry, then vnder the gospell.

After the death of Dzuipus, Bardus his sonne, and fift king of the Celtes succeeded not onely euer the sayde kingdome, but also in his fathers vertues, whereby it is very likely, that the winding and wrapping vp of the sayde Religion, after the afore remembred sorte into Verse, was firſt deuysed by hym, for he was an excellent Poet, and no lesse indued with a singular skill in the practise and speculatiō of Musicke, of which two many suppose him to be the very author and beginner, although vnluckily, sith both Poetry & Song, was in vse before the floude, as was also the Harpe and Pype, which Iubal inuented and coulde neuer be performed without great skil in musicke. But to proceede, as

Bardus.

Gene.4. verſ.21.

the

the chiefe estimation of the Druydes remained in the ende among the Britons only, for their knowledge in religion, so dyd the fame of the Bardes for their excellēt skill in musike, and Heroicall kind of song, which at the first contayned only the high misteries of their religion. There was little difference also betwæne them and the Druydes, till they so farre degenerated from their first institutiō, that they became to be minstrels at feastes, dronken mætings, and abhominable sacrifices of the Idols: where they sang most commonly no diuinitie as before, but the noble actes of valiaunt princes and fabulous narratiōs, of the adulteries of the gods. Certes in my tyme this fonde vsage, and therto the very name of the Bardes, are not yet extinguished amōg the Britons of Wales, where they call their Poetes & Musicions Barthes, as they doe also in Irelande. There is moreouer an Iland appertinent to the region of Venedotia, whervnto the Bardes of old time vsed to resorte, as out of the waye into a solitarie place, there to write and learne their songes by hearte, and meditate vppon such matters, as belonged to their practises. And of these Lucane in his first booke writeth thus, among other the like sayinges well towarde the latter ende also saying.

The Bardes degenerate.

Lucane. lib. 1.

Vos quoq; qui fortes animas, belloq; peremptas
Laudibus in longum vates dimittitis euum,
Plurima securi fudistis carmina Bardi.
Et vos barbaricos ritus, moremq; siniſtrum
Sacrorum Druydæ, positis recepistis ab armis.
Solis nosse Deos, & cœli numina vobis,
Aut solis nescire datum: nemora alta remotis
Incolitis lucis. Vobis authoribus, vmbræ
Non tacitas erebi sedes, ditisq; profundi
Pallida regna petunt, regit idem spiritus artus
Orbe alio. Longæ, canitis si cognita, vitæ
Mors media est. certe populi, quos despicit arctos,
Fœlices errore suo, quos ille timorum
Maximus haud vrget leti metus: inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris, animæq; capaces
Mortis: & ignauum est redituræ parcere vitæ.

Thus we see as in a glasse the state of religion, for a tyme after the first inhabitation of this Iland, but howe long it continued in such soundnesse, as the originall authors left it, in good soth I cā not say, yet this is most certaine, that after a time when Albion arriued here, the religion earst imbraced, fell into great decaye, for whereas Japhet and Samothes with their childrē taught nothing else then such doctrine as they had learned of Noah: so Cham the great grandfather of this our Albion, and his disciples vtterly renouncing to followe their steps, gaue their mindes wholly to seduce, and leade their hearers hedlong vnto all error. Wherby his posteritie not only corrupted this our Iland, with most filthie trades and practises, but also all mankinde, generally where they became with vicious life, and most vngodly behauiour.

What doctrine Chā and his disciples taught.

For from Cham and his successours, proceeded at the first all sorcery, witchcraft, and the execution of vnlawfull lust, without respect of Sexe, age, consanguinitie, or kinde: as braunches from an odious & abhominable rote, or streames deriued from most filthye and stinking puddles. Howbeit, and notwithstanding all these his manifolde lewdnesses, such was the folly of his Egiptians (where he first reigned and taught) that whilest he lyued they alone had him in great estimation, (whereas other Nations contemned and abhorred him for his wickednesse, calling hym Chemesenua, that is, the impudent, infamous and wicked Cham) and not onely builded a Citie vnto him which they called Chem Min, but also after his deth reputed him for a god, calling the highest of the seuen Planets after his name, as they dyd the next beneath it after Osyris hys sonne, whome they likewise honored vnder the name of Iupiter.

Chemesenua. Chemmyn. Chā made a god.

Certes it was a custome in Egypt of olde time, & generally in vse, (whē any of their famous worthy Princes dyed) to ascribe some forme or other of the starres vnto his persō, to thend his name might neuer weare out of memory. And this they called their translation in heauen, so that he which had any starres or forme of starres, dedicated vnto him, was properlye sayde to haue place amonge the goddes. A toye much lyke to the Catalogue of Romishe saintes, (although the one was written in the celestiall orbes, the other in sheepe skinnes, and verye brickle paper) but yet so estæmed that euery Prince woulde oft hazard & attempt the vttermost aduentures, thereby to winne such fame in his life, that after his death, he myght by merit haue such place in heauen, among the shining starres.

Translatiō of mortall men, men vnto heauē how it began.

Thus wee see how Idolatry and honoring of the starres was bredde and hatched at the first, which in procesle of tyme came also into Britaine, as dyd the names of Saturne, & Iupiter. &c. as shall appeare hereafter. And here sith I haue already somewhat digressed from my matter. I will go a little further, & shewe forth the originall vse of the worde Saturne, Iupiter, Hercules, &c. whereby your Honor shall see yet more into the errours of the Gentiles, and not onely that, but one poynt also, of the rote of all the confusion, that is to be found among the auncient histories.

Which were properly called, Saturnaloues, Iunones, and Hercules.

It was generallye vſed for a fewe yeres after the partition of the yearth, (which was made by Noah, in the 133. yere after floude,) that the beginners of ſuch kingdomes as were then erected ſhoulde be called Saturni. Hereby then it came to paſſe that Nimbrote was the Saturne of Babylon: Cham of Ægypt: and ſo forth other of other places.

Their eldeſt ſonnes alſo that ſucceéded them, were called Ioues, & their nephewes or ſonnes ſonnes, that reigned in ỹ thirde place Hercules, by which meanes it followed that euery kingdome had a Saturne, Iupiter & Hercules of hir owne, and not from anye other.

Iſis, Io and Iuno all one.

In lyke ſort they had ſuch another order among their daughters, whom they marryed as yet commonlye vnto their brethren (God himſelfe permitting the ſame vnto them for a time) as before the floude, to the ende the earth might be thorowly replenished, and the ſooner furniſhed with inhabitantes, in euery part therof. The ſiſter therefore & wife of euery Saturne was called Rhea, but of Iupiter, Iuno, Iſis, or Io. Beyonde theſe alſo there was no latter Herolde that woulde indeuour to deriue the petigrée of any Prince, or Potentate, but ſuppoſed his duety to be ſufficiently performed, when he had brought it orderly vnto ſome Saturne or other, whereat he might ceaſe, and ſhut vp all his trauaile. They had likewiſe this opinion grounded amongeſt them, that Heauen an Earth were onelye parentes vnto Saturne and Rhea, not knowing out of doubt, what they themſelues did meane, ſith theſe denominations, Heauen, Ogyges, *the Sume*, Pater Deorum, & ſuch like, were onely aſcribed vnto Noah: as Terra, (*the Yearth*) Veſta Aretia, *the Moone*, Mater deorum and other the lyke were vnto Tydea his wife, ſo that hereby we ſée, how Saturne is reputed in euery Nation for theyr eldeſt god, or firſt Prince, Iupiter for the next, and Hercules for the thirde: & therefore ſith theſe names were diſperſed in the beginning ouer all, it is no marueyle that there is ſuch confuſion in auncient hiſtories, and the doings of one of them ſo mixed with another, that it is now impoſſible to diſtinguiſh them in ſunder. Thys haue I ſpoken, to the ende that all men maye ſée what gods the Paganes honored, and thereby what religion the poſterity of Cham, did bring ouer into Britaine. For vntill their cõming, it is not likely that any groſſe Idolatry or ſuperſticion, did enter in among vs, as deifying of mortall men, honoring of the Starres, and erectiõ of huge Images, beſide ſorcery, witchcraft, and ſuch lyke, whereof the Chemminites are worthilye called the Autors. Neyther were theſe errors any thing

Celum. Ogyges. Sol. Paterdeorum. Tydea. Veſta. Terra. Luna. Aretia. Deorum mater.

amended, by the cõming in of Brute, who no doubt added ſuch deuiſes vnto ỹ ſame, as he and his company had learned before in Grecia, from whence alſo he brought, Helenus, the ſonne of Priamus, a man of exceéding age, and made him his Prieſt and biſhop, thorowout the newe conqueſt, that he had achieued in Britaine.

From whence Brute, did learne his religion.

After Brute, Idolatry and ſuperſticiõ ſtill increaſed more & more among vs, inſomuch that beſide the Druiyſh and Bardike ceremonies, and thoſe alſo that came in with Albion and Brute: our countrymen eyther brought hither frõ abroad, or daily inuented at home, new religion, and rites, whereby it came to paſſe that in the ſtead of the only & immortal God (of whome Samothes and his poſteritie dyd preache in times paſt) now they honored the ſayde Samothes himſelfe vnder the name of Dis: likewiſe Saturne, Iupiter, Mars, Minerua, Mercurie, Apollo, Diana, and diuers other. In lieu moreouer of ſhéepe and oxen, they offred mankind alſo vnto ſome of them, killing their offendours, priſoners, & oft ſuch ſtraungers as came from farre vnto them, by ſhutting vp great numbers of them togither in huge Images, made of wicker, or other matter: and then ſetting all on fire togither, they not onely conſumed the miſerable creatures to aſhes, but alſo reputed it to be the moſt acceptable ſacrifice that coulde be made vnto their Idols. Huge tẽples in like ſorte were builded vnto them, ſo that in the time of Lucius, when the light of ſaluatiõ began ſtrongly to ſhine in Britaine, thorowe the preaching of the Goſpell, the chriſtians diſcouered 25. Flamines or Idole churches, beſide three Arche Flamines, whoſe Prieſts were then as our Archebiſhops are nowe, in that they had ſuperiour charge of all the reſt, who were reputed as inferiours, and ſubiect to their iuriſdiction in caſes of religion, and ſuperſticious ceremonies.

Dis or Samothes, made a God.

Paol. Lucenſis.

Hitherto you haue heard of the time, wherin Idolatrie reigned and blinded the heartes of ſuch as dwelled in this Iſlande. Nowe let vs ſée the ſucceſſe of the Goſpell, after the death and paſſion of Ieſus Chriſt our Sauiour. And euen here will I beginne with an Allegation of Theodorete, whereupon ſome repoſe great aſſurance (conceyuing yet more hope therein by the wordes of Sophronius) that Paule the Apoſtle ſhoulde preache the worde of ſaluatiõ here, after his deliuerie out of captiuitie, which fell as I doe reade in the 57. of Chriſt. But ſith I cãnot verifie ỹ ſame by the wordes of Theodorete, to be ſpoken more of Paule then Peter, or the reaſt, I will paſſe ouer this coniecture, and deale with o-

Theodoret. Sophronius.

ther

ther things, wherof we haue more certeinty.

Iosephus. That one Iosephus preached here in Englande, in the time of the Apostles, his sepulchre yet in Aualon, nowe called Glessenburg or Glastenbury, and Epitaphaffixed thereunto is prowe sufficient. Howbeit sith these things are not of cõpetent force to perswade all men, I wil adde in few, what I haue read elsewere of his arriual here. First of al therfore you shall note that he came ouer into Britaine, about the 64. after Christ, when the persecution began vnder Nero, at which time Phillip and diuers of the godly being in Fraunce (whether he came with other christians, after they had sowed the word of God in Scythia, by ye space of nyne yares) seuered themselues in sunder to make the better shift for their owne safegarde, and yet not otherwyse then that by their flight, the Gospell myght haue furtheraunce. Hereby then it came to passe, that the sayde Phillip vpõ good deliberation dyd sende Iosephus ouer, & with him Simon Zelotes to preach vnto the Britons, and minister the Sacramentes there according to the rites of the Churches of Asia and Greece, from whence they came not long before vnto the country of the Galles. And this is the effect in a litle rowme, of that which I haue reade at large in sundrye writers, although it may well be gathered that diuers Britains were conuerted to the fayth before this fyftiefoure of Christ. Howbeit wheras some write that they lyued, & dwelled in Britaine, it can not as yet take anye absolute holde in my iudgement, but rather that they were Baptized and remayned, eyther in Rome, or elsewhere. And of this sorte I suppose Claudia Ruffina the wyfe of Pudens to be one, who was a Brittish Lady in deede, and not only excellent in the Greeke & Latine tongues, but also with hir husbande highly commended by S. Paule, as one hauing had conuersation and conference with them at Rome, from whence he dyd write hys seconde Epistle vnto Timothy. Of this Lady moreouer Martial speaketh in reioysing that his Poesies were read also in Britaine, and onely by hir meanes, who vsed to cull out the finest of his Epigrammes and sende them to hir friends for tokens, saying, after this maner as himselfe doth set it downe.

Phillip. Freculphus To.2.lib.2. cap.4. Nennius. Nicephorus lib.2. cap.40.

Claudia Ruffina a Brittish Lady.

2.Tim.4.

Dicitur & nostros cantare Britannia versus.

Furthermore making mentiõ of hir, and hir issue he addeth these wordes.

Lib.11.Epig. 54.

Claudia ceruleis cum sit Rufina Britannis
Edita, cur Latiæ pectora plebis habet,
Quale decus formæ: Romanam credere matres
Italides possint, Attbides esse suam.
Dy bene, quod sancto peperit fecunda marito,
Quot sperat, generos, quotq; puella Nurus
Sic placeat supelis, vt coniuge gaudeat vno,
Et semper natis gaudeat illa tribus.

The names of hir three children were Pudentiana, Praxedes, and Nouatus, who after the deth of Pudens their father (which befell him in Cappadocia,) dwelled with their mother in Umbria, where they ceased not from time to time to minister vnto the Saincts. But to leaue this impertinẽt discourse, and procede with my purpose.

I find in the Chronicles of Burton (vnder the yeare of grace 141. and time of Hadriane the emperour) that nine Schollers or Clarkes of Grantha or Granta, nowe Cambridge, were Baptized in Britaine, & became Preachers of the Gospell there, but whether Taurinus Bishop, or Elder ouer the congregatiõ at Yorke (who as Vincentius sayth, was executed about this time for his fayth) were one of thẽ or not, as yet I doe not certeinly finde. Diuers other also imbraced the religion of Christ very zealously. Howbeit all this notwithstanding, the glad tidings of the Gospel had neuer free & open passage here, vntill the time of Lucius, in which the very enemies of the worde, became the apparant meanes (cõtrarie to their owne mindes) to haue it set forth amongst vs. For when Antoninus the emperour had giuen out a decree, that the Druiysh religion shoulde euery where be abolished, Lucius the king (whose syrname is nowe perished) toke aduise of his counsell what was best to be done, & wrought in this behalfe. And this dyd Lucius bycause he thought it impossible for man to lyue long without any religion at all. Finally finding his nobility and subiects vtter enemies to the Romaine deuotion (for ỹ they made so many gods as themselues listed & some to haue the regiment euen of their dyrt and dung) & thervnto being pricked forwards by such christians, as were conuersant about him, to chuse the seruice of the true God, that liueth for euer, rather then the slauish seruitude of any pagane Idole: he fully resolued with himself in the ende, to receyue & imbrace the Gospel. He sent also two of his learned christians and greatest Philosophers to Rome, vnto Eleutherus then Bishop there in the 177. of Christ not to promise any subiectiõ to his lie, which then was not required, but to sute with such as were picked in munde, Actes 2. vers. 37. *Quid faciemus viri fratres*, I meane that they were sent to be perfectly instructed, and with farder commission, to make earnest request vnto hym and the congregation there, that a competent number of Preachers might be sent ouer from thence, by whose diligent aduise

Lib.10.cap. 17. Taurinus.

This is cõtrarie to ỹ common talk of our Atheistes who say let vs liue here in welth, credite & authoritie vpon earth, & let God take heede and his religion to himselfe to do withall what he listeth.

Lucius openeth his eares to good counsell, as one desirous to serue God & not preferre the worlde.

vse and trauayle, the foundation of the Gospell might surely be layde ouer all his kingdome, according to his minde.

The purpose of Lucius opened vnto ỹ cõgregation at Rome by Eleutherius.

When Eleutherus vnderstoode these things, he reioyced not a litle, for the great goodnesse which the Lord had shewed vpõ this our Ile & countrie. Afterwardes calling the brethren togither, they agreed to ordayne, euen those twa for Byshoppes, whome Lucius as you haue heard, had directed ouer vnto them. Finally making generall prayer vnto God and earnest supplication for the good successe of these men, they sent them home agayne, with no small charge, that they should be diligent in their function, and carefull ouer the flocke committed to their custody.

The first of these was called Eluanus a man borne in the Ile of Analon, and brought vp there vnder those godly Pastours and their Disciples, whom Phillip sent ouer at the first for the conuersion of the Britons. The other hight Medguinus, and was thereto surnamed Belga, because he was of ỹ towne of Welles, which then was called Belga. This man was trayned vp also in one schoole with Eluanus; both of them being ornaments to their borough ages, and men of such grauititie and godlinesse, that Eleutherus supposed none more worthy to support this charge, then they: after whose comming home also, it was not long ere Lucius and all his houshold with diuers of the nobility were Baptized, beside infinity numbers of the common people, which daily resorted vnto them and voluntarily renounced all their Idolatry and Paganisme.

A zealous prince maketh feruẽt subiects.

In the meane time Eleutherus hearing of the successe of these learned Doctours & supposing with himself that they two only could not suffice to supporte so great a burden as should concerne the conuersion of the whole Iland. He directed ouer vnto them in the yeare insuing Faganus, Dinaw (or Dinauus,) Aaron and diuers other godly Preachers, as fellow labourers to trauayle with them in the Vineyarde of the Lord. These men therfore after their comming hyther, consulted with the other, and forthwith they wholly consented to make a diuision of thys Iland amongst themselues, appoynting what parcel eche Preacher should take, ỹ with the more profits and ease of the people, and somewhat lesse trauayle for themselues: the Doctrine of the Gospell might be preached and receaued. In this distribution also, they ordayned that there should be one congregation at London, where they placed Theonus as chiefe Elder and Byshop, for that present time. Another at Yorke whether they appoynted Theodosius. And the thirde at Caerlheon vpon the ryuer Vske, (which three cities had before time beene Archeflamines) to the end that the coũtries rounde about might haue indifferent accesse vnto those places, and therewith all vnderstande for certeintie, whether to resort for resolution, if after their conuersion they should happen to doubt of any thing.

Faganus. Dinauus. Aaron.

Radulphus de la noir alias. Niger

3. Chiefe Bishops in Britain

Theonus. Theodosius

London. Yorke. Caerlheon

Thus became Britaine the first Prouince, that generally receyued the faith, and where the Gospell was freely preached without inhibition of hir prince. Howbeit although that Lucius and hys princes and great numbers of his people imbraced the word with gredinesse, yet was not ỹ successe therof, eyther so vniuersal, that all men beleeued at the first: ỹ security so great, as that no persecution was to be feared from the Romaine empyre after his decease: or the proceeding of the king so seuere, as ỹ he inforced any man by publicke authoritie to forsake and relinquish his Paganisme: but only this fredom was enioyed, that who so would become a christian in his time, might without feare of his lawes profesſe the Gospel; in whose testimonie, if neede had beene, I doubt not to affirme, but that he would haue shed also his bloude, as dyd his Nece Emerita, who beyng constant aboue the common sort of women, refused not after his decease by fire, to yelde hir selfe to death as a sweete smelling sacrifice in the nostrels of the Lorde, beyonde the sea in Fraunce.

Britaine ỹ first Prouince that receyued ỹ Gospell generally.

Emerita nece vnto Lucius.

The fayth of Christ being thus planted in this Iland in the 177. after Christ and Faganus and Dinaw with the rest sent ouer frõ Rome, in the 178. as you haue heard: it came to passe in the thirde yeare of the Gospell receyued, that Lucius did sende agayne to Eleutherus the Byshop, requiring that he might haue some briefe Epitome of the order of discipline then vsed in the Churche. For he well considered that as it auayleth little to plant a costly Vineyarde, except it afterwarde be cherished, kept in good order, and such things as annoy, daily remoued from the same: so after Baptisme and entraunce into religion, it profiteth little to beare the name of christians, except we doe walke continually in the spirite, & haue such things as offende apparantly, corrected by seuere discipline. For otherwise it will come to passe, ỹ the wordes of vice, and vicious liuing, will so quickly abounde in vs that they will in the ende choke vp the good seede sowen in our mindes, & eyther inforce vs to returne vnto our former wickednesse with deeper security then before, or else to become meere Atheistes, which is a great deale worse.

Lucius sendeth againe to Rome.

Ro. 8. ver. 1

For this cause therefore dyd Lucius sende to Rome, the seconde tyme for a copie of such politicke

politicke orders as were then vſed there, in their regiment of the Church. But Eleutherus conſidering wᵗ himſelfe, how that al nations are not of like condition, & therfore thoſe conſtitutions that are beneficiall to one, may now and then be preiudiciall to another: and ſeing alſo that beſide the worde no rites and orders can long continue, or be ſo perfect in all points, but that as time ſeruеth, they wil requyre alteration: He thought it beſt not to lay any more vpon the neckes of the newe conuerts of Britaine as yet, then chriſt & his Apoſtles had already ſet downe vnto al men. In returning therefore his meſſengers, he ſent letters by them vnto Lucius and hys nobilitie, dated in the Conſulſhips of Commodus and Veſpronius, wherein he tolde them that Chriſt had left ſufficient order in ỹ ſcriptures for the gouernement of his Church already in his worde, and not for that only, but alſo for the regimēt of his whole kingdome, if he woulde ſubmit himſelfe, to yelde & follow that rule. The Epiſtle it ſelfe is partly extaunt, and partly periſhed, yet ſuch as it is, and as I haue faithfullye tranſlated it out of ſundry copies, I doe deliuer it euen here, to the ende I will not defraude the reader of anye thing that may turne to his commoditie, in the hyſtorie of our nation.

The wiſedome of Eleutherus

Epiſtle of Eleutherus vnto Lucius.

„ You requyre of vs the Romaine ordinances and therto the ſtatutes of the Emperours to
„ be ſent ouer vnto you, and which you deſire
„ to practiſe and put in vre within your realme
„ and kingdome. The Romaine lawes & thoſe
„ of Emperours we may eſtſoones repreue,
„ but thoſe of God, can neuer be founde fault
„ withall. You haue receyued of late thorowe
„ Gods mercy in the realme of Britaine the law and fayth of Chriſt, you haue with you both volumes of the Scriptures: out of them therefore by Gods grace and the Counſel of your realme take you a law, and by that law thorowe Gods ſufferaunce rule your kingdome, for you are Gods Vicar in your owne realme, as the royall Prophete ſayth. The earth is the Lords, and all that is therin, the cōpaſſe of the world, & they that dwell therein. Agayne thou haſt loued truth and hated iniquitie, wherfore God, euen thy God hath anoynted thée with oyle of gladneſſe aboue thy fellowes. And agayne, according to the ſaying of the ſame Prophete. Oh God giue thy iudgement vnto the king, and thy iuſtice vnto the kings ſonne. The kings ſonnes are the chriſtian people and flocke of the realme, which are vnder your gouernance, and liue, & continue in peace within your kingdome. * The Goſpell ſaith, as the Henne gathereth hir chickens vnder hir winges, ſo doth the king hys people. Such as dwell in the kingdome of Britaine are yours, whom if they be deuoyed you ought to gather into concorde and peace, to call them to the fayth and lawe of Chriſt, and to hys ſacred Church: to cheariſh and mainteyne, to rule alſo and gouerne them, defending eache of them from ſuch as woulde doe them wrong, and keeping them from the malice of ſuch as be their enemies. * Wo vnto the natiō whoſe king is a childe, & whoſe princes ryſe vp earely to banket & fēde, which is ſpoken not of a prince, that is within age, but of a prince that is become a childe, thorowe folly, ſinne and vnſtedfaſtneſſe, of whome the Prophete ſaith, the bloudthyrſty and deceitful men ſhall not lyue forth halfe their dayes. * By fēding alſo I vnderſtande glouttonie, by glouttonie, luſt, and by luſt all wickednеſſe, and ſinne, according to the ſaying of Salomon the king. Wyſedome entreth not into a wicked mind, nor dwelleth wyth a man that is ſubiect vnto ſinne. A king hath hys name of ruling, and not of the poſſeſſion of his realme, you ſhalbe a king whyleſt you rule well, but if you doe otherwyſe, the name of a king ſhall not remayne wyth you, but you ſhal vtterly forgo it, which God forbid. The Almyghty God graunt you ſo to rule the kingdome of Britaine, that you may reigne with hym for euer, whoſe Vicare (or Vicegerent) you are within your aforeſayd kingdome. Who with the ſonne and the holy Ghoſt. &c.

Pſal.24.

Pſal.45.

Pſal.71.

Pſal.55.

Hitherto out of the Epiſtle that Eleutherus, ſent vnto Lucius, whereby many prety obſeruations are to be collected, if time and place, would ſeruе to ſtande thereon.

After theſe dayes, alſo the number of ſuch as were ordeined to ſaluation, increaſed dayly more and more, wherby as in other places of the worlde, the worde of God had good ſucceſſe in Britaine, in time of peace, and in heate of perſecutiō, there were no ſmal number of ſ Martyrs that ſuffered for the ſame, of which Albane, Amphibalus, Iulius and Aaron, are reputed to be the chiefe, becauſe of theyr Noble parentage.

Albane. Amphibalus. Iulius. Aaron.

There are which affirme our Lucius to renoun ce hys kingdome, and afterwarde become a Biſhop and Preacher of the Goſpell: but to thend theſe that holde his opinion may once vnderſtande the botome of their errors. I will ſet downe the matter at large whereby they may ſée (if they liſt to looke) how farre they haue bene deceiued.

I finde that Chlorus had by Helena thrée ſonnes, (beſide one daughter called Emerita) of which the name of the firſt is periſhed, the ſecond was called Lucion, and the thyrde

Chlorus had thrée ſonnes, and a daughter by Helena.

Constantine, that afterwarde was Emperour of Rome, by the election of the Soldiers. Now it happened that Lucion by meanes of a quarrell, that grew betweene him & his Elder brother did kil his said brother, either by a fray, or by some other meanes, wherupon his father exiled him out of Britō, & apointed him from thencefoorth to remayne in Fraunce. Lucion (or as some cal him also Lucius) being thus brought into worldly sorrowe, had now good leisure to meditate vpō Heauen, who before in his prosperity peraduenture, had neuer regard of hell. Finally he fel so far into ỹ cōsideratiō of his estate, ỹ at the last he renounced his Paganisme, and first became a christian, then an Elder, and last of all a Bysshop in the Church of Christ. He erected also, a place of prayer wherin to serue the liuing God, which after sundrye alterations, came in profesſe of tyme, to be an Abbay, and is still called euen to our time after Lucion or Lucius: the first founder thereof, and the originall beginner of anye such house in those partes.

Lucion becommeth a christian.

Lucion a Bishop.

In this also he & diuers other of hys friends, continued their times, in great contemplation and prayer, and from hence were translated as occasiō serued, vnto sondrye ecclesiasticall promotiōs in the time of Constatine his brother, so that euen by this short narration it is now easy to see that Lucius the kyng and Lucion the sonne of Chlorus, were distinct persons. Hereunto Hermānus Schedelius, addeth also howe he went into Rhetia, and there vnto the citie Augusta, conuerted the Curienses, vnto ỹ fayth of Christ, & there likewise lyeth buryed in the same towne, where his feast is holden vpon the thirde daye of December, as may redily be confirmed. That Schedelius erreth not herin also, the auncient monumets of the saide Abbaye, whereof he was the originall beginner, as I sayde, doe yelde sufficient testimonye, besides an Himne made in his commendation, intituled Gaude Luciomū &c. But for more of this you may resort vnto Boucher, in his first booke, & fifth chapter of the Annales of Aquiteine, who maketh the king of Britaine Grandfather to this Luciō. The said Schedelius in like sort setteth down, that his Sister was martyred in Trinecastell, nere vnto the place where the saide Lucion dwelled, wherby it appeareth in lyke sorte, that she was not sister to Lucius kyng of Britaine, of which prince Alexander Necham in his most excellent treatise de sapiencie Diuina setteth downe this Distichon.

Hermānus Schedelius.

Festum Lucionis.

John Bouchet.

Emerita martyred in Rhetia.

Prima Britannorum fidei lux lucius esse
Fertur, qui rexit Mœnia Brute tua.

But as eche Riuer the farder it runneth from the heade, the more it is increased, by small riuelettes, and corrupted with filthie puddles, and stinking gutters, that discend into the same: so the puritye of the Gospell, preached here in Britaine, in processe of time became first of all to be corrupted with a new order of religion, and most detestable heresy, both of them being first brought in at once, by Pelagius, of Wales, who hauing trauailed thorow Fraunce, Italy, Egypt, Syria, and the Easterlye regyons of the worlde: was there at the last made an Elder or Bishop, by some of the Monkes, vnto whose profession he had not long before addicted himselfe. Finally returning home againe, he dyd not onely erect an house of his owne order, at Bangor in Wales, vpon the riuer Dee, but also sowed the pestiferus seede of his heretical prauities, ouer all this Iland, whereby he seduced great numbers of the Britons, teaching them to preferre their owne merites, before ỹ free mercy of God, in Iesus Christ his son.

Heresye, & Monasticall life brought into Britaine at one time by Pellagius.

Bangor.

Thus haue ye seene howe newe deuises or orders of religion, and heresie came in together. I could shew also what Cometes, and strange signes appeared in Brytayne, much about the same time, the like of which with diuers other, haue beene perceiued also from time to time, sithence the death of Pelagius at the entrance of any newe kinde of religion into this Ile of Brytaine. But I passe them ouer, only for that I would not seeme in my tractation of Antiquities, to trouble my reader with the rehearsall of any newe inconueniences.

To proceede therfore with my purpose after these there followed in lyke sort, sundrye other kindes of monasticall life, as Anachorites, (or Ancres) Heremites, Cyrillines & Benedictines, albeit, that onely the heremiticall profession was allowed of in Brytaine, vntill the comming of Benedict Biscop, who erected the first house of Benedictines, that euer was heard of in this Ile. They also bare his name, and were so well liked of all men, ỹ there were few or no blacke monks in this Ile, but of his order. So fast also did these humaine deuises prosper after his time, that at their suppression in England & Wales only, there were founde 440. religious houses at the least, whereunto if you adde of those few ỹ are yet standing in Scotland, you shal sone see what nūbers of these drones of spirituall robbers were maintained here in Brytaine.

Anachorites.

Heremites.

Cirryllines.

Benedictines.

Monkes and Heremites only allowed of in Britaine.

The number of religious houses in England & their dissolution.

As touching Pelagius the first Heretike that euer was breede in this Ile (notably knowen) and parent of Monachisme, it is certaine, that before his corruption and fall, he was taken for a man of singuler learning, deepe iudgement, and such a one, as vpon whome for his great gift in teaching and strictnesse

of

of lyfe, no small pece of the hope & expectation of the people did depend. But what is wisdome of the flesh, without the feare and true knowledge of God, and what is learning except it be handemaide to verifye and sounde iudgement. Wherfore euen of this man, we maye see it verifyed that one Roger Bakon pronounced long after. Of the corruption of his time, when all things were measured by witte and worldlye pollicye, rather then by the scriptures or Guidans of the spirit. Better it is saith hee, to heare a rude and simple Ideote preach the truth, without apparaunce of skill & learned eloquence, then a profound Clearke to set forth error, with great shewe of learning, & boast of filed vtterance. These follies of Pelagius, were blased abroade about the 400. of Christ, & from thencefoorth how his number of Monkes increased on the one side, & his doctrine on the other, there is almost no reader that is vnskilfull & ignorant.

Roger Bacon his saying of ỳ preachers of his time who were ỳ best layers & the worst Diuines.

This also is certaine, that within the space of 200. yeres and odde, there were more then 2100. monkes gathered togither in his house, whose trades notwithstanding the errors of founder, (who taught such an estimation of merite and bodily exercise, as Paule calleth it) as therby he sought not onely to impugne, but also preuent grace, which was in deede the originall occasion of the creation of hys house) were yet farre better and more godly, then all those religious orders, that were inuented of later time, wherein the professours lyued to themselues, their wombes and the licencious fruition of those partes, that are beneath the belly. For these laboured cõtinuallye for their owne liuings, at vacant times from prayer, and for the better maintenance, of such as were their appoynted Preachers. Their liues also were correspondent to their doctrine, so that herein onelye they seemed intollerable, in that they had confidence in their deedes, & that they had no warrant out of the worde for their succor & defece, but were such a plant, as the heauenly father had not planted, and therefore no meruaile, though afterwarde they were raysed by the rootes.

More the 2100 monkes in the Colledge or Abbay of Bangor

But as Pelagius and his adherentes, had a tyme to infect the Church of Christ in the Britaine, so the lyuing GOD hath had a season to purge the same, though not by a full reformation of doctrine, sith Germanus, Lupus, Palladius, Patricius, and such like leaning vnto the monasticall trades, did not remedy cõdemne the generall errors of Pellagius, one way as maintayne the same, or as euill optimõs another. For as Patricke seemed to like well of ỳ honoring of the dead, so Germanus being in Britaine erected a chappel to S. Albane, wherin Lupus prayed, as Palladius beheld the strictnesse of life, in monasticall profession to the vttermost of his power. Wherfore God purged his house, rather by taking away ỳ wicked, and pompous scholemaisters of errour, out of this lyfe: hoping that by such meanes, his people woulde haue giuen eare to the godly that remained. But when thys hys practyse coulde take no place, & the shepe of his pasture woulde receiue no wholesome admonition, it pleased his maiestie, to let thẽ runne on headlong from one iniquitie to another, insomuch that after the doctrine of Pelagius, it receiued that of Rome also, brought in by Augustine and his monkes, wherby it was to be seene, how they fell from the truth into heresye, & from one heresy still into another, till at the last they were drowned altegither, in the pitte of error, digged vp by Antichrist, as welles that holde no water, which notwithstanding to their followers seemed to be most sounde doctrine, and cisternes of liuing water to suche as imbraced the same.

Seuerus Sulpitius in vita patricij.

Germanus, Lupus, Palladius, Patricius.

Augustine & Monke.

This Augustine after his arriuall, conuerted the Saxons in deede from Paganisme, but as the Prouerb sayth, bringing them out of Goddes kissing into the warme sunne, he also imbued them wyth no lesse hurtfull superstition, then they did knowe before: for beside the only name of Christ, and externall contempt of their pristinate Idolatrye, he taught them nothing at all, but rather I say made an exchange, from grosse to subtill trecherie, from open to secret Idolatry, and frõ the name of Paganes, to the bare title of christians, thinking this sufficient for theyr soules health, and the stablishment of hys monachisme, of which kynde of profession, the holye Scriptures of God can in no wyse allowe. But what cared he sith he got the great fish for which he did cast his hooke, & so great was the fishe that he caught in the end, that within the space of 1000. yeres, & lesse it deuoured the fourth parte and more, of the best soyle of the Iland, which was wholye bestowed vpon his monkes, and other religious brodes, ỳ were hatched since his time.

Augustine.

Whilest these things were thus in hande, in the south parte of Albion, the Meates, Pictes, and Caledonians, which lye beyonde the Scottish sea, receiued also the preaching of such christian elders, as aduentured thither daily, and not without great successe, and increase of perfit godlynesse, in that parte of the Ile. Certes this prosperous attempt, passed all mens expectatiõ, for that these nations were in those dayes reputed wild sauage, and more vnfaithfull and craftye, then well minded people, (as the wilde Irish are in my

Meates. Pictes, Caledonies

time) and such were they to say the truth, in deede, as neyther the sugred curtesye, nor sharpe swordes of the Romaines, coulde restreyne from their naturall fury or bring to any order. For this cause also in thend ỳ Romaine Emperours did vtterly cast them of as an vnprofitable, brutishe, and vntameable nation, & by an huge wall hereafter to be described, separated that rude companye from the milde and ciuill portion.

Scotlande conuerted to ỳ fayth of Chryst.

This conuersion of the north parts, fell out in the fyrst yeare before the warres that Seuerus had in those quarters, and 170. after ỳ death of our Sauiour Iesus Chryst. From thencefoorth also the christian religion contynued still among them, by the diligent care of their Pastors and Bysshops (after the vse of the churches of the south part of this Iland) tyll the Romaine shephearde sought them out, and founde the meanes to pull them vnto him in like sort with his long staffe as he had done our countrymen, whereby in in the ende he abolished the rites of the churches of Asia there also, as Augustine had done already in England: and in stede of the same did furnish it vp, with those of his pontificall Sie, although there was great contention, and no lesse bloudshed made amongst them, before it coulde be brought to passe, as by the Hystories, of both nations yet extaunt is easye to be seene.

Palladius.

In the time of Cœlestine Bishop of Rome, one Palladius, a Grecian borne, (to whome Cyrill wrote his Dialogue, de adoratione in spiritu) & sometime disciple to Iohn the 24. Bishop of Ierusalem, came ouer from Rome into Brytaine, there to suppresse the Pellagien heresye, which not a little molested the Orthodoxes of that Iland. And hauing done much good in the extinguishing of the afore sayd opinion there, he went at the last also into Scotlande, supposing no lesse, but after he had trauailed somewhat in confutation of the Pelagiens in those partes, he shoulde easilye perswade that crooked nation to admit and receiue the rytes of the church of Rome, as he woulde faine haue done before hande in the south. But as Fastidius Bishop of Londō, and his Suffragans resisted him here, so dyd the Scottish Prelates withstande him here also, in this behalfe: howbeit because of the authoritie of his commission, grauitie of personage, & the great gift which he had in the vayne of pleasaunt perswasion, (whereby he drewe the people after him, as Orpheus did the stones with his Harpe, and Hercules such as hearde him by his tongue,) they had hym in great admiration, & are nowe contented (& the rather also for that he came frō Rome,) to take him for their chiefe Apostle, reconing from hys comming vnto them, as from the fayth receiued, which was in the 431. yeare of Chryst, as the truth of theyr Hystory doth very well confirme.

The first attempt of the Bish. of Rome to bring Scotlande vnder hys obedience.

Fastidius Bishop of London.

Palladius, accompted for the Apostle of ỳ Scottes.

Thus wee see what religion hath from time to time beene receiued in this Iflande, and howe and when the faith of Chryst came first into our country. Howbeit as in processe of time it was ouershadowed, and corrupted with the dreames, and fantasticall imaginations of man, so it daily waxed worse & worse, till that it pleased God to restore the preaching of his Gospell againe in our dayes, whereby the man of sinne is nowe openly reuealed, and the puritye of the worde once agayne brought to light, to the vtter ouerthrowe of Sathan, and his Popish adherentes that honour him day and night.

Of the number and names of such salt Islands, as lye dispersed rounde about vppon the coast of Brytaine. Cap. 8.

There are neere vnto, or not verye farre from the coasts of Brytaine many faire Iflandes, whereof Irelande with hir neighbors, (not here handled) seeme to be the chiefe. But of ỳ reast, some are much larger or lesse then other, diuers in lyke sort enuironed continually with the salt sea, (whereof I purpose onely to intreate, although not a few of them be Ilands but at the flowde) & other finally be clypped partely by the fresh, and partly by the salt water, or by the freshe alone, whereof I may speake afterwarde.

Of these salt Iflandes, (for so I call them that are enuyroned with the Ocean waues) some are fruitefull in Wood, Corne, Wildefoule, and pasture grounde for Cattel, albeit that manye of them be accounted barren because they are only replenished with conies & those of sundry collors, (cherished of purpose by the owners, for their skinnes carcases, and prouision of housholde,) wythout eyther man, or woman, otherwise inhabitting in them. Furthermore, the greatest number of these Iflandes, haue Townes and parishe Churches, within theyr seuerall precinctes, some mo, some lesse: and beside all thys, are so inriched with commodities, that they haue pleasant hauens, freshe springes, great store of fishe, and plentye of Cattell, whereby the inhabitants doe reape no small aduantage. How many they are in nūber I cānot as yet determine, bycause myne informations are not so fully set down, as the promises of some on the one side, & myne expectation on the other, did

did ertẽd vnto. Howbeit, ẏ firſt of al there are certeine which lie nẽere togither, as it were by heaps & cluſters, I hope man will redily deny. Of theſe alſo thoſe called ẏ Neſiadæ, Inſulę Scylurum, Sileuſtræ, Syllanæ, nowe ẏ ſorlings, and Iles of Silley, lying beyond Cornwall are one, and conteineth in number one hundred fourtye & ſeauen, (eche of them, bearing graſſe) beſides ſhelfes, and ſhallowes. In like ſort the company of the Hebrides are another which are ſayd to be 43. ſituate vpon the weſt ſide of this Iſland, betwẽne Ireland and Scotland, and of which there are ſome, that repute Angleſey, Mona Cæſaris, & other lying betwẽne them to be percell, in theyr corrupted iudgement. The thirde cluſter or bunche, conſiſteth of thoſe, that are called the Orchades, and theſe lye vpon the Northweſt point of Scotlande being 31. in number, as for the reaſt they lye ſcattered here and there, and yet not to be vntouched as theyr courſes ſhall come about.

Neſiadæ. Inſulę. Scylurum. Sileuſtræ. Syllanæ. Sorlingæ Sylley. Hebrides. Hebudes. Meuanie. Orchades.

There haue bẽne diuers that haue written of purpoſe, De inſulis Britanniæ, as Cæſar doth confeſſe. the lyke alſo maye be ſẽne by Plutarche who nameth one Demetrius, a Brytaine that ſhoulde ſet forth an exact treatiſe of eche of them in order, but ſith thoſe bookes are now perylhed, and the moſt of the ſayde Iſlandes remaine vtterly vnknowne, euen to our owne ſelues. I meane God willyng to ſet downe ſo many of them with their commodities, as I doe either knowe by Leland, or am otherwyſe inſtructed of, by ſuch as are of credite. Herein alſo I will touch at large ſuch as are moſt famous, and briefly paſſe ouer thoſe that are obſcure and vnknowen, making myne entraunce at the Thames mouth, and directing thys imagined courſe, (for I neuer ſailed it), by ẏ ſouth part of the Iland, into ẏ Weſt. Frõ thence in lyke ſort, I will proceede into the North, & come about againe by the eaſt ſide vnto ẏ fall of the aforeſaid ſtreame, where I will ſtrike ſayle, & ſafely be ſet a ſhore, that haue often in this voyage wanted water, but oftner bẽne ſet a groũde, eſpecially on the Scottiſh ſide.

In beginning therfore, with ſuch as lye in the mouth of the aforeſayde Riuer, I muſt nedes paſſe by the Hoo, whiche is not an Iſlande but (if I may giue ſuch pẽces a newname) a bylande, bycauſe we may paſſe thyther from the maine Ile, by an Iſthums or ſtrictlande, that is to ſay by lande, without anye veſſell, at the full Sea, or any horſe at the ebbe. It lyeth betwẽne Clyffe and the midway, that goeth alõg by Rochẽſter. Next vnto this we haue the Greane wherein is a towne of the ſame denomination, an Ile ſuppoſed to be foure miles in length, and two in breadth. Then come we to Shepey, which conteineth ſeauen myles in length, and three in breadth, wherein is a caſtell called Quinborowe, and a Parke, beſide foure Townes, of which one is named Minſter, another Caſtchurch, the thyrde Warden, & the fourth Leyden: the whole ſoyle being thoroughly fed with ſhẽpe, verye well wooded, and as I here belonging to the Lord Cheyney, as parcell of his his inheritaunce. It lyeth thirtẽne myles by water from Rochẽſter, but the Caſtle is fiftẽne, and by ſouth thereof are two ſmall Iſlandes, whereof the one is called Elmeſy, and the more eaſterly Herteſye. In this alſo is a towne called Hertie, or Hartie, and all in the Lathe of Scraie, notwithſtanding that Hartie lieth in the hundred of Fauerſham, and Shepey retaineth one eſpecyall Baily of hir owne.

Shepey.

Elmeſey. Hertſey.

From hence we paſſe by the Reculuers, (or territorie belonging in tyme paſt to one Raculphus, who erected an houſe of religion, or ſome ſuch thing there,) vnto a litle Iſland, in the ſtoure mouth. Herevpon alſo the Thanet abutteth, which is rather a bylande then an yland. Beda noteth it in times paſt to haue contayned 600. families, which are all one with Hidelandes * Plowghlandes, Carrucates or Temewares. He addeth alſo ẏ it is deuided from our continent, by the riuer called Wantſume, which is about three furlongs brode, & to be paſſed ouer in two places onely.

Sture ſey. Thanet.

* In Lincolnſhire the worde hyde or hidelande, was neuer in vſe in olde time as in other places but for hide they vſed the word Carucate or cartware, or Teme, and theſe were of no leſſe compaſſe then an hydeland.

But whereas Polidore ſayeth, the Tenet is nyne myles in length & not much leſſe in breadth, it is nowe reconed that it hath not much aboue ſeuẽ myles from Northmuth to Sandwiche, & foure in breadth, frõ the Stoure to Margate, or from the South to the North, the circuit of ẏ whole being 17. or 18. as Leylãd alſo noteth. This Iland hath no wood growing in it except it be forced, & yet otherwiſe it is very fruitfull, and beſide that, it wanteth fewe other commodities, the fineſt chalke is ſayde to be found there. Herin alſo dyd Auguſtine the Monke firſt arriue when he came to conuert the Saxons, & afterward in proceſſe of tyme, ſundry religious houſes were erected there, as in a ſoyle much bettered (as ẏ ſuperſticiors ſuppoſed) by ſteps of that holy man & ſuch as came ouer with him. There are at this tyme 10. Pariſh churches at the leaſt in ẏ Ile of Thanet, as S. Nicholas, Birchingtõ S. Iohns, Wood, or Wodchurch, S. Peters, S. Laurẽs, Mowntõ or Monketon, Minſter, S. Gyles and all Saints, whereof M. Lambert hath written at large in his deſcription of Kent, & placed the ſame in lath the of S. Auguſtine

Ex Hugone le blanc Monacho petroburgenſi.

Hoo.

Greane.

ſtine and hundred of Ringeſlow as may eaſily be ſéene to him that will peruſe it.

Rutupium, Sometyme Rutupium(or as Beda calleth it Reptaceſter)ſtode alſo in this Iſlande, but now thorowe alteration of the chanell of the Doure, it is ſhut quite out and annered to the maine. It is called in theſe daies Richeborow and as it ſhoulde ſéeme buylded vpon an indifferent ſoyle, or highe grounde. The large brickes alſo yet to be ſéene there, in the ruinous walles, declare eyther the Romayne or the old Brittiſh workemanſhip. But as time decayeth all things, ſo Rutupium is now become deſolate, & out of the duſt therof Sandwiche produced, which ſtandeth a full mile from the place, where Reptaceſter ſtode.

The olde writers affirme, how Ethelbert the firſt chriſtian king of Kent, did holde his pallace in this towne, and yet none of his coyne hath hitherto béene founde there, as is dayly that of the Romaynes, whereof many péces of ſilver and gold, ſo wel as of braſſe, copper, and other mettal haue often bene ſhewed vnto me. It ſhoulde appeare in lyke ſorte that of this place, all the whole coaſt of Kent therabout, was called Littus Rutupinum, which ſome doe not a little confirme by theſe words of Lucane, to be red in his firſt booke, ſome after the beginning.

Aut vaga cum Tethis, Rutupinaq; littora ferunt,
Vnda Calidonios fallit turbata Brittannos.

The laſt verſe of one copie and firſt of another. Or when the wãdering Seas or Kentiſh coaſts doe worke, and Calidons of Brittiſhe bloude, the troubled waues beguyle. Meaning in like ſorte by the latter the coaſte néere Andredeſwalde, which in time paſt was called Littus Calidonium of that wood or foreſt, as Leland alſo confirmeth. But as it is not my minde to deale any thing curiouſly in theſe by matters, ſo in returning againe to my purpoſe, & taking my iorney toward the Wight, I muſt néeds paſſe by Seleſey, which ſometime as it ſhould ſéeme hath ben a noble yland, but now a Bylãd or Peninſula, wherin the chiefe Sée of the Byſhop of Chicheſter was holden by the ſpace of 329. yeres, & vnder 20. Biſhops.

Seleſey.

Thorne. Next vnto this, we come vnto thoſe that lye betwéene the Wight and the mayne lande, of which the moſt eaſterly is called Thorne, & to ſay truth, ỹ very leaſt of al that are to be founde in that knotte. Being paſt the Thorne we touched vpon the Haling, which is bigger then the Thorne, and wherein one towne is ſcituate of the ſame denominatiõ beſide another, whoſe name I remember not. By weſt alſo of the Haling lieth the Port (the greateſt of the thrée already mencioned) & in this ſtandeth Portſmouth and Kingſtéed, wherof alſo our Lelande, ſayeth thus. Port Iſle is cut frõ the ſhore by an arme of the mainehauen, which breaketh out about thrée myles aboue Portſmouth & goeth vp two myles or more by north the grounde to a place called Portbridge, which is two myles frõ Portſmouth. Thẽ breaketh there out another Créke frõ the maine ſea, about Auant hauen, which gulleth vp almoſt to Portbridge, and thence is the ground diſcouered, ſo that Portſmouth ſtãdeth in a corner of this Iſle, which Iſland is in length fiue myles, and thrée myles in breadth, very good for graſſe & corne, not without ſome wood, and here and there incloſure. Beſide this there is alſo another Iſlãd north northweſt of port ile, which is now ſo worne and waſhed awaye with the working of the ſea, that at the ſpring tides it is wholly couered with water, and thereby made vnpaſſable. Finally being paſt all theſe, & in compaſſing this goulfe, we come by an other, which lyeth North of Hirſt caſtell, and ſouth eaſt of Kaie hauen, whereof I finde nothing worthy to be noted, ſauing that it wanteth wood as Ptolomie affirmeth in hys Geographicall tables of all thoſe Iſlands, which enuironne our Albion.

Port.

The Wight it ſelfe is called in latine Vectis, but in the Brytiſh ſpeach Guidh, that is to ſay éeſe or eaſie to be ſéene. It lieth diſtãt from the ſouth ſhore of Britaine (where it is narreſt of) by fiue myles & a halfe, but where it commeth néereſt, not paſſing a thouſande paces, and this at the cut ouer betwene Hirſt caſtell and a place called Whetwell chine, as the inhabitauntes doe report. It contayneth in length twentie myles, and in breadth tenne, it hath alſo the North pole eleuated by 50. degrées and 27. minutes, & is onely 18. degrées in diſtaunce, and 50. odde minutes, from the Weſt point as experience hath confirmed, contrarie to the deſcription of Ptolomie, and ſuch as followe his aſſertions in the ſame. In forme, it repreſenteth almoſt an egge, and ſo well is it inhabited with méere Engliſh at this preſent, that there are thirtie fiue Townes, Villages and Caſtels to be founde therin, beſide 27. Pariſh churches, of which 15. or 16. haue their Parſons, the reaſt eyther ſuch poore Vicares or Curates, as the liuings left are able to ſuſtayne. The names of the Pariſhes in the Wight are theſe.

Wight. Guidh.

1. Newporta	chap.		8. Nighton.	p.	P. ſignifieth Parſonages, V. Vicarages
2. Cairſbroſie.	v.		9. Brading.	v.	
3. Northwood.			10. Newchurch.	v.	
4. Arrium.	v.		11. S. Helene.	v.	
5. Goddeſhill.	v.		12. Bauerland.	p.	
6. Whytwell.			13. Calborne.	p.	
7. S. Laurence.	p.		14. Bonechurch.	p.	
			15. Mottelton.		

15. Wottesson. p.
16. Parmouth. p.
17. Thorley. v.
18. Shalflete. v.
19. Whippinghã. p.
20. Wotton. p.
21. Chale. p.
22. Kingston. p.
23. Shorwell. p.
24. Gatrombe. p.
25. Brosse.
26. Brykton. p.
27. Bensted. p.

It belongeth for temporall Jurisdiction to the countie of Hamshire, but in spirituall cases, it yeldeth obedience to the See of Chichester, whereof it is a Deanerie. As for the soyle of the whole Iland, it is very fruitful, for notwithstanding that the shore of it selfe be very full of rockes and craggy cliffes, yet there wanteth no plentie of cattell, corne, pasture, medow grounde, wildefoule, fish, fresh riuers, and pleasant woodes, wherby the inhabitants may lyue in ease and welfare. It was first ruled by a seuerall king, and afterwarde wonne from the Britons by Vespasian the Legate, at such tyme as he made a voyage into the West country. In processe of tyme also it was gotten frō the Romaines by Ceadwalla, who killed Aruald that reigned there, and reserued the souereingtie of that Ile to himselfe, and his successours. After Ceadwalla, Wolfride the Parricide was the first Saxon Prince, that aduentured into the Wight, whether he was driuen by Kenwalch of the West Saxons, who made great warres vpon him, and in the ende compelled hym to flye into this place for succour, as did also king Iohn, in the rebellious sturre of his Barons, practised by the clargie: the sayd Illād being as then in possessiō of the Fortes as some doe write that haue handled it of purpose. The first Earle of this Illande that I doe read of, was one Baldwijne de Betoun who maryed for his seconde wife, the daughter of William le Grosse Earle of Awmarle, but he dying without issue by this Lady, she was maryed ỳ second time to Earle Hawndeuile, and thirdlye to William de Fortes, who finyshed Shipton Castell, which hys wyues father had begunne about the time of king Richard ỳ first. Hereby it came to passe also, ỳ the fortes were Erles of Awmarle, Wight, and Deuonshyre a long time, till the Lady Elizabeth Fortes sole heire to all those possessions came to age, with whō king Edward the thirde so preuayled therow money and fayre wordes, that he gate the possession of the Wight wholly into his handes. After we be past the Wight, we go forwarde and come vnto Poole hauen, wherein is an Ile, called Brunt Keysi, in which was sometime a Parishe church, and yet a chappell at this present as I here. There are also two other Iles but I know not their names.

Brunt keysi.

We haue after wee are passed by these another Ile, also vpō the coast named Portland not farre from Waymouth a prety fertile peece though wout wode, of 10. myles in circuite, now well inhabited, but much better heretofore, & yet are there about 80. householdes in it. There is also but one streete of houses therin, the reast are dispersed, howbeit they belong all to ons Parishe Church, whereas in time past there were two within the compasse of the same. There is also a Castell of the kings, who is Lord of the Ile, although the bishop of Winchester be patrone of the Church, the personage whereof is the fairest house in al the peece. The people there are excellent slingers of stones, which feate they vse for the defence of their Illande, and yet otherwise very couetous. And wheras in tyme past they lyued onely by fishing, now they fall to tillage, their fire bote is brought out of the wight, and other places, yet do they burne much cowdung, dryed in the sonne: for there is I say no wood in ỳ Ile, except a few elmes that be about the church. There would some growe there, no doubt if they were willing to plant it, although the soyle lye very bleake & open. It is not long since this was vnited to the mayne, and likely ere long to be cut of againe. Being past thys we rayse another, also in the mouth of the Sowy, betwene Colfforde & Lime, of which for the smalnesse therof I make no great accompt. Wherfore giuing ouer to intreate anye farder of it I call about to Gersey, and Gerneley, which Iles with their appurtenaunces appertayned in tymes past to the Dukes of Normandye, but now they remayne to our Quēne, as percell of Hamshyre and belonging to hir Crowne, by meanes of a composition made, betwēne king Iohn of England, & the king of Fraunce, when the Dominions of the said Prince began so fast to decrease, as Thomas Sulmo sayth.

Portland.

Gersey.

Garneley.

Of these two, Gersey is the greatest, as an Illād hauing 30. miles in cōpas, as most men doe cōiecture. There are likewise in the same twelue Parish Churches, wyth a Colledge, which hath a Deane and Prebendes. It is distaunt from Gerneley full 21. myles, or thereaboutes. In this latter also, there haue bene in times past, fiue religious houses and nyne Castelles, howbeit in these dayes there is but one Parish church left standing in the same. There are also certayne other small Illands, which Henry the second in his Donation calleth Insuletas (beside very many rocks) whereof one called S. Heleries (wherein sometyme was a Monastery) is fast vpon Gersey, another is named ỳ Cornet, which hath a Castell not

Gersey.

Gerneley.

S. Hereli.

Cornet.

not passing an arrow shote frō Gersey. The Serke also is betweene both, which is .ix. myles about, and hath another annexed to it by an Isthmus or Strialande, wherein was a religious house, and therewith all great store of conyes.

Serke.

Brehot. Gytho. Herme.

There is also the Brehot, the Gytho, and the Herme, which latter is foure myles in compasse, and therein was sometyme a Chanonry, that afterwarde was conuerted into an house of Franciscanes. There are two other likewyse nere vnto that of S. Helerie of whose names I haue no notice. There is also the rockye Isle, of Burhow, but nowe the Isle of Rattes (so called of the huge plentie of Rattes that are founde there, though otherwise it be replenished with infinite store of Conyes, betweene whome and the Rattes, as I coniecture those which we call Turkie conies are oftentimes produced among those few houses that are to be seene in this Iland.

Burho als. the Isle of Rattes.

Alderney. Beside this there is moreouer the Isle of Alderney a very pretie Plot, about seuen miles in compasse, wherein a Priest not long since did find a coffin of stone, in which lay ỳ body of and huge Gyaunt, whose fore teeth were so bygge as a mans fist, as Leland doth report.

Certes this to me is no marueile at al, sith I haue read of greater, and mencioned them already in the beginning of this booke. Such a one, also haue they in Spayne, whereunto they go in pilgrimage as vnto S. Christophers tooth, but it was one of his eye teeth, if Lodouicus Viues say true, who went hither to offer vnto ỳ same. S. August writeth in like sorte, of such another found vpō the cost of Vtica, and thereby not onely gathered that all men were not onely farre greater then they be now, but also the Giaunts farre exceeding the huge stature of the highest of them all. Homere complayneth that men in his time were but Dwarfes in comparison of such as lyued in the warres of Troy. See his fift Iliade, where he speaketh of Diomedes & how he threw a stone at Æneas, (which 14. men of his time were not able to turne) & therewith did hit hym on the thighe & ouerthrowe him. Virgile also noteth no lesse, but Iuuenall briefly comprehendeth all this in his 15. Satyra, where he sayth.

Saxa inclinatis per humum quæsita lacertis
Incipiunt torquere, domestica seditione
Tela, nec hunc lapidem, quali se Turnus, & Aiax,
Et quo Tytides percussit pondere coxam
Æneæ: sed quem valeant emittere dextræ
Illis dissimiles, & nostro tempore natæ.
Nam genus hoc vino iam decrescebat Homero.

Iliad 5. & 7.

Virgilius Æn. 12.

Terra malos homines nunc educat, atq; pusillos.
Ergo Deus quicunq; aspexit, ridet, & odit.

But to returne agayne vnto the Isle of Alderney frōwhence I haue digressed. Herein also is a pretie towne with a Parish church, great plentie of Corne, Cattell, Conyes, and wildefoule, whereby the inhabitauntes doe reape much gayne and commoditie, onelye wood is theyr want, which they otherwyse supply. The language also of such as dwel in these Iles, is Frenche, but the attire of those ỳ liued in Gerneley & Gersey, vntil the time of King Henry the eyght, was al after the Irish guyse. The Isle of Gerneley also was sore spoyled by the Frenche 1371. & left so desolate that onely one castell remained therein vntouched.

Beyonde thys and nére vnto the coast of Englande (for these doe lye about the verye middest of the Brittish sea) we haue one Iſlande called the Bruch or the Bruchsey, lying about two myles from Pole, whether men sayle from the Fromouth, & wherin is nought else, but an olde Chappell, without other housing.

Bruchsey.

Next to this also are certaine rocks, which some take for Iles, as Illestō rocke nere vnto Peritozie, Horsan Isle a myle from Peritozie by South, Blacke rocke Isle, South east from Perytozie toward Tergnemouth, and also Chester, otherwyse called Plegynnidham: but howe (to saye truth) or where this latter lieth, I cānot make report, as yet, & sith Leland noteth them togither, I thinke it not my part to make separation of them.

From hence the next Isle is called Mount Iſland, otherwise Mowtland, scituate ouer against Lough, about two myles from the shore, and well nére, three myles in compasse. This Iſland hath no inhabitants, but onely the Warrenner & his dogge, who longeth vnto the Conies there: notwithstanding that vpō the coast therof in time of the yere, great store of Pylchardes is taken, and caryed from thence into many places of our coūtrey. It hath also a fresh Well comming out of the rockes, which is worthy to be noted in so small a cōpasse of ground. Moreouer in the mouth of the créeke that leadeth vnto Lough, or Low, as some call it, there is another little Iſlande of about eight Acres of groūde called S. Nicholas Isle, and midwaye betweene Falmouth, and Dudman, (a certayne Promontorie) is such another named the Grese, wherein is great store of Gulles & sea foule. As for Inis Prynin, it lyeth within the Baye about three myles from Lizardes, & containeth not aboue two Acres of groūd, from

Mount Iſlande.

S. Nicholas Iſlande.

Greese.

Inis Prnyin

from which Newlyn is not farre distaunt, & wherein is a poze fysher towne and a fayze Welspring, whereof as yet no writer hath made mention. After these (omitting pendinant in ỳ point of Falmouth haue) we came at last to saint Michaels moũt, whrof I find this description readye to my handes in Lelande. The compasse of the rote of the Moũt of saint Michael is not much moze then halfe a myle, and of this the South part is pasturable and bzeedeth Conyes, the residue high and rocky. In the Nozth side thereof also is a Garden, with certayne houses and shoppes foz fishermen. Furthermoze, the way to the Mountaine lieth at the Nozth side, and is frequented from halfe ebbe to halfe floud, the entraunce beginning at the sote of the Hyll, & so ascending by steps and greces westward, first, and then Eastward to the vtterward of the Church. Within the same ward also is a Court strongly walled, wherin on the south side is a Chappell of S. Michaell, and in the East side another of our Lady. Many times a man maye come to the hill on sote. On the Nozth Nozthwest side hereof also, is a Piere foz botes and ships, and in the baye betwixt the Mount & Pensantz are séene at the lowe water marke, diuers rotes and stubbes of træs, beside hewen stone, sometimes of dozes and windowes, which are perceyued in the inner part of the Way, and import that there hath not onely béene buylding, but also firme ground there, whereas the Salt water doth now rule & beare the mastery. Beyond this is an other litle Ile, called S. Clemẽts Ile, of a Chappell there dedicated to that Saint. It hath a litle beyond it, Nowshole, which is not touched in any Card. As foz Nowshole it self it is a towne of the maine, called in Coznish poze Enis, that is, portus insule, & in tinne wozkes néere vnto the same, there hath bene founde of late, speare heddes, battaile axes, & swozds of Copper, wzapped vp in linnen and scarsely hurt with rust oz other hinderance. Certes the sea hath won very much in this corner of our Iland, but chiefly betwéene Nowshole Pensardes.

Mount. S. Michaell.

S. Clements.

Hauing thus passed ouer very néere all such Iles, as lye vppon the south coast of Bzytaine, and nowe being come vnto the west part of our coũtry, a sodeyne Pirry catcheth holde of vs (as it did before, when we went to Cersy) and carpeth vs yet moze westerlye amõg the flattes of Sylly. Such foze doth the southeast winde often showe vpon poze trauelers in those parties, as the south & southwest, doth vpon straungers against the Bzytish coast, that are not skilfull of our rodes, and herbozowes. Howbeit such was our successe in this voyage, that we feared no rocks, (moze then did king Athelstane, when he subdued thẽ) noz any tempest of weather in those partes, that coulde annoy our passage. Perusing therefoze the periles whereinto we were pitifully plonged: we founde the Syllane Ilandes (places often robbed by the Frenchmen and Spanyardes) to lye distaunt from the poynt of Cornewall, about thzée oz foure houres sayling, oz twentie Englyshe miles, as some men doe account it. There are of these as I sayde, to the number of one hundzeth fozty seauen in sight, whereof eche one is greater oz lesse then other, and most of them sometime inhabited, howbeit, there are twentie of them, which foz their greatnesse & commodities, excéede all the reast. Therto (if you respect their position) they are scituate in manner of a circle, oz ring, hauing an huge lake, oz portion of the sea in the middest of them, which is not without perill, to such as with small aduisement enter into the same. Certes it passeth my cunning, either to name oz to describe all these one hundzeth fourtie seauen, accozding to their estate, neither haue I had any infozmation of them, moze then I haue gathered by Leyland, oz gotten out of a Mappe of their descriptiõ, which I had, sometyme of Reynolde Wolfe: wherefoze omitting as it were all the ragges, and such as are not wozthy to haue any time spent about their particular descriptions, I will only touch the greatest and those that ly togither, (as I said) in maner of a roundell.

King Athelstane hauing subdued the Syllane Iles, builded a Colledge of Priests at S. Burien, in perfourmance of his vowe, made whẽ he enterprised this voyage, foz his safe returne.

The first and greatest of these therefoze, called S. Maries Ile, is about fiue miles ouer, oz nyne myles in compasse. Therein also is a parishe Church, and a poze Towne belonging thereto, of thzéscoze houholdes, beside a castel, plẽtie of Cozne, Conies, wilde Swannes, Puffens, Gulles, Cranes, & other kindes of Foule, in great abundãce. This fertile Ilãd being thus viewed, we sailed southwards by the nozman rocke, & S. Maries founde vnto Agnus Ile, which is fiue myles ouer, & hath in lyke sorte one Towne oz Parishe within the same of fiue oz sixe houholdes, beside no small stoze of Hogs, & Conies, of sundzy coulours, very profitable to thyz owners. It is not long since this Ile was left desolate, foz whẽ ỳ inhabitãts therof, returned frõ a feast holden in S. Maries Ile, they were al dzowned and not one person left a liue. There are also two other small Ilandes, betwéene this & the Annot, wherof I finde nothing wozthy relation, foz as both of them ioyned together are not comparable, to the sayde Annot foz greatnesse and circuite, so they want both Hogges and Conies, whereof Annot hath great

S. Maries Ile.

Agnus Ile.

Annot.

Minwiſand. great plentie. There is moreouer the Minwiſand, from whence we paſſe by the Smithy ſounde, (leauing three little Iſlandes on the left hande, vnto the Suartigan Iſlande, then to Rouſuian, Rouſuiar, and the Cregwin, which ſeauen are for ỹ moſt part, replenished with Conies only, and wilde Carlike, but voyde of wood, and other commodities, ſauyng of a ſhort kinde of graſſe, or here or there ſome firzes whereon their Conies doe fede.

Smithy ſounde. Suartigan. Rouſuian. Rouſuiar. Cregwin.

Leauing therefore theſe deſert peces, we incline a little towarde the northweſt, where we ſtumble or runne vppon, Moncarthat, Inis Welſeck, & Suethial. We came in like ſort vnto Ratte Iſlande (wherein are ſo many monſtrous Rattes, that if horſes, or other beaſts, happen to come thither, or be left there by negligence, they are ſure to be deuoured and eaten vp, without all hope of recouerye) the Anwall and the Brier, Iſlandes in lyke ſorte voyde of all good furniture, Conies only excepted, & that the Brier (wherein is a village, Caſtell, & pariſh Church) bringeth forth no leſſe ſtore of Hogges, and wyldefoule, then Ratte Iſland doth of Rats, whereof I greatly marueyle.

Moncarthat. Inis Welſeck. Suethiall. Rat Iſland. Anwall. Brier.

By north of the Brier, lyeth the Ruſco, which hath a Labell or Bylande ſtretching out toward the ſouthweſt, called Inis widdon. This Ruſco is verye neere ſo great as that of S. Maries. It hath moreouer an hold, & a Pariſh within it, beſide great ſtore of Conies and wildefoule, whereof they make much gayne in due tyme of the yeare. Nert vnto thys we come to the Rounde Iſland, then to S. Lides Iſland, (wherin is a Pariſh church, dedicated to that ſaint) the Notho, the Auing, (one of thē being ſituate by ſouth of another) and the Tyan, which later is a great Iſlande, furnyſhed with a Pariſh Church, & no ſmall plenty of Conies as I here. After the Tyan we come to S. Martines Iſle, betwixt which & S. Maries, are tenne other, ſmaller, which reach out of the northeaſt into the ſouthweſt, as Knolworth Sniuilliuer, Menwerham, Vollis. 1. Surwihe, Vollis. 2. Arthurs Iſland, Guiuliuer, Nenech and Gothrois, whoſe qualities are diuers: howbeit as no one of theſe, is to be accounted great in compariſon of the other, ſo they al yelde a ſhort graſſe, meete for ſheepe and Conies, as doe alſo the reaſt. In the greater Iſles likewiſe, (whoſe names are commonlye ſuch as thoſe of the Townes, or Churches ſtanding in the ſame) there are as I here ſundrye lakes, and thoſe neuer without great plentye of wildefoule, ſo that the Iſles of Sylly, are ſuppoſed to be no leſſe beneficiall to their Lordes, then anye other whatſoeuer, within the compaſſe of our Iſle, or neere vnto our coaſtes. In ſome of them alſo are wilde ſwine. And as theſe Iſles are ſuppoſed to be a notable ſafegard to the coaſt of Cornewall, ſo in diuers of them great ſtore of tinne, is to be founde. There is in like maner ſuch plenty of fiſhe taken among theſe ſame, that beſide the feeding of their ſwine wyth all, a man ſhall haue more there for a peny, then in London for ten Grotes: Howbeit their chiefe cōmodity is made by Reigh, which they dry and cutte in peces, and carying it ouer into little Britayne, they exchange it there, for Salt, Canuas, readye Money, or other Marchaundiſe which they doe ſtande in neede of. A like trade haue ſome of them alſo, with Buckehorne or dryed Whityng, as I here: but ſith the Authour of this report, did not flatly auouch it, I paſſe ouer that fiſhe as not in ſeaſon at this time. Thus haue we viewed the richeſt and moſt wealthy Iſles of Sylley, frō whence we muſt direct our courſe eaſtwardes, vnto the mouth of the Sauerne, & then go backe againe vnto the weſt poynt of Wales, cōtinuing ſtill our voyage along vpon the weſt coaſt of Britaine, till we come to the Soluey where at the kingdomes part, and from which forth on we muſt touch ſuch Iſlandes, as lye vpon the weſt and northſhore, till we be come againe vnto the Scottiſh ſea, and to our owne dominions.

wilde ſwine in Sylley.

Ruſco. Inis widdō.

Round. Iſlande. S. Lides. Notho. Auing. Tyan.

S. Martines

Knolworth. Sniuilliuer. Menwethā Vollis. 1. Surwihe. Vollis. 2. Arthurs Ile Guiuliuer. Nenech. Gothrois.

From the poynt of Cornewall therefore, or Promontory of Helenus, (ſo called, as ſome think, becauſe Helenus the ſon of Priam[9] lyeth buried there, except ỹ ſea haue waſhed away his ſepulchre) vntill we come vnto the mouth of Sauerne, we haue none Iſlandes at all that I do knowe or here of, but one lytle Byland, Cape or Peninſula, which is not to be reckoned of in this place. And yet ſith I haue made mention of it, you ſhall vnderſtande, that it is called Pendinas, and beſide ỹ the compaſſe thereof is not aboue a myle, this is to be remembred farder how there ſtādeth a Pharos or light therein, for ſhippes which ſayle by thoſe coaſts in the night. There is alſo at the very poynt of the ſayde Pendinas, a chappell of S. Nicholas, beſide the church of S. Ia, an Iriſh woman Saint. It belōged of late to the Lorde Brooke, but nowe as I geſſe the Lorde Mountioy enioyeth it. There is alſo a Blockhouſe, and a pere in the eaſt ſide thereof, but the pere is ſore choked with ſande, as is the whole ſhore furthemore frō S. Ies vnto S. Carantokes, inſomuch that the greateſt parte of thys Byland is nowe couered with ſandes, which the ſea caſteth vp, & this calamity hath indured little aboue fiue yeares.

Helenus. Priamus.

Pendinas.

There are alſo two Rockes neere vnto Tredwy, and another not farre from Tintagell

gell, all which many of the common sort doe repute and take for Iles: wherefore as one desirous to note all, I thinke it not best that these should be omitted, but to proceede. Whē we be come farder, I meane vnto ẏ Sauerne mouth, we mēte the two Holmes, of which one is called Stepholme, and the other Flatholme, of theyr formes.

It shoulde seeme by some that they are not worthy to be placed among Islands: yet other some are of the opinion, that they are not altogyther so base, as to bee reputed amongst flattes or rockes: but whatsoeuer they be, this is sure that they oft annoye such Passengers and Marchauntes as passe, and repasse vpon that riuer. Neyther doe I reade of any other Iles which lye by east of these same onely the Barri and Dunwen: the first of which is so called of one Barroc, a religious man as Gyraldus saith. And here in is a rock, standing at the very entraunce of the clyffe, which hath a little rift or chine vpon the side, wherevnto if a mā do lay his eare, he shal here a noyse, as if smithes did worke at the forge, sometimes blowing wyth theyr Bellowes, & sometimes striking and clinking with Hammers, whereof many men haue great wonder and marueyle. It is about a mile in compasse, scituate ouer against Aberbarry, and hath a chappel in it.

Barri.

Barri, is a slight shot from the shore.

Dunwen.

Dunwen, is so called of a Churche dedicated to a Welch woman saint, called Dunwen, that standeth there. It lyeth more then two miles from Henrosser, ryght against Neyen, and hath within it two fayre mylles, and great store of conies, and if the sande increase so fast hereafter as it hath done of late about it, it will be vnyted to the mayne, within a short season. Beyond these & toward the coast of Southwales, lye two other Islandes, larger in quantitie, then the Holmes, of which the one is called Caldee or Inis Pyr. It hath a Parishe Church wyth a spire steeple, and a pretty towne belonging to the county of Pembroke, and iurisdiction of S. Dauid in Wales. Lelande supposeth the ruines that are founde therein, to haue bene of an olde priorye sometimes called Lille, which was a celle belonging to the Monasterye of S. Dogmaell, but of this I can saye nothing. The other hyght Londy, wherein is also a village or towne, and of thys Islande the Parson of the sayde towne, is not onelye the captaine, but hath thereto welfe, disseasse, and all other commodities belonging to the same. It is little aboue sixteene myles, from the coast of Wales, and yet it serueth as I am informed Lord and king in Deuonshyre. Moreouer in thys Islande is great plentie of shéepe, but more of conies, and therewithall of very fine and short grasse, for their better foode and pasturage. And albeit that there be not scarslie fourtie households in the whole, yet the inhabitants there with huge stones (alreadye prouided) may kéepe of thousandes of theyr enemies, because it is not possible for any aduersaries to assayle them, but onelye at one place, and wyth a most daungerous entrance, Scalmey the greater and the lesse lye northwest of Milforde hauen a good way. They belong both to the king, but are not inhabited, bicause they be so often spoiled with pirates, Schoncold Isle ioineth vnto great Scalmey, & is bygger then it, onely a passage for shippes parteth them: wherby they are supposed to be one, & Leland toteth the to be in Milford haue. Limen as Ptolomy calleth it, is scituate ouer against S. Dauides in wales, where vnto we must nedes come, after we be past another litle one, which sommen do call Gresholme, In a late Mappe I finde this Limen to be called in English Ramsey: Leland also confirmeth the same, and I cannot learne more thereof, then that it is much greater than any of the other last mencioned, (sithence I described the holmes) and for temporall iurisdiction, a member of Penbrokshire, as it is vnto S. Dauides, for matters concerning ẏ church. Leland in his Commentaries of Englande Lib. 8 sayeth that it contayned three Illettes, where of the Bishop of S. Dauids is owner of the greatest, but ẏ Chanter of S. Dauids claymeth the second, as the Archedeacon of Cairmaiden doth the third. And in these is very excellent pasture for shéepe, and horses, but not for other horned beasts, which lacke their vpper teeth, by nature (whose substaunce is cōuerted into the nourishmēt of their hornes) and therefore cannot byte so low. Next vnto this Isle we came to Mawr, an Island in the mouth of Mawr, scant a bow shote ouer, and enuironned at the low water with fresh, but at the high salt, & here also is excellent catching of Herinses.

Schalmey. Schoncold.

Limen or Ramsey.

Gresholm

Caldee.

Londy.

Mawr.

After this proceeding on stil with our course, we fetched a compasse, going out of the north towarde the west, and then turning againe (as the coast of the country leadeth) vntill we sayled full south, leauing the shore still on our right hande, vntyl we came vnto a couple of yles, which lye vpō the mouth of the Soch, one of them being distaunt, as we gessed a myle from the other, and neyther of them of anye greatnesse, almost worthy to remembred. The first that we came vnto is called Tudfal and therin is a Church, but without any Parishioners, except they be shéepe and Conies. The quantitie therof also is not much aboue,

Tudsall.

fyre

Penthlin. fyre acres of grounde, meaſured by the pole. The nert is Penthlin, or Myrach, ſcituate in maner betwixt Tudſall, or Tuidall and the ſhore, & herin is very good paſture for horſes, whereof as I take it that name is giuen vnto it. Nert vnto them, we come vnto Bardeſey, an Iſlande lying ouer againſt the Southweſt poynt or Promontorie of Northwales, and whether the reaſt of the Monkes of Bangor dyd flye to ſaue themſelues, when their fellowes were ſlayne by the Saxon Princes in the quarell of Auguſtine the monke, and the Citie of Caerleon or Cheſter, raced to the grounde. Ptolomie calleth this Iſland, Lymnos, the Britons Enlhi, and thereinalſo is a parith church, as the report goeth. From hence wee raſt about gathering ſtill towarde the Northeaſt, till we came to Caer Jerienrhod a notable rocke ſituate ouer againſt ỹ mouth of the Leuenni, wherin ſtandeth a ſtrong hold or fortreſſe, or elſe ſome Towne or Village. Certes we could no well diſcerne whether of both it was, becauſe the winde blew harde at Southweſt, the morning was miſtie and our mariners doubting ſome flats to be couched not farre from thence, hailed away vnto Angleſey, whether we went a pace, wyth a redy winde, euen at our owne deſire.

Angleſey cut from Wales by working of the ſea. This Iſlande (which Tacitus miſtaketh, no doubt for Mona Ceſaris) is ſcituate about two myles from the ſhore of Northwales. Paulus Iouius geſſeth that it was in time paſt ioyned to the continent, or maine of our Iſle, and only cut of by working of the Oceane, as Sicilia peraduenture was frō Italy by the violence of the Leuant: thereby alſo as he ſayth the inhabitants were conſtrayned at the firſt to make a bridge ouer into the ſame, till the breach waxed ſo great, that no ſuch paſſage could any longer be mainteyned, but as theſe things doe eyther not touche my purpoſe at all, or make ſmally with the preſent deſcription of this Iſle: ſo (in comming to my matter) Angleſey is founde to be full ſo great as the Wight, & nothing inferiour, but rather ſurmounting it, as that alſo which Cæſar calleth Mona in fruitefulneſſe of ſolle by manye an hundred folde. In olde time it was reputed and taken for the common granerie to Wales, as Sicilia was to Italy for their proviſion of Corne. In lyke maner the Welchmen themſelues called it the mother of theyr country, for giuing their mindes wholly to paſturage, as the moſt eaſie and leſſe chargeable trade, they vtterly neglected tyllage, as men that leaned wholly to the fertilitie of this Iſlande for their Corne, from whence they neuer fayled to receyue cōtinuall abundaunce. It contayned moreouer ſo manye townes welnere, as there be dales in a yere, which ſome conuerting into Cantredes haue accompted but for three, as Gyraldus ſayeth. Howbeit as there haue bene I ſay 363. townes in Angleſey, ſo now a great part of ỹ reconning is vtterly ſhronke, & ſo farre gone to decay, ỹ the very ruines of thē are vneth to be ſeene: and yet it ſeemeth to be meetely wel inhabited. Leland noting the ſmalneſſe of our hundredes in compariſon to that they were in tyme paſt, addeth ſo farre as I remember that there are fyre of them in Angleſey, as Menay, Maltraith, Liuon, Talbelliō, Torkalin, and Tindaithei: hereunto Lhoid ſaith alſo how it belonged in olde time, vnto the kingdome of Guinhed or Northwales, & that therin at a towne called Aberfraw, being on the Southweſt ſide of the Iſle, the kinges of Gwinhed helde euermore their pallaces, whereby it came to paſſe, that the kinges of northwales, were for a lōg time, called kings of Aberfraw, as ỹ Welchmē named ỹ kings of England kinges of London, till better inſtruction dyd bring them farder knowledge.

There are in Angleſey many townes and villages, whoſe names as yet I can not orderly attayne vnto: wherefore I will content my ſelfe with the rehearſall of ſo many as we viewed in ſayling about the coaſtes, and otherwyſe hearde report of by ſuch as I haue talked with all. Beginning therefore at the mouth of the Gefni (which ryſeth at Northeaſt aboue Gefni or Geuenni, 20. myles at ỹ leaſt into the land) we paſſed firſt by Hundwyn, then by Newborow, Port Hayton, Beaumarrais, Pennō, Elā, Almwoch, Burric (wherby runneth a rill into a creke) Cornew, Holyhed, (ſtanding in the promontorie) Gwifen, Aberfraw, and Cair Gadwaladar, of all which, the two latter ſtande, as it were in a nuke, betweene the Geuenni water, & the Fraw, wherupō Aberfraw is ſcituate. Within the Iland, we hard only of Gefni afore mētioned, of Griſtial ſtāding vpō ỹ ſame water of Tefri, of Lanerchimedh, Lachtenfarwy & Bodedrin, but of all theſe the chiefe is nowe Beaumarais, which was buylded ſometyme by king Edward the firſt, and therewithall a ſtrong Caſtell about the yeare 1295. to kepe that lande in quiet. There are alſo as Leland ſayth 31. Pariſhe churches beſide 69. chappelles, that is 100. in all: but hereof I can ſay litle, for lacke of ſuch inſtruction. In tymes paſt, the people of this Iſle vſed not to ſeuerall their groundes, but now they digge ſtony hillockes and with the ſtones thereof they make rude walles, much lyke to thoſe of Deuonſhyre, ſith they want hedges, fire bote, and houſebote, or to ſaye at one worde, timber & trees. As for wine, it

is

is ſo plentifull & good cheape there moſt commonly as in London, thoꝛowe the great recourſe of marchaunts frō France, Spaine, and Italy vnto the aforeſayde Iſlande. The fleſhe likewyſe of ſuch Cattell as is bꝛedde there, is moſt delicate, by reaſon of their excellent paſture, & ſo much was it eſteemed by the Romaines in tyme paſt, ỹ Collumella did not onely commende & pꝛeferre them before thoſe of Liguria, but the emperours thēſelues alſo cauſed there pꝛouiſion to be made foꝛ nete out of Angleſey to fēde vppon at their owne tables as the moſt excellent bēfe. It taketh the name of Angles & Eye, which is to meane the Iſle of Engliſhmen, bycauſe they wan it in the conquerours tyme, vnder the leading of Hugh Earle of Cheſter, & Hugh of Shꝛewesbury. The Welchmē cal it Tiremone, and herein likewyſe is a Pꝛomontozie oꝛ Bylande, called Holly hed, (which hath in tyme paſt bene named Cair ky by, of Kyby a monke, that dwelled in that place) frō whence the readyeſt paſſage is commonly had out of Nozthwales to get ouer into Irelande. The Bꝛitons named it Enylſnach, oꝛ holy Iſle of the number of carkaſes of holy men, which they ſuppoſe to haue bēne buryed there. But herein I marueyle not a little what women had offended, that they myght not come thither, oꝛ at the leaſt wyſe returne from thence without ſome notable repꝛoche. And nowe to conclude with the deſcription of the whole Iſlande, this I will adde mozeouer vnto hir cōmodities, that as there are the beſt milſtones of white, redde, blewe, and greene grētes, (eſpecially in Tindaithin,) ſo there is great gaines to begotten by fiſhing, rounde about this Iſle, if the people there couldе vſe the trade: but they want both cunning and diligence to take that matter in hande. And as foꝛ tempoꝛall regimēt it appartayneth to the countye of Cairnaruon, ſo in ſpirituall caſes it belongeth to the Bythopꝛicke of Bangor. This is finally to be noted mozeouer of Angleſey, that ſundꝛy earthen pottes are often founde there of dead mens bones conuerted into aſhes, ſet with the mouthes downeward contrarie to the vſe of other nations, which turned the bꝛimmes vpwardes, whereof let this ſuffice.

Holy head, oꝛ Cair kiby.

Enilſnach, holy Iſle.

Hauing thus deſcrybed Angleſey, it reſteth to repoꝛt furthermoze, how that in our circuite about the ſame, we mette with other little Iſlettes, of which one lyeth Nozthweſt therof almoſt ouer againſt Butricke mouth, oꝛ the fall of the water, that paſſeth by Butricke. The Bꝛitons called it Ynis Ader, that is to ſay, the Iſle of Birdes in olde time, but now it hight Ynis Moil, oꝛ Ynis Rhomaid, that is ỹ Iſle of Pozpaſſes. It hath to name likewiſe Yſterifd, and Adros. Being paſt this, we came to the ſecond lying by Nozth eaſt, ouer againſt the Hillary point, called Ynis Ligod, that is to ſay, the Iſle of Miſe, and of theſe two th, is latter is the ſmalleſt, neyther of thē both beyng of anye greatneſſe to ſpeake of.

Adar. Moil. Rhomaid.

Yſterifd. Adros. Lygod.

Ynis Seriall oꝛ Preſtholme, lieth ouer againſt Pennon, oꝛ the point called the hed of Mon, where I founde a towne (as I tolde you) of the ſame denominatiō. Ptolomy nameth not this Iſlande, whereof I marueyle. It is percell of Flintſhyꝛe, and of the iuriſdiction of S. Apſah, and in fertilitie of ſoyle, and bꝛēde of Cattell, nothing inferiour vnto Angleſey hir mother: although that foꝛ quantitie of groūd it come infinitely ſhoꝛt thereof, & be nothing cōparable vnto it. The laſt Iſland vpon ỹ coſt of Wales, hauing now left Angleſey, is called Credine, & although it lye not pꝛoperly within the compaſſe of my deſcription, yet I will not let to touch it by the waye, ſith the cauſey thither from Denbighlande, is commonly ouerflowen. It is partly made an Iſland by the Conwey & partly by the ſea. But to pꝛoceede, when we had viewed this place, we paſſed foꝛth without finding any mo Iſles to my remembꝛaunce, vntill we came to the Cape of Iſle Bꝛeē, oꝛ Hilbery & poynt of Wyꝛale, which is an Iſlande at the full ſea, a quarter of a myle from the lande, and foure fadame dēepe, as ſhippes boyes haue oft founded, but at a lowe water, a man may go ouer on the ſande. The Iſle of it ſelf is very ſandy a mile in compaſſe, & well ſtoꝛed with Conies, thither alſo went a ſoꝛt of ſuperſticious fooles in tymes paſt, in pylgrimage, to our Ladye of Hilbery by whoſe offrings a Cell of Monkes there, which belonged to Cheſter, were cheriſhed and maintayned.

Credine.

Hilbery.

The next Iſland vppon the coaſt of England is man, which the Welchmen doe commonly call Manaw. It lieth vnder 53. degrees of Latitude, and 30. minuts, and hath in longitude 16. degrees and 40. minutes, abutting on the Nozth ſide vpō S. Nimans in Scotland, Furneſſels on the Eaſt, Pꝛeſtholme & Angleſey on the South, and Wikher in Ireland on the Weſt. It is greater then Angleſey by a thirde part, and there are two ryuers in the ſame, whoſe heddes doe ioyne ſo nēere, that they doe ſeeme in maner to part the Iſle in twaine. Some of our auncient writers call it Euboina and other Meuania, howbeit after Beda and the Scottiſh hiſtories, the Meuaniæ are thoſe Iſles which we now call the Hebrides oꝛ Hebudes (whereof William Malſmebery Lib. 1. de regibus, will haue Angleſey to be one) wherfoꝛe it ſeemeth that a number of

Man is ſuppoſed to be the firſt, as Hic tha is the laſt, of the Hebrides, and Hector Boethus noteth a difference betweene them of 300. miles.

Euboina. Meuania.

out

our late writers aſcribing the ſayde name vnto Mona, haue not bene a little deceaued. In this Iſlande were ſome time 1300. families, of which 960. were in the Weſt halfe, & the reaſt in the other. But nowe thorow ioyning houſe to houſe, and lande to land, (a cõmon plague & canker, which wil eate vp al, if prouiſion be not made in tyme to withſtande this miſchiefe) that number is halfe diminiſhed, and yet many of the riche inhabiters want roume & wote not howe & where to beſtow themſelues, to their quiet contentatiõs. Certes this impedimẽt groweth not by reaſon that men were greater in body, then they haue bene in tyme paſt, but onlye for ỹ their inſatiable deſire of inlarging their priuate poſſeſſions increaſeth ſtill vpon them, & will doe more, except they be reſtrayned: but to returne to our purpoſe. The kings of Scotlande had this Iſlande vnder their dominiõ, almoſt from their firſt arriual in this Iſland, and as Beda ſayeth till Edwine king of the Northumbers wanne it from them and vnited it to his kingdome. Hereof alſo I coulde bring better teſtimonie, for we finde that the kings of Scotlande, did not only giue lawes to ſuch as dwelled there, but alſo from tyme to tyme, appoint ſuch Byſhoppes as ſhoulde exerciſe Eccleſiaſtical Iuriſdiciõ in ỹ ſame. Finally how, after ſundry ſales bargains and cõtracts of Matrimony for I reade ỹ Willã Scroupe the kings Vicechamberleyne, did buy this Iſle and crowne therof of the Lord Willã Montacute Earle of Sarũ) it came vnto ỹ anceſtours of the Earles of Darby, who haue bene cõmonly ſayd to be kings of Man, the hyſtorie folowing as I ſuppoſe ſhal more at large declare. Cronica Tinemuthi. Gyraldus noteth how there was contention ſometyme betweene the kings of Englande, and Irelande, for the ryght of this Iſlande, but in the ende when by a cõpromiſe the tryall of the matter was referred to the liues or deathes of ſuch venemous Wormes as ſhoulde be brought into the ſame, and it was founde, that they dyed not at all, as the lyke dde in Irelande, ſentence paſſed with the kyng of Englande, and ſo he retayned the Iſlande. But howſoeuer this matter ſtandeth, & whether any ſuch thing was done at all or not, ſure it is that the people of the ſayde Iſle, were much giuen to Witchcraft, and Sorcerie (which they learned of the Scottes a people greatly bent to that horrible practiſe) inſomuch that theyr women, woulde oftentimes ſell winde to the mariners incloſed vnder certayne knots of threde, with this inunction, that they which bought the ſame, ſhoulde for a great gale vndoe manye, and for the leſſe a ſmaller number. The ſtature of the men & alſo fertilitie of this Iſlande are much commended & for the latter ſuppoſed verye nere to be equall with that of Angleſey, in all commodities. Tal men in Man.

There are alſo theſe townes therin, as they come now to my remẽbrance, Ruſhen Dunglaſſe, Holme towne S. Brids, Bala Cury (ỹ byſhops houſe) S. Mich. S. Andrew, kirk chriſt, kirk Louel. S. Machees, kirke Santã, Palq ſalla, kirk S. Mary, kirk Cõcane, kirk Malu. & Home. But of all theſe Ruſhen with ỹ caſtel is the ſtrõgeſt. It is alſo in recompẽce of the common want of woode, indued wyth ſundry pretty waters, as firſt of all the burne that ryſſeth in northſide of warchill botomes, & branching out by ſouthweſt of kirke Santan, it ſeemeth to cut of a great part of the eaſtſide thereof, from the reſidue of that Iland. From thoſe hylles alſo (but of the ſouth halfe) commeth the Home and Homey, by a towne of the ſame name, in the verry mouth whereof, lieth the Pile, afore mencioned. They haue alſo the Bala paſſing by Bala cury, on the weſtſide, and the Kame on the north, whoſe fall is named Kameſey hauen as I doe reade in Chronicles. Riuers.

There are moreouer ſundry great hylles therein. as that wherupõ S. Mathees ſtandeth, in the northeaſt parte of the Iſle, a parcell whereof commeth flat ſouth, betweene kirke Louell, and kirke Mary, yelding out of their botomes the water Bala, whereof I ſpake before. Beſide theſe and well toward the ſouth part of the Iſle, I finde the warchilles, which are extended almoſt, from the weſt coaſt ouerthwart vnto the burne ſtreame. It hath alſo ſundrye hauens, as Ramſey hauen, by north, Laxam hauen, by eaſt, Port Iris, by ſouthweſt, Port Home, and Port Michell, by weſt. In lyke ſort there are diuers Iſlettes annexed to the ſame, as the Calf of man on the ſouth, the Pile on the weſt, and finallye S. Michelles Iſle, in the Gulf called Ranoths way, in the eaſt. Moreouer the ſheepe of thys countrye are exceeding huge, wel woolled, and their tayles of ſuch greatneſſe as is almoſt incredible. In lyke ſorte theyr hogges are in maner monſtruous. They haue furthermore great ſtore of Barnacles, breeding vpõ their coaſts, (but yet not ſo great ſtore as in Ireland and thoſe (as there alſo) of olde ſhippes. Okes, Maſtes, and ſuch putryfied pytched ſtuffe, as by wracke hath happened to corrupt vpon that ſhore. Howbeit neyther the inhabytantes of thys Iſle, nor yet of Ireland can redily ſaye whether they be fiſh or fleſhe, for although the religious there vſed to eate the as fiſhe, yet elſewhere, ſome haue bene troubled, for eating them in times prohibited, as Heretikes, and Lollardes. Hylles. Hauens. Calf of mã. Thepple. S. Michelles Iſle. Sheepe. Hogges. Barnacles. Barnacles neyther fiſhe, nor fleſhe.

There

Bishop of Man.

There hath sometime bene, and yet is a Byshop of this Ile, who at the first was called Episcopus Sodorensis, when ye iurisdiction of all ye Hebrides belonged vnto him. Whereas now he ye is Byshop there, is but a Bishops shadow, for albeit ye he beare ye name of Byshop of Man, yet haue ye Earles of Darby, as it is supposed, al ye profite of his Sie, (sauing that they allowe him a little somewhat for a flourish) notwithstanding that they be hys patrons and haue hys nomination to that Sie.

Patrone of Man.

It is subiect to the Byshoppe of Yorke also, for spirituall Iurisdiction, & in time of Henry the seconde had a king, as Houeden saith, whose name was Cuthrede vnto whome Vinianus ye Cardinall came as Legate. 1177. but sith I can neyther come by the names, nor successions of those Princes that reigned there, I surcease to speake any more of them, and also of the Ile it selfe, whereof this may suffise.

After we haue in thus wise described the Ile of Man, with hyr commodities, we returned eastwardes back againe vnto ye point of Ramshed, where we founde to the number of fyre Ilettes of one sorte and other, whereof the first greatest and most easterly, is named the Wauay. It runneth out in length, as wee gessed about fiue myles from the south into ye north, and betweene the same and the maine lande lie two little ones, whose names I find not in anye writer so farre, as I remember. The fourth is called ye Fouldra, and being scituate southeast of the first, it hath a prety pile or blockhouse therin, which the inhabitaunts name the Pile of Fouldray. By east thereof in lyke sort lye the Fola and the Roa, plottes of no great compasse, and yet of al these fyre, the first and Fowldra are the fayrest and most fruitefull. From hence we went by Rauenglasse point, where lieth an Iland of the same denomination, as Reginalde Wolfe hath noted in his great Carde, not yet finished, nor lykely to be published. He noteth also two other Ilettes, betweene the same & the mayne lande, but Lelande speaketh nothing of them, (to my remembrance,) neyther anye other Carde, as yet set forth of England: and thus much of the Ilands that lie vpon our shore.

Wauay.

Fouldra. Fola. Roa.

Rauenglasse.

Hauing so exactlye as to me is possible, set downe the names & positions of such Iles as are to be found vpō the coastes of ye Quenes maiesties dominions. Nowe it resteth ye we procede orderly wyth those ye are scene to lye vpō the cost of Scotland, that is to say, in the Irish, the Deucalidon & the Germaines seas: But before we come at these, there are diuers other to be touched, which are scituate betweene the nuke of Galloway, & the Frith of Solue, whose names I find not as yet set downe by any writer, neyther is their number greate. Wherefore sith I may not doe in this their descriptiō what I would, I must be contented to doe therein what I may, and to ridde my hands of the one, that I may the sooner come vnto, and be dealing with the other. The first of these therefore, lyeth ouer against Dundrenaw, somewhat towarde the mouth of the streame, that goeth vnto Glanlaire. The second is scituate in ye Dee, wherin Trief Castell standeth: by west whereof lyeth S. Mary Ile, which is ouer against Whitherne, or as we nowe call it Witherne, of which in our Englishe hystories we haue oft mention vnder the name of Candida Casa, whereof the learned are not ignorant.

Trief. S. Mary Ile.

Beyonde these are two other lying togither, as it were in the mouth of the lowest docke, & from thence we passed directly roundo about, the aforesayde nuke, vnto Dumbritton fyrth, where we finde also nine or tenne Ilandes, of diuers quantities, whereof Ailze, or Aliza, is the first, & wherein is great plentye of the Soland foule, Kinuary the second, Bure the third, Marnoch the fourth, Pladua the fift, Lanlach the sixt, Arren or Botha, the seauenth, Sauday the eyght, and Olr the ninth: but of all these, one or two are only accounted famous, that is Arren the greatest of all, wherin standeth a towne of the same name, and Bure the nert, in which Rosa is scituate: the reast are eyther vtterly barren, or not very commodious, except for fowle to such as owe the same. By this time also are we come to the peynt of Cantyre, which is not passing fiftene or sixtene myles, distaunt from the coast of Irelande, so that next vnto these afore remembred (and when we haue fetched in the aforesaid peynt) we come vnto the Hebrides, which are reconned to be three and fourtie, in number, besides the flattes and shallowes as I haue earst affirmed in the beginning of thys chapter.

15. Miles betweene Cantyre & the coast of Desmond.

Of these aforesayd Ilands, I finde dyuers to be 30. myles, some twelue other more or lesse quantity, but Sky Mula Iona, & Ila, are the greatest, as shall appeare hereafter. Certes it is impossible for me, being a meere Englyshman voyde of helpe & of small reading, to discusse the controuersies that are moued among the learned, touching the Meuainæ & the Hebrides, wherefore sith I am not able to deale so deepely with that matter, I will first shewe what Ilandes doe lye vpon the west coastes of Scotlande betweene Cantyre and Andermouth heade, giuing out onelye the names of the least (sith I know nothing els of their commodities and greatnesse) and then

proceeding with the reast as they doe lie in order. First of all therefore and ouer against Kiltan, (for I will go by the shore) we haue Karay, then Segay, S. Machare, and hys neighbour, Langa, Summay, Dunqu, Corsey Leawing, Cewil, Pawell, Caerbery, Lismore, & Puke, which lyeth at the very point, of Andermouth, ouer against Mere, fourtene in all. From hence going westwarde, wee come to the Terry and the Coll, and then entring in among the reast, by Carndeburge, Ulwaye, or Dronsay, Colausay, & Iona minor we come at the last to Scarbo, Corebricken, Houell, al which thus mencioned, of the least are counted ỳ greatest, & yet there are sundry other, of whose names I haue no knowledge. In thys tracte also, there are yet three to intreate of, as Ila, Iona & Mula, of which the first is one of the most, that hath not bene least accounted of. It is not much aboue 30 myles in length, & twenty in breadth, & yet it is an exceeding riche plot of grounde very plenteous of corne, but more ful of mettals, which were easie to be obteyned, if either the people were industrious, or the soyle yéeldable of wode to fine and trye out the same.

Ila.

Iona was sometime called Columkill, In fame and estimation, nothing inferiour to any of the other, although in length it exceede little aboue twentie myles, and in breadth, 10. for by reason of a famous Abbie somtime buylded there by Fergus the seconde, it hath bene countenaunced out by the sepulchres of so many kings, as deceased in Scotlãd, after the sayde Fergus, vntil the tyme of Malcoline Cammor, who by buylding another Abbey, at Dunfermeling, gaue occasion to hys successours to be interred there.

Iona.

Mula is a ryght noble Ile, replenished wyth dyuers and sundry townes, and castels, as are also the other two, albeit their names at thys tyme be not at hand & ready. This yet is worthy the noting in this Iland aboue all the rest, that it hath a pleasant spring, arising two myles in distaunce from the shore, wherin are certayne lyttle egges founde, much like vnto indifferent Pearles, both for colour and bygnesse, and thereto full of thicke humour, which egges being carried by violence of ỳ fresh water, vnto the salt, are there within the space of 12. houres conuerted into great shelles, which I take to be the mother pearle except I be deceyued. And thus much briefly of the seauen and twentye greatest Iles, lying within the aforesayde compasse, being driuen of force to omitte the lesser onely, for that I neyther fynd theyr names, among the Scottishe writers, neyther to saye the truth directly vnderstande howe manye be flattes, and howe manye be couered with grasse: To procéede therefore by north of Andermouth we haue Egge, Kon, Cãnay, Flad, Trantnesse, (where is a castell,) Trant, Altauecke, another Flad, Kona, and Scalpa, beside sundrye smaller, whose names I doe not knowe, & all these doe enuyron the greatest of all, called Sky, in which are dyuers townes, as Aye, S. Johns, Dunwegen, and S. Nicholas, beside other, and thereunto sundry lakes, and freshe streames, and those not without great abundaunce of Samon and sundry other fishe, whereby the inhabitaunts of those partes doe reape no small aduauntage. Furthermore & by west of these lye diuers other percels also of this number, of which, if you loke to here an orderly reporte you shall vnderstande that I will beginne at the most southerly of them, and so procéede, with eche one in order, so well as my knowledg doth serue me. First of al therfore, there are foure little Illandes, of which one called Erth, another Scail are ỳ greatest. Next vnto these and directly towarde the north lyeth Bawaye, then S. Peters Ile, in the east side, whereof are three small ones, whose names I haue not yet learned. Next of al is the Eust or Yirtha, which séemeth by certaine riuers, to be deuided into four partes, of which the the first hath a towne called S. Columbanes in ỳ north side thereof, ỳ second another dedicated to S. Mary, & the fourth (for I find nothing of ỳ third) one named after S. Patricke, by west wherof, lyeth yet a lesse, not greatly frequẽted of any. By north of this also are 3. other, of lyke quantity, and then followeth Lewis, scituate in the Deucalidon sea, ouer against the Rosse, and called Thule, by Tacitus, wherein are many lakes, and very prettye Villages, as lake Erwyn, lake Vnsalsago: but of townes, S. Clements, Stoye, Noys, S. Colombane, Radmach &c. About thys are also diuers other Illes, of lesse quãtitye found, as Scalpay, Ilen, Schent, Barray the more, Barraye the lesse, S. Kylder, & other of smaller reputation, whereof the most parte are voyde of culture and inhabitantes, and therefore not worthye to be remembred here. This finallye is left to be sayd of these Illes, that albeit Lewissa, be the greatest of them, and conteyning threescore myles, in length, and thirtie in breadth, yet Yirtha, or Yirth, is the most famous, for the shéepe which are there bredde, and is therefore called Shepy of the wylde Irysshe. Certes, the stature of these shéepe is greater and higher, thẽ of any fallowe deere, their tailes hanging downe to the grounde, and their hornes longer & thicker then those of any Bugle. Vnto

Skye.

Erth.
Scaull.
Bawaye.
S. Peters Ile.
Yirth or Eust.

Lewis, called Thule by Tacitus with no better authoritie then he named Anglesey Mona.

thys

thys Iſlande alſo in the Moneth of June, (when the ſeas be moſt calme) there commeth a Prieſt out of Lewiſſa, & miniſtreth the ſacramẽt of Baptiſme to all ſuch childrẽ as haue bẽne borne there, and the Iſlandes about ſith that moneth in the yeare paſſed. This being done, and his appointed number of maſſes ſaide, he receyueth the tythes of all theyr commodities, and then returneth home againe the ſame way he came.

Rona. Rona the laſt of the Hebrides, is diſtant, as I ſaide, about fourtie mile from the Orchades, and one hundreth and thirtye, from the Promontorye of Dunſibe. The coaſt of thys Iſle is dayly replenyſhed with Seales, and Porpaſſe, which are eyther ſo tame, or ſo fierce, that they abaſh not at the ſight of ſuch as looke vpon them, neyther make they any haſte to flye out of theyr preſence. Aboue the Firth alſo is another Iſlande, though not inhabited, wherin is a certeine kind of wilde beaſte, not much different frõ the figure of a ſhéepe, but ſo wilde that it will not eaſilye be tamed. For theyr grynning alſo they are reputed to be a kynde of baſtarde Tyger. As for theyr heaire it is betwæne the woll of a ſhéepe, and heaire of a goate, ſomewhat reſembling eche, ſhacked, and yet abſolutely like vnto neyther of both.

The Shotland Iſles There are alſo other Iſles, an hundreth myles beyond the Orchades, towarde eaſt northeaſt, and ſubiect to ſcotlande, wherin is neyther corne, nor anye vſe of fleſh, although they haue ſtore of ſundrye ſortes of cattell amongſt them. But in ſtead of bread, they drie a kinde of fiſhe, which they beate in morters to powder, and bake it in theyr Ouens, vntill it be hearde and drye. Theyr fewell alſo is of ſuch bones as the fiſhe yéeldeth that is taken on theyr coaſtes, and yet they lyue as themſelues ſuppoſe in much felicitie, thinking it a great péece of theyr happyneſſe to bée ſo farre diſtaunt from the wicked auarice, & cruell dealings of the world. As for theyr ryches and commodities, they al conſiſt in the ſkinnes of beaſtes, as of Oxẽ, Shéepe, Gotes, Martenes, and ſuch like, wherof they make great reconing. Herin alſo they are lyke vnto ỳ Hirthiens, in ỳ at one time of the yeare, there commeth a prieſt vnto them, out of the Orchades (vnto which Juriſdiction they doe belong) who Baptiſeth all ſuch children, as haue bene borne among them, ſith he laſt arriued: and hauing afterward remained there for a few dayes, he taketh his tythes of them (which they prouide & pay with great ſcrupuloſitie in fiſhe, for of other commodities pay they none) and then returneth home againe, not without boaſt of his troubleſome voyage, except he watch his time. In theſe Iſles alſo is great plẽty of fine Amber to be had, which is produced by the working of the ſea, vpon thoſe coaſtes: howbeit, after what name theſe Iſles be called particularly and how many there be of them in all, the Scottes themſelues are eyther ignoraunt, or not ſo diligent, as to make any conſtant mention.

The Orchades, lie partly in the Germaine, and partly in the Calidon ſeas, ouer againſt the poynt of Dunghilby, beyng in number thirtie one of name, & belonging to ỳ crowne of Scotlande, as are the reaſt whereof here tofore I haue made report, ſince we croſſed ouer the mouth of the Solenie ſreame, to come into this countrye. Certes the people of theſe Iſlands are of goodly ſtature, tall, derye complexyon, hearty, luſtie, of long lyfe, great ſtrength, and moſt whyte colour: and yet they féede moſt vpon fiſhe onely, ſith the cold is ſo extréme in thoſe parts, that the ground bringeth forth but ſmal ſtore of Wheate, & in maner very little or no ſewell at al, to warme them in the winter. Otes they haue verye plentifull, but greater ſtore of Barly, wherof they make a nappye kinde of drinke, and ſuch in déede, as will verye readilye cauſe a ſtrãger to forget himſelf. Howbeit this may be vnto vs, a miracle, ỳ although theyr drinke be neuer ſo ſtrong, & they themſelues ſo immeaſurable drinkers (as none are more) yet it ſhal not eaſily be ſeene, that there is any drunckarde among them, either frantike, or madde mã, dolt, or natural fole, méete to were a cockeſcomb. In like ſort they want venemous beaſtes, chiefly ſuch as doe delyte in hotter ſoile. Theyr Ewes alſo are ſo full of increaſe, that ſome doe vſualye bring forth two, three, or foure lambes at once, whereby they account our anelings (which are ſuch as bring forth but one at once) rather to be barren then kept for any gaine. As for wyld and tame fowles, they haue ſuch plentie of them, that the people there account them rather a burthen to theyr ſoyle, then a benefite to their tables. There is alſo a Biſhop of the Orchades, who hath his ſée, in Pomonia the chiefe of al the Iſlands, wherin alſo are two ſtrong caſtelles, and ſuch hath bẽn the ſuperſtition of the people here, that there is almoſt no one of them, that hath not one church at the leaſt dedicated to the mother of Chriſt. Finallye there is little vſe of Phiſicke in theſe quarters, leſſe ſtore of Oles, and leaſt of frogges. As for ỳ horſes that are bred amongſt them, they are commonlye not much greater then Aſſes, and yet to labour and trauaile, a man ſhall finde very fewe elſewhere, able to come nére, much leſſe to matche with them, in

Orchades.

holding out their labours.

From the Orchades vntill we come southwardes to the Scarre, which lyeth in Buquhamnesse, I finde no mention of any Ile situate vpon that coast, neyther greatly from thence, vntill we come at the forth, that leadeth vp to Sterling, wherein we passe by seuen or eyght such as they be, of which the first called the May, the seconde Baas and Garwy, the third doe seme to be inhabited. From these also holding on our course towarde England, we passe by another ple, wherein Fayr castell standeth, and this so farre as my skill serueth is the last Iland of the Scottish side, in compassing whereof I am not able to discerne, whether their flattes and shallowes, nombers of Ilandes without name, confusion of situation, lacke of true description, or mine owne ignorance hath troubled me most. No maruayle therefore that I haue beene so oft at ground, among them. But most ioyful am I yam come home againe: although not by Thames mouth into my natiue citie (which the taketh his name of Troye) yet into ỹ English dominion where good entertaynement is much more franke and copious, and better harborow, wherein to rest my wery bones, & easily refreshe my wel beaten carkase.

The first Iland therfore, which commeth to our sight, after we passed Farwye, is that which was sometime called Lindefarne, but now Holly Iland, and containeth 8. myles a place much honoured among our Monasticall writers, bycause diuers monkes & Heremites vpō spende their times therein. There was also the Bysshoppes See of Lindefarne, for a long season, which afterwarde was trāslated to Duncline or Durham. Next vnto this is the Ile of Farne, and herein is a place of defence so farre as I remember, & so great store of Egges layed there by diuers kindes of Wildfoule in time of the yere, that a man shall hardly runne for a wager on the plaine ground without the breach of many before his race be finished. About Farne also lie certayne ples greater then Farne it self, but voyde of inhabitaunts & in these also is great store of Puffins, graie as Duckes, and without coloured fethers, sauing that they haue a white ring round about their neckes. There is moreouer another Birde, which the people call saint Cuthbertes foules, a very tame and gentle creature, and easie to be taken. After this we came to the Cocket Iland, so called bycause it lyeth ouer against the fall of cocke water. And here is a vayne of meane seacole, which the people digge out of the shore at the low water. And from thence vntill we came vnto the cost of Norfolke I saw no mo Ilands. Being therefore past S. Edmonds point, we saw a litle Ile ouer against the fall of the water that commeth frō Holkham, and likewyse an other ouer against the Clay, before we came at Maburne hope: the thirde also in Yarmouth ryuer ouer against Bradwell a towne in lew or little England, whereof also I must needes say somewhat, bycause it is in maner an Iland, and as I gesse eyther hath beene or may be one, for the brode place of the Strict lande that leadeth to the same, is little aboue a quarter of a myle, which against the raging waues of the sea, can make but small resistence. Little England or low Englande therefore is about 8. miles in length and fourte in bredth, very well replenished with townes, as Fristan, Burgh castel, Dilton, Flixtō, Lestoft, Guntō, Blundeston, Cozton, Lound, Asheby, Horton, Belton, Bradwel, & Cozleston, and beside this it is very fruitfull and indued with all commodities. Going forwarde from hence, by the Elton nesse (almost an Iland,) I sawe a small percell cut from the maine in Oxforde hauen, ỹ Langerstone in Oxwell mouth, two peces or Islettes at Cattywade Bridge, the calling about vnto ỹ Colne, we beholde Mersey which is a prettie Iland, well furnished with wood. It was sometime a great receptacle for the Danes, when they inuaded Englande, howbeit at this present it hath beside two decayed Blockhouses, two Parish churches of wich one is called East Mersey, the other west Mersey & both vnder the Archdeacon of Colchester as percell of his iurisdictiō. Foulnesse. Foulnesse is an Ile voyde of wood, & yet wel replenished with very good grasse for nette and sheepe, whereof the inhabitaunts haue great plentie: there is also a Parish church, and albeit that it stande somewhat distaunt from the shore, yet at a dead low water a man ryde thereto if he be skilfull of the Cawsie.

Lindesfarne or holy Iland

Farne.

Puffins.

S. Cuthbertes foules.

Little England.

Mersey.

In Maldon water are in lyke sorte three Ilands, enuironned with the salt streames, as S. Osithes, Northey and another (after a mershe) that beareth no name so far as I remember. On the right hand also as we went toward the sea againe, we saw Ramsey Ile, or rather a Peninsula or Bylande, and likewyse the Key, in which is a Chappell of S. Peter. And then coasting vpō the mouth of ỹ Bourne, we saw ỹ Wallot Ile & his mates, whereof two lye by East of Wallot, and the forth is Foulnesse, excepte I be deceyued, for here my memorye fayleth me, on the one side and information on the other, I meane cōcerning ỹ placing of foulnesse. But to proceede, after this and being entered into the Thames mouth, I finde no Ilande of anye

Dusey. Northey. Ramsey. Key.

name,

name, except you accompt Rochford hundred for one, whereof I haue no mind to entreate, more then of Crowland, Mersland, Ely, and the reast, that are scanned by the Ouze and Auon (two noble riuers hereafter to be described) sith I touch only those that are enuironned with the sea, or saltwater roundē about, as wee maye see in the Canway Iles, which some doe liken to an Ipocrase bag, some to a vice, skrew, or wide sleeue, bycause they are very small at the east end, and large at west. The salte rilles also that crosse the same doe so seperate the one of them frō the other, that they resemble the slope course of the cutting part of a skrew or gimlet, in very perfite maner, if a man doe imagine himselfe to looke downe from the top of the mast vppon them. Betweene these, moreouer and the Leighe towne lyeth another little Ile, whose name is to me vnknowen. Certes I woulde haue gone to landē and viewed these percelles as they lay, but forasmuch as a Perry of winde (scarse cōparable to the makerell gale wherof Iohn Anele, one of the best seamē that england euer bredde, was wont to talke) caught holde of our sayles, and carryed vs forth the right way toward London, I coulde not tary to see what thinges were hereabouts. Thus much therefore of our Ilandes, and so much may well suffice. Canway.

Of the rysing and falles of such ryuers and streames, as descende into the sea without alteration of their names, and first of those that lye betweene the Thames and the Sauerne. Cap. 9.

HAuing as you haue seene attempted to set downe a full discourse of all the Ilandes, that are scituate vppon the coast of Britayne, and finding the successe not correspondent to myne intent, it hath caused mee somewhat to restrayne my purpose in thys description of our riuers. For whereas I entended at the first to haue written at large of the number, scituation, names, quantities, Townes, Villages, Castles, Mountaynes, Freshwaters, Plashes, or Lakes, Saltwaters, and other commodities of the aforesayd Iles, myne expectation of information from all partes of Englande, was so deceyued in the ende, that I was fayne at last, onelye to leane to that which I knewe my selfe eyther by reading or such other helpe as I had already purchased and gotten of the same. And euen so it happeneth also in this my tractatiō of waters, of whose heads, courses, legth, bredth, depth of Chanell (for burden) ebbes, flowinges, and falles, I had thought to haue made a perfect descriptiō. But now for want of instruction, which hath beene largelye promised, and slackly performed, and other sodayne and iniurious denyall of helpe voluntarily offred, wythout occasion gyuen on my part, I must needes content my self with such obseruations as I haue eyther obtayned by myne owne experience, or gathered frō tyme to tyme out of other mens writings: whereby the full discourse of the whole is vtterly cut of, and in stede of the same a mangled rehearsall of the residue, set downe and left in memorie. Wherefore I beseech your Honour to pardon this imperfection and rudenesse of my labour, which notwithstanding is not altogither in vayne, sith my errors may prooue a spurre vnto the better skilled, eyther to correct, or inlarge where occasion serueth, or at the leastwise to take in hande a more absolute peece of worke as better direction shall encorage them thereto. The entraunce and beginning of euery thing is the hardest, and hee that beginneth well hath atchieued halfe hys purpose. The Ise my Lorde is broken, and from henceforth it wil be more easie for such as shall come after to wade through with the reast, sith facile est inuētis addere, and to continue and finishe, is not so great a matter in building, as to attempt and laye the foundation or platforme of any noble peece of workemanshippe, though it be but rudely handled. But to my purpose as I began at ỹ Thames in my description of Ilandes, so will I now do the like with that of riuers: making mine entrie at the sayde ryuer it selfe, which hath his heade or beginning out of the side of an hyll, standing in the playnes of Cotteswolde, about one mile from Tetbury nere vnto the Fosse (an hygh waye so called of olde) where it was sometyme named Isis or the Ouse, although dyuers doe ignorauntlye call it the Thames, euen there, rather of a foolishe custome then of anye skill, bycause they eyther neglect or vtterly are ignoraunt, how it was named at the first. From hence it runneth directly toward the east, where it meeteth with the Tyne or Churne, (a brooke called in latin Corinium) whereof Cyrnecester towne by which it commeth doth take the name. From hence it hasteth to Crekelade (alias Trekanford) Lechlade, Radcotebridge, Newbridge, & Eusham (receiuing by the way an infinit sort of small streames, brookes, beckes, waters, & rundelles) & here on this side of the towne deuiding it selfe into two courses, of which the one goeth straight to Botley, and Hunkley, the other by Godstow, a village not farre of. This latter spreadeth it selfe also for a while Thamesis. Corinium.

into ſundry ſmaller braunches, which runne not farre eare they be reunited, and then beclipping ſundry pleaſaunt meadowes, it paſſeth at length by Dreſord, where it meeteth with the Charwell, and a little from whence the originall braunches doe ioyne againe and go together by Abbandune (or Abington, as we call it,) although no part of it at the firſt came ſo neere the Towne as it doth now, till a braunch thereof was led thyther from the mayne ſtreame, through the induſtrie of the monkes as (beſide the teſtimonie of olde recordes thereof yet extant to be ſeene) by the decay of Dorcheſter it ſelf, ſomtime the rommō thorowfare from Wales, and the Weſt countrey to London, which inſued vpon this fact, is eaſie to bee ſeene. From hence it goeth to Dorcheſter and ſo to Thame, where ioyning with a riuer of the ſame denomination, it loſeth the name of Iſis or Ouſe, (whereof Duſeney at Dreſorde is produced) and frō the ceforth is called Thameſis. From Thame it goeth to Wallingforde and ſo to Reading, which ſome of the number of Bridges there doe call Pontium, albeit that the Engliſhe name doe proceede rather from Rhe, or Ree the Saxon word for a water courſe or riuer, which may be ſeene in Ouerée or Sutherey, for ouer the Rée or South of the Rhe as the ſkilfull can conjecture. But howſoeuer that matter ſtandeth after it hath paſſed by Reading, and there receyued the Kenet, which commeth from the hilles that lye Weſt of Marlebrough, and then the Thetis, commonly called the Tyde that commeth from the Thetisforde: it hyeth to Sudlington, or Maydenheade, and ſo to Wyndleſhore (or Windſore) Eaton & then to Chertſey, where Erkenwalde Biſhoppe of London, ſomtime, buylded a religious Houſe, as I doe reade. From Chertſeye it halleth dyrealye vnto Stanes, and recryuing an other ſtreame by the waye, called the Cole, (whereupon Colbrooke ſtandeth) it goeth by Kingſtone Shene Sion, and Brentforde, where it meeteth the Brane or the Brene, another Brooke diſcending from Edgeworth whoſe name ſignifieth a Frogge, in the Britiſh ſpeache. Vppon thys alſo Sir John Thinne, had ſometyme a ſtately houſe wyth marueylous prouiſion to incloſe and retayne ſuch fiſhe as ſhoulde come about the ſame. From Brentforde it paſſeth by Mortlach, Putney, Fulham, Batterſey, Chelſey, Lambeth, and ſo to London. Finallye going from thence vnto the ſea, it taketh the Lée wyth it by the waye vpon the Coaſt of Eſſex, and the Darnt vpō Kentſide, which riſeth nére to Tanrige, and commeth by Shorehame vnto Dertforde, whereunto the Cray falleth. And laſt of all the mydway a notable ryuer, (in mine opinion) which watereth all the South, and Southweſt part of Kent, and whoſe deſcription is not to be omitted in his place.

Charwell.

Some write that the maine ſtreame was brought thither which ran before betweene Inerſey and Eulenham

If Oxford it ſelfe be not to bee called Daſeford thereof.

Pontium.

S. Mary ouer Rhée.

Kenet.

Thetis.

Cole.

Brene.

Darwent.

Cray.

Thus we ſée the whole tract and courſe of ỹ Thames by whoſe head and fall, it is euident that the length therof is at the leaſt, one hundreth and eighty miles, if it be meaſured by ỹ iourneyes of the land. And as it is in courſe, the longeſt of the thrée famous riuers of thys Iſle, ſo it is nothing inferiour vnto them, in abundance of all kinde of fiſhe, whereof it is harde to ſay, which of them haue eyther moſt plentie, or greateſt varietie, if the circumſtāces be duely weighed. What ſhould I ſpeake of the fat and ſweete Samons, daply taken in this ſtreame, & that in ſuch plentye, as no ryuer in Europa, is able to excéede it, but what ſtore alſo of Barbelles, Troutes, Cheuins, Pearches, Smelts, Breames, Roches, Daces, Gudgins, Floūders, Shrimps, Eles. &c. are commōly to be had therein, I referre me to them, that knowe the ſame by experience. And albeit it ſéemeth from time to time, to be as it were defrauded in ſundrye wiſe, of theſe hir large commodities, by the inſatiable auarice of ỹ fiſhermen, yet this famous ryuer cōplayneth of no wante, but the more it loſeth at one tyme, the more it yéeldeth at another. Onely in Carpes it ſéemeth to bée ſcant, ſith it is not long ſince that kynde of fiſhe was brought ouer into Englande, and but of late to ſpeake of, into this ſtreame by the violent rage of ſundry Landfloudes, that brake open the heades and dammes of diuers Gentlemens pondes, by which meanes it became partaker alſo of this ſaid commoditie, whereof earſt it had no portion that I coulde euer heare of.

Samons.

Rocheſter Shrimpes & Weſterne Floūders the beſt.

Carpes a fiſhe late brought into England, and later into the Thames.

Furthermore the ſayde riuer floweth and filleth all his channels twyſe in the daye and night, that is in euery 12. houres once, & thys ebbing and flowing, holdeth on for the ſpace of ſeauentye miles, within the mayne lande: the ſtreame or tyde, being alwayes hyghſt at Londō, when the Moone doth exactly touch the northeaſt and ſouth or weſt pointes, of the heauens, of which one is viſible, the other vnder the earth, and not ſubiect to our ſight.

South weſt, and north eaſt Moones, make full ſea at Lōdon: as the full and chaunge doth higheſt tydes, which we commonly call ſpring tides.

These tydes alſo differ in their tymes eche one comming latter then other, by ſo manye mynutes as paſſe ere the reuolucion and naturall courſe of the heauens doe reduce, and bring about the ſayde Planet, vnto thoſe hir former places: whereby the common difference betweene one tyde and another, is founde to conſiſt of twentye foure mynutes, which wāteth but twelue of an whole houre, in

The iuſt diſtaunce, betweene one tyde, & another.

as experience doth confirme.

This order of flowing likewise is perpetuall, except rough winds doe happen to checke the streame in his comming, or else some other occasion, put by the ordinary course of the Northen seas, which fyll the sayde ryuer by their naturall returne and flowing. And that both these doe happen oft among, I referre me to such as haue not slodome obserued it. For sometime the huge wind keepeth back a great part of the floude, whereby the tyde is differred (though neuer altogyther put by) and sometyme there happen three or foure tydes in one naturall daye, whereof the vnskilful do descant many things. I would here make mencion of sundry bridges placed ouer this noble streame, of which that of London is most chiefly to be cõmended, for it is manner a continuall Strete, well replenished with large and statelye houses on both sides, & settuate vpon twentie Arches, whereof eche one is made of excellent free squared stone, euery of them being three score fote in height, and full twentie in distaunce one from another.

In lyke maner I coulde intreat of the infinite number of swannes dayly to be seene vpon thys riuer, the two thousand Whirries and small bots, whereby three thousand poore watermen are maintained, through the cariage and recariage, of such persons as passe, or repasse, from tyme to tyme vppon the same: beside those huge tyde botes, tiltbotes & barges, which eyther carry passengers, or bring necessary prouision, from all quarters of Oxfordshyre, Barkeshyre, Buckinghamshyre, Bedfordeshyre, Herforde shyre, Mydellser, Esser, Surry and Kent, vnto the Citie of London. But forsomuch as these thynges are to be repeated againe in the particuler discription of London, annexed to hys Carde. I suesse at this tyme to speake any more of them as also of the ryuer it selfe, wherefore let thys suffyse.

Next vnto the Thames we haue the midway water, which falleth into the mayne sea at Shepey. It ariseth Warde forrest in Sussex, and when it is come so farre as Whethelin towne, it meeteth a little by north thereof, with the Done, which descendeth from waterden forrest, and from whence they go on together, as one by Ashehirst, where hauing receyued also the seconde broke, it hasteth to Pẽsherst, & there carrieth with all the Eden, that commeth from Lingfielde parke. After thys it goeth into the South east parte of Kent, and taketh with it the Frith or Firth, on the north west syde, and an other lyttle streame that commeth from the hylles, betweene Peenebury and Horsemon, on the south est. From thence also & not farre from Palling it receiueth the Theise (a prettye streame that ariseth about Theise Hirst hend afterwarde the Gran or crane, which hauing hys heade not farre from Cranbroke, and meeting with sundry other reuellettes by the way, whereof one braunche of Theise is the last, (for it parteth at the Twist, and includeth a pretty Islande) doth ioyne with the said Medway, a litle aboue Palding, & then with the Lowse. Finally at Maidstone, it meeteth wyth another broke, whose name I knowe not, and then passeth by Allington, Dutton, Newhide, Palling, Cuckestane, Rochester, Chattham, Gillingham, Apchurch, Kingsferry, and falleth into the maine sea, betwene Shepey and the Crane.

Some saye that it is called mydway water because it falleth into the sea mydway, betweene the north foreland and London: yet some not hauing anye such consideration, doe name it, the Medow streame, whereof I thought good also to leaue this short admonition.

After the Midway whose discription I haue partely gathered out of the Leland, and partly out of Maister Lamberts perambulatõ of Kẽt, we haue ỹ Stoure that riseth at Kingeslwode which is fourteene or fifteene myles, frõ Canterbury. This riuer passeth by Ashefords, Wie, Nackington, Canterbury, Fordich, Standich, and Stouremouth, where it receyueth another ryuer, which hath 3. braunches, whereof one called Bredge goeth by Bishops bourne, the other named Wyham, beginneth about Adham, and the thirde (nameless) runeth by Staple to Wingham. Afterwarde our Stoure or Sture parteth it selfe in twaine, and in such wyse that one arme thereof goeth towarde the North, and is called (when it commeth at the sea) the Northmouth of Stoure, the other runneth Southeast warde vp to Ryche borow & so to Sandwiche, from whence it goeth Northeast agayne & falleth into the sea. The issue of this latter tract is called the hauen of Sandwiche and peraduenture the streame that commeth downe thither, after the diuisiõ of the Stoure, may be the same, which Beda calleth Wantsome, but as I cãnot vndo this knot at will, so this is certaine, that the Stoure on the one side, and peraduenture, the Wantsome on the other parteth & cutteth the Tenet from the maine lande of Kent, wherby it is left for an Island and so replenished with townes, as I haue notified before, in ỹ chapter that speaketh of our Islandes.

There are other little Brookes, which fall

The streame of Theise checked in hir entrãce into the land.

London bridge.

2000. wherries vpon the thames and 3000. watermen maintained by ỹ same whose gains come in most plẽtifully in the terme time

Midway.

Dunus.

Frethus.

Theise.

Grane alias Cranus.

Sturus.

Nailbourne water also as I heare about Cantwarbiry, but I wote not wherabout.

Wantsome.

into the Stoure of which Lelande ſpeaketh, as Fiſhpole becke, that ariſeth in Stonehirſtwood and meeteth with it foure myles from Canterbury: an other begynneth at Chiſelet, & goeth into the Stoure gut, which ſometime incloſed Thanet, as Leylande ſaieth, the thirde iſſueth out of the grounde at Northburne (where Eadbert of Kent ſome time paſt held his pallace &) runneth to Sandwich hauen, as the ſayde Author reporteth, & the fourth called Bridge water that ryſeth by S. Marie Burne church, & meeteth with Canterbury water at Stourmouth: alſo Wyham that ryſeth aboue Wyham, and falleth into Bredge water at Dudmyll, or Wenderton: but ſith they are eyther obſcure or nameleſſe & there to not referuing there names till they come at the ſea, I paſſe them ouer as not to be touched here. From hence vnto Douer I finde no ſtreame by reaſon of the Clyffes, that enuironne the ſayde coaſt: howbeit vpon the South ſide of Douer there is a prettie freſh ryuer, whoſe head ariſeth at Erwell, not paſſing foure myles from the ſea, and of ſome is called Dour, which in the Brittiſhe tongue is a common name for all waters. And therefore alſo it is lykely that the towne and Caſtell of Douer dyd ſometyme take the name. From hence we go towarde the Camber, (omitting paraduenture here and there ſundrye ſmall Creekes, & Beckes, by the way) whereabouts the Rother, a noble ruuer falleth into ỹ ſea. This Rother hath his head in Suſſex not far from Argas hill neere to Waterden forreſt, and from thence directeth his courſe vnto Rotherfield. After this it goeth to Ethlingham or Hitchingham, and ſo forth by Newendon vnto Matthamferry, where it deuided it ſelfe in ſuch wiſe, that one braunche thereof goeth to Appledour (where it meeteth wᵗ the Bily that ryſeth about Billington) the other by Iden, ſo that it includeth a fine percell of grounde called Orney, which in times paſt was reputed as a percell of Suſſex, but now vpon ſome occaſion or other, it is annexed vnto Kent. From hence alſo growing into ſome greatneſſe, it runneth to Rie, where it meeteth finally with the Becke, which commeth from Beckley, ſo that the plot wherein Rye ſtandeth, is in maner a Ilande or Peninſula, as experience doth confirme. Lelande and moſt men are of the opinion that this ryuer ſhoulde be called the Limene, howbeit in our time it is knowen by none other name, then the Rother or Appledour water, whereof let this ſuffice.

Dour.

Parentheſis

Rother.

Bily.

Becke.

Limenus.

Being thus croſſed ouer to the Weſt ſide of Rye hauen, and in viewing the iſſues that fal into the ſame, I meete firſt of all with a water that groweth of two brookes, which come downe by one Chanell into the eaſt ſide of the mouth of the ſayde Port. The firſt therefore that falleth into it, deſcendeth from Beckley or thereabouts, as I take it, the nert runneth along by Peſemarſh, and ſome after ioyning withall, they holde on as one, till they fall into the ſame at the Weſterly ſide of Rye. The third ſtreame commeth from the North, and as it meaneth vp not farre from Punfield, ſo it runneth betweene Deſcamb and Maclington neere vnto Bread, taking another rill with all that ryſeth as I heare not verye farre from Weſtfield. There is likewyſe a fourth that groweth of two heades, betweene Iclingham and Pet, & going by Winchelſey it meeteth withall about Rye hauen, ſo that Winchelſey ſtandeth enuironned on three partes with water, and the ſtreames of theſe two that I haue laſt rehearſed.

The water that falleth into the Ocean, a myle by Southweſt of Haſtinges or thereabouts, is called Æſtus or Aſten, and riſing not farre from Penhirſt, it meeteth with the ſea, as I heare by Eaſt of Hollington. Bulwerhithe is but a creeke as I remember ſerued huhe with no backewater, and ſo I heare of Codding or olde hauen, wherfore I meane not to touche them.

Æſtus.

Bulwerhithe.

Into Peuenſey hauen diuers waters doe reſort, & of theſe that which entereth into the ſame on the Eaſt ſide ryſeth out from two heades, whereof the moſt eaſterly is called Aſhe, the nert vnto it the Burne, and vniting themſelues not farre from Aſheburne, they continue their courſe vnder the name and title of Aſheburne water as I reade. The ſeconde that commeth thereinto ryſeth alſo of two heades, whereof the one is ſo many miles from Bozeham, the other not farre from the Parke eaſt of Hellingſtowne, and both of the cõcurring Southweſt of Hirſtmowſen, they direct their courſe toward Peuẽſey (beneath which they meete wyth an other ryling at Foyngton) and thence go in one chanell for a myle or more, till they fall togither into the Peuenſey hauen.

Peuenſey.

Aſhe Burne.

The Cuckmer iſſueth out at ſeuerall places, and hereof the more eaſterly braunch cõmeth from Marbleton ward, the other from Biſhoppes wood, and meeting beneath Halling they runne in one bottome by Wicham Arlington, Wellington, olde Frithſtan and ſo into the ſea.

Cucomar.

Unto the water that cõmeth out at Newhauen ſundry Brookes & Riuerettes doe reſorte, but the chiefe head ryſeth towarde the Weſt ſomewhat betweene Etchinforde and Shepley as I here. The firſt water therfore

Iſis nihil lor.

that

that falleth into the ſame on the eaſt ſide, iſſueth out of the grounde about Hertwood, & running from thence by Langhō and Ripe, on the Weſt ſide, it falleth into the aforeſayd ryuer beneath Foſle and Glyme, or three myles lower then Lewys, if the other buttal lyke you not. The next herunto hath his head in Argas hill, the thirde deſcendeth frō Aſhedon forreſt, and ioyning with the laſt mentioned, they croſſe the maine ryuer a little beneath Iſefield. The fourth water commeth from Aſhedon forreſt by Horſted Caines (or Duſeſtate Caines) and falleth into the ſame, lykewyſe Eaſt of Linfield. Certes I am deceyued if this ryuer be not called Iſis, after it is paſt Iſefield. The fift ryſeth about Storuelgate, and meeteth alſo wyth the maine ſtreame aboue Linfield, & theſe are knowen to lye vpon the right hande as we rowed vp the ryuer. On the other ſide are onely two, whereof the firſt hath his originall neere vnto Weneſield, and holding on his courſe towarde the Eaſt, it meeteth with his maiſter betweene Newicke and Iſefield, or Iſfield as ſome reade it. The laſt of all commeth from Plimodune or Plumpton, and hauing met in like ſort with the maine riuer about Barcham, it runneth forth with it, and the reſt in one chanell by Barcham, Hamley, Walling, Lewys, Piddingburne, and ſo forth into the maine ſea.

Sturewell.

Plinus.

Sora.

The next ryuer that we came vnto Weſt of Brighthemſton is the Soze, which notwithſtanding I finde to be called Brember water, in the auncient Mappe of Parton Colledge in Oxforde: but in ſuch ſorte (as I take it) as the Rother is called Appledour ſtreame, becauſe of the ſayd towne that ſtandeth therevpon. But to proceede, it is a pleaſaunt water, and thereto if you conſider the ſcituation of his armes, and braunches from the higher grounde, very much reſembling a flower fringed whip. Wherabout the head of this riuer is, or which of theſe braunches may ſafely be called Sora, from the riſing, in good ſoth I can not ſay, for after we had paſſed nyne or tenne myles thereon vp into the lande, ſodainly the croſſe waters ſtopped vs, ſo that we were inforced to turne either eaſt or weſt, for directly forth ryght we had no way to go. The firſt arme on the ryght hand as we went, ryſeth out of a Parke by South of Alborne, and going on for a certayne ſpace toward the Northweſt, it turneth ſouthward betweene Shermonbury and Twinham, and ſome after meeteth with ỳ Bymar, not much South from Shermonbury, whence they run togither almoſt two myles, till they fall into the Soze. That on the Weſtſide deſcendeth from about Billingeſhirſt, & going towarde the eaſt, it croſſeth wᵗ the fourth (which ryſeth a little by Weſt of Thacam) eaſt from Pulborow, and ſo they run as one into the Soze, that after this cōfluence haſteth it ſelf ſouthwarde by Brember, Burleis, the Combes, and ere long into the Ocean.

Bimarus.

The Aron (of which beſide Arundel towne the Caſtell and the valey, wherin it runneth is called Vallis Aruntina, or Arundale in Engliſh) is a goodly water and thereto increaſed with no ſmall number of excellent & pleaſaunt brookes. It ſpringeth vp of two heades, whereof one deſcendeth from the North not farre from Gretham, & going by Lis, meeteth with the nert ſtreame, as I geſſe about Dourſford houſe. The ſecond riſeth by Weſt from the hilles that lye towarde the ryſing of the ſunne from Eaſtmaine and runneth by Peterfield. The thirde commeth from Berpton warde and ioyneth with the ſecond betweene Peterfield and Dourſforde, after which cōfluence they go togither in one chanell ſtill toward the Eaſt, (taking a rill with them that commeth betweene Fernehirſt and S. Lukes Chappell, ſouthweſt of Linchemere & meting with it Eaſt of Loddeſworth as I doe reade, and lykewyſe ſundrye other in one Chanell beneath Sopham) to Waltham, Bury, Houghton, Stoke, Arundell, Toztington forde, Climping (all on the Weſt ſide,) and ſo into the ſea. Hauing thus deſcribed the weſt ſide of Arun, let vs doe the lyke with the other in ſuch ſorte as we beſt may. The firſt riuer that we come vnto therfore on the Eaſt ſide, and alſo the ſeconde riſe at ſundry places in S. Leonards forreſt, and ioyning a lyttle aboue Horſham, they mete with the thirde, which commeth from Iſield Parke, not verye farre from Slinfeld. The fourth hath two heads, whereof one ryſeth in Witley Parke, the other by weſt, neere vnto Heſelmere chappell, and meeting by weſt of Dourſfeld, they vnyte themſelues with the chanell, growing by the confluence that I ſpake of beneath Slinfeld, a little aboue Billingeſhirſt. The laſt water commeth from the hilles aboue Linchemeere, and runneth weſt and South, and paſſing betweene Billingſhirſt and Stopham it commeth vnto the chanell laſt mencioned, & ſo into the Arun, beneath Stopham, without anye farder increaſe, at the leaſt that I doe here of.

Aruntus.

Burne hath his iſſue in a Parke, neere Aldingburne (or rather a litle aboue ỳ ſame toward the North, as I haue ſince beene informed,) and running by the bottomes toward the ſouth, it falleth into the ſea betweene norty Berſlete and Fleſham.

Burnus.

Cryn

Eryn. Eryn riseth of sundry heddes, by east of Erynley and directing his course toward the sunne ryding, it peninsulateth Seleley, and falleth into the Ocean betwéene Seleley towne on the southwest & Pagham at north west.

Delus. Del springeth about Benderton, & thence running betwéene midle Lauaunt and East Lauaunt, it goeth by west of West Hamphnet, by east of Chichester, or West of Rumbalde towne, and afterwarde by Fishburne, where it méeteth with a ril comming North west from Funtingdon (a little beneath the towne) and then running thus in one streame towarde the sea, it méeteth with another rilet comming by North the of Botham and so into Auant gulf by East of Thorney Iland.

Racunus. The Racon riseth by east of Racton or Racodunum and cõming by Chidham, it falleth into the sea, Northest of Thorney afore sayde.

Emill. The Emill commeth first betwéene Racton and Stanked then downe to Emilworth or Emmelworth, and so vnto the Ocean, separating Sussex from Hãpshyre almost from the very head.

Hauing in this maner passed along the coastes of Sussex. The next water that I remẽber, ryseth by east of the forrest of Ellbery, from whence it goeth by Southwike, West Buchant, Farham, and so into the gulfe almost full South.

Badunus. forté. Then come we to Bedenham Créke (so called of a village standing thereby,) the mouth whereof lyeth almost directly agaynst Portchester Castell, which is scituate about 3. miles by water from Portesmouth towne, as Lelande doth report. Then go we within halfe a myle farder to Fozten Créke, which eyther gyueth or taketh name of a village harde by. After this we come to Osterpole Lake, a great Créke, which goeth vp by west into the land, and lyeth not far from a rounde tower of stone, from whence also there goeth a chaine, to another Tower on the east side directly ouer against it, whereby the entraunce of great vessels into that part maye be at pleasure restrayned.

Fozten. Osterpole.

From hence wée goe further to Tichefeld water, that riseth about Ellmaine park, ten or twelue myles by northeast or there about from Tichfeld. From Ellmaine it goeth (parting the forrestes of Walthan, and Castbery by the waye) to Wicham or Wicomb, a prety market towne and large thorowfare, where also the water seperateth it selfe into two armelettes, and goyng vnder two bridges of woode, commeth ere long agayne vnto one Chanell. From hence it goeth thrée or foure myles farder, to a bridge of tymber by Maister Wrythoseleyes house, (leauing Tichfelde towne on the right side) & a little beneath runneth vnder Ware bridg whether the sea floweth as hir natural course inforceth. Finally within a mile of this bridge it goeth into the water of Hampton hauen, whervnto diuers streames resort as you shal heare hereafter.

Tichefield.

After this we come to Hamble hauen, or Hamelrish Hamelrish créke, whose fall is betwéene S. Andrewes castell, and Hoke. It riseth about Shidford in waltham forrest, and when it is past Croke bridge, it méeteth with another brooke, which riseth not farre frõ Bishoppes Waltham, out of sundry springes in the high way, to Winchester, from whence it passeth as I sayde by Bishoppes Waltham, then to Budeley or Botley, and so ioyning with the Hamble, they runne togither by Prowlingsworth, Upton, Bursill, Hamble towne, and so into the sea.

Hamelrish.

Now come we to the haué of south Hampton; which I will briefely describe so neare as I can possibly. The breadth or entry of the mouth herof, as I take it, is by estimatiõ two miles from shore to shore. At the west poynt therof also is a strong castell lately builded which is rightly named Caldshore, but now Calshot, I wote not by what occasion. On ỹ east side therof also, is a place called Hoke (afore mẽtioned) or Hamell hoke, wherin are not aboue thrée or foure fishers houses, not worthy to be remembred. This hauen shooteth vp on the west side by the space of seauen miles, vntill it come to Hamptõ towne, standing on the other side, where it is by estimation a mile from lande to lande. Thence it goeth vp further about thrée myles to Redbridge still ebbing and flowing thither, and one myle farther, so farre as my memorye doeth serue mée. Nowe it resteth that I describe the Alresforde streame, which I will proceede withall in this order following.

South-hampton.

The Alresforde beginneth of diuers faire springs, about a mile or more fro Alresford, or Alforde as it is now called, & some after resorting to one bottome, they become a brode lake, which for the most part is called Alford pond. Afterwarde returning againe to a narrowe chanell, it goeth thorow a stone bridge at the ende of Alforde towne, (leauing the towne it selfe on the left hand) toward Hichingstocke thrée myles of, but ere it commeth there, it receiueth two ryles in one bottome, wherof one commeth frõ the Forrest in maner at hande, and by northwest of olde Alresforde, the other from Browne Candiuer, that goeth by Northenton, Swarewotton, Aberstone.

Alresford.

ſtone.&c. vntill we méete with the ſayd water beneath Alforde towne. Being paſt Hichinſtocke, it commeth by Auington to Eſton village, and to Worthy, where it beginneth to braunch, and rehe arme to part it ſelfe into other, that reſorte to Hyde and the lower ſoples by Eaſt of Wincheſter, there ſeruing ỳ ſtrétes, the cloſe of S. Maries, Molueley, and the new Colledge very plentifully wyth their water. But in this meane while the great ſtreame commeth from Worthy to the caſt bridg, & ſo to S. Elizabeth Colledge, where it doth alſo parte in twayne, enuironing the ſayd houſe in moſt dilectable maner. After this it goeth towarde S. Croſſes, leauing it a quarter of a mile on the right hand: then to Twiſord (a myle lower) where it gathereth agayne into one bottome, and goeth fiue miles farder to Woodmill, taking the Otter brooke withall, on the eaſt ſide, and ſo into the ſalt créeke that leadeth downe to the hauen. Otter.

On the other ſide of Southampton, there reſorteth into this hauen alſo, both the Teſte and the Stockebridge water in one bottome, whereof I finde thys large deſcription inſuing. Stocke.

The very head of the Stocke water, is ſuppoſed to bée ſomewhere about Baſing ſtoke, or Church Hockley, and going from thence betwene Querton & Steuenton, it commeth at laſt by Lauerſtocke and Whitchurch, and ſome after receyuing a brooke, by Northweſt called the Bourne (diſcending from S. Mary Bourne, ſoutheaſt from Horſeburne) it proceédeth by Long paroch and the Wlwode, till it méete with the Cranburne, on the eaſt ſide (a prety riueret ryſing about Michelney, and going by Fullington, Barton, and to Cramburne) thence to Horwell in one bottome, beneth which it méeteth with the Andeuer water, that is increaſed ere it come there by another brooke, whoſe name I doe not knowe. This Andeuer ſtreame, ryſeth in Culhāſhire forreſt, not far by north from Andeuer towne & going to vpper Clatford, ere it touch there it receyueth the Rill of which I ſpake before, which ryſing alſo néere vnto Anpord, goeth to Monketon, to Abbateſham, the Andeuer, and both as I ſaid vnto the Teſt beneth Horwel, whereof I ſpake euen nowe. Theſe ſtreames being thus brought into one botom it rūneth toward the South, vnder ſtockbridge, & ſome after diuiding it ſelfe in twayne, one braunch thereof goeth by Houghton, & a litle beneath méeteth wyth a Ryll, that commeth from by Weſt of S. Annes hyll, and goeth by Eaſt of vpper Wallop, Weſt of nether Wallop, by Buckholt Forreſt, Broughton, and called as Bourne.

I haue béene informed ỳ Gallop, but nowe it is named Wallop. The other arme runneth thorowe the Parke, by North weſt of Kings Somburne, and vniting themſelues agayne, they go forth by Mottelhunt, and thé receyue the Teſt, a prety water ryſing in Clarendun Parke, that goeth by Weſt Deane, and Eaſt Deane, ſo to Mottelhunt, and finally to the aforeſayde water, which from thence forth is called the Teſte, euen vnto the Sea. But to proceéde. After this confluence, it taketh the gate to Kimb bridge, then to Rumſey, Longbridge, and beneath the ſame receiueth a concourſe of two rilles whereof the one commeth from Sherefielde, the other from the newe Forreſt, and ioyning in Madely Park, they beate vppon the Teſte, not very farre from Nurſeling. From thence the Teſt goeth vnder a prety bridge, before it come at Redbridge, from whence it is not long ere it fall into the hauen. Malopius. Teſte.

The next riuer that runneth into this port, ſpringeth in the new Forreſt, and commeth thereinto about Eling, not paſſing one mile, by weſt of the fall of Teſt. From hence caſting about againe into the maine ſea, and leauing Calde ſhore Caſtle on the right hande, wée directed our courſe towarde the Southweſt, vnto Beaulieu hauen whereinto the Miney deſcendeth. Eling.

The Miney ryſeth not farre from Mineyſtéede a Village in the north part of the newe Forreſt, and going by Beaulieu, it falleth into the ſea ſouthweſt, as I take it, of Erbury, a Village ſtanding vpon the ſhore. Miney.

Beyng paſt the Miney, wée croſſed the Limen, whoſe heade is in the very heart of the newe Forreſt, and running South weſt of Lindhyrſt and the Parke, it goeth by Eaſt of Brokenhirſt Weſt of Bulder, and finally into the Sea South and by Eaſt of Lemington. Limen.

The next fall that we paſſed by is nameleſſe, except it be called Bure, & as it deſcendeth from the newe Forreſt, ſo the next vnto it hight Mile, as I haue heard in Engliſhe. Certes the head thereof, is alſo in the ſouthweſt part of the ſaid Forreſt, and the fall not far from Milford bridge, beyonde the which I find a narrow going or Strickland leading from the poynte to Hirſt Caſtle, which ſtandeth into the Sea, as if it hung by a thred frō the mayne of the Iſlande, ready to be waſhed away, by the continuall and dayly beating of the waues. Bure. Miliſ.

The nert riuer that we came vnto of any name is the Auon, which ryſeth by northeaſt, and not far from Wolfe hall, in Wiltſhire. The firſt notable bridge that it rūneth vnto, Auon.

is at Vphauen, thence foure myles farder, it goeth to little Ambreſbury, and there is another bridge, from thence to Woodford village, ſtanding at the right hand bank, and Newtō village on the left. The Biſhops of Sarum had a proper Manour place at Woodforde, which Biſhoppe Sharton pulled downe altogither, becauſe it was ſomewhat in ruine. Thence it goeth to Fiſhertō bridge, to Cranebridge old Saliſbury, new Saliſbury, & finally to Harnham, which is a ſtately bridge of ſtone, of fiue arches at the leaſt. There is at the weſt ende of the ſayde bridge, a little Iſland, that lyeth betwixt this and another bridge, of foure pretty arches, and vnder this latter rūneth a good round ſtreame, which as I take it, is a braēch of Auon, that breaketh out a little aboue, and ſome after it reuniteth it ſelfe agayne: or elſe that Wilton water hath there his entry into the Auon, which I cannot yet determine. Frō Harneham bridge it goeth to Dounton, that is about foure miles, and ſo much in like ſort from thence to Fordingbridge, to Ringwood bridge fiue miles, to Chriſtes church Twinham fiue myles, and ſtrayght into the ſea.

Poole. The nert fall that we come vnto is Poole, from whoſe mouth vpon the ſhore, by South weſt in a bay of three miles of, is a poore fiſher towne, called Sandwiche, where we ſawe a pere and a little freſh brooke. The very vtter part of ſaint Adelmes poynt, is fiue miles from Sandwich. In another bay lyeth weſt Lyllewoth, where as I heare is ſome profitable herborow for ſhips. The towne of Poole is from Wimburne about foure miles, and it ſtandeth almoſt as an Iſle in the hauen. The hauen it ſelfe alſo if a man ſhould meaſure it by the circuite, wanteth little of twenty mile, as I did gueſſe by the view.

Wey. Waiemouth, or as ſome doe call it Wylemouth, is coūted twenty meles from Poole, & ỳ head of this riuer riſeth not full foure miles aboue the hauen, by northweſt at Vplil in the ſide of a great hill. There is a little barre of ſande at the hauen mouth, & a great arme of ỳ ſea runneth vp by the right hand, and ſcant a mile aboue the hauen mouth on the ſhore, is a right goodly and warlike caſtle made, which hath one open barbicane. This arme rūneth vp alſo farder by a myle as in a baye, to a point of land wher a paſſage is into Portlād, by a little courſe of pibble ſande. It goeth vp alſo from the ſayd paſſage vnto Abbatelbiry about ſeuen miles of, where a little freſhe rōdell reſorteth to the ſea. And ſomwhat aboue this, is the head or point of the Cheſill lying northweſt, which ſtretcheth vp from thence about ſeuē miles, as a maine narrow bank, by a right line vnto the ſoutheſt, and there abutteth vpō Portlande ſcant a quarter of a mile aboue ỳ Newcaſtle there. The nature of this banke is ſuch, that ſo oft as the wind bloweth vehemently at ſoutheaſt, ſo often the ſea beateth in and looſing the banke ſoketh thorowe it: ſo that if this winde ſhould blow from that corner anye long tyme togyther, Portlande ſhoulde be left an Iſlande as it hath beene before. But as the ſoutheſt winde doth appaire this banke, ſo a northweſt doth barre it vp againe. It is prety to note of the Townelet of Waimouth which lieth ſtreight againſt Pilton on the other ſide, and of this place where the water of the hauen is but of ſmal bredth, that a rope is cōmonly tied frō one ſide of the ſhore to an other, whereby the ferry men doe guide their botes without any helpe of Ores. But to proceede wyth our purpoſe. Into the mouth of this riuer doe ſhips often come for ſuccour, & being paſt the ſame, we meete with ỳ fal of a water neere to ſ. Catherins chapple as we ſailed by ỳ Shingle, which came down frō Litton by Chilcomb, and thence we went to Bruteport water that ariſeth halfe a mile or more aboue Bemiſter, from whence it goeth to Parnham, Netherbury, Welplaſh, & ſo to Bruteport, & afterwarde into ỳ ſea, taking in ſundry waters wt al by the way, wherof in my nert treatiſe God willing I meane as of diuers other to make a particuler rehearſall. Leuing the Brudeport, we paſſed by Stantō Gabriell, & beholding Charemouth Beacon a far of, we directed our courſe toward ỳ ſame, but ere we came there, we beheld the fall of Chare, which is a prety water. It ryſeth about three miles aboue Charemouth by north in a parke of the kinges called Marlhewood. Chare. Nert vnto this is the Buddle, which cōmeth about three miles by north of Lyme from the hilles, fleeting vpon rocky ſoyle, and ſo falleth into the ſea. Buddle.

Beyond this is the Are whoſe iſſue at thys preſent is harde vnder the rootes of Winter cliffes, and the poyntes thereof beyng almoſt a myle in ſunder, the moſt weſterlye of them called Berewood, lyeth within halfe a mile of Seton, but the other toward the eaſt, is called Whitecliffe, wherof I haue ſpoken already. This riuer riſeth a mile northeſt frō Bemiſter a market Towne, in Dorſet ſhyre, at a place called Are knoll, (longing to Sir Giles Strangwaies) in a moore hanging on the ſide of an hill. And from thence it runneth to the ruines of an old Abbay called Fordes, about foure or fiue miles from thence, (where it ſēmeth to bee a partician betweene Sommerſetſhyre and Deuen) then vnto Are Winſter in Deuonſhyre, and ſo thorowe the Towne it ſelfe, wherein a great ſlaughter was made Are.

of

of Danes in Athelstanes tyme, at Brunesdon fielde or rather Brunnedon as I read, and whereof I finde thys annotation, in an olde French Chronicle.

„ In the time of Athelstane, ỹ greatest Navie
„ that euer aduentured into thys Iland, arri-
„ ued at Seton in Deuonshyre, beyng repleni-
„ shed with Aliens that sought the conquest
„ of this Iland, but Athelstane mette & encoũ-
„ tred with them in the fielde, where he ouer-
„ threwe 6000. of his aforesayde enimyes.
„ Not one of them also that remayned alyue,
„ escaped from the battell wythout some dead-
„ lye or very grieuous wound. In this conflicte
„ moreouer were slaine fiue kings, which were
„ enterred in the Church yard of Are minster,
„ and of the part of the king of Englande were
„ kylled eyght Earles of the chiefe of hys no-
„ bilitye, and they also buryed in the Church-
„ yarde aforesayde. Hereunto it addeth howe
„ the Bysshop of Shyreburne was in like sort
„ slaine in thys battell; that began at Brune-
„ dune nere to Colyton, and indured euen to
„ Are minster, which then was called Brun-
„ bery or Brunburg. The same day that this
„ thyng happened the sunne lost hys light, and
„ is continued without any brightnesse, vntyll
„ the setting of that Planet, though otherwyse
„ the season was clere and nothing clowdye.

But to proceede after our riuer hath passed thorow Areminster towne, it goeth to ỹ brig thereby (where sone after it receiueth the the Artey, sometyme a raging water) and finally to Are mouth Towne, frõ whence after it hath as it were played it selfe, in the pleasant botomes, by the space of a quarter of a myle, it goeth vnder White cliffe and so into the sea, where it is called Arebaye, and thus is that ryuer described. Artey.

As for the hauen which in times past as I haue hearde, hath bene at Sidmouth (so called of Sidde a rylet that runeth therto) and likewyse at Seton. I passe it ouer, sith nowe there is none at al. Yet hath there bene sometyme a notable one, albeit that at this present betwene the two poyntes of the olde hauen, there lyeth a mightie barre of pibble stones, in the verye mouth of it, and the ryuer Are isdryue to the very east point of ỹ haue called White cliffe. Therat also a very little gull goeth into the sea, whether small fisherbotes doe oft resort for succour. The men of Seton begunne of late to stake and make a maine wall within the hauen to haue chaunged the course of the Are, and (almost in the myddle of the old hauen) to haue trenched thorow the Chesil, therby to haue let out the Are, & to haue taken in the maine sea, but I here of none effect that this attempt dyd come vnto. Sidde. Seton.

From Seton westwarde lyeth Colyton, about two myles by west Northwest, where of ryseth the ryuer Coly, which goyng by the aforesaide towne, passeth by Colecomb parke, and afterwarde falleth betwéene Are bryge and Are mouth towne into the Are riuer. Coly.

Leauing the Coly we come sone after to Otterey hauen, whose heade riseth at Otterey fiue myles aboue Mohuns Ottery or Ottery Flemming flat North. From hence it goeth to Upoter, Mohuns Ottery, Hunitõ, Veniton bridge, S. Mary Otterey, Newton bridge Ottermouth and so into the sea. On the west side of this hauen is Budeley almost directly against Otterton. It is eaũe to be seene also, that within lesse then 100. yeares, ships did vse this hauẽ, but now it is barred vp. Some call it Budeley hauen of Budeley towne, other Salterne port, of a little creke comming out of the mayne hauen vnto Salterne village, that hath in time past bẽene a towne of greater estimation. Otterey.

From Otterey mouth we sailed vp to Exmouth so called of the riuer Exe, which moũteth in Exmore, at a place called Execresse thrée myles by Northeast, and from thence goeth by Exford where it is a rill or small water thẽ to Cluerton twelue miles from the head, thence to Therberton Cowley, and next of al to Excester receauing in the meane time the Simõs bath water, which riseth by Northwest of Simons bath bridge (fower myles from Exford:) and is in Sommer time so shalowe that a man maye easily passe ouer it, but in winter it rageth oft, and is very deepe and daungerous. As touching the hauen also I remember well that there lieth vpon the very West point of the same a barren sande and in the West Northwest goeth a little creke a mile or thereabout into the land which some call Kentõ creke. I haue herd that the Burgeses of Excester indeuoured to make the hauen to come vp to Excester it selfe, but whether they brought it to passe or no as yet I doe not know, this is certaine that in times past the shippes came vp no nearer then Apsham, which is a pretty townelet on the shore fower myles vpper into the hauen. Ex. Simmings Bath. Kenton.

Beyonde Excester hauen mouth 4. myles or there about I came to the Teigne mouth which ebbeth and floweth so farre as Newton. The head of this riuer is 20. myles from the sea, and it riseth in Dartmore at a place by northwest called Teigne head. Frõ hence also it goeth to Jagford bridge, Clifford bridge Bridford bridge, Chidley bridge, Teigne bridge, Newton bushelles, beneath which it receaueth Teigne. Leman.

Aller. receaueth the Leman water, and alſo Aller brooke, which riſeth three miles of, as Leland hath ſet down, who writeth moreouer of this hauen in ſort as followeth. The very vtter weſt point of the land, at ỹ mouth of Teigne is called the Neſſe, and is a very high redde cliffe. The eaſt part of the hauen is named the poles, a ſowe ſandie grounde eyther caſt vp by the ſpuing of the ſand out of ỹ Teigne, or elſe throwen vp from the ſhore by the rage of winde and water. This ſande occuppeth now a great quantitie of the ground betwene the hauen where the ſand riſeth, and Teigne mouth towne, which towne ſurnamed Regis, hath in time paſt beene ſore defaced by the Danes, and of late time by the Frenche.

Tor. From Teigne mouth we came to Tor bay, whereof the weſt point is called Byry, and the eaſt Perritory, betwene which is litle aboue foure miles. From Torre bate alſo to Dartmouth is fiue myles where (ſayth Leland) I marked diuers thinges. Firſt of all vpon the eaſt ſide of the hauen a great hilly point, called Downeſend & betwixt Downeſende, and a pointlet named Wherefore, is a litle baye.

Were. Were it ſelfe in like ſorte is not full a myle from Dolwineſend vpwarde into the hauen. Kingeſwere towne ſtandeth out as another pointlet, and betwixt it & Wherefore is the ſecond bay. Somwhat moreouer aboue Kingeſwere towne goeth a litle Creke vp into the land from the maine ſtreame of the hauen

Water hed called water head, & this is a very fitte place for veſſells to be made in. In like ſort half a mile beyond this into ỹ land ward, goeth another longer creke, & aboue that alſo a greater

Neſſe creke. the either of theſe called Gawnſton, whoſe hed

Gaunſton is here not half a mile frō ỹ maine ſea, by the compaſſing thereof as it runneth in Tor bay.

The riuer of Dart, commeth out of Dartmore fiftene miles aboue Totneſſe, in a very

Dart or Darmour. large plot, and ſuch another wild moriſh and forreſtye grounde as Exmore is. Of it ſelfe moreouer this water is very ſwift, & thorow occaſion of Tinworkes whereby it paſſeth, it carieth much ſand to Totneſſe bridge, and ſo choketh the depth of the riuer downeward, that the hauen it ſelfe is almoſt ſpoiled by the ſame. The mariners of Dartmouth accompt this to be about a kenning frō Plimmouth.

In the valley alſo betwene Corneworthy & Aſhey rēptō, runneth a brooke called Hum-

Humberton. berton or Herburne. This water commeth out of a Welſpring, & ſo running about two myles, it paſſeth thorow a ſtone bridge called Roſt, two myles from Totneſſe. Frō thence moreouer, after it hath gone other two miles it commeth to Bow bridge, and there falleth into a ſaltwater creke, which gathereth in to the lande out of the hauen of Dartmouth. This creke at the head breaketh for a little way into two armes, whereof the one goeth vp to Bow bridge, and receyueth Humberton water (as I ſaide) ỹ other toward Cornewoythy frō whence vnto Dartmouth, is about foure myles. Finally about halfe a mile aboue Dartmouth towne, there is another Old mil creke. Creke going out of the maine ſtreame called Olde mill creke, ſo farre as I can learne by the rumor of the countrey.

About ſeuen myles by weſt ſouthweſt frō Saltcomb Dartmouth lyeth Saltcomb hauen, ſomewhat barred: & not much aboue the heade of it is Arme hauen, the backewater whereof Arme. commeth vnder Puy & Armington bridges, and ſo vnto the ſea at this place, which is full of flattes and rockes, ſo that no ſhippe commeth thither in any tempeſt, except it be forced thereto, thorowe the vttermoſt extremitie and deſperate hazarde of the fearefull mariners. King Phillip of Caſtile loſt two ſhippes here in the dayes of king Henry the ſeuenth, when he was driuen to lande in the Weſt coūtrey by rage of weather. Vnto Armouth alſo commeth the Awne water, after it hath Awne. paſſed by Eaſt Brenton and Gare bridges, and not farre from the fall of this, lyeth the Pawlme mouth ſo called of a ryuer whych Pawlme. cōmeth thither frō Le bridg to Palme bridg, & falleth into the ſea, about 4. miles by ſouth eaſt, frō the maine ſtreame of Plimmouth.

Being come to the Plimmoth, I finde Plim. that the mouth of the goulfe wherin the ſhips of this towne doe ride, is walled on eche ſide and chained ouer in ỹ time of neceſſitie. On ỹ ſouth ſide of the hauē alſo is a blockhouſe vpō a rocky hill, & vpō the eaſt ſide of this & Thamar hauen, lyeth the Hill baye creke, ỹ ſtone Hilbay creke. creke, Caine Creke, Shillſtō creke (which Stone houſe creke. is two myles of length and whereon ſtandeth Caine creke. a Hill) Budocks creke, and laſt of al, Tamertaue creke, ſo called becauſe of the concourſe of the Taue & Tamar waters there. Shillton. Budocks Tamartaue. Torrey Taue. Torrey brooke falleth lykewyſe into Plym, but whereaboutes as now, I haue forgotten. Finally vpon the weſt ſide of the hauen, is a notable creke alſo entering into the lande a myle or more from the hauen, which being viewed, I went and beheld Thamar hauen on the weſt ſide whereof, I noted theſe crekes.

Firſt of all about two myles aboue Aſhe I ſawe the principall arme of Thamar it ſelfe. Thamar. Certes it riſeth about three myles by Northeaſt from Hartland, & goeth vp into the land about tenne myles from that place: thence it haſteth to Calſtock bridge, whether it almoſt continually ebbeth and floweth, verye great veſſels cōming likewyſe within a mile ther-

of

of vnto Mozleham, which is not aboue three myles from Tauiſtocke as I reade. Betwixt Thamar ſtreame, and Alhe: I marked farder moze ſayeth Lelande other three crékes alſo deſcending, which brake vp into the lande, whereof the firſt lyeth by Northweſt, the ſeconde weſt northweſt, the thirde plaine weſt, entering into the country aboue half a mile, and ſcarſely a myle lower, I peruſed in like maner the Liuer créke, that goeth vp to S. Germains ward. This créke lyeth 3. myles from the maine ſtreame of Thamar hauen, and riſing in an hill aboue Launſton, it goeth thorow the towne within the walles. In the botome alſo of the Suburbe, is an other named Aterey, which ryſeth aleuen myles of by weſt towarde Bodmin, wherinto runneth a Rill comming thorow a wood before it maketh a confluens with the firſt, in deſcending towarde the hauen. Then breaketh in an other créke called S. Johns, or S. Anthonies Rode, and at the very mouth about S. Nicholas Ile falleth in the laſt, which goeth vp to Milbroke, two myles into the lande from the maine hauen. From hence we ſayled farder towarde the weſt (leauing ſalt Alhe and Seton rillets) and came to the mouth of a riuer called Low, wherein Samons are often founde, & yet is it drie commonly at halfe ebbe. On eche ſyde of the entrye thereof ſtandeth alſo a towne, whereof the one is called eaſt Low the other weſt Low, and this is a prétie market towne. A bridge finally of twelue arches doth leade from the one to the other.

Alha.

Liuer créke.

Aterey.

S. Johns or S. Anthonies rode.

Low.

The next fall after we be paſt one little nameleſſe créke, that lyeth by the waye, is Poulpry water, whercinto commeth a little broke. Then méte we with Fawey hauen, whoſe riuer ryſeth at Fawy Moze (about two myles from Camilforde by South, and fiftene miles from Fawy towne) in a very quaue mire on the ſide of an Hill. Frō hence it goeth to Drainesbridge, to Clobhā bridge, Lergen bridge, Newbridge, Reſprin bridge, and Loſſwithiell bridge, where it méeteth with a little broke, and nére thereunto parteth it ſelfe in twaine. Of theſe two armes therefore one goeth to a bridge of ſtone, the other to another of timber, & ſone after ioyning againe, the maine riuer goeth to Saint Gwinnowes, from thence alſo the point of S. Gwinnowes wood, which is about half a mile from thence, except my memorie doe fayle me. Here goeth in a Salt créke halfe a mile on the eaſt ſide of the hauen, and at the heade of it, is a bridge called Lerine bridge. The créke it ſelf in like maner bearing the ſame denomination. From Lerine créke, to S. Caracs pill, or créke, is about halfe a mile and lower on the eaſt ſide of the ſayd hauen it goeth vp alſo not aboue a mile & an half into the lande. From Caracs créke to Poulmorland a myle, and this likewiſe goeth vp ſcant a quarter of a mile into the land, yet at the heade it parteth it ſelfe in twaine. From Poulmoreland to Bodnecke village halfe a mile where the paſſage and repaſſage is commonly to Fawey. From Bodnecke to Pelene point (where a créke goeth vp not fully 1000. paces into the lande) a mile, thence to Poulruan, a quarter of a mile, and at this Poulruan is a tower of force, marching again ẏ tower on Fawey ſide, betwene which, as I doe here, a chaine hath ſome times bene ſtretched, & likely inough for the haué there is hardly two bowlhotte ouer. The very point of lande at the eaſt ſide of the mouth of this Hauen, is called Pontus croſſe, but nowe Panuche croſſe. It ſhal not be amiſſe in this place ſomewhat to intreate of the towne of Fawy, which is called in Cornish Cōwhath and being ſcituate on the Northſide of the hauen, is ſet hanging on a maine rocky hill being in length about one quarter of a mile, except my memory deceiue me.

Polpry.

Faw.

Lerinus.

In ẏ inuadie of this créke was a cell of S. Cyzet in an Iſlet longing ſometime to Mountegew a priory.

Cōwhath.

The renowne of Fawy roſe by ẏ wars vnder King Edward ẏ firſt, Edward the third, & Henry the fifth, partly by feates of armes & partly by plaine pyracy. Finally ẏ townesmē feéling themſelues ſomewhat at eaſe & ſtrong in their purſes, they fell to marchandize, and ſo they proſpered in this their newe deuiſe, that as they trauciled into al places, ſo marchauntes from all countries made reſort to them, whereby within a while they grew to be exceéding riche. The ſhippes of Fawy falling on a time by Rhy and Winchelſey in ẏ time of king Edward the third, refuſed ſtoutly to vale any bonet there, although warning was giuen them ſo to do by the Portgreues or rules of thoſe townes. Herevpon the Rie and Winchelſie men, made out vppon them with cut and long taile: but ſo hardly were they intertained by the Fawy Pyrates (I ſhould ſaie aduenturers) that they were driuen home againe with no ſmall loſſe and hinderaunce. Such fauour found the Fawy men alſo immediately vpon this bickering, that in token of their victory ouer their winching aduerſaries, and riding Ripiers, as they called them in mockery, they altered their armes and compounded for newe, wherein the ſcutchion of Rie and Winchelſey is quartered, with theirs & beſide this ẏ Foiens were called the gallantes of Fawy, whereof they not a litle reioyced, and more peraduenture then for ſome greater boty. And thus much of Fawy

Gallantes of Fey or Fawy.

Falwy towne wherin we ſée what great ſucceſſe often commeth of witteleſſe and raſhe aduẽtures. But to returne againe to our purpoſe from whence we haue digreſſed and as hauing ſome deſire to finiſhe vp this our voyage, we wil leaue the Falmouth and go forward on our iourney. Being therefore paſſe this hauen, we come to Pennarth which is 2. myles by weſt therof, and ſcituate on the eaſt ſide of Trewardith Baie, called by Leland Arctoum or Vrctoũ Promontoriũ except his writings do deceiue me. Frõ hence we came to the blacke head, then to Pentozen a myle farder, and here iſſueth out a prety ryuer that commeth by Saint Auſtelles, about two myles and an halfe from thence, which runneth vnder Auſtell bridge & vnder the Weſt ſide of the hill whereon the poore towne of S. Auſtelles ſtãdeth. Thence we ſailed to Chappell land, then to Dudman, to Pennare, and Saint Antonies point, which is three myles from Pennar point, where we make our entrance into the Falamouth hauen, whoſe deſcription I borowe of Leland and worde for worde will here inſert the ſame.

Auſtell bridge.

Fala.

The very point (ſaith he) of the hauẽ mouth (being an hill whereon the Kyng hath buylded a caſtell) is called Pendinant. It is about a myle in compaſſe, almoſt enuironned with the ſea, and where the ſea couereth not, the ground is ſo low that it were a ſmall maſtry to make Pendinant an Iland. Furthermore there lieth a cape or foreland within the hauẽ a myle and an halfe, and betwixt this and M. Killigrewes houſe, one great arme of the hauen rũneth vp to Penrine towne, which is 3. miles from the very entry of Falemouth hauen, and two good myles from Penfuſis.

Leume.

Moreouer there is Leuine Priſcio betwixte S. Budocus and Pendinas, which were a good hauen but for the barre of ſande, but to proceãde. The firſt creke or arme that caſteth on the Northweſt ſide of Falemouth hauen goeth vp to Perin, and at thende it breaketh into two armes, whereof the leſſe runneth to Glaſcuith i. viridis ind⁹, ỹ grene neſt, or wagmeer at Penrin: the other to ſaint Glunias the pariſhe Church of Penrine. In like ſorte out of eche ſide of Penrine creke, breaketh an arme or euer it come to Penrine. This I vnderſtande alſo that ſtakes and foundations of ſtone haue bẽne ſet in the creke at Penrine a litle lower then the wharfe where it breaketh into armes: but howſoeuer this ſtandeth betwixte the point of Trefuſis and the point of Reſkronget is Miloz creke, which goeth vp a myle into the land and by the churche is a good rode for ſhippes. The nerte creke beyonde the point of Reſkronget wood is called Reſkronget which goyng two myles vp into the maine breaketh into two armes. In lyke order betwixte Reſkronget and the creke of Trury be two crekes one called S. Feokes, the other Saint Caie, nerte vnto which is Trury creke that goeth vp about two myles creking from the principall ſtreame, & breaketh within half a myle of Trury, caſting in a braunche Weſtward euen harde by Newham wood. This creke of Trury is deuided into two partes before the towne of Trury, and eche of them hauing a broke comming downe and a bridge, the towne of Trury ſtandeth betwixte them both. In like ſorte Kenwen ſtreate is ſeuered frõ the ſaid towne with this arme, and Clements ſtréte by eaſt with the other. Out of the body alſo of Trury creke breaketh another eaſtwarde a myle from Trury, and goeth vp a myle and an halfe to Treſilian bridge of ſtone. At the very entry and mouth of this creke is a rode of ſhippes called Maples rode and here caught not long ſince. 18. ſhippes of Spaniſhe marchauntes with 4. ſhippes of warre of Depe, but the Spaniardes draue the Frenchemen all into this harborowe. A myle and an halfe aboue the mouth of Trury creke, is another named Lhan Mozan of S. Mozans church at hãd. This creke goeth vp a quarter of a mile from the maine ſtreame into the hauen, as the maine ſtreame goeth vp two myles aboue Mozan creke ebbing and flowing: and a quarter of a myle higher is the towne of Tregowy where we found a bridge of ſtone vpon the Fala ryuer. Fala it ſelfe riſeth a myle or more weſt of Roche hyll & goeth by Graund pount where I ſawe a bridge of ſtone.

Reſkronget.

S. Feokes

S. Caye.

Trury creke.

Mozan.

This Graund pount is four miles frõ Roche hill and two litle myles from Tregowy, betwixt which the Fala taketh his courſe. Frõ Tregowy to paſſe downe by the body of the hauen of Falamouth to the mouth of Lanyhorne pill or creke, on the ſouth ſide of the hauen is a myle, and as I remember it goeth vp halfe a myle from the principall ſtreame of the hauen. From Lanyhorne pill alſo is a place or point of ſande about a myle way of 40. acres or thereabout (as a Peninſula) called Ardeue rauer. As for the water or creke that rũneth into the ſouth ſoutheaſt part, it is but a little thing of halfe a myle vp into the land, and the creke that hemmeth in this Peninſula, of both doth ſéeme to be the greater. From the mouth of the Weſt creke of this Peninſula, to S. Juſtes creke is foure miles or more. In like maner from S. Juſtes pill or creke (for both ſignifie one thing) to Saint Mawes creke is a myle and a halfe, and the point betwẽn them both is called Pendinas,

Miloz.

S. Iuſtus.

S. Mawes.

The

The creke of Saint Mawes goeth vp a two myles by east northeast into the land, and besides that it ebbeth and floweth so far, there is a mylle driuen with a freshe creke that resorteth to the same. Halfe a mile from the head of this downeward to the hauen, is a creke in manner of a pole, whereon is a mill also that grindeth with the tyde. And a myle beneath that on the south side entreth a creke (about halfe a myle into the countrey) which is barred from the maine sea by a small sandye banke, and another myle yet lower, is a another litle creke let: but howe soeuer these crekes doe runne, certaine it is that ỳ bankes of them that belong to Fala are marueilously well wooded, and hitherto Leland, whose wordes I dare not alter for feare of corruption and alteration of his iudgement. Being past Falmouth hauen, therfore (as it were a quarter of a myle beyonde Arwennach Master Killegrewes place which standeth on the brimme or shore within Falmouth) we came to a litle hauen which ranne vp betweene two hilles, but it was barred, wherefore we could not learne whether it were serued with any backe freshe water or not. From hence we went by Polwitherall creke (parted into two armes) then to ỳ Polpenrith wherevnto a reuere t falleth that riseth not farre from thece, and so goeth to the maine streame of ỳ hauen at the last, whether the creke resorteth about three myles and more from the mouth of the hauen, and into which the water that goeth vnder Gare and Mogun bridges, doe fall in one botome as Lelande hath reported. Vnto this hauen also repayreth the Penkestell, the Callous ỳ Chelow, & the Gilling, although this latter lyeth against Saint Mawnens on the hether side hard without the hauen mouth if I haue done aright. For so motheate, mouldye, and rotten are those bookes of Leland which I haue, and beside that, his annotatiõs are such and so confounded as no man can in maner picke out any sence from them by a leafe together, wherfore I thinke that he dispersed & made his notes intricate of set purpose, or else he was loth that any man should easily come by that knowledge by̆ readyng, which he with his great charge and no lesse trauell attained vntõ by experience.

Lopole is two myles in length, and betwixt it and the maine Ocean is but a barre of sand that ones in three or foure yeares, what by weight of the freshe water and working of the Sea breaketh out, at which time it maketh a wonderfull noyse, but sone after the mouth of it is barred vp againe. At all other times the superfluity of the water of Lopole (which is full of Trout and Ele) draineth out thorow the sandy barre into the open Sea: Certes if this barre coulde alwayes be kept open, it would make a goodly hauen, vp vnto Hayleston towne, where coynage of tinne is also vsed, as at Trury and Lostwithiell, for the Quenes aduauntage. From this place I doe not remember that I founde any more falles or hauens, tyll we passed rounde about the cape, and came vnto the Haile, which is a prety riuer, rising from foure principall heds or brookes, wherof one springeth by south another by southwest, the third by southeast, and the fourth by Northeast. Also we saw S. Perins creke, Crantocke and Rialton, of Heyles Leland speaketh somewhat in his collections out of the life of S. Breaca, where he noteth that it is spoyled by sand comming from the Tinne workes. The next great fall of water & greatest of all that is to be founde on the North side of Cornwall, is at Paddestow, whether ỳ Alaune resorteth. Of some it is nowe called Dunmere, but in olde time it hight commonly Alaunus. Into this streame runne diuers other as the Carneley (by east) three myles lower then Wodbridge: ỳ Laine (which riseth two myles aboue S. Esse by northeast, and falleth into Alaune likewise about Wodbridge) the Bodmin water, beside another that commeth from southwest, and goeth in Alane two myles beneath this confluence on the same side aboue Wodbridge: and finallye the last which descendeth out of the hilles from southeast, and ioyneth with the said riuer two myles aboue Padstow, as I doe finde by reading. In one place Leland saith how he cannot well tell whereabout this riuer doth issue out of the grounde, but in another he sayth thus of it. The Alane is euidently seene to passe thorow Wod or Wadbridge at lowe water, and the first bridge of name that it runneth vnder is called Helham, the next, Dunmere bridge, & the third Wadbridge, which is foure myles lower, and the lowest in deede, that is to be founde on this streame. From Padstow also they saile full well vnto Waterford in Ireland. There are likewise two Rockes which lye in the east side of the hauen, secretely hidden at full Sea, as two pads in the straw, whereof I thinke it taketh the name. Leland supposeth this ryuer to be the same Camblan, where Arthur fought his last and fatall conflict: for to this daie men that doe eare the grounde there, doe oft plowe vp bones of a large size, and great store of armour, or els it may be (as I rather coniecture) that the Romanes had some field (or Castra) thereabout, for not long since and in the remembraunce of man, a brasse pot ful of Romane coyne was found there, as I haue often

Polwitherall. Polpenrith. wike. Gare. Mogun. Penkestel. Callous. Cheplow. Gilling. Lopole. Haile. Sperin. Crantock. Rialton. Alaunus Dunmerus. Carneley. Laine. Locus. busonis.

Depe-hatch. Cumilus.

Taw.

Turrege.

Mineus.

Durus.

Iuel.

Shirburn Milbꝛooke.

Cokar.

Axe.

oftẽ herde. Next vnto this is the Dépe hatch & thẽ the Cunilus alias Poꝛtiſſee & Poꝛtguin waters, and vpon the Poꝛthſide of this creke ſtandeth Tintagell oꝛ Dundagtell caſtell, almoſt enuironned in manner of an Iſland. After this and being paſt Tredwy, we come vnto the Taw mouth, whoſe heade riſeth in Exmoꝛe ſoutheaſt from Barſtable, which is a towne fiue myles diſtaunt from the hauens mouth. It receiueth alſo ỳ water of Turrege, which riſeth 3. miles by noꝛtheaſt frõ Yarteland in a moꝛe euen hard by ỳ principall hed of Thamar. This Thurege commeth firſt to Kiſſington bꝛidge, thence to Pulfoꝛd bꝛidge, Madfoꝛde bꝛidge, Dépefoꝛde bꝛidge, the South and weſt bꝛidges of Thoꝛington, to Budfoꝛd bꝛidge, (which hath 24. arches, and an olde chappel builded thereon vnto the virgin Mary, at the farder end) then two miles lower it falleth into the Thaue, and finallye into the Sauerne ſea, by the hauen mouth.

The entrie of the hauen of Thaw is barred wyth ſande and very daungerous, and from the pointe of the hauen mouthe to cutte ouer to Yartey point, is about fiue oꝛ ſeuen miles, a pꝛetie bꝛooke alſo falleth into the ſaid hauen, from the hilles aboue Barſtable, by Eaſt, & going by the Pꝛioꝛy. But to pꝛocéede from hence we goe to the Minheued oꝛ Mine mouth, whoſe backwater entreth into it, after it be come from Minheued and Poꝛtloch.

Then came we to Dour oꝛ Dournſeir fall, whether commeth a rill, next of all to Clyſte Chappell, where the people honoured an Image of our Ladye with much ſuperſtition, thence two myles to Dcharde, to Comb thꝛée myles, and next of all vnto the Iuel, a famous ryuer, which deſcendeth by Bꝛadfielde then by Clyſton (within a quarter of a myle whereof the Shireburn & the Milbꝛooke waters doe méete, of which the firſt ryſeth in Blackmoꝛe, the other thꝛée myle from thence in Milbꝛooke parke) from Clyſton to Euell a pꝛoper market towne in Somerſetſhyꝛe, thꝛe myles oꝛ thereabout from Shireburn: from Euell to Ilcheſter by the bꝛidge thꝛée myles (taking withall the Cokar, that ryſeth weſt of Cokar, and after thꝛée myles gate falleth into the Iuell) frõ Ilcheſter to Michelboꝛowe, leauing Athelney ſomewhat diſtaunt on the left ſide, then to Lamburne, to Bꝛidge noꝛth, Bꝛidge water, and after a time into the Sauerne mouth. Certes it is thought to ryſe in Milbery parke, oꝛ ſomewhere elſe not farre from Shireburne, but the chiefe heade thereof commeth from Coſkomb. When we are paſt this we come vnto the Axe, which runneth by Axe towne, and ſo continueth his courſe bꝛaunching in thende, and leauing a fayꝛe Iſlande as it were in the very fal, partly enuironned wõ the maine ſea, & partly wyth this ryuer. There is moꝛeouer a towne eaſt of this Iſland called in old time Cherin, but now Uphil. Next vnto this is the Stowey mouth ſerued with a backewater, called Stowey, which ryſeth in the hylles not farre of, and after it hath touched at Stow, it falleth into the ſea, which is ſeuẽ miles frõ that place. There are two bꝛookes furthermoꝛe that fal into the ſea, after they haue paſſed betwéene Stow and S. Andꝛewes, & the thirde runneth not farre from Willington, ryſing by South, but ſithence they are onely tryſling rilles and nameleſſe, I thinke it not good to ſtande any longer about them. Thus are we come at laſt vnto the Auon, which not farre from his oꝛiginall, doth enuironne and almoſt make an Iſland of the towne of Malmeſbyꝛy, from thence it goeth vnder Maleſoꝛde and Caſtway bꝛidges, to Choppenham, Bꝛadfoꝛd, Bath, Bꝛiſtow (flowing two miles aboue that citie) and ſone after into the Sauerne, from whence it neuer returneth without mixture of Salt water. In this ſoꝛt haue I finiſhed one part of my Deſcription of the ryuers & ſtreames falling into the ſea, which ſhould haue béene a far moꝛe perfite, and exact péece of woꝛke, if I had béene ſo bꝛyghtlye dealt withall in mine infoꝛmations as I ment to deale pꝛeciſely in ſetting downe the ſame, but ſith the matter is ſo fallen out, that I cannot doe as I woulde herein, I muſt be contented to perfoꝛme what I maye, hoping in time to peruſe and poliſhe it againe that nowe is left rude and without any diligence ſhewed, oꝛ oꝛder vſed at all therein.

Stowey.

Auon.

Of the Sauerne ſtreame and ſuch falles of ryuers as go into the ſea, betweene it and the Humber. Cap. 10.

Sauerne.

THE Sauerne deuideth Englande oꝛ that part of the Iſland, which ſometime was called Lhoegres from Cambꝛia, ſo called of Camber, the ſecond ſonne of Bꝛute, as our hyſtoꝛies doe repoꝛt. But nowe it height Wales of the Germaine woꝛde Walche, wherby that nation doth vſe to call all ſtrangers without reſpect of countrie. It toke the name of a certaine Lady, called Habren, baſe daughter of Locrinus begotten vpon Eſtrildes daughter to Humber king of Scythia, that ſometime inuaded this Iſlande and was ouerthꝛowne here, in the dayes of this Locrinus as ſhall be ſhewed at hande. Foꝛ after the death of Locrinus, it came to paſſe that Guendolena his wyfe ruled the kingdome in the noneage of hir ſonne, and then getting the

Habren, peraduenture foꝛ Aber, &c. called at the fall Lelande.

the saide Estruldis and Habren hir daughter into hir handes, she drowned the both in this ryuer. And in perpetual remembrance of hir husbandes disloyaltie towardes hir, she caused the streame to be called Habren of the young Ladye, for which the Romaines in processe of tyme for readinesse, & mildenesse of pronounciation wrate Sabrina, and we at this time doe pronounce the Sauerne.

Of the drowning of the sayde Abren also I finde these verses insuing.

In fluuium præcipitatur Abren,
Nomen Abren, fluuio de virgine, nomen eidem
Nomine corrupto deinde Sabrina datur.

But to returne to our Sauerne, it springeth from the high mountaines of south Wales, called in Welche Plim Limmon in latine Plimmonij, in Englishe the Blacke mountaines, & out of the same head with the Wye, where it hath in Latitude as some gesse 52. degrées and 10. minutes, and in longitude 15. and 50. From hence it rometh to Cair Lews (famous in name, but in déede a poore throwfaire from Mahencliffe) then to Landlas; to Newton (or Trenewith) to Arwistle; to Leueden, then within a myle of Mountegomery to the Welche pole, thence wythin half a mile of Pontsbery Colledge to Shrolbury, and so to bridge North, receyuing sundry brookes and waters by the way, of which the Cerlon or Serlo séemeth to be the greatest, and whereby the chanell thereof is not a little increased. From Bridgenorth it encli-neth toward ỹ south vnto Worcester, where-about it receyueth other streames, as the Teme on the West halfe a myle beneath Worcester, not farre from Powike Milles. And another in the East, comming frō Stafforde, and so holding one towarde Glocester, méeteth with the Auon not farre from Theokesbyry, and from whence they come both as one to Glocester, as mine information doth serue me. Here gathering againe somewhat toward the west, it passeth by west of Deane, where it meteth with the Wy, which is none of the least famous of all those that mixe thē-selues wyth Sauerne. Being also greatlye enlarged with the Wylow or Wilinghe (an other great streate streame increased by the Geuenni, and another) it goeth vnto the Holmes, where after it hath mette in the meane season with sundry other brookes, it falleth into the maine sea, betwéene Wales and Cornewall, which is and shalbe called the Sauerne sea, so long as Sauerne ryuer doth hold and kéepe hir name. But as the said streame in length of course bounty of water and depth of chanell commeth farre behinde the Thames, so for other commodities as trade of marchandise, plentie of cariage, and store of all kinde of fish, as Samon, Trouts, Breames, Pikerell, Tenche, Perche, &c. it is nothing at al inferiour or second to the same. Finally there is nothing to be discōmended in this ryuer, but the openesse thereof in manie places to the weather, wherby sundry perils oft ouer take such as fish or saile in small vessels on the same.

Cerlon.

Teme.

Auon.

wy.

village.

The Sauerne being thus described (I hope sufficiently for one that hath so small information & knowledge of the same) it resteth that I go forwarde with the names of those that lye vppon the coast of Southwales, making my entrie at the ferry, ouer betwéene Auft in Glocestershyre, to a village on the farder banke of Sauerne, not farre frō Terendacus Chappell, in the mouth of the riuer Wy, which ferry is about three myles ouer (sayth Leland) or else my memorie doth faile me. Wy mouth

This ryuer Guy or Wy beginneth as I sayde before on the side of the hilles, where the Sauerne doth arise, and passing thorowe Wencelande, doeth fall into the Sauerne beneath Chepsto at the aforesayde place. Guy alias wy.

Leland writing of this ryuer sayeth thus, the Wy goeth thorowe all Herefordshyre by Bradwarden Castell (belonging to Syr Richarde Uehan) & so to Hereforde east, thence eyght myles to Rosse a market towne in Herefordshyre, and in this ryuer be Umbers otherwyse called graylinges. Umber a fishe onely in the wy.

Next vnto this is the Aberwith, or Wyske whereon Caerleon standeth sometime, called Chester. This riuer ryseth in the blacke mountaines, tenne myles aboue Brechnock towarde Cairmardine, and runneth thorowe the great and litle forrest of Brechnoch, then it goeth by Redwin bridge, to Brecknock, Penkithly, Cregheell, Abergeuenni, Uske, Carleon, Newporte, and so vnto the sea, taking withall the Ebowith. This Ebowith is a riuelet ryling flat North, in a mountaine of high Wenllande, and going streight from thence into Diffrin Serowy vale, it falleth into the Uske or Wiske, a myle and a halfe beneath Newporte, from whence likewyse it is vnto the hauen mouth of Wiske about half a mile more. But to procede without Wiske. Certes this riuer is famous and vpon some partes of the lower bankes especially about Carleon is much Romaine Coyne found, of all maner of sortes, as men eare and digge the groimde. Furthermore this streame is one of the greatest in Southwales and huge ships might well come to the towne of Carleon, as they did in the time of the Romaines if Newport bridge were not a let vnto them. wiske. Ebowith.

Neuertheleſſe bigge botes come thereto. It is eyght Welche or twelue Engliſhe myles from Chepſtow or Strigull, and of ſome thought to be in Bace Wenceland, though other be of the contrarie opinion. But howſoeuer the matter ſtandeth, this ryuer is taken to be the bounds of Brechnockſhyre, as Renni is to middle Wenceland and Glamorganſhyre.

Remenei, or Remni.

The nert riuer vnto Uſke or Wiſke is called Remenei or Remni, whoſe heade is three or foure myles aboue Eggluis Tider Uap Hoell (otherwyſe called Fanum Theodori, or the Church of Theodorus) whence come manye ſprings, & taking one botome, the water is called Rapach. It is alſo augmented with the Riſca brooke, comming vnto it out of a Paroche called Eggluis Ilan, and then altogither named Riſca. Thence running thorowe Bedwes Paroche, it is called Remny or Remeny and ſo continueth vntill it come at the Sauerne. The fall therof alſo is not aboue fyre myles from the ryuer Wiſke. Although that for ſhippes it be nothing commodious. It is more ouer a limite betweene the Silures and Glamorganſhyre.

Riſca.

Taffe.

From the mouth of Remni, to the mouth of Taffe are two myles. Thys ryuer is the greateſt in all Glamorganſhyre, and the citie Taffe it ſelfe of good countenaunce, ſith it is endued with the Cathedrall ſea of a Biſhop. The head of this water cōmeth downe from Woody hilles, and often bringeth ſuch logges and bodyes of trees withal frō thence, that they fruſh the bridge in peeces, but for aſmuch as it is made of tymber, it is repayred with leſſe coſt, whereas if it were of harde ſtone all the countrie thereabouts would not be able to amende it. Into this ſtreame alſo falleth Lhay, which deſcendeth (but more eaſterly) from the ſame hilles and it meeteth with all beneath Landaffe, that ſtandeth almoſt euen at the verye confluence, and thus ſayeth Lhoyd, but Lelande noteth it otherwyſe. In like ſorte the Taffe receyueth the Rodney Uaur, and Rodeney Uehan, in one botome, which ſpring in the Lordſhip of Glin Rodeney within two miles togither. Of theſe alſo the Rodeney Uaur ryſeth by Northweſt in a great high rocke, called Dyſſiog. Rodeney Uehan iſſueth a myle aboue caſtell Roſe (by northweſt alſo) but nearer towarde Pyſken Lordſhip, ſo that the Rodney Uaur head and ſtreame lieth more weſt vp into Wales. As for Caſtell Roſe, it is but a highe ſtonye Cragge in the toppe of a hil: but to proceede. Rodeney Uaur runneth vnder a bridge of wood a myle from Penriſe, then to Ponte Remmeis two myles lower, and a little beneath is the confluence. There be alſo two ſmall bridges on Rodeney Uehan of wood, whereof the firſt is againſt Penriſe three quarters of a myle of, the other a little aboue the confluēce right againſt the bridg on Rodney Uaur. There is a bridg of wood alſo vpō the whole ſtreame two myles beneath the ſayde confluence, called Pont Newith, and a quarter of a mile from the place where it goeth into Taffe.

Lhay.

Rodeney vaur, Rodeny vchan.

From Taffe to Lay mouth or Ele ryuer a mile, from Lhay mouth (or rather Penarth, that ſtandeth on the Weſt poynt of it) to the mouth of Thawan ryuer (from whence is a cōmon paſſage ouer vnto Mineheued in Somerſetſhyre of ſeuentene myles) are about ſeuen Welche myles, which are counted after this maner. A myle and a halfe aboue Thawan is Scylley Hauenet, (a prettie ſuccour for ſhippes) whoſe heade is in Wenno paroche two myles & a halfe from the ſhore. From Scilley mouth to Aber Barry a mile, and thither commeth a little ryll of freſh water into Sauerne, whoſe head is ſcant a myle of in playne grounde by Northeaſt, & right againſt the fall of this becke lyeth Barry Iſlande a flight ſhotte from the ſhore at the full ſea. Halfe a myle aboue Aber Barry is the mouth of Come kydy, which ryſeth flat northe frō the place where it goeth into ȳ Sauerne & ſerueth oft for herbor vnto ſea farers. Thēce to the mouth of Thawan are 3. myles, whervnto ſhippes may come at will. Two myles aboue Thawan is Colhow, whether a little rill reſorteth from Lau Iluit, thence to the mouth of Alen foure myles, that is a myle to S. Dynothes Caſtell, and three myles further. The Alen riſeth by northeaſt vp into the lande at a place, called Lhes Bronmith, or Skyrpton, about foure myles aboue the plot where it commeth by it ſelfe into Sauerne. From thence to the mouth of Ogur alias Gur three miles. Then come they in proceſſe of tyme vnto the Kenſike or Colbrooke ryuer which is no great thing, ſith it ryſeth not aboue 3. myles frō the ſhore. From Kenſike to Aber Auon two myles, and herein doe ſhips moleſted with weather oftentimes ſeeke herborow. It commeth of two armes, whereof that which lyeth Northeaſt is called Auon Uaur, the other that lyeth Northweſt Auon Uehā. They meete togither at Lhanuoy Hēgle, about two myles aboue Aber Auon village, which is two myles alſo from the ſea. From hence to the Neth is about two miles and a halfe, thereon come ſhiplettes almoſt to the towne of Neth frō the Sauerne. From the mouth of Neth vnto the mouth of Crimline becke is two miles, and being paſſed

Lhay.

Thawan.

Scylley.

Barry.

This Iſle went 50. yeres ago or 10. li.

Com kydy

Colhow.

Alen.

Ogur.

Kenſike.

Auon.

Neth.

Taury. sed the same we come vnto the Taury, which descendeth from the aforesayd hilles and falleth into the Sea by East of Swansey. Being past this wee come vnto the Lichwr, or Lochar mouth and then gliding by the Wormes head, we passed to the Wandrel mouth, whereof I finde this description following in Lelande. Both Uendraith, Taur & Uêdraith Uchan, ryse in a peece of Carmardinesheyre, called Ilkenen, that is to say, the iswe quarter about Kennen ryuer, and betwixt the heades of these two hilles, is another hill, wherein be stones of a grænish couloure, wherof the inhabitauntes make theyr Lime. The name of the hyll that Uendraith Taur ryseth in, is called Mennith Taur, and therein is a pole as in a moryish ground, names Llintegowen, where ỳ principall spring is, & thys hyll is eight or nyne myles frō Kidwelli. The hyll that Uendraith Uchan springeth out of, is called Mennith Uchan, & thys water commeth by Kydwelly towne. But about thrée or foure myles, care it come thyther, it receyueth a broke, called Tresgyth the course wherof is little aboue a myle from the place where it goeth into Uendraith, and yet it hath foure or fiue fucking milles and thrée Corne milles vppon it. At the heade of this broke is an hole in the hilles side, where men often enter and walke in a large space. And as for the broke it selfe, it is one of the most plentifull and commodious that is to be founde in Wales. All along the sides also of Uendraith Taur, you shall finde great plentye of Seacoles. There is a great hole by heade of Uendraith Uchan, where men vse to enter into vaultes of great compasse, and it is sayde, that they may go one way vnder the grounde to Wormes head, and another waye to Cairkennen castell, which is thrée myles or meze vnto the lande. But how true these things are it is not in me to determine, yet this is certaine, that there is very good Hawking at the Heron in Uendraith Uchā. There are diuers printes of the passage of certaine Wormes also in the Taue, at the head of Uēdraith Uchan, as the inhabitants doe fable, but I neuer heard of any man that saw any Worme there, and yet it is beleeued that many Wormes are there.

Tow, or Towy. Being past this, we came to the Abertowy or mouth of the Towz. This ryuer ryseth in the mountaines of Elinith foure myles by south from Lintiue in a moryish grounde, 24. miles from Carmardyn and in a forrest called Bishops forrest midway betwixt Landwhryeuy & Landanuery castell. For sith this is much better in mine opinion, the the Taw or Taffe, whose head breadeth no fishe, but if any be cast into it, they tarne by their bellies and die out of hande. Into this ryuer also falleth one called Guthrike, not farre frō Landonuery towne, which is two and twentye myle frō the head of Towy. In like sort the Kenen ryuer falleth into the Towy about Landi louaur, which is two miles higher vpō Towy, the Dinefur castel & the whole course of this water is not aboue thrée myles. The Brane (another ryuer also) after it hath run from the head by the space of 12 myles doth come hard by the foote of Landonuery castel, and taking with it the Euery, they fall together into the Towz, a little beneath the Castell. Thys Euery runneth through the middest of Landanuery towne. Beneath Ladanuery in like soze another broke called Marleis, falleth into the Towy, and foure myles beneath the same two other, of which the one is called Nonneis. Foure miles also from Abermarleis or the place where Towy & Marleis doe meete (towarde Carmardine) runneth the ryuer Duleise, which some after falleth also into Towy. Furthermore 2. miles beneath the fall of Duleise, there is another, and thrée or foure myles beyonde this, is the seconde Duleise, & eache of them after other fall into the saide ryuer, but this latter about Dynllan Castell, as Lelande hath described thē. Proceeding yet further still toward Carmardine, our sayde streame goeth by Landistuphan Castell, and also into the sea, about thrée myles beyonde Dynllan Castell. Also he confesseth moreouer, that he sawe the fall of Cothey, a fayre ryuer, into the sayd streame, & this was within foure myles of Carmardine, wherof I spake before. The Cothey riseth thrée myles frō Landanbreui vnder the hulke of Blaine Ieorne, which is a narrowe passage, and therein marueyleus heapes of stones.

The next ryuer we came vnto vpon the coste is called Taue, whose head rinneth also from the blacke mountaines at a place thrée miles from Cardigan called Prestelen, thence it goeth by Saint Clares, and as it hasteth toward the sea, it taketh the ryuer Gowe with it, which riseth at Blaincowen two myles or meze aboue the bridge. Then the Duddery ryuer, and Barthkinni streame, Uenny & Morlais. Next of all come we to Milford hauen, whereunto two ryuers direct their course from the Northeast called Dugledu or the two swordes and betweene them both is a hil which they cal also Cultlell, that is to say the knyfe, wherof riseth a merry tale of a welchman that lying in this place abroade all night in the colde weather, he was demaunded of his hostesse (where he did breake his fast) he

Guthrike. Kenen. Brane. Euery. Nonneis. Cothey. Taue. Gowe. Duddery. Barthkinni. Morlais. Dugledu. Cultlell.

nere mornyng) at what Inne he laye in the night preceding, bycause he came so sone to his house ere any of his maydes were vp. Oh good hostesse (quod he) be contented I laye to night in a daungerous estate for I slepte betweene two swordes with a long knif at my hart, meaning in deede that he lay betweene these two ryuers, and his breast towards the South neere to the heade of Cuithell. But to passe ouer these iestes, here Leland speaketh of a ryuer called Gwyly, but where it ryseth or falleth he maketh no certaine report: wherfore it is requisite that I proceede according to my purpose. Beyng therfore paste this hauen and point of Demecia in sayling about the coaste we come to Saint Dennes, or S. Dauys land, which I reade to be seperated from the rest of the countrey much after this maner, although I graunt that there maye be an hare diuers other little créekes, betwixt Newgale and Saint Dauys head, & betwixt S. Dauys and Fyschard, beside those that are here mencioned out of a Register of that house.

As we turne therefore from Milford, S. Dauys land beginneth at Newgall, a créeke serued with a backe fresh water. Howbeit there is a Baye before this créeke betwixt it and Milford. From hence about foure miles is Saluache créeke, otherwise called Sauerach, whether some fresh water reuerteth: y mouth also therof is a good refuge for Balingers as it (I meane the register) sayth. Thence go we to Portclais 3. myles where is a litle portlet, whether the Alen that commeth thorowe Sainte Dyuies close doth runne.

It lyeth a myle southwest frō S. Dewies, Saint Stinans Chappell also is betweene Portclais and Portmaw. The next is Porte Maw, where I founde a great estuary into the lande. The Pendwy hathe a mile from y: Lanuchā. Lanu Tichan is 3. myles frō Pendwy, where is a salt créeke, then to Tredine three myles, where is another créeke to Langunda, foure miles, and another créeke is there in like sort where fysher men catche Herring. Here also the Gwerne ryuer deuideth Penbidiane from Fischerdine Hemmeis land. Frō Langunda to Fischard at the Gwerne mouth 4. myles, & here is a portlet or hauen cast also for shippes. and thus much of Saint Dauys lande. Besides this also I cham in a third booke talketh of Linnes and Poles, but for as much as my purpose is not to speake of Lakes & Linnes, I passe them euer as hasting to the Teify, in latine Tibius, which is the nexte ryuer that serueth for my purpose.

The Teyfy therfore is a right noble ryuer, as any in Wales, fraught with delicate Salmons, and herein onely of all the ryuers in England is the Castor or Bever to be founde. It ariseth foure myles from Strat-flour out of a Pole called Llintiue, lying on the West side of the blacke mountaines (as the Sauerne doth spring out from by east of them) & holding on with the ordinary course, it commeth at laste to Stradflour, where it meeteth with a brooke called the Fleure or Flere. Frō hence it proceedeth on vnto Tregaron, Buyy, Landfur, Glydris, Budhath, Emlin, Kilgatran, & so to Cardigon, which standeth on the farder side as we go towarde the forsaid ryuer from by south. Certes this ryuer which we nowe discribe, goeth in maner plaine West, till we come within syxe myles of Cairmardine, and then returneth toward the North, so going on till it come at Aberstwy, or Aberteify, as it is most cōmonly called. It deuideth Pembroke from Cardigan or Ceretteanshere, as Leland setteth it downe.

Beyng paste the Tewe or Teify we came to Abertayron, so called of the ryuer Ayron which there falleth into the Maine, 3. myles beneath Lanclere. It ryseth also in a mountaine, percel of the blacke hilles, by a chappel called Blaine Penial, belonging to Landwy Brem, but it is in Cardigen shire ouer Tiue and aboute three or foure myles from Tiue banches. Next vnto this as I remember we passed by Aberarth where was a pretye streamelet & some slender harborow. And thē we came to another water which falleth into ȳ sea beneath Rithhide (neither of them being of any great length from their heades) and so vnto Aberystwith which ysſueth in a marshe called Blaine Wythe (so farre as I remember) and runneth about 13. or 14. myles tyll it come at last into the sea. It taketh withal by the waye also first the Meleuen and then the Rhedhol, a ryuer nothing inferiour vnto Ystrith it selfe, with whome it maketh his confluence aboue Badarne, and in a large bottome goeth sone after into the sea.

Hence we went vnto the Wy whose heade commeth from the south part of Snowdony by Nowdheuy Mathan lath, and in this his course moreouer he seemeth to parte Northe Wales and South Wales in sunder. It is called in latine Deuus, in Welshe Dyfy, but how it came to be called Wy in good sothe it is not found. It receyueth also the Alen which cōmeth from the vpper part of Cornicryst-with in Cardigonshyre, out of the blaine, and taketh also with it the Clardwyn, a brooke ysſuing about a myle from Cragnawlin and as it holdeth on the course it receyueth the

Clardwy

Castor in England

Fleur.

Ayron.

Arth.

Ris.

ystwith.

Meleuen.

Redol.

wy.

Clardwy which ſpringeth vp halfe a myle from the Clardue head (another gullet likewiſe falling from ỹ Rocky hilles into Clardwy) and ſo goyng together foure miles farder they fall into the Allen. Finally after all theſe haue as it were played together in one or moe bottomes among the pleaſant Meadowes and lower grounds, by the ſpace of fiue myles, vnder ỹ name of Alen, they beate at the laſt vpon the Wy and accompany him directly vnto the Ocean.

After this we paſſed by Abertho, ſo named of the Riuer Ho, that falleth therein to the ſea and commeth thether from ỹ Alpes or hilles of Snowdony. From hence we ſayled by Abermawr or mouth of Mawr, which commeth in like ſorte from Snowdony, and taketh diuers Ryuers with him whoſe names I doe not know. Then vnto ỹ Artro a broke deſcending from thoſe hilles alſo, and falling into the ſea a myle aboue the Harleche. Next of al we behold the Gleſſe Linne that parteth Caernaruon from Merionneth ſhyre, and ſo came vnto Traith Uchan, betwirte which two, and Traith Mawr rũneth a litle broke thorowe the wharfe of Traith Mawr at the low water as I read. Theſe 2 Traiths are ỹ mouthes of two faire ſtreames, whereof the moſt Southerly is called Mawy, the other Ferles, eche of them I ſaye deriuing his originall water from Snowdony, as diuers other brokes haue done already before them. Of theſe alſo ỹ firſt paſſeth by diuers lakes, although I doe not well knowe the names of anye one of them. From Traithmawr to Chyrchet are three myles, where alſo is a litle rill ſerued with ſundrye waters. Then come we vnto the Erke, a prety broke diſcending frõ Padrỹn hilles. Then calling about toward the ſouth (as the coaſt lyeth) we ſawe the Aberſoch or mouth of the Soch ryuer vppon our right handes, in the mouthe whereof lye two Illandes, of which the more Northerly is called Tudfall and the other Penryn as Leland did obſerue. After this, goyng about by the point we come to Daron Ryuer, whereuppon ſtandeth Aberdaron a quarter of a mile frõ the ſhore betwixt Aberdarõ and Uortigernes dale, where the compaſſe of the ſea gathereth in a heade and entreth at both endes: Thẽ come we to Nenni broke which runneth by Treuenni, and is about 12. myles of from Aberdaron. Then ly. miles of to Egluis Epiſtle, whether commeth a little broke or rill from Gwortheren Rocke, which ſome call Uortigernes Dale. From hence alſo 3. myles further, we come to Lhanhelerion and then foure myles ſo Cluniock, and finally to Cluniock Caur Aruon, where is a little rillet, & a myle or more farder is another that goeth to the mayne ſea. Here in following Lelande as I doe for the moſt part in all this Treatiſe where he kẽpeth any order at all (for his notes, are ſo diſperſed in his Cõmẽtaries ỹ one of them is ſometimes is 6. 8. or 20. leaues from another, and many of them penned after a contrarye ſort) I finde theſe wordes. There is a broke beyonde Aberleuenni goyng by it ſelfe into the ſea: there be alſo two brokes betwẽne Gurnwy or Gwyrfay and Skeuerneck, as Golaid and Semare Pole: Sowther creke alſo is the verye pointe of Abermenley, by which notes as I finde not what he ſaith, ſo the remembraunce of them may helpe better againſt the next publication of this booke: to procẽde therefore in ſuch order as I may.

Golaide. Semere pole. Sother. Menley.

Leuenni is a great broke ryſing 4. mile aboue the place, where it falleth into the ſea, Leuen broke cõmeth into the ſea two miles aboue Skeuernocke: Skeuernocke a little broke fiue myles aboue Aberſaint. Auõ Gurnay commeth thorowe pontnewith bridge, and after into Meney at South Crock, two myles of Cladwant broke, and ryſing three myles from thence it commeth thorow the towne bridge of Carnaruon and goeth by it ſelfe into Meney arme, ſo that Carnaruon ſtandeth betwẽne two riuers. Botes alſo do come to Cadwan. The name of Abermeney is not paſſing a myle aboue Carnaruon, and yet ſome cal it Meney, til you come to Poultell. Then come we to Cair Arfen or Cairnaruon, Gwiniwith mirith (or horſe broke) two myles from Hoylethon, and it ryſeth at a well ſo called full a myle from thence. Hoylethon is a bowe ſhotte from Aberpowle, frõ whence ferry botes go to the Termone or Angleſy. Aberpowle runneth three myles into the lande, and hath his head foure myles beyonde Bangor in Meney ſhore: and here is a litle comming in for botes bending into the Meney. Aber Gegeyne commeth out of a mountaine a myle aboue, and Bangar (thorow which a rillet called Torronnẽ hath his courſe) almoſt a myle aboue it. Aber Dgwine is two miles aboue ỹ. It ryſeth at Tale linne Dgwine pole fiue myles aboue Bangor in the eaſt ſide of Withow. Aber Auon is two myles aboue Aberogwene, and it ryſeth in a Pole called Lin man Auon three myles of. Auon Lan bar Uchan ryſeth in a mountaine thereby, and goeth into the ſea 2. miles aboue Duegeuelth. Auon Duegeuelth is three myles aboue Conwey, which ryſing in the mountaines a myle of, goeth by it ſelfe into Meney ſalt arme. On the ſaide ſhore alſo lyeth Penmaine, and this broke doth runne

Leuen. Skeuernocke. Cladwant Gegyne. Torronnen. Dgwine. Auon. Lanuar Uchan. Duegeuelth.

Mawy. Artro. Mawy. Ferles, Trichet. Erke. Soch. Daron. Leuenni.

betwirte Penmaine Maur, and Penmaine Uchan. It ryſeth about 3. myles from Penmaclon hilles which lye aboute 60. myles from Conwey abbaie nowe diſſolued. On the Northe and Weſt of this ryuer ſtandeth the towne of Conwey, which taketh his name therof. This riuer receiueth ỹ Lhigwy a prety ſtreame that commeth from by weſt & ioineth with al a little aboue the Riſt but on the Weſt bancke. The Lighwy alſo taketh another with him that commeth from by ſouth.

Lighwy.

Gele. After this we come to the Gele whereon Abergele ſtandeth, and it runneth thorowe the Cenges: then vnto the Roſe or Ros and next of all to the mouth of a great hauen, wherinto the Clude which cõmeth from the ſouth, and the Elwy that deſcendeth from ỹ Weſt, doe emptie their chanelles, & betwixt which two the pontificall ſea of Bangor is ſituate verye pleaſantly and not farre of from the point. Into Elwy runneth the Alode deſcending from Lhin Alode eyght myles from Denbighe and goyng by Lhan Sannan, it falleth into the Elwy in Lhan Heueth parith which is fiue myles aboue Saint Aſaph. Lelãd calleth it Aleth. Into Clude alſo runneth Clue Doch foure miles lower by water then Ruthine towne: on the Weſt ſide likewyſe the Uſtrate, that commeth within halfe a myle by ſouth of Denbighe and goeth into Clude almoſt againſt Denbighe towne. Frõ hence to my remembraunce, and before we come to Aber Dée or the mouth of the Dée I finde no Riuer of any countenaunce, wherefore I will haſt forth to the deſcription of that ſtreame. It ryſeth of ſundy heades ſouthweſt from Lintegy or Lin Tegnis, in the countie of Penthlin whereunto within a while they reſort and direct their courſes, and there ioyning in one Channell, it commeth almoſt by Bala a poore market towne. Then going ſtil by the ſide of Pale it paſſeth to Berwin, where it mæteth with a rill, afterwardes to Corwen a little by Southweſt whereof, it receiueth the Alwyn a noble ſtreame which commeth from the Northweſt out of a Lyn lying on the other ſyde of ỹ ſame hilles wherin the Alode riſeth, and not onely taketh ſundery ryuerets and rilles withall as it goeth, but alſo runneth with great ſwiftneſſe tyll it be ioyned with the ſame. From Corwen it goeth to Cellon, and a fewe myles beneath Cellon it mæteth with the Byrnog, then the Wyerham rill, and finally the Alyn whoſe crinkeling ſtreames diſcende from a Lin in the Stradlin hilles, and goyng firſt North eaſt vnto Hold or Gwidgrue, thẽ ſouthward vnto Cargurle, and finally againe into the Northeaſt, it ſtayeth not tyll it come at the Dée, where it mæteth about halfe a myle or more frõ the Holit with the aforeſaide riuer. Hauing therfore receiued this water it continueth the courſe vnto Cheſter it ſelfe, and frõ thence into the Iryſh ſea as experience hath cõfirmed. What other ryuers do fal into this ſtreame it ſhal be ſhewed in the ſecond booke. In ỹ meane time hauing a good gale of wind blowing from the South weſt, we came to Lyr pole whether the Wyuer on the ſouthe about Frodſham & the Merſey on the north, doe fall, in thunburdening of their channels. Wiuer water runneth among the Wiches, and Marley departeth Cheſter and Lancaſhyre in ſunder.

Clude.
Elwy.

Alode.

Clue doch

Uſtrate.

Dea.

Alwyn.

Byrnog.
Alun.

From hence alſo we go by Wegam, or Dugeles: and nexte of all vnto the Ribell, which almoſt doth enuyronne Preſton in Anderneſſe. It ryſeth in Rybbes dale about Salley Abbye, and from thence goeth to Salley and a lyttle beneath Salley it receiueth the Calder that cõmeth by Whaley, and then the Doer. After thys, we come to the Wire, which ryſeth eyght or tenne miles from Garſton, out of the Hyles on the ryght hande, and commeth by græne Hawghe a pretye Caſtell, belonging to the Earles of Darby, and more then halfe a myle of to Garſton in Anderneſſe. It ebbeth and floweth alſo, three myles beneath Garſtone, and at the Chappell of Alhallowes (tenne myles frõ Garſton) it goeth into the Sea. After thys we come to Coker that maketh no great courſe ere we come to the Sandes, by Cockerham Uyllage, where they make Salt out of the Sandes, by often wetting, and dreaning the water from thence into a Pyt, they ſeeth it, as at the Wiche. &c. Then to Cowder ryll, & ſo to the Lune or Lume, that giueth name to Lancaſter, where much Romaine money is founde.

Of thys ryuer you ſhall reade more in the ſeconde Booke. Next vnto it alſo is the Kery, halfe a mile beyond Marton, where the rich Kitſon was borne. It ryſeth out of the hylles not farre of, and falleth into the ſalte water at Luneſandes. From thence we come to Bythe water, which ryſeth not farre from Bytham Towne and Parke, in the Hilles whereabout are great numbers of goates. It is a pretye ryuer, and by all lykelyhode reſorteth vnto Ken ſands. Ken ryſeth at Ken more, in a Pole of a myle compaſſe, verye well ſtored with fyſhe, the head whereof (as all the Barromy of Kendal) is in Weſtmerlande. It is alſo eyght myles from Kendall, in the waye to Perith, and the courſe thereof is to Newbridge, Barley, Staueley hamlet, Bowſtone, Burne lyde bridges,

to Kendall, Leuen bridge, &c. into the sea, receiuing the Sprent ryuer into it, a myle aboue Fremegate bridge. Next vnto this is ỳ Charte whether a freshe water commeth, as doth another to Conny heade sandes.

Then come wé to Dudden or Dodon hauen, whether a freshe brooke also reserueth, & foure myles from hence was Furnesse Abbay vp into the mountaines. Then sayled we to the Elke, whereunto commeth a brooke from Crosmere, then to the Calder serued also wyth a backe freshe water: then (going about by S. Bées) to the Wy or Ferne, to to Deruent, the Lug or Luy, and finallye to Solney, which parteth England & Scotland.

Hauing thus gone thorowe the ryuers of Englande, nowe it resteth that wé procéede with those which are to bée founde vppon the Scottyshe shore, in such order as we best maye, vntill we haue fetched a compasse about the same, and come vnto Barwicke, whence afterwarde it shall be easye for vs to make repaire vnto the Thames, from which we dio set forwarde in the beginning of oure voiage.

Elke. The fyrste ryuer that I mette wythall on the Scottish coast, is the Elke, after I came passe the Soluey which hath his heade in the Cheuiote Hylles runneth by Birkinton, and falleth into the Sea at Borow on the sands. Thys Elke hauing receiued the Ewys falleth into the Soluey fyrst at Atterith. After thys I passed ouer a lyttle créeke from Rytheil, and so to Anand, whereof the valleye Anandale doth séeme to take ỳ name. There is also the Pyde, wherof commeth Molsdale, the Ken, the Dée, the Craie, and the Bladnecke, and al these besides dyuers other smal rylles of lesse name doe lye vpon the south coast of Galloway. On the north side also we haue the Kuan, the Arde, the Castile Dune, the Burwin, the Cluide, (whereupon sometyme stoode the famous citie of Alclwyde, and whereinto runneth the Carath) the Hamell, the Dourgleslle, and the Lame. From hence in lyke manner, wé came vnto the Leuind mouth, wherunto the Blake on the southwest and the Lomunde lake, with his fleting Iles and fish without finnes, (yet very holesome) doth séeme to make hys issue. Thys lake of Lomund in calme wheather, ryseth sometimes so high and swelleth with such terrible Billowes, that it causeth the best Marriners of Scotlande to abyde the leysure of this water, before they dare aduenture to hoyse vp sayles, on hie. The like is séene in windye weather, but much more perillous: There are certeine Iles also in the same, which moue and remoue, oftentymes by force of the water, but one of them especiallye, which otherwyse is very fruitefull for pasturage of Cattel. Next vnto this is the Leue, the Rage the Longe, the Goyle, & the Heke, which for the exceeding greatnesse of theire, heades are called lakes. Then haue we the Robinsey, the Forlande, the Tarbat, the Lean, and the Abyr, wherevnto the Spansey, the Loyne, the Louth, the Arke, and the Zeke doe fall, there is also the Sell, the Zord the Diwyn, the Newisse, the Dzne, the Lang, the Dzun, the Hew, the Bzun, the Kell, the Dowr, the Faro, ỳ Nesse, the Herre, the Con, ỳ Glasse the Maur, the Ardail, the Fers (that cómeth out of the Caldell) the Fairsake which two latter lye a lyttle by west of the Dchades, and are properly called ryuers, bicause they issue onely from springes, but most of the other lakes, bicause they come from Linnes, & and huge poles, or such lowe bottomes, fedde with springes, as séeme to haue no accesse, but onelye receesse of waters, wherof there be many in Scotlande. But to procéede hauing once past Dungisby heade in Cathnesse, we shall ere long come to ỳ mouth of the Wisse, a prétty streame, comming by south of the Mountaynes called the Maydens pappes. Then to the Bzowze, the Clyn, the Twyn, (whereunto runneth thrée ryuers, the Shyn, the Sillan, & Carew) the Nesse which besides the plenty of Samon founde therein is neuer frozen, nor suffereth yle to remaine there, that is cast into the pole. From thence wé come vnto the Narding, the Fynderne, the Spaie, (which receiueth the Vine,) ỳ Fitch, the Bulithe, the Arrian, the Leuin, and the Boghe, from whence we sayle, vntill wé come about the Buquhan head, and so to the Downe, and Dée: which two streames bring forth the greatest Samons, that are to be had in Scotland, and most plentye of the same. Then to the North Elke where into the Esmond runneth aboue Brechin, the Southe Elke, then the Louen and the Tawe, which is the fynest Ryuer for water that is in all Scotland, and whereunto most Ryuers and lakes doe runne. As Farlake, Pith, Goure, Loiche, Tannach, Lynell, Lopon, Irewer, Erne, and diuers other besides small rylets which I did neuer loke vppon. Then is there the lake Londors vppon whose mouth Saint Androwes doth stande, the Lake Lewin vnto whose streame two other Lakes haue recourse in Fifland, and then the Fyth or Forth, which some doe call the Scottishe sea, and with the Ryuer laste mentioned (I meane that commeth from Londors) includeth all Fife, the saide Forth being full of Dyuers and all kindes of huge fyshe that die

Leue. Long. Goyle. Heke. Robinsey. Forlan. Tarbat. Lean. Abyr. Arke. Zeke. Sell. Zord. Diwyn. Newisse. Dzne. Lang. Dzun. Hew. Bzun. Kele. Dowr. Faro. Nesse. Herre. Con. Glasse. Maur. Ardail. Fesse. Calder. wise. Bzowze. Clyn. Twine. Shin Syllan. Carew. Nesse. Narding. Spaie. Downe. Dée. Elke.

to

to lye in the depe. How many waters runne into the Fyrth, it is not in my power iuſtlye to declare, yet are there both Ryuers, Rilles, and Lakes that fall into the ſame, as Clack, Alon, Dune, Kery, Cambell, Cumer, Tere, Wan, Torkelan, Rotham, Mulhell, Blene, and dyuers other which I call by theſe names, partly after information, and partly of ſuch townes as are nere vnto their heds. Finally when we are paſſe the Hay then are we come vnto the Twede and ſone after into England againe.

Clack.
Alon.
Dune.
Kery.
Cambell.
Cumer.
Tere.
Wan.
Torkelan.
Rotham.
Mulhell.
Blene.

The Twede is a noble riuer and the limes or bounde betweene England and Scotland, whereby thoſe two kingdomes are nowe deuided in ſunder. It riſeth about Drimlar in Euſdale (or rather out of a faire Wel as Leland ſaith ſtanding in the moſſe of an hill called Airſane, or Hareſkan in Twede dale 10. miles from Pibble) and ſo comming by Pibble, Lander, Drybiwgh, Ielſe, Warke, Norham and Hagarſtone, it falleth into the ſea beneath Barwyc as I heare: Thus ſaith Leland, but I not contented with this ſo ſhorte a diſcourſe of ſo long a Ryuer and briefe deſcription of ſo faire a ſtreame, wil adde ſomewhat more of the ſame concerning his race on the Engliſhe ſide, and rehearſall of ſuche Ryuers as fall into the ſame. Cõming therfore to Kidam, it receyueth betweene that & Carham a becke which deſcendeth from the hilles that lye by Weſt of Windram. Going alſo from Kydam by Longbridgeham (on the Scottiſhe ſide) and to Carham, it haſteth immediately to Warke caſtell on the Engliſhe, and by Eppiaw on the other ſide, then to Cornewall, Cald ſtreame, and Tillemouth where it receiueth ſundry waters in one botome which is called the Till, & whoſe deſcription inſueth here at hand. Certes there is no head of any Ryuer that is named Till, but the yſſue of the fardeſt water that commeth hereinto, ryſeth not farre from ẏ head of Uſwaie in the Cheuiote hilles, where it is called Bromis. From thence it goeth to Hartſide Ingram Brantõ, Crawley, Hedgeley, Beuely, Belwyc, and Bewyc, beneath which it receiueth one water comming from Rodham by Weſt and ſone after a ſecond deſcending from the Middletons, and ſo they go as one with the Bromiſhe, by Chatton to Fowbrey (where they croſſe the third water falling downe by North from Holwbourne by Heſel bridg) thence to Woller, there alſo taking in a rill that riſeth about Middleton hal, & runneth by Hardley, Whereley, and ẏ reſt afore remembred, whereby the water of Bromis is not a little increaſed, and after this latter confluence beneath Woller, no more

Till.

Bromis.

called Bromis but the Till, vntill it come at the Twede. The Till paſſing therefore by Wetland and Dedington, meeteth ſone after with a fayre ſtreame comming from by Southweſt, which moſt men call the Bowbent or Bobent. It riſeth on the Weſt ſide of the Cocklaw hill, and from thence halleth to Hattons beneath the which it toyneth from by ſoutheaſt with the Hellerborne, and then goeth to Pudſton, Downeham, Kilham, and a little by North of Newton Kyrke, and betweene it and Weſt Newton, it taketh in another water cõming from the Chen iote hils by Heth pole, and from thenceforth runneth on without any farder increaſe, by Copland Euert and ſo into the Till. The Till for his part in lyke ſorte after this confluence goeth to Broneridge, Fodcaſtell, Eatall caſtell Heaton and North of Tilmouthe into the Twede, or by Weſt of Weſell, excepte my memorie doe faile me. After this alſo our aforeſaid water of Twede deſcendeth to Grotehughe, the Newbiggins, Norham caſtell, Ford, Lungridge, and croſſing the Whitaker on the other ſide from Scotland beneath Cawmill, it runneth to Ordo, to Barwicke and ſo into the Ocean, leauing ſo much Engliſhe ground on the Northweſt ripe as lyeth in manner of a triangle betweene Cawmilles, Barwiſe and Lamneton, which is two myles and an halfe euery waye, or not much more excepte I be deceiued. Beyng paſt this noble ſtreame, we came by a rill that deſcendeth from Bowſden by Barington. Then by the ſecond which ariſeth betweene Middleton and Detcham and runneth by Eſkill and the Roſſe. Next of all to Warnemouth of whoſe backe water I read as foloweth. The Warne or Gwerne ryſeth Southweſt of Crokelaw, and goyng by Warneford, Bradford, Spindleſtone, and Budill, it leaueth Newton on the right hand, and ſo falleth into the Ocean after it hath runne almoſt nine myles from the heade within the lande. From Warnemouth, we ſayled by Bamborow caſtell, and came at laſt to a fall betweene Bedwell and Newton: The firſt water that ſeruеth this iſſue, riſeth aboue Carleton from the foote of an hill which ſeemeth to part the head of this & that of Warne in ſunder. It runneth alſo by Carleton, Tonley, Derford, Brunton and Tuggell, and finally into the ſea as to his courſe appertaineth. From this water we went by Dunſtanburgh vnto the Aile or Alne mouth which is ſerued with a pretty riueret called Alne, the heade whereof riſeth in the hilles weſt of Alnham towne. From thence alſo it runneth by Kyle, Kyle, Eſlington, and Whittingham where it croſſeth a rill comming

Bobent.

Whitaker.

Warne.

Aile, or Alne.

ming from by south, and beneath the same, the second that descendeth from Circhildon Stone, & likewise the thirde that riseth at Newton and runneth by Edingham castell and Lemmaton, (all on the Southeast side or right hande,) and so passeth on farder till it meete with the fourth comming from aboue Shipley from by North, after which confluence it goeth to Alnewyc and then to Denton, receyuing there a riller from by South and a rill from by North, and there goyng on to Bilton, betweene Alnwith towne and Wood hil, at Newcastle into the Ocean.

Cocket. The Cocket is a goodly ryuer, the head also thereof is in the rotes of Kemblespeth hils, Alwyne. from whence it goeth to Whitesides, & there meeting with the Alwaye (which descendeth from the North,) it goeth a little farder to Kanbridge, & there receyueth the Ridley by south west. It ioyneth also ere long with the Ryelande, which commeth in north, by Bilsdone, and then hyeth to Sharpeton, to Harbotle, where it crosseth the Yardop water, by Yardop. south, then to Woodhouse, to Bickerton, to Wollons, Newton, and running a pace toward Whitton Towre, it taketh a Brooke with all that commeth in northwest of Alneham, nere Elihaw, and goeth by Shamewood, Ouer nether Trewhet, Snitter, and Thorton, and sone after mixteth it self with the Cocket, from whence they go together to Rothbury, or Whitton Towre, to Haly, to Brinkehorne, Welden, Elihaw, Felton, (receiuing thereabout the Farelley brooke, that goeth by wintring by south east, & Sheldike water, that goeth by Hason, to Brainsaughe by north) & from thence to Morricke castell, and so into the Sea.

There is further more a little fall, betweene Hawkeslaw & Dunrich, which ryseth about Stokes wood, goeth by east Cheuington, and Whittington castell, & afterwarde into the Ocean. The Lune is a prety broke ryuing Lune. west of Elsley, frō whence it goeth to Trittington, Agham, Linton, and ere long in the Sea.

Wansbeck. Wansbecke is farre greater then the Lune. It issueth vp west and by north, of west Whelpington, thence it runneth to kyrke Whelpington, Wallington, Middleton, and Angerton. Here it meeteth with a water running frō about Farnelaw, by ỳ grange, and Hartborne on the north, and then goyng from Angerton, it runneth by Mosseden to Whitforth, and there in lyke maner crosseth ỳ Font, alias Pont. Font, which issuing out of the ground about nere Biggin, goeth by Monney kyrke, Witton castell, Stanton, Munriding, Newton, & so into ỳ Wansbecke, which runneth in lyke maner from Witforde to Morpheth castell, (within two myles whereof, it ebbeth & floweth) the newe Chappell, Bottle castel, Shepwashe, and so into the sea, three myles from the next haueh which is called Blithe.

Blithe. Blithe water ryseth about kirke Heaton, and goeth by Belse, Ogle, and receyuing the broket that cōmeth by the Dillingtons and Barwise on the hill, it runneth by Harford, Bedlington, Cowpon, and at Blithes nuke, into the deepe Ocean.

Hartley. Hartley streamelet ryseth in Wetestade parioche, goeth by Halitwell, and at Hartley towne yeldeth to the Sea.

North Tine. The Tine ryseth of two heades, whereof ỳ called north Tine, is the first that followeth to be described. It springeth by aboue Belkirke in the hylles, and thence goeth to Butterhawghe, (where it receiueth the Shele) Shele. thence to Cragcheles, Leapelish, Shilburne, Parro, Smalburne, Elis, Grenested Heslaside, Billingham, and at Reasmouth, taketh in the Reade, and in the meane time sundrye Reade. other rilles, comming from by north & south, whereof I haue no knowledge, neyther anye regarde to write, bycause they are obscure, Shillugton. smal, and without denominations. After this 3. Burnes confluence it passeth to Lechall, to Carehouse (crossing Shillingtō rill by west) another also beneath thys on the same side, made by the confluence of Workes burne, and Pyddle burne, at Roseburne, beside ỳ thyrd aboue, & Symons burne beneath Shepechase, then to S. Dunondes, to Wall, to Ackam, and so into south Tine, beneath Accam, & northwest as I dee wene of Heram.

Tine. S. The South Tine ariseth in the Cheuiote hilles, and eare it hath gone farre from the head it meeteth with Esgyll on the east, Esgyll. another rill on the West, and so going by the houses toward Awsten moze, it ioyneth with Schud from by west, and sone after with the Vent from by East aboue Lowbiere. From Vent Lowbier it goeth to Whitehalton, to kyrke Gilderbecke. Haugh (crossing ỳ gilders Becke) to Thornhope, where it is inlarged wyth a water on eache side, to Williams Stone, and almost Knare. at Knaresdale, taketh in the Knare, and then runneth withall to Fetherstone angle. At Fetherstone angle lykewise it meeteth wyth harley water, by South west, another a lytle beneath from southeast, and thence when it commeth to Bylleker castell, it carryeth another with all from by west, after which confluence it goeth to Harltwesell, Unthanke, Wilmoteswike, receiuing one ryl by ỳ way, and another there from the south, as it doth the thyrd from Brandly hall by north, and the Alon by the south, whereby his greatnesse

is

is not a little augmented. From Willymotſwyſt, it goeth to Lées, Haddonbridge, Wodhall, Owmers, Wherneby, Coſtely, and ſo by Warden (ſome after receyuing the North Tine) thē to Herham, & Dilſtan, croſſing two waters by the waye, whereof one commeth from by ſouth, another lower then the ſame from Riſing ouer againſt Burell. From Dilſtā it goeth to Eltingham, Pryddo, Willam (and there it méeteth furthermore with a beck that goeth betwéene Benwell and Redhoughe) then to Repon, Blaydon, and next of all with the Derwent, from by ſouth which riſeth alſo about Kneden of two heades, and goyng by Acon Aſperſheles Bernefordſide, Ebcheſter, Blackehall, and Willington, finally falleth into the Tine beneath Redhughe and before it come to Newcaſtell, from whence alſo the Tine goeth by Fellin, Hedburne, Jello, Shcles and ſo into the ſea. Derwent.

The Were riſeth of thrée heades, in Kelloppeſlaw hill, whereof the moſt ſoutherly is called Burdop, the middlemoſt Wallop and the Northerlieſt Kellop, which uniting themſelues about S. Johns Chappell, or a little by Weſt thereof, their confluence runneth thorow Stanhope parke, by eaſt Pare, and ſo to Froſterley. Here it receiueth thrée rilles frō the North in Weredale, whereof one commeth in by Stanhop, another weſt of Wodcroſs Hall, and the third at Froſterley afore mencioned, Howbeit a little beneath theſe, I finde yet a fourth on the ſouthe ſide, which deſcendeth from ſouthweſt by Bolliop, Byſhopſley, Milhouſes, and Landew, as I haue béene informed. Boyng therefore united al tō the Were, this ſtreame goeth on to Walſingham there taking in the Waſcropburne, beſide another at Bradley, the thyrde at Harpley Hall, (and theſe on the Northſide,) and the fourth betwéene Witton and Wittō caſtel called Bedburne cōming by Hamſterley wherby this riuer doth now ware very great. Going therefore frō hence, it haſteth to Byſhops Akelande, Newfield, and Willington. But néere vnto this place alſo and ſomewhat beneath Sunderland, the Were croſſeth one broke from ſoutheaſt by Yet & Cordale, and two other from by northweſt in one botome, whereof the firſt commeth from Aſhe by Langley, ỳ other from Beare parke, and ſo méeting beneath Kelley with the other they fall both as one into the Were betwéene Sunderland, and Burnall. From hence our Ryuer goeth to Holwghwell, Shirkeley, olde Dureſme (and there taking in the Piddingbroke by Northeaſt) it goeth to Dureſme, Finkeley Harbarhouſe, Lumley Caſtell, (where it méeteth with the Pilis, whoſe heds are vnited betwéene Pelton and Whitwell) and from thence to Lampton, the Bedwiks, Afferton, Furd, and ſo into the ſea betwéene Sunderland and Munkermouth. Were. Burdop. Wallop. Kellop. Wallop. Bedburne Piddingbroke. Pilis.

Beyng thus paſſed the Tine, and ere we come at the mouth of the Theſe almoſt by 2. myles, we méete with a prettye fall, which groweth by a Ryuer that is increaſed with two waters, whereof one riſeth by northweſt at Horetōs, and goeth by Stotfeld and Clayton, the other at Dawlton: goyng by Byerton, Dwtham, and Grettam, finally ioyning within two miles of the ſea, they make a prety portlet but I know not of what ſecurity.

The Theſe riſeth in the blacke lowes, a boue two myles flat weſt of the ſoutherlye head of Were called Burdop, and thēce runneth thorow Tildale forreſt: and taking in the Langdon water from northweſt it runneth to Durtpit chappell, to New Biggin, & ſo to Middleton. Here it receyueth by weſt of eche of theſe a Rill comming from by North, (of which the laſt is called Hude) & likewiſe the Lune by ſouthweſt, that riſeth at thrée ſeuerall places, whereof the firſt is in the borders of Weſtmerland and there called Arnegyll becke, the ſecond more ſoutherly, named Lune becke, and the thirde by ſouth, at Bendor Skath hill, and méeting all aboue Arnegill houſe, they runne together in one botome to Lathekyrke bridge, and then into the Theſe. Hauing therefore mette with theſe, it runneth to Pickelton (and there taking in the Kirkwith water) it goeth Rumbald kirke (croſſing there alſo one Rill and the Bander broke) and then goyng to Horſewood hagge, & Horſewood parke, til it come to Bernards caſtle. Here alſo it receyueth a water cōmyng eaſt of Kere croſſe, frō the ſpittle in Stāmore by Crag almoſt ſouthweſt, and being united tō the Theſe, it goth by Stratford, Egleſdon, Rokeſby, Thorpe, Wickliffe, Duington, and betwene Barforth, & Gainforth: meteth with another Rill, that commeth from Langley foreſt, betwene Raby caſtle and Standorpe. But to proceede, the Theſe beyng paſt Ramforth, it runneth betwene Perſore & Cliffe, and in the way to Croftes bridge, taketh in ỳ Skerne a pretye water which riſeth about Trinden, and goeth by Fiſhburne, Bradbury, Preſton and Darlington: and finally méeting with the Cocke becke, it falleth into the Theſe beneath Stapleton, before it come at Croftes bridge. From thence it runneth to Sockburne, nether Dunſley, Middleton row, Newham, Parne (croſſing a broke frō Leuen bridge) to Barwiche Preſton, Thorne Abbais and Archam, which ſtandeth on the South Lune. Arnegill. Skirkewith. Bander. Kere croſſe Skerne.

Southeast side of the riuer betwene the falles of two waters: wherof one descendeth from west Hartburne, the other from Stillington. From Arsham finally it goeth to Beilazis Middleburgh, and so into the sea.

Next of all we come vnto the high Cliffe water, which rising aboue Hutton, goeth by Gisborow, & there receiueth another stream comming from by south east, and then continuyng in his course, it is not long ere it fal into the sea.

Wole. The next is the Scaling water, which descendeth from Scaling towne, from whence we come to the Wolemouth, not farre from whose hed standeth Wolgraue castle: then to Sandford creke, & next of all to Elke mouth, which riseth aboue Danby wood, and so goeth to Castleton, there méeting by the way with another Rill comming from about Westerdale by Danby, and so they goe on together by Armar and Thwatecastle (till they ioyne with another water aboue Glasdale chappel) thence to new Biggin, taking yet another brooke with them, running from Goodlande warde, (and likewise the Ibur) and so goe on without any further increase by Bulworth, ere long into the sea.

Elke.

Ibur.

There is also a creke on eche side of Robin Whods bay, of whose names and courses, I haue no skil sauing that Fillingale the towne doth stand betwene them both.

There is another not farre from Scarborow, on the North side called the Harwood brooke. It runneth thorow Harwode Dale by Cloughton, Bunilton, and sone after méeting with another Rill on the southwest, they runne as one into the Ocean sea.

From Scarborow to Bridlington by Flãborow hed, we met with no more falles. This water therfore that we saw at Bridlington, riseth at Duggleby, from whence it goeth to Kirby, Helperthorpe, Butterwic, Boithorp, Forhole, (where it falleth into the ground & riseth vp againe at Rudston) Thorpe, Cathorpe, Bridlington, and so into the Ocean.

Being come about ỹ Spurne hed, I méete ere long with a riuer that riseth short of Witherley, and goeth by Fodzingham, and Wilsted: from thence, to another that commeth by Rosse, Halcham, Carmingham: then to the third, which riseth aboue Humbleton, and goeth to Elferwise, Heddon, and so into the Humber. The 4. springeth short of Spzotteley, goeth by Wytton, and falleth into the water of Humber at Merflete, as I heare.

Hull. The next of all is the Hull water, which I will describe also here, and then crosse ouer vnto the southerly shore. The furdest head of Hull water riseth at Kilham, from whence it goeth to Lewthorpe creke, and so to Fodzingham, a little beneath which it méeteth with sondry waters, wherof one falleth in on the North east side, comming from about Lillet, the second on the Northwest banke frõ Nafferton: the third from Emmeswell & Kirkeburne, (for it hath two heds, which ioyne beneath little Dzyfeld) and the 4. which falleth into the same: so that these two latter runne vnto ỹ maine riuer both in one chanell, as experience hath confirmed. From hence then our Hull goeth to Katteley to Godalehouse, & thẽ taking in a water from Hozneste Mere, it goeth on thorowe Beuerley medowes, by Warron, Stonecerry, Hull, and finally into the Humber. Of the Rill that falleth into this water from South netherwise by Skyzlow, and the two Rilles that come from Cockingham and Woluerton, I saye no moze, sith it is inough to name them in their ozder.

¶Of such Riuers as fall into the Sea, betweene Humber to the Thames. Cap. xj.

Humber. THere is no ryuer called Humber from the heade, wherfoze that which we now call Humber, hath the same denomination no hygher then the confluence of Trent with the Duze, as beside Leland, sundzy auncyent writers haue noted befoze vs both. Certes it is a noble arme of ỹ sea, & although it be pzoperly to be called Duze, euen to the Nuke beneth Ancolme, yet are we contented to cal it Humber, of Humbrus a King of ỹ Scithiens, who inuaded this Ile in ỹ time of Locrinus, thinking to make himselfe the Monarch of ỹ same. But as God hath frõ time to time singularly pzouyded of the benefite of Bzitaine, so in this buũes it came to passe, that Humber was put to flight, his men slaine, & furthermoze whilest he attempted to saue hymselfe by hasting to hys shippes, such was the pzesse of his nobilitye that followed him into his owne vessell, and the rage of weather, which hastened on his fatall daye, that both he & they were dzowned in that arme: And thys is the onelye cause wherefoze it hath bẽne called Humber, as our wzyters saye, and whereof I finde these verses.

Dum fugit obstat ei flumen, submergitur illic,
Deque suo tribuit nomine nomen aquæ.

Thys ryuer in olde time parted Lhoegres oz England from Albania, which was ỹ pozcion of Albanactus, the yongest son of Bzute. But sithence that time ỹ limits of Lhoegres haue bene so inlarged, first by ỹ pzowesse of ỹ Romains, then by ỹ conquests of English, ỹ at thys pzesent day ỹ Twede on the one side,

and

and the Solne on the other, are taken for the principall bounder, betweene vs and those of Scotiã. In describing therfore of the Humber, I must nede describe the Duze, & in laying for ỹ the course of the Duze, I shal hardly escape the noting of those streames at large, that fall into the same: howbeit sith I haue of purpose appointed a chapter for these and the lyke, the nert booke, I will here onely speake of the Duze, and say thereof as followeth.

Vrealias Duze, ex Isis.

The Ure therefore ryseth in the fardest partes of all Richmondeshyre, among the Coterine hilles, in a mosse, towarde the west fourteene myles beyonde Mydleham. Being therefore issued out of the grounde, it goeth to Holbecke, Hardraw, Hawhouse, Butterside, Askebridge (which Leland calleth the Ascaran, and say ỹ therof & the Bainham, that they are but obscure bridges) thẽ to Askarth, thorowe Wanlesse Parke, Wenseley bridge (made two hundred yeares since, by Alwyn, Parson of Winslaw) New parke, Spennithorne, Danby, Cerune Abbay, Clifton and Masham. When it is come to Masham, it receyueth the Burne, by south west (as it dyd the wile, from very deepe scarry rockes, before at Askaran) and dyuers other wild rilles not worthy to be remẽbred. From Masham, it hasteth vnto Tanfelde (taking in by the waye a ryll by Southwest) then to another Tanfelde, to Newton hall, and northbridge at the hither ende of Rippon, and so to Huickes bridge. But ere it come there it meeteth with ỹ Skel, which being incorporate with ỹ same, they run as one to Thorpe, then to Aldborow & sone after receyueth ỹ Swale. Here sayth Leland, I am brought into no little streight, what to coniecture of the meeting of Isis & Ure, for some say ỹ the Isis & the Ure doe meete at Borowbridge, which to me doth seme to be very vnlikely, sith Isurium taketh his denominatiõ of Isis & Vro, for it is often seene that the lesse ryuers doe mingle theyr names with ỹ greater, as in the Thamesis & other is easie to be found. Neyther is there any more mencio of the Ure after his passage vnder Borowbrige, but onelye of Isis & the Duze in these dayes, although in olde tyme it helde vnto Yorke it selfe, which of the Ure is truely called Urewise, (or Yorke shorte) or else my perswasion doth fayle me. I haue red also Ewerwyc and Yorwise. But to proceede, & leaue this superfluous discourse. Frõ Borowbridge, ỹ Duze goeth to Aldbrough (& receiuing ỹ Swale by ỹ way) to Aldworke, taking in Usburne water, frõ the southwest then to Linton vpon Duze, to Newton vpõ Duze, & to Munketun, meeting wỗ the Nydde ere long, and so going withall to the Readhouses, to Popleton, Clifton, Yorke (where it crosseth the Fosse) to Foulefourth, Middlethorp, Acaster, & Acaster, Kelfete, Welehall, Bareleby, Selby, Turmonhall, Skurthall, Hokelathe, Hoke, Sandhall, Redneese, Whitegifte, Ulfet, Blacketoft, Foreflete, Brownflete, & so into Humber. And thus do I describe the Duze. Nowe beyng entred into ỹ Humber streame, toward ỹ sea againe, I will begin with the Ancolme, and so go along vpon the coast of Lincolneshire tyll I come to Bolton in such order as insueth. Fosse.

Ancolme, a goodlye water ryseth East of Mercate Rasing, & frõ thence goeth by middle Rasing. Then receiuing a short ryll from by south, it runneth on vnder two bridges, by the waye, till it come to Wingall, north east, where also it meeteth with another broke, frõ Usselby that commeth thither, by Uresby, and south Kelsey. After this confluence also it goeth by Cadney (taking in the two rylles in one botome, that descende from Howsham, and north Leysey,) and thence to Newsted, Glanford, Wardeley, Thorneham, Appleby, Yorslow, north Ferriby, and so into the sea. Ancolme

Beyng past Ancolme, we go about the Nesse and so to the fall of the water, which commeth from Keleby, by Cotham Abbaye, Nersham Abbaie, Thorneton, & leaung Corhyll by west, it falleth into the Ocean. The nert is the fall of another broke comming from Fleting all along by Stallingburne. Thẽ crossed we Grymsby gullet which issuing aboue Ereby cõmeth to Laseby, the two Cotes, and then into the sea. After thys wee passed by a nother Portelet, whose backwater, descendeth from Baleby by Asheby, Briggesley, Wathe, and Towney, and finally to the nert issue, before we came at Saltflete which braunching at the last, leaueth a prety Islande wherein Comsholme Village standeth. This water ryseth short as I here of Tatheuel, frõ whence it goeth to Rathby, Hallington, Ellington, Lowth, Kidirington Auingham, & then braunching aboue North Somerton, one arme meeteth with the sea, by Grauethorp, ỹ other by north of Somercote.

Saltflet water hath but a short course for rising among the Cockeringtons, it cõmeth to the sea, at Saltflete hauen, howbeit the nert vnto it is of a longer race, for it ryseth as I take it in Calwthorpe paroche, and descendeth by Legburne, the Carletons, the west myddle and east Saltfletes, and so into the Oceane. The water that ryseth aboue Ormesby & Dryby, goeth to Tamsby, Swaby Abbaie, Clathorpe, Belew, Tattle, Witherne, Stane, and north east of Thetilthorpe into the maine sea. Saltflete.

Maple-

Maple-thorpe.

Maplethorpe water ryſeth at Thareſthorp and going by Markeley, Folethorpe, & Truthorpe, it is not long ere it mæte w̃ the Germain Ocean, then come we to ẏ iſſue ẏ commeth frō aboue Hotoft, & thence to Mumby chappel, whether ẏ water cõming frō Claxby, Willowby, and Slouthby (and whereinto another ryll falleth) doth runne, as there to doe homage vnto their Lorde, & Souereigne. As for Ingolde mil creke, I paſſe it ouer, and come ſtreight to another water, deſcending from Burge by Skegnes. From hence I go to the iſſue of a faire broke, which as I heare, doth riſe at Tetford, and thence goeth by Somerby, Bagenderby Aſhwardby Sawlthorpe, Partney, Aſheby, ẏ Stepings, Thorpe Croſt, and ſo into the Sea. As for Wainflete water, it commeth from the eaſt ſea, and goeth betwæne S. Maries and Ahallowes by Wainflete town, and treading the pathe of his predeceſſors, empiteth hys chanell to the maintenaunce of the Sea.

Now come I to the courſe of the Wytham, a famous riuer, wherof goeth the bye word, frequented of old, and alſo of Ancolme, which I before deſcribed.

Lindis wytham Rhe.

Ancolme ele, and Wytham pike,
Search all England, and find not the like.

Lelande calleth it Lindis, diuers the Rhe, and I haue read all theſe names my ſelfe, except my memory do faile me. It riſeth amõg the Wickhams, in the edge of Lincolnſhire, and as I take it in Southwickã paroche, frō whence it goeth to Colſterworth, Eaſton, Kirkeſtoke Paunton, and Paunton, Houghton, and at Grantham taketh in a Rill from by ſouthweſt, as I here. From Grantham it runneth to Nan, Thorpe, Bolton, & Barneſton, where croſſing a becke from Northeaſt, it procedeth farther ſouthweſtwarde by Mereſton, toward Faſton, (there alſo taking in a broke that riſeth about Denton, and goeth by Sydbroke,) it hafteth to Dodington, Clapale, Barneby, Beckingham, Stapleford, Baſſingham, Thurlby, and beneth Amburgh, croſſeth a water that commeth from Stogilthorpe by Somerton caſtle. After this confluence alſo, our Wytham goeth ſtil forth on his way, to the Hickhams, Bolthã, Brace-bridge, and Lincolne it ſelfe. But ere it come there, it maketh certain poles (wherof one is called Swan pole) and ſone after deuiding it ſelfe into armes, they runne both thorough the lower part of Lincolne, eche of them hauing a bridge of ſtone ouer it, thereby to paſſe thorough the principall ſtrete: and as the bigger arme is well able to beare their fiſher botes, ſo the leſſer is not without his ſeuerall commodities. At Lincolne alſo this noble riuer meeteth, with the Foſſe dike, whereby in great flondes, veſſelles may come from the Trentes ſide to Lincoln. For betwene Torkſey where it beginneth, & Lincoln citie where it endeth, are not aboue vij. miles, as Lelande hath remembred. Biſhop Atwater began to cleanſe this ditch, thinking to bring great veſſels frō Trent to Lincoln in his time, but ſith he died before it was performed, there hath no man bene ſince ſo well minded as to proſecute his purpoſe. The courſe moreouer of this our ſtreame followyng, from Lincoln to Boſtõ, is 50. miles by water, but if you mind to ferry, you ſhall haue but 24. For there are 4. common places where men are ferried ouer, as Short ferry 5. miles from Lincolne: Taterſall fery, 8. miles frō Short fery: Dogdike fery a mile, Langreth fery, 5. miles, and ſo many finally to Boſton. Foſſe dike.

But to go forward with the courſe of Lindis, when it is paſt Lincolne, it goeth by Shepewalh, Waſſingburg, Fiſkerton, and ſone after taketh in ſondry riuers in one chanell, wherby his greatneſſe is very much increaſed. Frō this confluence it goeth to Bardolfe, and there receiuing a Rill (deſcendyng from betwene Sotby and Randby, and goyng by Harton) it ſlideth forth by Tupham to Taterſall caſtle, taking vp there in like ſort three ſmall Rilles by the way, wherof I haue ſmall notice as yet, and therfore I referre thẽ vnto the next Treatiſe, wherin God willing many things ſhal be more plainly ſet downe, that are here but obſcurely touched, and ſome errors corrected, that for want of informatiõ, in due tyme haue ſpedily paſſed my handes. Finally, being paſt Taterſall, and Dogdike fery, the Wytham goeth toward Boſton, & thence into the ſea. Thus haue I briefly diſpatched this noble riuer, now let vs ſee what we may do with the Wiland, whoſe deſcriptiõ ſhall be ſet downe euen as it was deliuered me, with onely one note added out of Leland, and another had of Chriſtopher Sarton of Wakefield, by whoſe frendly helpe I haue filed many things in this that were erſt but roughly handled, and more then rudely forged.

Being paſſed Boſton Hauen, we come ſtreight waye to the fall of Wyland. Thys ſtreame ryſeth about Sibbertoft, and running betwæne Boſworth and Howthorpe, it goeth to Fæding worth, Merſon, Bubberhã, Truſſell, Herborowe, (receyuing there the Bray, which cõmeth frō Braylbroke caſtle) to Bolton, Weſton, Wiland, Athely, Nedburne, Rokingham, and Calweot, (where a riueret called lyttle Eye mæteth wythall, comming from eaſt Norton by Alerſtone, Wyland. Bray.

Stocke,

Stocke, Falton, and dry ſtocke. From Cawrot it goeth to Gritto, Harringworth, Seton, Glauerley, Duddington, Colly weſton, Eſton, and there ioyneth with the thirde called Warke, not farre from Ketton, which commeth from Lye by Preſton, Wing, Lindon, Luffenham, &c. Thence it goeth on by Tinwell, to Stanforde (croſſing the Bryke water, and Whitenelbecke, both in one bottom) and from Stanforde by Talington, Marley to Mercate Deping, Crowland (where it almoſt meeteth with ỹ Auon) then to Spalding, Waplad, and ſo into the ſea. Leland writing of this Wyland, addeth theſe words which I will not omitte, ſith in mine opinion they are worthy to be noted, for better conſideratiõ to be had in the ſayd water and his courſe. The Wyland ſayth he, goyng by Crowlande, at Newdrene diuideth it ſelfe into two braches, of which one goeth vp to Spalding called Newdrene, and ſo into the ſea at Foſſedike Stowe: the other named ỹ South into Wiſbeche. Thys latter alſo parteth it ſelfe to two myles from Crowlande, and ſendeth a ryll called Wrythlake by Thorney, where it meeteth wyth an arme of the Nene, that cõmeth from Peter borow, and holdeth courſe with ỹ brode ſtreame, till it be come to Murho, fiue myles from Wyſbech, where it falleth into the ſouth. Out of the ſouth in lyke ſort falleth another arme called Shepes eye, and at Hopelode (which is fourteene myles from Linne) did fal into the ſea. But now the courſe of that ſtreame is ceaſed, wherupõ the inhabitants ſuſtaine many grieuous floudes, becauſe the mouth is ſtaunched, by which it had acceſſe before into the ſea: hetherto Leland. Of the courſe of this ryuer alſo from Stanford, I note thys furthermore out of another writing in my time. Beyng paſt Staunton (ſaith he) it goeth by Burghley Uffington, Tallingtõ, Nagey, Deping, caſt Deeping, and comming to Waldram hall, it braunceth into two armes, wherof that which goeth to Singleſole, receyueth the the Nene out of Cambridge ſhyre, and then going by Dowedale, Trekenhole, and wynding at laſt to Wiſbiche, it goeth by Liuerington, S. Maries, and ſo into the ſea. The other arme hasteth to Crowland, Clowthouſe Brethertouſe, Pikale, Cowbecke and Spalding. Here alſo it receiueth ỹ Baſtõ dreane, Longtoft dreane, Deeping dreane, & thence goeth by Wickham into the ſea, taking with all on the right hand ſondry other dreanes, and thus farre he.

Warke.

Brooke water.

Whitnell.

Newdrene.

South.

Wrythlake.

Shepes eye.

Next of all when we are paſt theſe, we come to another fall of water into ỹ Waſh, which deſcendeth directly from Whaplade dreane to Whaplade towne in Hollande: but becauſe it is a water of ſmall importãce, I paſſe from thence, as hasting to the Nene, of both, the more noble riuer. The next therfore to be deſcribed is the Auon, otherwyſe called Nene, which the author deſcribeth after this maner. The Nene beginneth 4. miles aboue Northampton in Nene Mere, where it riſeth out of two heades, which ioyne about Northampton. Of this riuer the city & countrie beareth the name, although we now pronoũce Hãpton for Auondune, which error is cõmitted alſo in ſouth Auondune, as we may eaſily ſee. In another place Lelãd deſcribeth ỹ ſaid riuer after this maner. The Auõ riſeth in Nene niere field, and goyng by Dundale and Peterborow, it deuideth it ſelfe into three armes, wherof one goeth to Horney, another to Wiſbich, the third to Ramſey: and afterward beyng vnited againe, they fall into the ſea not very farre from Linne. Finally, the diſcent of theſe waters, leaue here a great ſort of Ilandes, wherof Ely, Crowland, and Perſland, are the chiefe: hetherto Leland. Howbeit, becauſe neither of theſe deſcriptiõs touch the courſe of this riuer at the full, I wil ſet downe the third, which ſhal ſupply whatſoeuer the other do want. The Auon therefore ariſing in Penemere field, is encreaſed with many rilles before it come at Northampton, and one aboue Kings thorpe, from whẽce it goeth to Dallington, & ſo to Northamptõ, where it receiueth the Wedon, and here I will ſtay, till I haue deſcribed this riuer. The Wedon therfore riſeth at Fauleſſe in maiſter Knightlies poles and in Badby plaſhes alſo, are certaine ſprings that reſort vnto this ſtreame. Fauleſſe poles, are a mile from Chareton, where the head of Chare ryuer is ỹ rũneth to Banbery. There is but an hill called Albery hil betwene ỹ heds of theſe two riuers. From the ſaid hill therefore, the Wedon directeth his courſe to Badby Newenham, Cuerton, Wedon, betwixt which and Flortetowne, it receiueth the Florus (a prety water riſing of foure heds, wherof the one is at Dauentry, another at Watford, the third, at long Buck, the fourth aboue Whilton) and then paſſeth on to Heyford, Kilſingbury, Upton, and ſo to Northampton, where it falleth into the Auon, receiuing finally by the way, the Bugbroke water at Heyford, Pathall water nere Kilſingbery, and finally, Preſton water beneath Upton, which running from Preſtõ by Wotton, meeteth at the laſt with Milton Rill, and ſo fal into Auon. Now to reſume the tractation of our Auon. Frõ Northampton therfore, it runneth by Houghton, great Billing, Whitſtone, Dodington and

Auon.

Nene.

Vedunus.

Florus.

Bugius.

Wil-

Willingborow, where we must stay a while, for betwene Willingborow and Highã Ferries, it receiueth a prety water comming frõ about Kilmarshe, which goyng by Ardingworth, Dailborow, Rusheton, Newtõ, Gaddington, Boughton, Warketon, Ketteryng, Berton, and Burton, meeteth there wyth Rothewel water, which runneth west of Kettering to Hilham, the greater Haridon, and then into the Auon. Beyng therfore past Burton, our maine streame goeth to Highã Ferris, Artleborow, Ringsted, Woodford, and (meeting therby with Cranford Rill) to Thrarston, north wherof it ioyneth also with the Deley water, that commeth frõ Sudborowe and Lowicke, to olde Umbles, Warden ho, Pilketon, Toke, (where it taketh in the Lieden Becke) and so to Dundell Cotterstocke, Tansoner, and betwene Tothering and Warmington, receyueth the Corby water, which rising at Corby, goeth by Weldon, Denethap, Bulwich, Bletherwyc, Finesshed, Arethorpe, Newton, Tothering, & so into the Auon. After this, the said Auon goeth to Elton, Pallington, Perwell, Sutton, Castor, Allertõ, and so to Peterborow, where it deuideth it selfe into sondry armes, & those into seuerall braunches amõg the Fennes & medowes, not possible almost to be numbred, before it meete with the sea on the one side of the countrey, & fal into the Duze on the other.

The Duze, which Leland calleth the third Isis, falleth into the sea betwene Meräand and Downeham. The chiefhed of this riuer ariseth nere vnto Staines, from whence it cõmeth to Brackley (sometyme a noble towne in Northampton shire, but now scarcely a good village) and there taking in on the left hande one water comming from the parke betwene Sysam and Astwell (which runneth by Whitfield and Tinwelton) and another on the right frõ Imley, it goeth on by Welkby, Fulwell, Water stretford, Buckinghã and Berton, beneath which towne the Eryn falleth into it, whereof I finde this short discription to be inserted here. The Eryn riseth not farre from Hardwyc in Northamptonshire, from hence it goeth by Heth, Erinford, Godderington, Twyford, Steple cladõ, and ere it come at Padbiry, meeteth with the Garan broke descending from Garanburg, and so they go together by Padbiry till they fall into the Duze, which carieth them after the confluence, to Thorneton bridge (where they crosse another fall of water comming from Whitlewood forest by Luffeld, Lecamsted and Foscot) and so to Beachamptõ, Culuerton, Stony stratford and Wolurtõ. Here the Duze meeteth with a water (called as Leland coniectureth, ỳ Were or Were,) on the left hand as you go downeward that cõmeth betwene Weden and Werenham in Northamptonshire & goeth by Towcester, and Alderton, and not farre from Wolurtõ and Hauersham, into ỳ foresaid Duze, which goeth also frõ hence to Newporte paganell, where in like sort I must stay a while till I haue described another water, named the Cle, by whose issue the sayd streame is not a little increased. This riuer riseth in the bery cõmunes betwene Buckinghã and Bedfordshires, not far from Whippesnade, and goyng on toward the northwest, by Eaton and Layton, it commeth to Linchelade, where it entreth wholy into Buckinghamshire, and so goeth on by Hammond, Brickle, Fenny stratford, Simpson, Walton and Middletõ, beneath which it receiueth the Saw from aboue Halcet, & so goeth on till it meete with ỳ Duze nere vnto Newport, as I haue said. Being united therefore we set forward from the sayde towne, and followe thys noble ryuer, to Lathbirye, Thuringham, Filgrane, Lawndon, Newington, Bradfelde on the one side, and Turuey on the other, till it come at length to Bedforde, after many windlesses, & then meeteth with another streame, which is increased with so manye waters, that I was inforced to staye here also, and viewe theyr seuerall courses, from the highest steple in Bedforde, whence (or peraduenture otherwyse) I noted the same as followeth. Certes on the east side where I beganne thys speculation, I sawe one that came from Potton, and mette withal nere Beclifwade: another that grewe of two waters, whereof one descended frõ Baldocke, the other frõ Hitchin, which ioyned beneath Arlesey, and thence went to Langforde and Edwarth. The third which I beholde had in lyke sort two heades, whereof one is not farre from Wode ende, the other from Wooburne (or Howburne) & ioyning about Flitwise, they go to Flytton, (where they receiue Antill Broke) and so by Chiphil, and Chicksande, they come to Shafforde, from whence taking the aforesayde Langford water with them, they go forth by Beclifwade, Sandy, Blumham, & nere vnto Themilford are united wt the Duze, & now to our purpose againe. After this ỳ Duze, goeth by Berkeforde, to Winteringhã, (meetyng there with the Warelley becke) and so runneth to S. Neotes (or S. Neots) to Paxton, Offordes, Godmanchester, Huntingdon, Milton, S. Ives, Hollywell, and Erith, receyuing in the meane tyme the Stow, nere vnto little Parton, and likewise the Ellen, & the Emmer, in one chanell a litle by west of

Kilis. Rother. Ockey. Corby. Isis. 3. Sila. Imelus. Erin. Garan. Uerus. Cle alias Clatus. Saw. These rise not far frõ Whichelborow, and one of thẽ in Higham parke. Verus or ỳ were, Stoucus. Helenus. Elmerus.

Huntingdon. Finallye the maine streame spreading abroade into the Fennes, I cannot tell into howe many braunches, neyther how manye Ilsettes, are inforced by the same, but thys is certeine, that after it hath thus delted it selfe with raunging a while about the pleasant bottomes and lower grounds, it meeteth with the Granta, frō whence it goeth with a swift course, vnto Downehā. Betwen it also and the Auō, are large sundry Mores, or plashes by southwest of Peterborow wherof Whittlesey mere, and Ramsey mere, (whereinto the Ruell falleth, that commeth from aboue Broughton, Wyston, and great Riuelley) are sayde to be greatest. Of all the ryuers that ruinne into this streame, that called Granta is the most noble and excellent, which I will describe euen in his place, notwithstanding that I had erst appointed it vnto my seconde booke, but forasmuch as a description of Duze and Granta, were delyuered me togyther, I will for his sake that gaue them me, not seperate the rowe in sunder. The very farthest heade and originall of thys ryuer is in Wenham, a large Parke belonging to the Earle of Sussex, wherin as the Townesmen say, are foure springs that runne foure sundry wayes into the maine Sea. Leland sought not the course of thys water, aboue Newport ponde, & therefore in his Commentaries vpō the song of ỹ Auon, he writeth thereof after this maner insuing. But here before I enter into his discourse, I must giue you warning, how D. Iohn Caius the learned Phisition, and some other are of the opinō, that this ryuer comming from Newport, is properlye to bee called the Rhé, but I may not so easily dissent frō Leland, whose iudgement in my mynde is by a great deale the more likely, harken therefore what he sayth.

Riuelus.

Granta.

Rhé.

The heade of Grantha or Granta, is in ỹ pond at Newport, a towne of the east Saxons, which going in a bottome beside ỹ same, receyueth a prety ryll; which in the mydest thereof doeth driue a mil and descendeth from Wickin Wenhaunt, that standeth not far from thence. Being past Newport, it goeth a long in the lower grounde vntil it come to Bridle Waldē, west of Chipping Waldē, (now Saffron walden) harde by the Lorde Audleis place, where of late the ryght honorable Lorde Phillip Earle of Surrey, with his household dyd soiourne, and sometyme stode an Abbaie, of Benedictine Monkes, before theyr generall suppression. From Audley end it goeth to Littlebirie, the lesse and greater Chesterfordes, Healdune, Hinckstone, Heckton or Sawston, and nere vnto Shalefordе receyueth the Babzen that commeth by Linton, Abbington, Babzenham, and Stapleforde: and so going forwarde it commeth at the last to Trompington, which is a myle from Cambridge. But ere it come altegyther to Trompington, it meeteth with the Barrington water, as Leland calleth it, but other ỹ Rhé, (a cōmon name to all waters in the Saxon speache,) whereof I finde thys description, to be touched by the waye. The Rhé ryseth short of Ashwell, in Hertforde shyre, and passing vnder the bridge betweene Gylden Morden and Downton, and leauing Tadlow on the west side, (as I remēber) it goeth toward Crawdē, Malton, Barrington, Haselingfeld, and so into Granta, taking sundry Rylles with him from south, & southwest, as Wendy water south west of Crawden, Whaddō brooke southwest of Orwel, Wildred becke southwest of Malton, and finally ỹ which goeth by Fulmere & Foxton, & falleth into the same betweene Barringtō, and Harleston, or Harlon as they call it.

Babzen.

Rhé.

Sturus.

Bulbecke.

Nowe to procede with our Granta, from Trompingtō on the one side, and Grantcester on the other, it hasteth to Cambridge warde, taking the Burne with it by the way, which descendeth from a castell of the same denomination, wherein the Picotes, & Peuerelles sometime did inhabite. Thence it goeth by sundrye Colledges in Cambridge, as the Quenes Colledge, the Kings Colledge, Clare Hall, Trinity Colledge, S. Johns. &c. vnto the high bridge of Cābridge, & betwene the towne and the Castell to Chesterton, and receyuing by & by the Doure, or Sture, (at whose bridge, ỹ most famous Mart in England is yearely holden & kept. Frō Chesterton it goeth to Ditton, Miltō, & ere long meeting with two rylles (from Bottesham and Wilberhā, in one bottome) it runneth to Horningsey and water Beche: and finallye here ioyning with the Bulbecke water, it goeth by Denny, and so forth into the Duze, fiftene myles from Cambridge, as Leland hath set downe. And thus much of the thirde Ilis or Duze, out of the aforesayde Authour, wherevnto I haue not onelye added somewhat of mine owne Experience, but also of other mens notes, whose diligent obseruation of the course of thys ryuer, hath not a little helped mee in the discription of the same. Nowe it resteth that we come nerer vnto the coast of Norfolke, and set forth such waters as we passe by vppon the same, wherin I will deale so precisely as I maye, and so farre will I trauaile therein as I hope shall content euen the curious reader, or if any faulte be made, it shall not be so great, but that after some trauayle in the finding, it shall with

ease

case be corrected.

The first ryuer ỳ therfore we come vnto after we be past the confluence of Granta, & the Duze, and within the iurisdiction of Norfolke, is called the Burne. This streame ryseth not very farre from Burne Bradfeld aboue the greater Wheltham, and from thence it goeth to Nawnton, Bury, Farneham Martin, Farneham Alhallowes, Farneham Genouefa, Hengraue, Flemton, Lackeforde, Ielingham, and to Mildenhall, a litle beneath which it meeteth with the Dale water, that springeth not farre from Catilege, and going by Alcheby, Moulton, (a benefice as the report goeth not very well prouided for) to Kenforde, Benet, Bradingham, Frekenham, it falleth at the last not farre from Iselham into the Burne, from whence they go together as one into the Duze. With ỳ Burne also there ioyneth a water comming from about Lydgate, a little beneath Iselham, and not very farre from Mildenhall.

Barne.

Dale.

Dunus.

The Dune heade and rysing of Mauenhey are not much in sunder, for as it is supposed they are both not farre distaunt from the bridge betweene Lopham and Ford, wherby ỳ one runneth east & the other west, as I haue beene enformed. The Dune goeth first of all by Feltham, then to Hopton, and to Kinets hall, where it meeteth with a water, coming out of a lake shorte of Banham (going by Quiddenham, Herling, Gasthorpe) and so forth on both in one channell, they runne to Ewston. Here they meete in lyke sort, wyth another descending from two heads, whereof the one is neere vnto Pakenham, the other to Tauestocke, as I here. Certes these heads ioyne aboue Ikeswoth, not farre from Stow Langtoft, from whence they go to Prwoth, Thorp, Berdwel, Hunnington, Fakenham, and so into the Dune at Ewston as I sayde. Frō hence also they hasté vntō Downeham, which of this riuer doth seeme to borowe his name. South reé ryl, I passe ouer as not worthy the description, bicause it is so small.

Next vnto thys ryuer on the south side is the Braden, or Bradunus, which ryseth at Bradenham, and goeth by Necton, north Peckenham, south Peckenham, Birlingham Bedney, Langforde, Igbor, Munforde, north olde, Stockebridge, Ferdham, Helgy, and so into the Duze.

Bradunus forté.

The neerest vnto thys is another which riseth about Lukeham, and from thence commeth to Lexham, Wallingham, Newton, the castel acre, Acres, Nerboe, Pentney, Wrōgey, Rounghton, Westchurch, & so to Linne, as so doth also another by north of this which commeth from the east hylles by Congenham, Grymston, Bawsey, Gaywood, whereof let this suffise, and now giue eare to the reast sith I am past the Duze.

Linus.

Conginus.

Beyng past the mouth or fall of the Duze, we méete nert of al with the rising chase water which descendeth from two heds, & also ỳ Ingel that commeth from about Snetsham. From hence we go by the point of S. Edmód, and so hold on our course, till we come vnto the Burne, which falleth into the sea by south from Waterden, and goyng betweene the Crakes to Burnham thorp, and Burnham Norton, it striketh at the last into the sea, east of Burnham Norton, a mile at ỳ lest; except my coniecture doe faile me. The Glow or Glowy, riseth not farre from Baconsthorp, in the hundred of Tunsted, and goyng by and by into Holt hūdred, it passeth by Hunworth, Thornage, Glawnsford, Blackney, Clare, and so in the sea receiuing there at hand also a Rill by east, which descendeth from the hils lying betwene Killing town and Wayburne.

Rising.

Ingell.

Glouius.

The Wantsume riseth in Northfolke at Galesend in Holt hundred, from whence it goeth to Tatersend, Downton, Skelthorpe, Farneham, Penkthorpe, Kieburg, Ellingham, and Billingesford. And here it receyueth two waters in one bottom, of which the first goeth by Stanfeld and Beteley, the other, by Wandling and Gressonhall, and so run on eche his owne way, till they méete at Houndlington, southwest of Billingesforde with the Wantsume. From hence they go altogether to Below, Iyng, Weston, and Norton, but ere it come to Norton, it méeteth with the Powke, which (issuyng about Yerham) goeth by Wattelhall and Barrold. After this the sayd Wantsume goeth on by Ringland, and so to Norwich the pontificall sée of the Bishop, to whom that iurisdictiō appertaineth. Beneath Norwich also it receyueth two waters in one chanell, which I will seuerally describe according to their courses, noting their confluēce to be at Bireley, within two myles of Norwich, except myne annotation deceiue me. The first of these hath two heds, whereof one mounteth vp south west of Whinborow, goeth by Gernelton, & is the very Hiere or Yare that drowneth the name of Wantsume, so sone as he méeteth with al. The other hed riseth at Wode in Mitforde hundred, and (after confluence with the Hiere at Caston) goyng by Brandon, Birton, Berford, Erleham, Cringlefeld (not farre from Bireley as I sayd) doth méete with his companion, which is the second to be described as followeth. It hath two heads also that méete northwest of Therstane, and hereof the one

Wantsume

Yocus.

Hierus Gerne.

rommeth from Findon hal, by Wremmingha from about Wotton, by Hemnal, Fretton, Stretton, and Talborow, till they ioyne at Therſton, as I gaue notice aforehand. From Therſton therfore they go together in one to Newton, Shotelham, Dunſton, Caſtor, Arminghale, Bixeley, Lakenham and Trowſe, and then fall into the Wantſume beneath Norwich which hereafter is named Yiere. The Yiere Pare or Care therfore proceding in his voiage, as it wer to ſalute his grãdame the Oceane, goeth from thence by Paſwyſe, Surlingham, Clarton and Pardley: and here it mæteth agayne with another Riueret deſcending from about Shotelham, to Thirkane, Shedgraue, Hockingham, and ſo into Care or Pare, wherof Pardley the town receyueth denomination. After this it goeth to Frethorpe, and aboue Burghe caſtle mæteth with the Wauen hey, and ſo into the ſea. Wauen.

Into this riuer alſo falleth the Bure, which riſing at a towne of the ſame name, paſſeth by Milton, Bureſdume, Corpeſley, Parington, Blekeling, Bure, Aleſham, Bramptõ, Burtõ, Horſted, Wrerhã bridge, Horning, Ranewoth (and beneath Baſtelwyc receyueth the Thurine which riſeth aboue Roleſby) then to Oby, Clypſby, (there alſo receiuing another from Filby) Rimham, Caſtor, and by Parmouth into the Ocean. Thurinus. Wauen.

The Wauenhey afore mencioned, riſeth on the South ſide of Brifingham, and is a limite betwene Northfolke and Suffolke, goyng therfore by Dis, Starton, not farre from Dce, it mæteth with the Eie whiche riſeth nere Dekolde, or betweene it and Braiſworthe, and goeth on by Brome, Dce, and ſo into the Wauency.

From thẽce alſo our Wauency, runneth by Sylam, Brodiſh, Nedam, Harleſton, Rednam, Alborow, Flixton, Bungey, Shœpemedow, Barſham, Beckles, Alby, and at Whiteacre as I here it parteth in twaine, or elſe receyuing Wilforde water, which is the moſt likely, it goeth along by Somerley, Horningſheete, S. Olaues, (there receyuing the Friſſan browke, out of low or little Englande) Friſſan and Burge caſtell, where it mæteth wyth the Yiere, and from thence forth accompanieth it as I ſayd vnto the ſea. Fritha.

Willingham water commeth by Henſted Einſted, or Eniſſate, and falleth into the ſea by ſouth of Yelland. Einus.

The Cokell ryſeth ſouth ſouth weſt, of Cokeley Towne, in Blythe hundred, and nere vnto Baſtelworth, it mæteth with the ryll, that commeth from Willet, and ſo going on togither by Wenhaſton, and Blibrowe, it falleth into the ſea at an hauen, betweene Roydon, and Walderſwicke. A little ryll runneth alſo thereinto from Elſon, by Sowolde, and another from Dunwiche, by Walderſwike, and hereby it wanteth lyttle that Elſon Neſſe, is not cut of and made a pzety Iſlande. Cokelus.

The Forde ryſeth at Porford, and going by Forderley, and Theberton, it falleth at laſt into the Myſmere creke. Forda.

Into the Ozeforde hauen, falleth one water comming from Aldborowe warde, by a narrowe paſſage, frõ the north into the ſouth. By weſt whereof (when we are paſt a lyttle Iſle) it receyueth the ſeconde, deſcending frõ betweene Talingſton, and Framingham, in Plomes hundred: which comming at laſt to Marleforde, mæteth wyth a ryll ſouth weſt of Farneham called the Gleme, (that commeth by Rendelſham, the Gleinhams) and ſo paſſing forth, it taketh another wyth all at Snapeſbridge, comming from Carleton, by Sarmundham, Sterneſfielde, and Snape. Then going to Iken (where it mæteth wyth the thirde ryll at the weſt ſide) it fetcheth a compaſſe by Sudburne eaſt of Ozforde, and ſo vnto the hauen. Next vnto thys by weſt of Ozforde, there runneth vp another creke by Butley, whereinto the waters comming frõ Celleſforde, and from the Ike, doe runne both in one botome, and thus much of Ozforde hauen. Ozus. Fromus. Gleme. Iken, or Ike.

The Deue ryſeth in Debenham, in the hundred of Herteſmere, and from thence goeth to Mickeforde, Winſton, Cretingham, Letheringham, Wickham, hither to ſtill creeping towarde the ſouth: but then going in maner full ſouth, it runneth nere vnto Aſhe, Rindleſham, Aſforde, Melton, and Woodbridge, beneth which, it receiueth on the weſt ſide, a water cõming of two heades, whereof one is by north from Dtley, and the other by ſouth from Henly, which ioyning weſt of Hertelſham, go vnto the ſayde towne, and ſo into the Deue, eaſt of Hertelſham, aboue ſayd. From thence the Deue goeth by Waldringfielde and Henley, and mæteing ſone after with Brightwell browke, it falleth into ỹ maine ſea, leauing Badwſey on the eaſt where the fall therof is called Bawdſey hauen. Deua. Clarus fon:

Ure ryſeth not farre from Bacton, in Herteſmere hundred, and thence deſcendeth into Stowe hundred by Cippyng Newton, Dagworth, Stowe, (beneath whiche it mæteth with a water comming from Rattleſden, by one houſe,) and ſo goyng on to Nedeham, (thorowe Boſmere and Claydon hundredes) to Blakenham, Bramforde, Ypſwiche, (receyuing beneath Stoke, which lyeth ouer againſt Ypſwiche, the Chatſham water, Urus.

water, that goeth by Belſted, & ſo into ỹ Ure, at the mouth whereof is a marueilous dẽpe & large pitte, whereof ſome Marryners ſaye that they coulde neuer fynde the bottome, and therefore calling it a Well, and ioyning the name of the ryuer withall, it commeth to paſſe that ỹ hauen there, is called Urewel, for which in theſe daies we doe pronounce it Orwell. Into thys Hauen alſo the Sture or Stoure, hath ready paſſage, which remaineth in thys treatize nert of all to be deſcribed.

Sturus. The Sture or Stoure, parteth Eſſex from Suffolke, as Houeden ſaith, and experience cõfirmeth. It ariſeth in Suffolk, out of a lake nere vnto a towne called Stourmere. For albeit there come two rylles vnto the ſame, whereof the one deſcendeth from Thyrlo, the Wratinges and Ketton, the other from Horſhed parke, by Hauerill &c. Yet in ſomer tyme they are often drye, ſo that they cannot be ſayde to be perpetuall heads, vnto the aforeſayde ryuer. The Stoure therefore ryſeth at Stoure mare, which is a pole containing twentie acres of ground at the leaſt, the one ſide whereof is full of Alders, the other of rẽde, wherein the great ſtore of fiſhe there bredde, is not a little ſuccoured. From thys mere, alſo it goeth to Bathorne bridge, to Stocke clare, Cawndiſh, Pentlo, Milforde, Foxerth, Bureſley, Sudbury, Bures, Borſted, Stoke Nayland, Lanham, Dedham, Strotford, eaſt Barforde, Brampton, and to Catwade bridge, where it falleth into the ſea, receiuyng in the meane time ſundry brookes and rylles not here omytted at all. For on Eſſex ſide, it hath one from Hemſted, which goeth by Bumſted, and Birdbroke: another ryſing ſhorte of Foxerth, that runneth by water Beauchamp, Brundon, and falleth into the ſame at Badlington, weſt of Sudbury: and the thirde that glydeth by Horkeſley, and meeteth withal weſt of Borſted. On the north or vpon Suffolke ſide, it receyueth one deſcending frõ Cattledge, by Bradley, Thurlow, Wratting, Riddington, and at Hauerell falleth into this Sture. The ſeconde deſcendeth from Poſting field, & ioyneth therewith eaſt of Clare. The thyrde aryſeth of two heades, whereof one commeth from Wickham bruke, the other from Chedbar in Riſoy hundred, and ioyning about Stanfield, it goeth by Hawton, Somerton, Borſted, Stanſted, and north of Foxerth, falleth into Stour. The fourth iſſueth from betweene the Wallingfelds, and goeth by Edwardſtone, Borſted, Alington, Polſted, Stoke, and ſo at ſouth Borſted falleth into the ſame. The fift ryſeth North Weſt of Cockefielde, and goeth to Cockefielde, Laneham, Brimſley, Yolding, and receyuing Kettle Baſton water ſouthweſt of Chelſworth (and likewiſe the Breton that commeth from Bretenham, by Hitcheham, & Biſſeton ſtreat on the ſouth eaſt of the ſame towne) it goeth in by Nedging, Aldham, Hadley, Lainham, Shelly, Higham, and ſo into the Sture. The firt is a lyttle ryll deſcending ſouthweſt from Chappell. The ſeuenth ryſeth betweene Chappel, & Bentley, and going betweene Tatingſton, and Whetſtede, Holbrooke, and Sutton, it falleth at length into Stoure, and frõ thence is neuer harde of. Kettle baſton.

As for Oxley Rill, that ryſeth betweene Oxley, and Wilkes Parkes, and goeth vnder Ramſey bridge, and ſo into the Stoure, on Eſſex ſide, weſt of Harwiche, and eaſt of Ree Ile, I paſſe it ouer becauſe it is but a ril and not of any greatneſſe, although I ſeeke to remember manye tymes, euen the very ſmalleſt. Oxley.

Nert vnto this, wee come to another that runneth South of Beamont by Holſe, and falleth into the Sea about the middeſt of the Bay, betwirt Harwich and the Naze. Holſa.

Betwirt the Naze alſo and the mouth of Colne, is another Ryll which riſeth at little Bentley, and thence goeth to Tendring thorpe, thorow Claton parke by great Holland, and eaſt of little Holland, into the dẽpe ſea. Clato.

The Colne hath three heds, whereof one is at Duington that goeth by Tilbery, and eaſt of Peldam, falleth into the cheſe head, which ryſeth about Redgewell in Eſſex, frõ whence it goeth to Peldam Henningham. &c. The third falleth in South of Peldam into Colne, and being once mette all in one chanell: the Colne goeth as I ſayde, to Hedninghã Hawſted, Erles Colne, Makes Colne, Fordon, Bardfold, Colcheſter, and ſo into the ſea at Brickleſey. It ſeemeth here, that when ỹ ſea entreth betweene the points of Bradwell and S. Anthonies, it deuydeth it ſelfe into two armes, whereof one goeth toward Colcheſter the other toward Maldon. Into the Colne or Colunus (whereof Lelande thinketh Colcheſter to take hys name, and not a Colonia Romanorum) doe run many ſalt creekes beneth Fingering ho, whoſe names ſith I doe not knowe, nor whether they be ſerued with any backwaters or not, I gyue ouer to intreat any farther of theyr poſitions. Into that of Malden runneth many faire waters, wherof I will ſay ſo much as I knowe to be true by experience. Colunus.

There is a petty water that beginneth nere vnto Gwinbache or Wimbech church in Eſſex (the very limits of Dunnow Deanery)

which runneth directly frō thence vnto Radwinter, (a parcell of your Lordſhips poſſeſſyons in theſe parts) and within three quarters of a mile of the aforeſaid church. By the way alſo it is increaſed with ſundry pretty ſprings wherof Pantwell is the chiefe, and to ſay the truth, hath maiſtre a leaſing fathered on the ſame: there is likewiſe another in a paſture belonging to the graunge, now belonging to Henry Browne Eſquier, ſoiournyng thereupon. The third, commeth out of the yarde of one of your Lordſhips Manour there, called Radwinter hall. The fourth, frō Iohn Cockſwettes houſe, named the Rotherwell, which running vnder Rothers bridge, meeteth with ỹ Owin, on the northweſt ende of Ferraunts meade, ſoutheaſt of Radwinter church, wherof I haue the charge by your honors fauorable prefermét. The nert is named Froſhwel, and of this Spring doth the whole Hundred beare the name, and alſo the Ryuer it ſelfe whereinto it falleth (from by north) ſo far as I remember. Certes, all theſe ſauing ỹ firſt and ſecond, are within your Lordſhips towne aforeſayd. The ſtreame therfore running frō hence (and now called Froſhwell, of Froſhe, which ſignifieth a frog) haſteth immediately vnto olde Sandford, then thorow new Sandforde parke, and afterward with full ſtreame to Shalford, Bocking, Stiſted, Paſwyc, and ſo to blackwater, where the name of Froſhwel ceaſeth, the water being from henceforth as I here, called Blackwater, vntyll it come to Maldon. From Blackwater therefore it goeth to Coraill, Caſterforde, Braſted and Wickham, where it meeteth wyth the Barus, and ſo goyng togyther, deſcende to Heybridge, and finally into the ſaltwater aforeſayde. As for the Barus, it ryſeth in a ſtately parke of Eſſex called Bardfeld, belonging to the crowne, from whence it goeth to olde Saling, Brayncrée (receyuing a ryllet by waye comming from Raine, blacke Notley, white Notley, Falkeburne, Wittham, and falleth into the blackewater beneath Braſted, on the ſouth.

Froſhwell.

Barus.

Beſide thys, the ſayde ryuer receyueth alſo the Chelme or Chelmer, which ryſeth in Wymbeche aforeſayde, where it hath two heads: wherof the one is not farre from Broxtrées (where Thomas Wiſeman Eſquier dwelleth) the other nigh vnto a farme called Highams, and ioyning ere long in one Chanell, they hye them toward Thaxted, meting yt the way alſo with a Ryll commyng from Boyton ende. Beyng paſt Thaxted, it goeth by Tiltey, and ſome after receyueth one Ril which ryſeth on the north ſide of Lindſell, and falleth into ỹ Chelmer by north eaſt at Tiltey aforeſayde, and another comming from ſouthweſt, and ryſing ſoutheaſt from Lindſel at moche Eſſton. From thence then holding on ſtyll wyth the courſe, it goeth to Moche Dunmowe, little Dunmow, Feiſted, Lies, both Waltams, Springfield, & ſo to Chelmereſforde. Here vppon the ſouth ſide I finde the iſſue of a water that riſeth 5. miles or thereaboutes, ſouth and by weſt of the ſayde towne, from whence it goeth to Munaſing Butteſbury (there receiuyng a Rill from by weſt) to Ingat ſtone, Marget Inge, Wilforde bridge Writtle bridge, and ſo to Chelmereſforde, (croſſing alſo ỹ ſecond water that deſcendeth from Roxforde ſouthweſt of Writtle by the way) wherof let this ſuffice. From hence the Chelmer goeth directly towarde Maudon by Badow, Dwting, Wodhamwater, Byly, and ſo to Blackwater northweſt of Maldon, receyuing neuertheleſſe ere it come fullye thither a becke alſo that goeth frō Lée parke, to little Lées, great Lées, Hatfield, Peuerell, Dwting, and ſo into Blackwater (whereof I ſpake before) as Maldon waters, doth a ryll from by ſouth ouer againſt S. Oſithes, and alſo another by Bradwell.

Roxforde.

Lée.

The Burne, ryſeth ſomewhere about Ronwell, and thence goeth to Hull bridge, ſouth Fambridge, Kirkeſhot fery, and ſo to Foulneſſe: & as this is the ſhort courſe of that ryuer, ſo it braunceth, and the ſouth arme therof receiueth a water comming from Haukewell, to great Stanbridge, and beneth Pakeſham, doth méete by South, wyth the ſayde arme, and ſo finiſhe by his courſe, as we doe our voyage alſo about the coaſt of Englande.

Burne.

Thus haue I finiſhed the deſcription of ſuch ryuers and ſtreames as fall into the Ocean according to my purpoſe, although not in ſo preciſe an order and maner of handling, as I might, if information promyſed had bene accordingly performed: howbeit, thys wyll I ſay of that which is already done, that from the hauen of Southampton, by ſouth vnto the Twede, that parteth England and ſcotland, by north (if you go backward contrary to the courſe of my deſcription) you ſhall finde it ſo exacte, as beſide a fewe bye ryuers to be touched hereafter, you ſhall not néede to vſe any further aduiſe for the finding and falles of ỹ aforeſayd ſtreames. For ſuch hath béene my helpe and conference wyth other men about theſe, that I dare pronounce them to be perfite and exact. In the reſt I followed Leland in maner worde for worde, what he hath ſayd therefore of them, that haue I exemplyfied & publiſhed herein. Such was his dealing alſo in hys bookes, that he ſought not to be curious and preciſe in thoſe deſcriptions that hée made,

Chelmer.

Lindis.

made, but thought it sufficient to say somewhat, and more of thinges then any mā had done before hym. In the next booke therfore, I will in three chapiters run ouer these matters agayne, and as I haue already borowed somewhat of the same, in settyng downe such braunches as fal into the mayne streames at large, so will I there agayne remember such great riuers as I haue here eyther omitted, or not so orderly handled as their dignities do require. In reading therefore of the one, refuse not I beseeche your honor withall, to haue conference with the other, for what this wanteth, that other shall supply, and ỳ which is briefly touched in this, shal there be opened at large, the onely occasion of this deuision growyng vpon hope of instruction to come in tyme, whereof when I had most nede, and the lefe vnder the presse, I was left destitute and without hope of all relefe. It is possible, that some curious head may finde carpyng worke inough in ỳ courses of these streames, but if such a one wyll enterprise the lyke, and try what one man can doe by reading onely, (for I sayled about my country within the compasse of my study) & therunto remember how many wais, through many mens iudgmentes, and what number of occasions may serue here and there, to inforce the writer to mistake his Pamphlets, quarters, townes, entraunces, &c. I doe not doubt but it would trouble his brayn, although now peraduēture in table talke, he can find many things, as he doth that sitteth at home among Ladies and Gentlewomen, and will talke and take order for matters abroad that are to be done in the field, where he neuer shewed his face. Vnto the learned therfore, I yeld correctiō of mine errors onely, and as I confesse that some vnknowne vnto me, may and haue escaped my handes, so by their gentle and brotherly admonition, they shall be the soner amended. Furthermore, this I haue also to remember that in the courses of our streames, I regard not so much to name ỳ very town or church, as the limites of the parochie, and therefore if I say it goeth by such a towne, I thinke my duety discharged, if I hitte vpon any part or parcel of the parochie. This also hath not a litle troubled me, I meane the euill writing of the names of many townes and villages, of which I haue noted some one man in the description of a riuer to write it two or three maner of wayes, whereby I was inforced to chuse one (at aduenture most commonly) that semed the likelyest in my ne opinion & iudgement: but inough of this and these things for this present.

¶ *Of the foure hyghe wayes sometyme made in Brytaine, by the Princes of thys Lande.*
Chap. 12.

THere are, which indeuoring to bring all thyngs to their Saxon Originall, doe affirme that this diuisiō of waies whereof we now intreate, should appertaine to such Princes of that Nation, as reigned here, sith the Romaines gaue vs ouer. But how weake their coniectures are in this behalfe, the antiquity of these stretes it selfe shal easily declare, whereof some percelles after a sorte are also set downe by Antoninus, and those that haue written of the seuerall iourneyes from hence to Rome, although peraduenture not in so directe an order, as they were at the first established. For my parte if it were not that I desire to be short in this behalfe, I could with such notes as I haue already collected for that purpose, make a large confutation of diuers of theyr opinions cōcerning these passages, but sith I haue spent more time in ỳ tractatiō of the riuers, then was allotted vnto me, I will omit at this time to discourse of these things as I would, and say what I may for the better knowledg of their courses, proceēding therein as followeth.

First of all, I finde that Dunwallon King of Britayne, about 483. yeares before ỳ birth of our sauior Jesus Christ, seing the subiectes of his Realme, to be in sundry wyse oppressed by thēues and robbers, as they trauelled to and fro, and being willing (so much as in him laye) to redresse these inconueniences, caused his whole kingdome to be surueyed, and then commaunding foure principall wayes to be made, which should leade such as trauayled into all partes thereof, from sea to sea, he gaue sundry large priuileges vnto the same, whereby they became safe, and verye much frequented. And as he had regarde herein, to the securitie of hys Subiectes, so he made sharp lawes, grounded vpō Iustice, for ỳ suppression of such wicked mēbers as did offer violence to any trauayler, that should be met wyth al or found within the limites of those passages. How by what partes of this Iland these wayes were conueighed at the first, it is not so wholy left in memory, but that some question is moued among the learned, concerning theyr auncient courses, howbeit such is the shadowe remaining hitherto of theyr extensions, that if not at this present perfectly yet hereafter it is not impossible but that they maye be founde out, and left certaine vnto posteritye. It semeth by Galfride,

that the ſayd Dunwallon did limite out thoſe wayes by doles and markes, which beyng in thyrt tyme altered by the auarice of ſuch irreligious perſons as dwelt nere and incroched vpon the ſame (a fault yet iuſtly to bée found almoſt in euery place) and queſtiõ moued for their boundes before Bellinus hys ſonne, he to auoyde all further controuerſie that might from thenceforth inſue, cauſed the ſame to be paued with hard ſtone, of 18. foote in breadth, and 10. foote in depth, and in the bottome thereof huge flint ſtones alſo to be pitched, leſt the earth in tyme ſhould ſwalow vp his workmanſhip, & the higher ground ouergrow their riſing creſts. He indued thẽ alſo wt larger priuiledges thẽ before, proteſting that if any man whoſoeuer ſhoulde preſume to infringe his peace, & violate the lawes of hys kingdome in anye maner of wiſe nére vnto or vpon thoſe wayes, he ſhould ſuffer ſuch puniſhmẽt without all hope to eſcape (by frendſhip or mercy (as by ỹ ſtatutes of his realme lately prouided in thoſe caſes, are due vnto ỹ offenders: The names of theſe foure wayes are the Foſſe, the Gwethelin, or Watling, the Ermyng, and the Pehenild.

Foſſe. The Foſſe goeth not directly, but ſlopewiſe ouer the greateſt part of this Iland, begynnyng at Dotneſſe or Totneſſe in Deuõſhire, where Brute ſometymes landed (or as Ranulphus ſayeth) which is more likely at the point of Cornwall though the eldeſt writers do ſéeme to note the contrary. From hence it goeth thorow the middle of Deuonſhire and Somerſetſhire, and commeth to Briſtow, from whence it runneth manifeſtly to Sudbery market, Tetbury, and ſo forth holdeth on as you go almoſt to ỹ midde way betwene Glouceſter and Cirnceſter (where the wood faileth, and the Champeigne country appeareth toward Cotteſwald) ſtreight as a lyne vntill you come to Cirneceſter it ſelf. Some hold opinion that the way which lyeth from Cirneceſter to Bathe, ſhoulde be the very Foſſe, and that betwixt Cirneceſter & Glouceſter, to be another of the 4. wayes made by the Britons: but auncient report grounded vpon great likelyhode, and confirmed alſo by ſome experience, iudgeth that moſt of the wayes croſſed eche other in this part of the realme, and of this mynd is Leland alſo, who learned it of an Abbote of Cirneceſter that ſhewed great likelyhode in ſome recordes therof: but to proceéde. From Cirneceſter, it goeth by Chepingnorton to Couentrey, Leiceſter, Newarke, and ſo to Lincolne ouerthwart the Watling ſtreate, where by generall conſent of all the writers (except Alfrede of Beuerley, who extendeth it vnto Catheneſſe in Scotland) it is ſayde to haue an ende.

Watling ſtréte. The Watling ſtréte beginneth at Douer in Kent, and ſo ſtretcheth thorow the middeſt of Kent vnto London, and ſo forth (peraduenture by the midſt of ỹ city) vnto Verolamium or Verlameceſter, now S. Albons, where in ỹ yeare of grace 1531 the courſe thereof was found by a mã that digged for grauel wherewith to mende the highway. It was in this place 18. foote brode, and about 10. foote déepe, and ſtoned in the botome as afore, and peraduenture alſo on the toppe, but theſe are gone, and the reſt remayneth equall in moſt places with the fields. The yelow grauell alſo that was brought thether in cartes 2000. yeares paſſed, remayned there ſo freſh and ſo ſtrõg, as if it had bene digged out of ỹ natural place where it grew not many yeares before. Frõ hence it goeth hard by Margate, leauyng it on the weſt ſide, and a little by ſouth of this place, where the Priory ſtode, is a long thorow fare vpon the ſayd ſtréte, métely well builded (for low houſing) on both ſides. After this, it not onely becommeth a bound vnto Leiceſterſhire toward Lugby, but alſo paſſeth from Caſtleford to Stamforde, and ſo forth by the weſt of Marton, which is a myle from Torkeſey.

Here by the waye I muſt touche the opinion of a trauayler of my tyme, who noteth the ſayde ſtreate to go another waye, inſomuch that he would haue it to croſſe the third Auon, betwixt Newton and Dowbridge, & ſo go on to Binford bridge, Wibtoft, the highe croſſe, and thence to Atherſton vpon Ancre. Certes it maye be, that the Foſſe had his courſe by the countrye in ſuch ſort as hée deſcribeth, but that ỹ Watling ſtreat ſhould paſſe by Atherſtõ, I can not as yet be perſuaded. Neuertheleſſe his coniecture is not to be miſliked, ſith it is not vnlikelye that thrée ſeuerall wayes myght méete at Alderwaye (a towne vpon Tame, beneath Salters bridge) for I do not doubt that the ſayd towne, dyd take his name of all thrée wayes, as Aldermary churche in London, did of all thrée Maryes vnto whome it hath béene dedicated, but that the Watling ſtreate ſhoulde be one of them, the compaſſe of his paſſage will in no wiſe permit. And thus much haue I thought good to note by the waye, nowe to returne agayne to Leland, and other mens collections. The next tydings that we here of the Watlyng ſtreate is, that it goeth thorowe the Parke at Pomfret, as the common voyce of the country confirmeth: thẽce it paſſeth hardily ouer Caſtelford bridg, to Aberford, (which is fiue myles from thence, & where are moſt manifeſt

manifeſt tokens of thys waye and his broad creſt) to Yorke, to Witherby, & then to Borowbrig, where on the left hand therof ſtod certain monumentes, or Pyramides of ſtone, ſometyme placed there by the Romaines. Theſe ſtones (ſayth Leland) ſtande 8 myles weſt from Bowes, & almoſt weſt from Richmonde a little thorowe fare called mayden caſtel ſcituate vpon the ſide of this ſtreat, and here is one of thoſe Pyramides or great rounde heapes, which is three score foote compaſſe in the bottome. There are other alſo of leſſe quantities, and on the very top of eche of them are ſharp ſtones of a yard in length, but the greateſt of all is eighténe foote hyghe at the leaſt, from the grounde to the verye head. He addeth moreouer howe they ſtande on an hyll: in the edge of Stanes more, and are as boundes betwéne Richmonde ſhyre, and Weſtmerland. But to proceed this ſtreat lying a myle from Gilling, and two myles from Richmonde commeth on from Borowbrigge, to Catericke eighténe myles, that is twelue to Leuing, and fiue to Catericke, then eleuen myles to Gretey, or Gritto, fyue myles to Bottles, eight myles to Burghe on Stanes more, foure myles from Appleby & fiue to Browham, where the ſayde ſtreate commeth thorowe Winſoll parke, and ouer the bridge, on Eymouth and Loder, and leauing Perith, a quarter of a myle or more, on the weſt ſide of it, goeth to Carleil ſeuenténe myles from Browham, which hath béene ſome notable thing. Hetherto it appeareth euidently, but going from hence into Scotlande, I heare no more of it, vntill I come to Cathneſſe, which is two hundred and thirtye myles or thereabouts, out of Englande.

Erming ſtréte. The Erning ſtreate, which ſome call the Lelme, ſtretcheth out of the eaſt, as they ſaye into the ſoutheaſt, ý is, from Menevia or S. Dauids in Wales vnto Southãpton, wherby it is ſomewhat lykely in déede that theſe two wayes, I meane the Foſſe, and the Erning, ſhoulde méete about Cirnceſter, as it commeth from Gloceſter, according to the opinion conceyued of them in that countrye. Of thys way I finde no more written, and therefore I can ſaye no more of it, except I ſhoulde indeuour to dryue awaye the tyme, in alleadging what other men ſaye thereof, whoſe mindes doe ſo farre diſagrée one from another, as they doe all from a truth, and therefore I gyue them ouer, as not delighting in ſuch dealing.

Ikenilde. The Ikenild or Rikenild, begã ſomewhere in the ſouth, and ſo held on toward Cirnceſter, then to Worceſter, Wicomb, Brimmicham, Lichfield, Darby, Chelterfield, and croſſing the Watlingſtréte ſome where in Yorkeſhire, ſtretched forth in the ende vnto ý mouth ý of Tine, where it ended at ý maine ſea, as moſt men doe confeſſe. I take it to be called the Ikenild, becauſe it paſſed thorow the kingdome of the Icenes: for albeit that Lelande and other following him doe ſeme to place the Icenes in Norfolke & Suffolke, yet in myne opinion that cannot wel be done, ſith it is manifeſt by Tacitus, that they laye nere vnto the Sylures, and as I geſſe, eyther in Stafford and Worceſter, or in both, except my coniecture do fayl me. The author of the boke entituled Eulogium hiſtoriarum, doth call this ſtréte the Lelme: but as herein he is deceyued, ſo haue I delt withal ſo faythfully as I may among ſuch diuerſitie of opinions, yet not denying but that there is much confuſion in the names and courſes of theſe two latter, the diſcuſſing whereof, I muſt leaue to other men ý be better lerned then I.

Of the ayre and ſoyle of Britaine. Chap. 13.

The ayre for the moſt part thorowout the Iſland is ſuch, as by reaſon in maner of continuall cloudes, is reputed to be groſſe & nothing ſo pleaſant as that is of the mayne. Howbeit as they which affirme theſe things, haue onely reſpect to the impediment or hinderaunce of the ſunne beames, by the interpoſitiõ of the cloudes & oft ingroſſed ayre: ſo experience teacheth vs that it is no leſſe pure, holſome, and commodious, then is that of other countries, and as Cæſar hymſelfe hereto addeth, much more temperate in ſommer, then that of the Galles, from whome he aduentured hither. Neyther is theyr any thing found in the ayre of our Regiõ, that is not vſually ſéene amongſt other nations lying beyond the ſeas. Wherfore, we muſt nedes cõfeſſe, that the ſituation of our Iſland for benefite of the heauens is nothing inferiour to that of any country of the maine, where ſo euer it lie vnder the open firmament.

The ſoyle of Brytaine is ſuch, as by the teſtimonies and reportes, both of the olde & newe writers, and experience alſo of ſuch as nowe inhabite the ſame, is verye fruitefull, but yet more inclined to the féeding & graſing of the cattell, then profitable for tyllage & bearing of corn, by reaſon wherof the country is wonderfully repleniſhed with Neat, & al kind of cattell: and ſuch ſtore is there alſo of the ſame in euery place, that ý fourth part of the land is ſcarcely manured for the prouiſion and maintenãce of graſſe. Certes, this fruitfulnes was not vnknown vnto the Bri-

tons

tions long before Cæsars time, which was the cause wherefore our predecessors liuyng in those dayes in maner neglected Tillage, and lyued by feedyng and grasing onely. The graziers themselues also then dwelled in moueable villages by companies, whose custom was to deuide the ground amongst them, and eche one not to depart from the place where his lot lay, till by eating vp of the country about him, he was inforced to remoue further and seke for better pasture, and this was the brittish custome at the first. It hath bene cõmonly reported that the ground of Wales is neyther so fruitful as that of England, neither the soyle of Scotland so bountifull as that of Wales, which is true if it be taken for the most part: otherwise, there is so good grounde in some partes of Wales, as is in England, albeit ỹ best of Scotland be scarcely comparable to the best of eyther of both. Howbeit as the bounty of the Scottish doth saple in some respect, so doeth it surmount in other, God and nature hauyng not appointed all countries to yelde forth lyke commodities.

Plenty of riuers.

There are also in this Iland great plenty of fresh riuers & streames, as you haue heard already, and these thorowly fraught wyth all kyndes of delicate fish, accustomed to be found in riuers. The whole Ile likewyse, is very full of hilles, of which some, though not very many, are of exceedyng heigth, and diuers extendyng themselues very farre from the beginnyng as we may se by Shooters hill, which rising east of London, & not very far from the Thames runneth along the south side of the Iland westward, but till it come to Cornwall. Lyke vnto these also are the crowdõ hils, which from the peke do run into the borders of Scotlande. What shoulde I speake of the cheuiot hils which runne. miles in length: of the blache mountains in Wales which go from . . to . . miles at the lest in length, of the Graines in Scotlande, and of our Chiltren, which are 18. myles at the lest, from one end of them to the other, of all which some are very well repleni shed with wood, notwithstandyng that the most part yelde a sweete short grasse, profitable for sheep, wherin albeit that they of Scotland doe somewhat come behynde vs, yet their backward defect is inwardly recompensed not onely with plenty of quarries, (and those of sondry kindes of marble hard stone, and fine alabaster) but also rich mynes of mettal, as shalbe shewed hereafter. In this Iland likewyse the windes are commonly more strong and fierce, then in anye other places of the maine, and that is often seene vpon the naked hilles, which are not garded with trees to beare it of. That grieuous inconuenience also inforceth our Nobility, gentry, and comminaltie, to build their houses in the valeis, leauing the high groundes vnto their corne and catteli, least the cold and stormy blastes of winter should breede the greater anoyance, whereas in other Regions eche one desireth to set his house aloft on the hyll, not onely to be seene a farre of, and cast forth their beames of stately & curious workemanship into euery quarter of the country, but also (in whote habitations) for coldenesse sake of the ayre, sith the heate is neuer so behement on the hill top as in the valey, because the reuerberation of the sunne beame, eyther reacheth not so farre as the highest, or else becometh not so strong, when it is reflected to the lower mountayne.

Building.

But to leaue our Buyldinges, vnto the purposed place (which notwithstanding haue verye muche increased, I meane for curiositye and coste, in Englande, Wales, and Scotland, within these fewe yeares) and to returne to the soyle againe. Certainelye it is euen now in these our dayes growne to be wyche more fruitfull, then it hath bene in times past. The cause is for that our countremen are growne to be more paynefull, skilful and carefull thorowe recompence of gayne, then heretofore they haue bene, insomuch that my Synchroni or time folowes, can reap at thys present great commoditye in a lyttle roume, whereas of late yeares, a great compasse hath yelded but small profite, and thys onely thorowe the pole and negligent occupatiõ of such, as manured and had the same in occupying. I myght sette downe examples out of all the partes of thys Iland, that is to say, manye out of Englande, moe out of Scotlande, but most of all out of Wales, in which two last rehearsed, verye little other foode, and lyuelyhode was wont to be looked for beside flesh, more then the soyle of it selfe, and the cow gaue, the people in ỹ meane tyme lyuing idelly, dissolutely & by picking and stealing one frõ another, all which vices are nowe for the most part relinquished, so that eche nation manureth hir owne with triple commoditie, to that it was before tyme.

Husbãdry amended.

The pasture of thys Iland is according to the nature & situation of the soyle, whereby in most places it is plentifull, verye fine hatable, and such as eyther fatteth our cattel with spede, or yeldeth great abundaunce of mylke and creame, whereof the yelowest butter, and finest cheese are made. But where the blewe claye aboundeth (which hardelye drinketh vppe the winters water in long season) there the grasse is speary, rough, and

Pasture.

very

bery apte for bushes, by which occasion, it becommeth nothing so profitable to the owner. The best pasture ground of all Englande, is in Wales, and of all the pasture in Wales, that of Cardigan is the chiefe. I speake of that which is to be founde in the mountaines there, where the hundreth part of the grasse growing is not eaten, but suffered to rotte on the grounde, whereby the soyle becommeth matted, and dyuers Bogges and quicke mores made with all in long continuance, because all the cattle in the countrey are not able to eate it downe.

Meddowes

Our meddowes are either bottomes (whereof we haue great store, and those very large because our soyle is hilly) or else lande meades. The first of them, are yearely and often ouerflowen by the ryning of such streames as passe thorowe the same, or violent falles of lande waters, that dyscende from the hylles about them. The other are seldome or neuer ouerflowen, & that is the cause wherefore their grasse is shorter than that of the bottomes, and yet is it farre more fine, wholsome, and batable, sith the haye of our lowe meddowes is not onely full of sandy cinder, which breedeth sundry diseases in our cattell, but also more rowty, foggy, & full of dagges, and therefore not so profitable, for stouer and forrage as ỳ higher meades be. The differēce furthermore in theyr commodities is great, for whereas in our lande meddowes we haue not often aboue one good loade of haye in an acre of ground, in lowe meaddowes, we haue sometimes three, but commonly aboue two, as experience hath oft conferred.

Corne.

The yelde of our corne grounde, is also much after thys rate following, thorowe out the lande (if you please to make an estimate thereof by the acre) in common and indyfferent yeares, wherin eche acre of Whete well tilled and dressed will yeld commonly twentie bushelles, an acre of Barlie 32. bushels, of Otes and such lyke, fiue quarters, which proportion is notwythstanding oft abated, towarde the north, as it is often surmounted in the south. Of mixed corne, as peason, and beanes, sowē togither, Tares & Otes (which they call bulmong,) Rie and Wheate, here is no place to speake, yet theyr yelde is neuertheless much after this proportiō, as I haue often marked.

Cattell.

The cattel which we breede are commonly such as for greatnesse of bone, sweetenesse of flesh, & other benefits to be reaped by ỳ same, giue place vnto none other, as may appeare first by our Oxen, whose largenesse, height, weight, tallow, hides, and hornes are such, as none of any other nation, do cōmonly or may easily excede them. Our sheepe likewise for good taste of flesshe, quantitie of kymmes, fynesse of fleece, & abundance of increase, (for in many places they bring forth two or three at an eaning) giue no place vnto any, more then do our Goates, who in like sort do follow the same order, and our Deare come not behinde. As for our Conies, I haue seene thē so fat in some soiles, especially about Weal & Dissege that the greace of one being weighed, hath peysed very neare fiue or 7. ounces, all which benefites we first referre to the grace & goodnesse of God, and next of all vnto the bountye of our soyle, which he hath so plentifullye indued with so ample & large cōmodities. But as I meane to intreate of these thinges more largly hereafter, so will I touch in this place one benefite which our country wanteth, and that is wyne, the fault whereof is not in our soyle, but the negligence of our country men (especially of the south parts) who doe not inure the same to this commoditie, which by reason of long discontinuance, is nowe become vnapt to beare any Grapes, eyther in the fielde or seuerall vineyardes: Yet of late time some haue assayed to deale for wine, but sithe that lyquor when it commeth to the drynking hath beene founde more harde then that which is brought from beyonde the sea, and the cost of planting and keping thereof so chargeable, that they maye buye it farre better cheape from other Countries: they haue giuen ouer theyr enterpryses, wythout any consideration, that as in all other thinges, so neither the grounde it selfe in the begynning, nor succesfe of their trauaile can answere their expectation at the first, vntyll such time as the soyle be brought as it were into acquaintance with this commoditie, and that prouision maye bee made, for the more easinesse of charge, to be employed vpon the same. If it be true that where wine doth lasse and indure well, there it will growe no worse. I muse not a little wherefore the planting of vines shoulde be neglected in England. That this liquor might haue growne in this Iland heretofore: first the charter that Probus themperour gaue equally to vs, the Galles and Spaniardes is one sufficient testimony. And that it dyd growe here, the olde notes of tythes for wine, that yet remaine in the accomptes of some Persons and Vycars in Kent, besides the recordes of sundrye sutes, commenced in diuers ecclesiasticall courtes, both in Kent and Surrey: also the inclosed parcelles almost in euery Abbaye, yet called the vyneyardes, maye bee a notable proofe. Wherefore our soyle is not to be blamed, as though our nightes were so exceeding short,

Meal and disnege.

wine.

that

that the mone which is Lady of moysture, & chefe ryper of this liquor, cannot in any wise shine long ynough vpō the same, a very merry toy, & fable worthy to be suppressed. The time hath bene that Wad and Madder, haue bene (next vnto our Tin & Welles) the chief commodities & Marchaundize of this realm: I finde also that Rape ople hath bene made within this lande, but nowe our soyle will beare neither of these, not for that the ground is not able so to doe, but that we are negligent and careless of our owne profit, as men rather willing to buye the same of others thē take any paine to plant thē here at home. The like I may say of flare, which by lawe ought to be sowen in euery countrey towne in England, more or lesse, but I see no successe of ỳ good & wholsome statute, sith it is rather contemptously reiected then otherwise dutifully kept. Some say that our great numbers of lawes, whereby it is impossible for any man to auoyde theyr transgression, is one great cause of our negligence in this behalfe. Other affirme that the often alteration of our ordinaunces do breed this general cōtempt of al good lwas, which after Aristotle doth seme to carye some reason withall. But very many let not to saye, that facility in dispensatiō with them, and manifest breche of the same in the superiours, are ỳ greatest causes why the infertours regarde no good order, beyng alwayes ready to offende without any such facultie one way, as they are to presume vpon the example of the higher powers another. But as in these thinges I haue no skyl, so some wishe that fewer licences for the priuate commoditie, but of a fewe, were graunted: & this they say, not that they denie ỳ execution of the prerogatiue royall, but woulde wyth all theyr hearts that it might be made a grieuous offence, for any man by feed frendeshyp or otherwise, to procure oughtes of the Prince, (who is not acquainted wyth the botome of the estate of common things) that may be preiudiciall to the weale publike of his country. If it were requisite that I should speake of the sundry kinds of mowlde, as ỳ cledgy or clay, whereof are sundry sorts, red, blew, black & white: also the red or white sandy, the lomye, roselly, grauelly, chalky or blacke: I could say that there are so many diuers vaines in Brytaine, as else where in any quarter of lyke quantitie in ỳ world. Howbeit this I muste nedes cōfesse that the sandy and cledgy doe beare the greatest sway, but ỳ clay most of all, as hath bene, and yet is alwaies seene and felt thorowe plenty & dearth of corne. For if this latter doe yelde hir full increase, then is there generall plenty, wher-

Wad and Madder sometime in Englande.

Rape ople.

Flaxe.

Number. Alteratiō. Dispensation. Example of superiours.

Erthes.

as if it faple then haue we scarcity, according to the olde rude verse, set downe of england, but to be vnderstanded of the whole Ilande, as experience doth confirme.

When the sande doth serue the clay,
Then may we sing well away,
But when the clay doth serue the sand
Then is it mery with England.

I might here intreate also of the famous vales in Englande, of which one is called the Vale of white horse, another of Euesham, noted to be twelue or thirtene miles in compasse, the third of Aylesbyry ỳ goeth by Tame the rote of Chilterne hils, & so to Donstable, Newport panell, Stony Stratford, Buckingham, Birstane parke, &c. And likewise of the fourth of Whithart, or Blackemore, in Dorsetshire, and also the Marshwod vale, but forasmuch as I knowe not well their seuerall limites, I giue ouer to go any farder in their description at this time. In like sort it should not be amysse to speake of our fennes & other pleasant bottomes, which are not onely indued with excellent ryuers & great store of fine fodder, for neat and horses in time of ỳ yere, (whereby they are exceding beneficiall vnto their owners) but also of no small compasse & quantity in ground. For some of our Fennes are well knowen to be eyther 10. 12. 16. 20. or 30 miles in length, that of the Gyrwis yet passing al the reast, which is ful 60. as I haue often read. Finally I might discourse in like order of the large commons, laide out heretofore by the Lordes of the soyles for ỳ benefite of such poore, as inhabite within ỳ compasses of their manours, but as the tractatiō of them belongeth rather to the seconde booke, so I meane not at thys present to deale wythall, reseruing the same wholly vnto the due place whileste I go forwarde with the reast.

Vales.

Fennes.

Commons.

Of the generall constitution of the bodyes of the Brytaines. Cap. 14.

THose that are bredde in this Ilande are men for the most part of a good complexion, tall of stature, strong in body, white of coulour, and thereto of great boldenesse and courage in ỳ warres. For such hath bene the estimation of englishe souldiers from time to time, since our Ile hath bene knowne vnto the Romaines, that whersoeuer they haue serued in forrein countries, the chiefe bruntes of seruice haue bene reserued for them. Of their conquestes and bloudy battailes wonne in Fraunce, Germany, and Scotlande, our histories are full: and where they haue bene ouercome, the victors themselues confessed their victories to haue ben so dearely bought, that they woulde not gladly couete to ouer-

come

come often, after such difficult maner. In martiall prowesse, there is little or no difference betwene Englishmen and Scottes, for albeit that the Scottes haue béne often and very grieuously ouercome by the force of our nation, it hath not béene for want of manhood on their partes, but through ỹ mercy of God shewed on vs, and his iustice vpon them, sith they alwaies haue begun the quarels and offred vs méere iniurie with great despite and crueltie. Leland noting somewhat of the cõstitution of our bodies, sayeth these wordes, the Britaines are whyte in couleur, & strong of body, as people inhabiting néere the north, and farre from the Equinoctiall line, where contrariewyse such as dwell towarde the course of the sunne, are lesse of stature, weaker of body, more fearfull by nature, blacker in couleur, and some so blacke in déede as anye Crow or Rauen, thus sayeth he. Howbeit, as these men doe come behinde vs in constitution of bodie, so in Pregnancie of witte, nimblenesse of lymmes, and politike inuentions, they generally exceede vs: notwithstãding that otherwise these giftes of theirs doe often degenerate, into méere subtiltie, inhabilitie, vnfaithfulnesse and crueltie. We therfore dwelling néere the North, are commonly taken by forrein Hystoriographers and others, to be men of great strength and little policie, much courage and small shift: & thus doth Comineus burden vs after a sort in hys history. But thanked be God, that all the wit of his countrymen coulde neuer compasse to doe so much in Britaine, as the strength and courage of our Englishmen, (not without great wisedome, and forecast) haue brought to passe in Fraunce. Certes in accusing our wisedome in this sorte, he doth in mine opinion increase our commendation, for if it be a vertue to deale vprightly with singlenesse of minde: sincerely and plainly, without any suspicious fetches in all our dealinges, then are our countreymen to be accompted vertuous. But if it be a vice to couloure craftinesse, subtile practises, doublenesse and hollow behauiour, with a cloke of politicie, amitie and wisedome, then are Comineus and his companie to be reputed vicious. How these latter pointes take holde in Italy, I meane not to discusse, how they are daily practised in many places of the maine, and be accompted most wyse and pollitike, that can most of all dissemble, here is no place iustly to determine, (neyther woulde I wishe my countrymen to learne any such wisedome) but that a king of Fraunce, coulde say, Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare, their owne hystories are testimonies sufficient. But to proceede with our purpose. With vs some doe liue an hundred yeares, very many vnto fower score: as for three score, it is taken but for our enterance into age, so that in Britain, no man is sayde to wexe old til he draw vnto three score. These two are also noted in vs (as thinges apparteyning to the firme constitutions of our bodies) that there hath not béene séene in any Region so many carcasses of the dead to remaine from time to time without corruption as in Britain: and that after death by slaughter or otherwyse such as remayne vnburied by foure or fiue dayes togither are easie to be knowen and discerned by their friendes and kinred, wheras Tacitus and other complaine of sundry nations, saying, that their bodies are tam fluidæ substantiæ, that within certaine houres the wife shall hardely knowe hir husbande, the mother hir sonne, or one friende another, after their liues be ended. I might here adde somewhat also of the meane stature generally of our women, whose beautie commonly exceedeth the fairest of those of the maine, their comlynes of person and good proportion of limmes, most of theirs ỹ come ouer vnto vs from beyonde the sea. I coulde make report likewyse of the naturall vices & vertues of all those ỹ are borne within thys Iland, but as the tractation thereof craueth a better head then mine to set it forth, so I will giue place to other men, that list to take the same in hand. Thus much therfore of the constitutions of our bodies, and so much may suffice.

Non armis sed ingenio vincuntur Angli.

How Britayne grew at the first to be deuided into three portions. Chap. I.

After the commyng of Brutus into this Iland (which was as you haue red in the afore sayd treatize, about the yere of ỹ world 2840 or 1127 before ỹ incarnation of Christ) he made a generall survey of the whole Iland from side to side, by such meanes to view and search out not onely the limites and boundes of his dominions, but also what commodities this new atchieued conquest might yeld vnto hys people. Further more, findyng out at the last also a conuenable place wherein to erect a citie, he began there euen ỹ very same, which at this day is called London, namyng it Trenouanton, in remembraunce of olde Troye, from whence hys auncestors proceeded, & for which the Romaines pronounced afterward Trinobantum, although the Welchmen doe call it still Trenewith. This city was builded as some write, much about the tenth yeare of his raigne, so ỹ he lyued not aboue 15. yeares after

after he had finished ẏ same. But of ẏ rest of hys other actes attempted and done, before or after the erection of this city, I finde no certayne report, more then that when he had raigned in this Iland after his arriuall by the space of 24. yeares, he finished his dayes at Trenouanton aforesayde, beyng in hys young and flouryshyng age, where at his carcase was honorably interred. As for the maner of hys death, I finde as yet no mention therof among such writers as are extant. I meane whether it grew vnto him by defect of nature, or force of grieuous woundes receyued in hys warres agaynst such as withstood him from tyme to tyme in this Iland, and therefore I can say nothing of that matter. Herein onely all agree, that duryng the tyme of his languishing paynes, he made a disposition of his whole kyngdome, deuiding it into three partes or portions, according to the nũber of his sonnes then liuing, whereof the eldest exceded not 28. yeres of age, as my conceaue giueth me. To the eldest therefore, whose name was Locrine, he gaue the greatest and best Region of all the rest, whiche of hym to this day is called Lhoegres among the Britons, but in our language Englande, of such English Saxons as made conquest of the same. This portiõ also is included on the south with the Brittish sea, on the east with the Germaine Ocean, on the north with the Humber, and on the west with the Irish sea, and the riuers Dée and Sauerne, wherof in the general description of this Iland, I haue spoken more at large. To Camber his secõd sonne, he assigned all that lyeth beyonde the Sauerne and Dée towarde the west, (whiche parcel in these dayes conteineth Southwales and Northwales) with sondry Ilandes adiacent to the same, the whole beyng in maner cut of and seperated from England or Loegria by the said streames, wherby it seemeth almost Pemusula, or a bye land, if you respect the small hilly portion of ground that lyeth indifferently betwene their maine courses or such branches at the least as run and fall into them. The Welchmen or Brytons call it by the auncient name still vnto this day, but we Englishmen terme it Wales, which denomination we haue from the Saxons, who in time past did vse the word Walshe in such sort as we do straunge: for as we cal all those straungers that are not of our nation, so dyd they name them Walshe which were not of their countrey. The third and last part of the Iland he allotted vnto Albanacte hys youngest sonne (for he had but three in all, as I haue sayd before) whose portion seemed for circuite to be more large, then that of Camber, and in maner equall in greatnesse wyth the dominions of Locrinus: But if you haue regard to the seuerall commodities that are to be reaped by eche, you shal find them to be not much discrepaunt or differing one from another: for what so euer the first and second haue in plenty of corne, fine grasse, and large cattell. This latter wanteth not in exceedyng store of fishe, rich mettall, quarries of stone, and aboundaunce of wylde foule: so that in myne opinion, there coulde not be a more equall particion then this made by Brute, and after the aforesayd maner. This later parcel at the first, toke the name of Albanactus, who called it Albania. But now a small portion onely of the Region (beyng vnder the regiment of a Duke) reteyneth the sayd denomination, the rest beyng called Scotlande, of certayne Scottes that came ouer from Ireland to inhabite in those quarters. It is deuided from Loegres also by the Humber, so that Albania as Brute left it, conteyned all the north part of the Iland that is to be fõud beyond the aforesayd streame, vnto the point of Catheneisse. To conclude, Brute hauyng deuided hys kingdome after this maner, and therin contenyng himselfe as it were wyth the general title of the whole, it was not lõg after ere he ended his life, and being solemnly interred at his new city by his three children, they parted eche from other, and toke possession of their prouinces. But Scotland after two yeres fell agayn into the handes of Locrinus as to the chiefe Lord, by the death of his brother Albanact, who was slayne by Humber kyng of the Scithiẽs, and left none issue behynde hym to succede hym in that kyngdome.

Locrine. Loegria. Camber. Cambria. Albanact. Albania. Locrine king also of Scotland.

That notwithstanding the former diuision made by Brute vnto his children, the souereigntie of the whole Iland remained still to the prince of Lhoegres and his posteritie after him. Chap. xvj.

IT is possible that some of the Scottish nation reading the former chapter will take offence with me for meaning ẏ the principalitie of the North partes of this Ile, hath alwayes belonged to the kinges of Lhoegres. For whose more ample satisfaction in this behalfe, I will here set downe therfore a discourse therof at large, written by diuers, and nowe finally brought into one Treatise, sufficient as I thinke to satisfie the reasonable, although not halfe ynough peraduenture to content a wrangling minde, sith there is or at the least wyse hath bene nothing more odious amõg some, then to heare that the king of

The Scottes alwayes desirous to shake of the english subiection, haue often made cruell and odious attemptes so to do, but in vayne,

of England hath oughtes to doe in Scotland. How their Hystoriographers haue attempted to shape a couloured excuse to auoyde so manifest a tytle, all men maye se that reade their bookes indifferently, whereunto I doe referre them. For my part there is little or nothing of myne herein, more then onely the collection of a number of fragmentes together, wherein chiefly I haue vsed the helpe of Nicholas Adams, who wrate thereof of set purpose to king Edward the first, as Leland dyd the lyke to king Henry the eyght, Iohn Harding vnto Edwarde the fourth, beside three other, whereof the first dedicated hys Treatise to Henry the fourth, the seconde to Edwarde the thirde, and the third to Edwarde the first, as their writinges yet extant doe abundantly beare witnesse. The tytle also that Leland giueth his booke, which I haue had written with his owne hands, beginneth in this maner. These remembraunces follo-
" wing are found in Chronicles authorized re-
" maining in diuers monasteries both in Eng-
" lande and Scotlande, by which it is euident-
" ly knowen & shewed, that the kinges of Eng-
" gland haue had, and nowe ought to haue the
" soueraignetie ouer Scotlande, with the ho-
" mage and fealtie of the kings their reigning
" from time to time. Hereunto you haue heard
" already what diuision Brute made of this Is-
" lande not long before his death, whereof eche
" of his children so soone as he was enterred tooke
" seisure and possession. Howbeit after two
" yeres it happened that Albanact was slayne,
" whereupon Locrinus and Camber rayled
" their powers reuenged his death, and finally
" the sayde Locrinus, made an entraunce vpon
" Albania, seyzed it into his owne handes (as er-
" cheated wholly vnto himselfe) without yel-
" ding any part therof vnto his brother Cam-
" ber, who made no clayme nor title vnto any
" portion of the same. Herby then sayth Adams
" it euidently appeareth that the entier seigniо-
" rie ouer Albania consisted in Locrinus, acco-
" ding to which example lyke lawe among bre-
" thren euer since hath continued, in preferring
" the eldest brother to the onely benefite of the
" collaterall affection from the youngest, as-
" swell in Scotlande as in England vnto this
" daye.

Ebranke the lineall heire from the bodie of this Locrine, that is to say the sonne of Membris, sonne of Madan, sonne of the same Locrine, buylded in Albania the castle of Maydens nowe called Edenbrough: and the Castle of Alcluith or Alclude, now called Dumbriton, as the Scottish Hector Boethius confesseth: whereby it most euidently appeareth that our Ebranke was then thereof seased.

This Ebranke reigned in the saide state ouer the a long time, after whose death Albania as annexed to the empire of the Britaine, descended to the onely king of Britons, vntill the discent to the two sisters sonnes, Mozgan and Conedage, lineall heires from the sayne Ebranke, who brotherly vpō the first example deuided y realme. Mozgā had Lhoegres, and Conedage had Albania: but shortly after Mozgan the elder brother powering in hys hed, the loue to his brother with the loue to a kingdome, excluded nature & gaue place to ambition, and therupō denouncing warre, death miserably ended hys life (as the reward of his vntruth) whereby Conedage obtayned the whole Empire of all Britaine, in which state he remayned during his naturall lyfe.

From him the same lineally descended to the onelye king of Britons, vntill after the reigne of Cozbodian, who had issue two sons, Ferres, and Pozres: This Pozres requyring lyke diuision of the lande, affirming the former partitions to be rather of fauour then fauour, was by the handes of his elder brother, both of his lyfe and hoped kingdome bereued at once: whereupon their vnnaturall mother vsing hir natural malice, for the death of hir one sonne, without regard of the losing of both, miserably slew the other.

Cloten by all writers aswell Scottishe as other, was the next inheritour to the whole Empire, but lacking power (the only meane in those dayes to obtayne right) he was contented to deuide the same among three of his kinsmen, so that Scater had Albania. But after the death this Cloten his sonne Dunuallo Mulmutius made warre vpon these three kinges, and at last ouercame them, and so recouered the whole dominion, in token of which victorie, he caused himselfe to be crowned with a crowne of gold, the very first that was wrone among the kinges of this nation. This Dunuallo erected temples, wherein the people shoulde assemble for prayer, to which temples he gaue benefite of Sanctuarie: he made the lawe for wager of battaile, in cases of murder and felonie, whereby a theefe that lyued and made his art of fighting, shoulde for his purgation fight with the true man, which he had robbed: but he beleeued that the Goddes (for then they supposed many) would by myracle assigne victorie to the innocent partie. The priuileges of which first lawe & benefite of the latter, aswell in Scotlande as in Englande, be enioyed to this day few causes by late positiue lawes among vs receyued, wherein the benefite of wager of battaile is expelled; by which obedience to hys

lawes,

lawes, it doth manifestly appeare, that thys Dunuallo was then seased of Albania nowe called Scotland: This Dunuallo reigned in thys estate ouer them many yeares. Beline & Brenne the sonnes of this Dunuallo, dyd after theyr fathers death, fauourably deuide the land betweene them: so that Beline had Logres, and Brenne had Albania: but for that this Brenne (a subiect) without the consent of his elder brother and Lord, aduentured to marry with the daughter of the king of Denmarke: Beline seased Albania into his owne handes, and thereuppon caused the notable wayes priuileged by Dunuallons Lawes to be newly wrought by mens handes, which for the length was from the farder part of Cornewall, vnto the the sea by North Cathnes in Scotland: & for religion in those daies, he constituted ministers called Archeflamines in their functions most like the authoritie of Bishoppes at this daye, the one of which remained at Ebranac now called Yorke, and whose power extended to ỹ vttermost bondes of Albany, wherby lykewyse appeareth that it was then within his dominion. After his death the whole Ile was enioyed by the onlye kings of Britaine, vntill the tyme of Vigenius and Peryderus (meall heires from the sayde Belyne who fauourably made partition, so that Vigenius had all the land from Humber south, and Peryderus from thence North all Albania. This Vigenius died, and Peryderus survived, and thereby obtayned the whole, from whome the same quietly discended, and was by his posteritie accordingly enioyed, vnto the reigne of king Coell, of that name the first. In hys tyme an obscure nation by most writers supposed Scythians, passed by seas from Irelande, and arrived in that part of Britaine called Albania: against whome this Coell assembled his power, and being entred Albania to expell the, one Fergus in the night disguised, entered the tent of this Coell, and in his bed traiterously slew him. This Fergus was therefore in reward of such vertue made there King, whereupon they sat downe in that part, with their wiues and children, and called it Scotlande, and themselues Scottes: from the beginning of the worlde, foure thousande and fiue hundred and seuentéene yeares, which by iust computation and confession of all their owne writers, is fiue hundred yeares lacking tenne, after that Brutus had reigned ouer ỹ whole Iland, the same land being enioyed by him and his posteritie before their comming, during two and fiftie discentes of the kinges of Britaine. Certes this intrusion into a land so many hundred yeares before inhabited, and by so many discets of kings quietly enioyed, is the best tytle that all their owne writers alledge for them. This Fergus hereupō immediately did deuyde Albania also amōg his Capitaines and their people: whereby it most euidently appeareth that there were no people of that nation inhabiting there before, in proofe wherof, the same partition shall followe.

After the Scottishe accompt.

The landes of Cathnes lying against Orknay, betweene Dummesbey and the Water of Thane, was giuen vnto one Cornath, a capitaine and his people. The landes betweene the Water of Thane and Nes, nowe called Rosse, lying in breath from Cromart to the mouth of the water of Lochte, were giuen to Lutorke, another Capitaine and his people. The landes betweene Spay and Nes, from the Almaine seas to the Ireland Seas, now called Murray land, were giuē to one Marroche and his people. The lande of Thalia now called Boyn Ayrze, Bogewall, Gariot, Formartine, and Bowgahan, were giuen to one Thalis and his people. The landes of Mar Badezenoche, & Lochquhaber, were giuen to Martache and his people. The lands of Lorne and Kintier, with the hilles & mountaynes thereof, lying from Mar to the Irelande seas, were giuen to Capitaine Monaunce and his people. The landes of Athole were giuen to Atholus, another capitaine & his people. The landes of Strabzaun, and Brawdawane lying West from Dunkell, were giuen to Crcones and Epidithes two Capitaynes. The landes of Argile, were giuen to Argathelus a Capitaine. The landes of Linnor & Clidsdale, were allotted to Lolgona a captaine. The landes of Siluria now called Kile, Carrike and Cumyngham, were giuen to Sdurche another Capitaine. The landes of Brigance nowe called Gallowale, were giuen to the compaignie called Brigandes, which as their best menne, were appointed to dwell next the Britons, who afterwarde expulsed the Britons from Annandale in Albany, whereby it is confessed to be before inhabited by Britons. The residue of the lande now called Scotland, that is to say: Meirnis, Angus, Steremōde, Gowry, Strahern, Pirth, Fiffe, Striueling, Callender, Calderwode, Lougthian, Mers, Tenedale, with other the rement Dales, and the Sheriffoome, of Berwicke were then enioyed by a nacion mingled in marriage wyth Britons, and in their obedience whose capitaine called Berynger, buylded the castle & towne of Berwicke vpon Twede, and these people were called Picts, vppon whome by the death of this Coell, these Scottes had oportunitie

Out of Hector Boethius lib. 1.

tunitie to vse warre, wherof they ceased not, vntill such time as it pleased God to appoint an other Coil king of Britõs, agaynst whose name, albeit they hoped for a like victory to ỹ first, yet he preuayled and ceased not his war, vntill these Scottes were vtterly expulsed out of all the bounds of Britayne, in which they neuer dared to reenter, vntill the troublesome raigne of Sicill kyng of Britones, which was the xij. king after this Coil. During all which tyme the countrey was reenhabited by the Britons. But then the Scots turning the ciuill discord of this realme, betweene this Sycill and his brother Blede to their best auauntage, arriued agayne in Albania, & there made one Reuther their king.

Upon this their new arriuall, new warre was made vpon them by this Sicill kyng of Britons, in which warre Reuther their new kyng dyed, and Thereus succeeded agaynst whom the warre of Britones ceased not, vntill he freely submitted himselfe vnto the said Sicill king of Britones at Ebzanke, that is Yorke, where shortly after the tenth yeare of his raigne he dyed. Fynnane brother of Josine succeded by their election to the kingdom of Scottes, who shortly after compelled by the warres of the same Sicill, declared hymselfe subiect, and for the better assuraunce of his fayth and obeisaunce to the kyng of Britons, deliuered his sonne Durstus into the handes of this Sicill: who fantesiyng ỹ child and hopyng by his owne succession to atter their subtiltie (I will not say duplicitie) maried hym in the ende to Agasia hys owne daughter.

This Durstus was their next kyng, but for that he had maried a Britten woman, (thoughe she was a kynges daughter) the scots hated hym for the same cause, for which they ought rather to haue liked hym the better, and therfore not onely traiterously slewe hym: but further to declare the ende of theyr malice, disheryted as much as in them was, the issues of the same Durstus and Agasia. Wherupon new warre sprong betweene them and vs, which ceased not vntill they were contented to receyue Edeir to theyr kyng, the next in bloude then liuyng, discended from Durstus and Agasia, and thereby the bloud of Britons of the parte of the mother was restored to the crowne of Albania; so that nature whose lawe is immutable, caused this band of loue to hold. For shortly after this Edeir attended vpon Cassibelane king of Britons, for the repulse of Iulius Cæsar, as their owne author Boetius confesseth. Who cõmaũded the same as his subiect, but Iulius Cæsar after his third arriual by treason of Androgeus, preuayled against the Britons: and thereupon pursued this Eder into scotland, and as hymselfe sayth in his Commentaries, subdued all the Isle of Britayne: which, thoughe the liuyng Scottes denye it, their dead writers confesse that he came beyond Callender wode, and cast downe Camelon, the principall city of Pichtes, and in token of this victory not farre from Carron, builded a round Temple of stone, which remayned in some perfection vnto the raign of our king Edwarde called the first after the Conquest, by whome it was subuerted, but the monumẽt therof remayneth to thys day.

Marius the son of Arutragus, being king of all Britaine, in his tyme one Rodericke a Scythian, with a great rable of needy souldiours, came to the water of Frithe in Scotland, which is an arme of the sea, deuidyng Pentland from Fiffe, against whome thys Marius assembled a power, by whiche he slew this Rodericke, and discomfited his people in Westmerland: but to those that remained in lyfe, he gaue the countrey of Cathenes in Scotlande, which prouyth it to be within hys owne dominion.

Coill the sonne of this Marius, had issue Lucius, counted the first christiã king of this nacion: he conuerted the thre Archflamines of this land into Bishoprikes, and ordeyned bishops vnto eche of them: the first remained at London, and his power extended from the farthest part of Cornewall, to Humber water, the second remayned at Yorke, and hys power stretched from Humber to ỹ farthest part of all Scotland. The third remayned at Caerleõ vpõ the riuer of Wiske in Glamorgan in Wales, and his power extended frõ Seuerne thorough all Wales. Some write that he made but two, & turned their names to Archbishops, the one to remayne at Canterbury, the other at Yorke: yet they confesse that he of Yorke had iurisdiction through all Scotland, eyther of which is sufficient to proue scotlãd to be then vnder his dominion.

Seuerus by birth a Romaine, but in bloud a Briton, and the lineall heire of the body of Androgius, son of Lud, and Nephwe of Cassibelaine, was shortly after Emperour and king of Britons, in whose tyme the people to whom his auncester Marius gaue the land of Cathenes in Scotland, conspired with the Scottes and receyued them from the Iles into Scotland. But hereupon this Seuerus came into Scotland, and méeting with their fayth and false hartes together, droue them all out of the mayne lande into Iles, the vttermost bondes of all great Britayne. But notwithstanding this glorious victory, the

Britons considering their seruitude to the Romaines, imposed by treason of Androgeus, auncestor to this Seuerus began to hate hym, whome yet they had no tyme to loue, & who in their defence and suretie, had slayne of the Scottes and their confederates in one battaile xxx. thousandes: but such was the cõsideration of the common sort in those dayes, whose malice no tyme could diminishe, nor iust desert appease.

Antoninus Bassianus born of a Britõ womã, and Geta borne by a Romayn woman, were the sonnes of this Seuerus, who after the death of their father, by the contrary voyces of their people, contended for the crown. Few Britones helde with Bassianus, fewer Romaynes with Geta: but the greater number with neither of both. In the ende Geta was slayne, and Bassianus remayned Emperor, against whom Carausius rebelled, who gaue vnto the Scottes, Pichtes, and Scithians, the countrey of Cathenes in Scotland, which they after inhabited, wherby appeareth hys seison therof.

Coill discended of the bloude of auncient kinges of this land, was shortly after kyng of the Britons, whose onely daughter & heire called Helene, was maried vnto Constantius a Romaine, who daunted the rebellion of all partes of great Britayne, and after the death of this Coil, was in ỹ right of his wife kyng thereof, and raigned in his state ouer them 13. or 14. yeares.

Constantine the sonne of thys Constance, and Helen, was next King of Britons by the ryght of hys mother, who passing to Rome, to receyue the Empyre thereof, deputed one Octauius king of wales, & Duke of the Gwilses, (which some expounde to be afterwarde called west Saxons) to haue the gouernemẽt of thys dominion. But abusing the kinges innocent goodnesse, thys Octauius defrauded thys trust, and toke vppon himselfe the Crowne, for which traytorye albeit he was once vanquished by Leonine Traheron, vncle to Constantine: yet after the death of thys Traheron, he preuayled agayne and reigned ouer all Britteygne. Constantine beyng nowe Emperour, sent to Maximus his kinseman hether to destroy the same Octauius, whom in singular battail discomfited Octauius, whereupon thys Maximus, aswel by the consent of great Constãtine, as by the election of all the Brytons, for that he was a Bryton in bloude, was made King of Brytteigne. This Maximus made war vpon the Scottes and Scythians wythin al Brytteygne, and ceassed not vntill he had slayne Eugenius theyr King, & expulsed and dryuen them out of the whole bounds of Britteygne. Finally he inhabited al Scotland with Britons, no man, woman nor child of the Scottish natiõ, suffred to remain within it, which as theyr Hector Boecius saith, was for theyr rebellion, & rebelliõ properly could it not be, except they had bene subiectes. He suffered the Pichtes also to remaine his subiects, who made solemne othes to hym after, neuer to erect any peculiar King of theyr owne natiõ, but to remaine vnder the olde Empyre, of the onely kyng of Brytons.

About xlv. yeres after this (beyng long time after the death of this Maximus) wyth the helpe of Gouuan or Gonan and Pelga, the Scottes newly arriued in Albania, and there created one Fergus the second of that name to be their kyng. But because they were before banished the continent land, they crowned him kyng of their auenture in Argile, in the fatall chaire of Marble, the yeare of our Lord, CCCC. xxv. as they write.

Maximian sonne of Leonine Traheron, brother to kyng Coil, and vncle to Helene, was by lineall succession next kyng of Britons: But to appease ỹ malice of Dionothus king of Wales, who also claimed ỹ kingdõ, he maried Othilia eldest daughter of Dionothus, and afterward assembled a great power of Britons, and entered Albania, inuading Galloway, Mers, Annandale, Pentlande, Carrike, Kyll, and Cuningham, and in battaile slew both this Fergus then kyng of Scottes, and Durstus the king of Pichtes, & exiled all their people, out of the continent land: wherupon the few number of Scottes then remaynyng on liue, went to Argila, and made Eugenius their kyng.

When this Maximian had thus obteyned quietnes in Britain, he departed wõ hys cosin Conã Meridocke into Armorica, where they subdued the kyng, and depopulated the countrey, which he gaue to Conan his cosin, to be afterward inhabited by Britons, by the name of Britayne the lesse: and hereof this realme toke name of Britayne the greate, which name by consent of forreine writers, it kepeth vnto this day.

After the death of Maximian, dissention beyng betwene the nobles of great Britayne, the Scottes swarmed together again, and came to the wall of Adrian, where thys realme being deuided in many factions, they ouercame one. And hereupon their Hector Boetius, (as an henne that for laying of one egge, will make a great cakelyng) solemnly triumphing of a conquest before the victory, alleageth that herebye the Britons were made tributaries to the Scottes, and yet he con-

confeſſeth that they wonne no more land, by that ſuppoſed conqueſt, but the ſame portion betwene them and Humber, which in the old partitions before, was annexed to Albania. It is hard to be beleued, that ſuch a broken nacion as the Scottes at that tyme were returning from baniſhment within foure yeres before, and ſince in battaile loſing both theyr kinges, and the great number of theyr beſt men, to be thus able to make a conqueſt of great Britayne, & very vnlikely if they had cõquered it, they woulde haue left the whote ſunne of the Eaſt partes, to dwell in the cold ſnow of Scotlãd. Incredible it is, that if they had cõquered it, they would not haue deputed officers in it, as in caſes of conqueſt behoueth. And it is beyonde all beliefe, that great Britayne or any other countrey, ſhoulde be won without the comming of any enimy into it, as they did not, but taried at the ſame wall of Adrian. But what nede I ſpeake of theſe defences, when the ſame Boetius ſcantly truſteth his owne beliefe in this tale. For he ſayeth that Galfride and ſundry other autentike writers, diuerſlye vary frõ this part of his ſtory, wherein his owne thought accuſeth his conſcience of vntruth: Herein alſo, he further forgetting how it behoueth a lyer to be myndefull of his aſſertion in the fourth chapiter next following, wholly bewrayeth hymſelfe, ſaying that the confederate kinges of Scottes and Pictes, vpon ciuill warres betwene the Britons which then was folowyng, hoped ſhortly to enioy all the lande of great Britayne, from beyond Humber vnto the freſh ſea, which hope had bene vayne, and not leſſe then voyde, if it had bene their owne by any conqueſt before.

Conſtantine of little Britayne, deſcended from Conan king thereof, coſine of Vrſules bloud to thys Maximian, & his neareſt heyre was next king of Britayne, he immediately purſued the Scots with warres, & ſhortly in battaile ſlue their kyng Dongard, in the firſt yeare of his raygne, whereby he recouered Scotlande out of their handes, and toke all the holdes thereof into hys owne cuſtody.

Voretiger ſhortly after obteined the crowne of Britayne, againſt whome the Scottes newly rebelled: for ỹ repreſſing wherof (miſtruſting the Britons, to hate hym for ſundry cauſes, as one that to auoyd the ſmoke, doth oft fall into ỹ fire) receyued Hengeſt a Saxõ, and a greate number of his coũtrimen, with whom & a few Britons, he entered Scotland and ouercame them, whereupon they toke the Iſles, which are theyr common refuge. He gaue alſo much of Scotlande, as Galloway, Pentland, Mers and Annandale, with ſundry other landes to thys Hengeſt and his people to inhabite, which they did accordingly. But when thys Hengeſt in proceſſe of tyme, thirſted after the whole Kingdome, he was baniſhed, and yet afterwarde beyng reſtored, he conſpired with the Scottes againſt Aurilambroſe the ſonne of Conſtantine, the iuſt inheritour of this whole dominion. But his vntruth and theirs both were recompenſed togither, for hée was taken priſoner by Eloulph de Samor a noble man of Britayne, and his heade for his traitory, ſtriken of at the cõmandement of Aurilambros. In the fielde the Scottes were vanquiſhed: but Octa the ſonne of Hengeſt was receiued to mercye, to whome and his people this Aurilambroſe gaue the countrye of Galloway in Scotlande, for which they became his Subiectes: And hereby appeareth that Scotland was then againe in his handes.

Some thinke the Seymors to come from this man by lineal diſcẽt.

Uter called alſo Pendragon, brother to Aurilambros was next king of ỹ Britons, agaynſt whome, theſe ſworne Saxons newe forſworne ſubiectes (confederate wyth the Scottes) newely rebelled: but by his power aſſembled againſt thẽ in Galloway in Scotlande, they were diſcomfited, and Albania againe recouered into his handes.

Arthur the ſonne of this Uter begotten before the marriage, but lawfully borne, in matrimony ſucceded next to ỹ crowne of great Britayne, whoſe noble actes, though manye vulgare fables haue rather feigned, then commended: yet al the ſcottiſh writers confeſſe, that he ſubdued great Britayne, & made it tributary to him, & ouercame the Saxons then ſcattered as farre as Cathenes in Scotland: and in all theſe warres againſt them, he had the ſeruice and obeyſance of ſcottes and Pictes. But at the laſt ſettyng their fete in the guilfull paths of their predeceſſours, they rebelled, & beſieged the city of Yorke, Howel king of the leſſe Britayne, coſin to king Arthur, being therin. But he with an hoſte came thither and diſcomfited the Scottes, chaſed them into a marſhe, and beſieged them there ſo lõg, that they were almoſt famiſhed: vntyll the biſhoppes, Abbotes, and men of religion (for as much as they were chriſtened people) beſought hym to take thẽ to his mercy and grace, and to graunt them a portion of the ſame countrey to dwell in vnder euerlaſting ſubiection. Vppon this he toke them to hys grace, homage and fealtie: and when they were ſworne hys ſubiectes and liegemẽ: he ordeyned his kinſmã Anguiſan to be their king & gouernor, Urian king of Iſlãd, & Murefrẽce king of Orkney. He made an Archbiſhoppe of Yorke alſo, whoſe authoritie exten-

ded through all Scotland.

Finally, the said kyng Arthur holding his royall feast at Cairleon, had there all ỹ kings that were subiectes vnto hym, among the which, Angusian the sayd king of Scots did his due seruice for the realme of Scotlande, and bare kyng Arthurs swoorde afore hym.

Malgo shortly after succéded in the whole kingdō of great Britaine, who vpon new resistaunce, newly subdued Ireland, Iſlande, the Orchads, Norway & Denmarke, & made Ethelfrede a Saron king of Bernicia, that is, Northumberland, Louthian, and much other land of Scotland, which Ethelfrede by the swoord obteyned at the handes of the wilfull inhabitantes, and continued true subiect to this Malgo.

Cadwan succéded in the kingdom of great Britayne, who in defence of his subiectes the scottes, made warre vppon this Ethelfrede, but at the last they agréed, and Cadwan vpō their rebellion gaue all Scotland vnto this Ethelfrede, which he therupon subdued and enioyed: but afterward in the raigne of Cadwallo that next succéded in great Britaine, he rebelled, whereupon the same Cadwallo came into Scotland, and vpon his treason reseized the country into his owne handes, and hauyng with hym all the Viceroyes of Saxōs which then inhabited here as hys subiectes, in singuler battaile slew the same Ethelfrede.

Oswald was shortly after by Cadwallōs gift made kyng of Bernicia, and he as subiect to Cadwallo, and by his commaundemēt discomfited the Scottes and Pictes, and subdued all Scotland. Oswy the brother of thys Oswald, was by the lyke gift of Cadwallo, made next kyng of Bernicia, and he by lyke commaundement newely subdued the scots and Pictes, and held them in that obeysaunce to this Cadwallo, during xxviij. yeres. Thus Cadwallo reigned in the whole monarchy of great Britayne, hauing all the vij. kynges therof, as well Saxōs as others his subiects: for albeit the number of Sarons from tyme to tyme greatly increased, yet were they alwayes either at the first expelled, or els made tributary to the onely kinges of Britons for the tyme being, as all their owne writers confesse.

Cadwallader was next kyng of the whole great Britayne, he raigned xij. yeres ouer al the kinges thereof, in great peace and tranquillitie: & then vpon the lamentable death of hys subiectes, which dyed of sundry diseases innumerably, he departed into litle Britaine. His sonne and cosin Iuor and Iue, being expulsed out of england also by the Saxones, went into Wales, where among the Britōs they and their posteritie remayned Princes. Vpon this great alteracion, & warres being through the whole dominion betwene Britons and Sarons, the Scottes thought tyme to slip the coller of obedience, and thereupon entred in league with Charles then kyng of Fraunce establishing it, in this wyse.

1. The iniury of Englishmen done to any of these people, shall be perpetually holden common to both.

2. When Frenchmen be inuaded by Englishmen, the Scottes shall send their army in defence of Fraunce, so that they be supported with mony and victuals of Fraunce.

3. When Scottes be inuaded by Englishmen, the Frenchmen shall come vpon their owne expences, to their support.

4. None of these people shall take peace or truce with Englishmen, without the aduise of other. &c.

Many disputable opinions may be had of warre, without the praysing of it, as onely admittible by inforced necessitie, and to bée vsed for peace sake onely, where here ỹ Scots sought warre for the loue of warre only. For their league giueth no benefite to thēselues, either in frée trafique of their owne commodities, or benefite of the French, or other priuiledge to the people of both: what discōmoditie riseth by losing the entercourse and exchāge of our cōmodities (being in necessaries more aboundant then Fraunce,) ỹ scots féele and we perfectly know. What ruine of their townes, destruction of countries, slaughter of both peoples, haue by reason of this bloudy league chaunced, the histories be lamentable to reade, & horrible among christian men to be remembred: but God gaue the increase accordyng to their séede, for as they did here by sowe dissention, so did they shortly after reape a bloudy slaughter. For Alpine their kyng possessing a light mynde that would be lost with a little wynde, hoped by this league shortly to subdue all great Britayne, and to that ende not onely rebelled in his own kingdome, but also vsurped vpon the kingdome of Pictes, wherupon Edwine king of england, made one Brudeus king of Pictes, whom he sent into Scotlād with a great power, where in battail he toke this Alpine king of Scots prisoner, and discomfited his people: and this Alpine beyng their king found subiect and rebell, his hed was strike of at a place in Scotland, which thereof is to this day called Pasalpine, that is to say, the hed of Alpine. And this was the first effecte of their Frenche league.

Nicholas Adams.

Osbright king of england, with Ella hys

subiect,

subiect, and a great number of Britons and Saxons shortly after, for that the Scots had of thẽselues elected a new king, entred Scotland, and ceased not his warre against them, vntil their king and people fled into the Iles, with whom at the last vpon their submission, peace was made in this wyse.

" The water of Frith shalbe March betwene
" Scots and englishmẽ in the east partes, and
" shalbe named the scottish sea.
" The water of Clude to Dunbriton, shal be
" March in the west partes betwene the Scots
" and Britones. This castle was before called
" Alcluide and now Dunbriton, that is to say,
" the castle of Britons. So the Britons had all the landes frõ Sterlyng to the Ireland seas, and from the water of Frithe and Clude, to Cumber, with all ỹ strengthes and commodities therof, and the englishmen had ỹ lands betwẽne Sterlyng and Northumberlande. Thus was Clude March, betwene scots and Britones on the one side, and the water of Frithe named the Scottish sea, Marche betwene them and englishmẽ on the other side, and Sterlyng common March to thẽ people, Britons, Englishmen, and Scottes, and king Osbright had the Castle of Sterlyng, where first he caused to be coyned Sterlyng mony. The Englishmẽ also builded a bridge of stone, for passage ouer the water of Frith, in the middes wherof they made a crosse, vnder which were written these verses.

I am free March, as passengers may ken,
To Scottes, to Britons, and to Englishmen.

Not many yeres after this, Hinguar & Hubba, two Danes, with a great number of people, arriued in Scotland, and slew Constantine, whom Osbright had before made kyng: whereupon Edulfe or Ethelwulfe then kyng of englãd, assembled his power against Hinguar and Hubba, & in one battaile slue them both, but such of their people as would remayne and become christians, he suffered to tary, the rest he banished or put to death. &c.

To Rome. This Ethelwulf graunted the Peter pẽce, of which albeit Peter and Paule had little nẽede and lesse right: yet the payment therof continued in this realm euer after vntil now of late yeres, but the Scottes euer since vnto this day, haue, and yet do pay it, by reason of that graunt, which proueth them to be then vnder his obeysaunce.

Alurede or Alfrede succeeded in the kyngdome of England, and reigned nobly euer the whole monarchie of great Britayne: he made lawes, that persons excommunicated should be disabled to sue or clayme any properties, which law Gregour whom this Alurede had made king of Scottes obeyed, and the same law as well in Scotland as in England is holden to this day, which also prouideth hym to be high lord of Scotland.

Thys Alurede constreyned Gregour king of Scots also, to breake the league with Fraunce, for generally he concluded wyth hym, and serued hym in all his warres, as well agaynst Danes as others, not reseruing or making any exceptiõ of the former league with Fraunce.

The sayd Alurede, after the death of Gregour, had the lyke seruice and obeysaunce of Donald king of Scottes wyth fiue thousand horsemen, against one Gurmonde a Dane that then infested the realme, and this Donald dyed in this faith and obeisaunce wyth Alurede.

Edward the first of that name called Chifod sonne of this Alurede succeeded next kyng of englãd, against whom Sithryc a Dane & the Scottes conspired: but they were subdued, and Constantine their kyng brought to obeisance. He held the realme of scotland also of kyng Edwarde, and thys doth Marian their owne country man a Scotte confesse: beside Roger Houeden, & Willia of Malmesbury.

In the yere of our Lord 923. the same king Edward was President and gouernor of all the people of England, Cumberland, Scots, Danes and Britones.

King Athelstane in like sort cõquered scotland, and as he lay in his tentes beside Yorke whylest the warres lasted, the king of Scots fayned hymselfe to be a minstrel, and harped before him onely to espy his ordinaunce & his people. But beyng as their writers confesse, corrupted with money, he sold his fayth & false hart together to the Danes, and ayded them against king Athelstane at sondry times. Howbeit he met wãll their vntruthes at Brooningfield in the west countrey, as is mentioned in the 9. chapter of the first booke of thys description, where he discomfited the Danes, and slew Malcolme deputie in that behalfe to the king of Scottes: in which battaile, the Scottes confesse themselues to haue lost more people then were remembred in any age before. Then Athelstane following hys good lucke, went throughout all scotland and wholy subdued it, and being in possession therof, gaue land there lying in Annãdale by his dẽede, the copy wherof doth followe.

I kyng Athelstane, giues vnto Paulan, Oddam and Roddam, als good and als faire, as euer they mine were, and therto witnes Mauld my wyfe.

By which course wordes, not onely appeareth ỹ plaine simplicitie of mens doinges in those dayes: but also a ful proofe that he was

then ſeyzed of Scotlande.

At the laſt alſo he receyued homage of Malcolme king of Scottes, but foz that he coulde not be reſtozed to his whole kingdome, he entered into Religion, and there ſhoztely after dyed.

Then Athelſtane foz his better aſſuraunce of that countrey there after, thought it beſt to haue two ſtringes to the bowe of their obedience, and therefore not onelye conſtituted one Malcolme to be their king, but alſo appointed one Indulph, ſonne of Conſtantine the thirde, to be called prince of Scotlande, to whome he gaue much of Scotlande: and foz this, Malcolme dio homage to Athelſtane.

Edmund brother of Athelſtane ſucceded nert king of Englande to whome this Indulph then kyng of Scottes not only dyd homage, but alſo ſerued him wyth ten thouſand Scottes, foz the expulſion of the Danes out of the realme of Englande.

Some referre this to an Edward.

Edzed oz Eldzed, brother to thys Edmund ſucceded nert king of Englande, he not onelye receyued the homage of Iriſe then kyng of Scottes, but alſo the homage of all the Barons of Scotlande.

Edgar the ſonne of Edmund, brother of Athelſtane being nowe of full age, was nert kyng of England: he reigned onely ouer the whole Monarchie of great Brittaine, and receyued homage of Keneth king of Scots foz the kingdome of Scotlande, and made Malcolme prince thereof.

Thys Edgar gaue vnto the ſame Keneth the countrey of Louthian in Scotland, which was befoze ſeized into the hands of Oſbzight king of England foz their rebellion, as is befoze declared. He enioined this Keneth their king alſo once in euery yere at certaine principall feaſtes (whereat the king dyd vſe to weare his crowne) to repaire vnto him into Englande foz the making of lawes, which in thoſe daies was done by ỹ noble mẽ oz peres according to the order of France at this day, To which end he allowed alſo ſundzy lodgings in England, to him & his ſucceſſours, wherat to lye & refreſhe themſelues in their iourneyes, and finally a peece of ground lying beſide the newe palace of Weſtminſter, vppon which this Keneth buylded a houſe, that by him and his poſteritie was enioyed vntill the reigne of King Henry the ſeconde, in whoſe tyme vpon the rebellio of William thẽ king of Scottes, it was reſumed into the king of Englands handes. The houſe is decayed, but the grounde where it ſtode is called Scotlande to this day.

Mozeouer Edgar made this lawe, that no man ſhoulde ſucceede to his patrimonie oz inheritaunce holden by knightes ſeruice, vntill he accompliſhed the age of one and twentie yeares, bycauſe by intendement vnder that age, he ſhoulde not be able in perſon to ſerue hys king and countrey according to the honour of his dede and the condition of his purchaſe. This lawe was receyued by the ſame Keneth in Scotlande, and aſwell there as in Englande is obſerued to this day, which proueth alſo that Scotlande was then vnder hys obeyſaunce.

In the yeare of our Lozde 1974. Kinalde king of Scottes, & Malcolin king of Cumberland, Makon king of Man, and the Iſles, Duuenall king of ſouthwales, Siferth and Howell kings of the reſt of wales, Jacob oz James of Galloway, and Iuhill of weſtmerlande, did homage to king Edgar at Cheſter. And on the mozow going by water to ỹ monaſtery of ſ. Johns to ſeruice and returning home againe, ỹ ſaid Edgar ſitting in a barge & ſteering the ſame vpon the water of Dee, made the ſayd kings to rowe ỹ barge, ſaying that his ſucceſſozs might well be ioyefull to haue the prerogatiue of ſo great honour, and the ſuperiozity of ſo many mighty princes to be ſubiect vnto their monarchie.

Edward the ſonne of this Edgar was nert king of Englande, in whoſe tyme this Keneth kyng of Scots cauſed Malcolme prince of Scotlande to be poyſoned, wherupon king Edwarde made warre againſt him, which ceaſſed not vntill this Keneth ſubmitted himſelfe, and offered to receyue him foz prince of Scotlande whome king Edward woulde appoint: herevpon Edwarde proclaymed one Malcolme to be prince of Scotlande, who immediately came into Englande and there dyd homage vnto the ſame King Edwarde.

Etheldzed brother of thys Edwarde ſucceeded nert ouer Englande, againſt whome Swayn kyng of Denmarke conſpired with this laſt Malcolme then king of Scots: But ſhoztly after this Malcolme ſozowfully ſubmitted himſelf into the defence of Etheldzed, who conſidering how that which coulde not be amended muſt only be repented, benignelye receyued him, by helpe of whoſe ſeruice at laſt Etheldzed recouered hys realme againe out of the handes of Swayn, and reigned ouer the whole Monarchy eyght & thirtie yeares.

Edmund ſurnamed Ironſide ſonne of this Etheldzed was nert king England, in whoſe tyme Canutus a Dane inuaded the realme with much crueltie, but at laſt he marryed wt Emme ſometime wyfe vnto Etheldzed and mother of this Edmund: which Emme as arbitratrix betweene hir naturall loue to the

one

ons and matrimoniall duetie to the other, procured suth amitie betweene them in the ende, that Edmond was contented to deuide the realme with Canutus, & keeping to him selfe all England on this side Humber, gaue all the reast beyond Humber with the seignorie of Scotlande to this Canutus: wherupon Malcolme then king of Scottes after a little customable resistence, dyd homage to the same Canutus for kingdome of Scotland, and thus the sayde Canutus helde the same ouer of this Edmond king of Englande by the lyke seruices.

This Canutus in memorie of his victorie and glorie of his seignorie ouer the Scottes, commaunded this Malcolme their king, to buylde a Church in Buchquhan in Scotland (where a fielde betweene him and them was fought) to be dedicate to Olaus patrone of Norway and Denmarke, which Church was by the same Malcolme accordingly performed.

Edwarde called the confessour sonne of Ethelored and brother to Edmond Ironside was afterward king of england. He toke frō Malcolme king of Scottes his lyfe and hys kingdome, and made Malcolme sonne to the king of Cumberlande and Northumberland king of Scottes, who dyd him homage and fealtie.

Thys Edwarde perused the olde lawes of the realme, and somewhat added to some of them, as to the lawe of Edgar for the wardshippe of the landes vntyll the heire shoulde accomplishe the age of one & twentie yeares, he added that the marryage of such heire, shoulde also belong to the Lorde of whom the same lande was holden.

Also that euery woman marrying a frē man, shoulde notwithstanding she had no children by that husbande, enioye the thirde part of his inheritaunce during hir lyfe, with many other lawes which the same Malcolme king of Scottes obeyed. And which alwel by them in Scotlande as by vs in Englande be obserued to this day, and directly proueth the whole to be then vnder his obeysaunce.

By reason of this law Malcolme the sonne of Duncane next inheritour to the crowne of Scotlande being within age, was by the nobles of Scotlande deliuered as warde to the custodie of this king Edwarde, during whose minoritie one Makebeth a Scot traytorously vsurped the crowne of Scotland, against whom this king Edward made warre in which the said Makebeth was ouercome and slayne, wherupon ỳ said Malcolme was crowned king of Scottes at Stone, in the yeare of the reigne of this king Edward.

Thys Malcolme by tenour of the sayde newe lawe of wardship was marryed vnto Margaret the daughter of Edward, sonne of Edmond Ironside and Agatha, by the disposition of the same king Edward, and at his full age dyd homage to this king Edward for the kingdome of Scotland.

Moreouer Edwarde of Englande, hauing no issue of his body, and misliking that Harolde the sonne of Godwyn descended of the daughter of Harolde Harefoote the Dane woulde vsurpe the crowne, if he should leaue it to his cosin Edgar Ealing (being then within age) and partly by the peticion of his subiectes, who before had sworne neuer to receiue any kings other then of the Danish nation, did by his subtiall will in writing as all our clergy writers affirme, deuise the crown of great Britaine vnto William then duke of Normandie and to his heires, constituting him his heire testamentarie. Also there was proximite in blonde betweene thē for Emme daughter of Richarde duke of Normandye was wife vnto Ethelored, on whom he begat Alured and this Edward: and this William was sonne of Robert, sonne of Richarde, brother of the whole blond to the same Emme: whereby appeareth that this William was heire by tytle and not by conquest, albeit that partly to extinguish the misrule of other tytles and partely for the glory of hys victory, he chalenged in the ende, the name of a conquerour, & hath bene so written euer sithens his arriuall.

This king William called the conquerour supposed not his conquest perfite, tyll he had lykewyse subdued ỳ Scots, wherfore to bring the Scottes to full obeysaunce after hys Coronation as heire testamentary to Edward the Confessour, he entred Scotland, where after a litle resistance made by the Scottes, the sayde Malcolme then their king did homage to hym at Abirnethy in Scotlande for the kingdome of Scotlande, as to hys superiour also by meane of conquest.

Willyam surnamed Rufus sonne of thys William called the conquerour, succeded next to the crowne of England, to whom the sayde Malcolme king of Scottes dyd like homage for the kingdome of Scotland. But afterwarde he rebelled and was by this William Rufus slayne in the fielde, where vpon the Scottishmen dyd chose one Donald or Dunwal to be their king. But this Willia Rufus deposed hym and created Dunkane sonne of Malcolme to be their king, who dyd like homage to him: finally this Duncā was slayne by the Scottes & Dunwall restored, who once agayne by this Wylliam Rufus

was depoſed, and Edgar ſonne of Malcolme
& brother to the laſt Malcolme, was by him
made theyr king, who dyd lyke homage for
Scotlande to this William Rufus.

Henry called Beauclerke the ſon of Wil-
liam, called the conquerour, after the death
of his brother William Rufus, ſucceeded to
the crowne of England, to whome the ſame
Edgar kyng of Scottes dyd homage for
Scotland. This Henry Beauclerke married
Mawde the daughter of Malcolme king of
Scottes, and by hir had iſſue Mawde after-
warde empreſſe, Alexandre the ſonne of Mal-
colme brother to this Mawde, was next king
of Scottes, he dyd lyke homage for the king-
dome of Scotlande to this Henry the firſt.

Mawde called the empreſſe daughter and
heire to this Henry Beauclerke and Mawde
hys wyfe, receiued homage of Dauid bro-
ther to hir and to this Alexandre next king of
Scottes, before all the temporall men of En-
glande for the kyngdome of Scotlande.

Thys Mawde the empreſſe gaue vnto
Dauid in the marriage, Mawd the daughter
and heire of Voldoſius earle of Huntingdon &
Northumberlande. And herein their euaſion
appeareth, by which they allege that their
kinges homages were made for the earle-
dome of Huntingdon: for this Dauid was ỹ
firſt that of their kinges was Earle of Hun-
tingdon, which was ſince all the homages of
their kinges before recited, and at the time of
thys marryage, and long after the ſayde Ale-
xander his brother was king of Scots: do-
ing the homage aforeſayde to Henry Bew-
clerke.

In the yeare of our Lorde 1136. and firſte
yeare of the reigne of king Stephen, the ſaid
Dauid king of Scottes, being required to
doe his homage, refuſed it, for as much as he
had done homage to Mawde the empreſſe be-
fore tyme, notwithſtanding the ſonne of the
ſayde Dauid dyd homage to king Stephane.

Henry called Fitz empreſſe, the ſon of Mawd
the empreſſe daughter of Mawde, daughter of
Malcolme king of Scottes, was next king of
England. He receyued homage for Scotland
of Malcolme, ſonne of Henry, ſonne of the
ſayd Dauyd their laſt king, which Malcolme
after thys homage, attended vpon the ſame
kyng Henry in his warres agaynſt Lewys
then king of Fraunce: whereby appeareth
that their Frenche league was neuer renued
after the laſt diuiſiõ of their countrey by Eg-
bright king of Englande. But after theſe
warres finiſhed with the Frenche king, this
Malcolme being againe in Scotland rebel-
led: whereupon, king Henry immediate-
lye ſeized Huntingdon, and Northumber-
land into hys owne handes by confiſcation, &
made warres vpon him in Scotland, during
which the ſame Malcolme dyed without iſſue
of hys bodie.

William brother of thys Malcolme was
next kyng of Scottes, he wyth all the nobles
of Scotland, (which could not be now for any
earledome) did homage to the ſonne of thys
king Henry the ſecond, wyth a reſeruation
of the duetie to king Henry the ſeconde, hys
father: alſo the earledome of Huntingdon
was as ye haue heard before thys, forfaited
by Malcolme his brother, and neuer after re-
ſtored to the crowne of Scotlande.

Thys William king of Scottes, did after-
warde attend vpon the ſame king Henry the
ſeconde in his warres in Normandie againſt
the Frenche kyng, notwithſtanding theyr
Frenche league, and then dyd him homage
for Scotlande, and thereupon was licenſed
to depart home in Scotlande, where imme-
diately he moued cruell warre in Northum-
berlande againſt the ſame king Henry being
yet in Normandy. But God toke the defence
of king Henries parte, and deliuered the
ſame William kyng of Scottes into the
handes of a fewe Engliſhmen, who brought
him priſoner to kyng Henry into Norman-
die, in the tenth yeare of hys reigne. But at
the laſt at the ſuite of Dauid his brother, Ri-
charde Biſhop of S. Andrewes and other Bi-
ſhoppes and Lordes, he was put to this fine
for the amendement of his treſpaſſe, to paye
tenne thouſande pounde ſterling, and to ſur-
render all hys tytle of the earledome of Hun-
tingdõ, Cumberland, and Northumberland,
into the handes of thys kyng Henry: which
he did in all thinges accordingly, ſealing hys
charters therof with the great ſeale of Scot-
lande and ſignettes of hys nobilitie, wherein
it was alſo compriſed that hée and his ſuc-
ceſſours, ſhould hold the realme of Scotland
of the king of Englande and his ſucceſſours
for euer. And herevpon he once again dyd ho-
mage to the ſame king Henry, which nowe
coulde not be for the earledome of Hunting-
don, the ryght wherof was alrealdie by hym
surrẽdred. And for the better aſſurãce of this
faith alſo, the ſtrengthes of Berwick, Eden-
brough, Roxbrough and Striueling were de-
liuered into the handes of our king Henry
of Englande which their owne writers con-
feſſe: but Hector Boetius ſaieth that this treſ-
paſſe was amended by fine of twentie thou-
ſande poundes ſterling, & that the earledome
of Huntingdon, Cumberland, and Northum-
berlande were deliuered as Morgage into
the handes of king Henry vntill other tenne
thouſande poundes ſterling ſhoulde be to him

payd,

payd, but though that were true, yet proueth he not the that money was payde, nor the lande otherwise redeemed, nor euer after came to any Scottishe kinges handes. And thus it appeareth that the earledome of Huntingdõ was neuer occasion of the homages of the Scottishe kinges to the kinges of Englande eyther before this tyme or after.

This was done 1175. Moreouer I red this note hereof gathered out of Robertus Montanus that liued in these, and was as I take it cõfessor to king Henry. The king of Scots doth homage to king Henry for ỹ kingdome of Scotlande and is sent home againe, hys Bishops also did promise to doe the lyke, to the Archebishoppe of Yorke, and to acknowledge themselues to be of his prouince & iurisdictiõ. By vertue also of this composition the sayde Robert sayth, that Rex Angliæ dabat honores, Episcopatus, Abbatias & alias dignitates in Scotia, vel saltem eius consilio dabantur, that is, the king of England gaue, honors, Bishoprickes, Abbateships, & other dignities in Scotland, or at the leastwyse they were not giuen without his aduise and counsell.

At this tyme Alexander bishop of Rome (supposed to haue general iurisdiction ecclesiastical thorough Christendome) conferred the whole clergy of Scotland, accordyng to the olde lawes, vnder the iurisdiction of the Archbishop of Yorke.

In the yeare of our Lord 1185. in the month of August at Cairlell. Roulande Talnante lord of Galway, did homage and fealty to the said king Henry with all that held of hym.

In the 22. yeare of the raigne of king Henry the 2. Gilbert sonne of Fergus prince of Galway, did homage and fealtie to the sayd king Henry, and left Dunecan his sonne in hostage for conseruation of peace.

Richard surnamed Cœur de Lyon, sonne of this Henry was next king of england, to whõ the same William king of Scottes dyd homage at Caunterbury for the kyngdome of Scotland.

This king Richard was taken prisoner by the Duke of Ostrich, for whose redemptiõ the whole realme was tared at great summes of money, vnto the which this William king of Scots (as a subiect) was contributory, and payed two M. markes sterlyng.

In the yere of our Lord 1199. John kyng of england, sent to William king of Scottes to come & do his homage, which William came to Lincolne in the moneth of December the same yeare, and did his homage there vpon an hill in the presence of Hubert, Archbishop of Caunterbury, and of all the people there assembled, and there was sworne vpon the crosse of the said Hubert: Also he graunted by his charter confirmed, that he should haue the mariage of Alexander hys sonne, as hys liegeman, alwayes to hold of the king of england: promisyng moreouer that he the sayde king William & his sonne Alexander should kepe and hold faith and allegeance to Henry sonne of the sayd king John, as to their chiefe Lord against all maner of men.

Also where as William king of Scots had put John Bishoppe of S. Andrewe out of his Bishoprycke, Pope Clemente wrote to Henry kyng of englande, that he shoulde moue and induce the same William, and if nede were requyre by hys Royall power compell hym to leaue his rancour agaynst ỹ sayd Bishop and suffer him to haue, and occuppe his sayde Bishoprycke againe.

In the yeare of our Lorde 1216. and fiue and twenty of ỹ reign of king Henry, sonne to king John, the same king Henry and the Quene were at Yorke at ỹ feast of Christmasse for the solemnization of a marryage made in the feast of S. Stephane the Martir the same yeare, betwene Alexander king of Scottes, & Margarete the kings daughter, and there the sayde Alexander dyd homage to Henry king of Englande.

In Buls of diuers Popes were admonitions geuẽ to the kings of Scottes, that they should obserue & truly kepe all such appointments, as had ben made betwene the kings of england and Scotland. And that the kings of Scotland should holde the realme of Scotlande of the kings of englande vpon payne of curse and interditing.

After the deathe of Alexander kyng of Scottes, Alexander his sonne beyng nyne yeres of age, was by the lawes of Edgar, in warde to king Henry the 3. and by the nobles of Scotland brought to Yorke, and there deliuered to him. During whose minoritie king Henry gouerned Scotland, and to subdue a commocion in this realme, vsed the ayde of v. M. Scottishmen, but king Henry dyed during the nonage of this Alexander, whereby he receiued not his homage, which by reason and law was respited vntil his full age of xxj. yeares.

Edward the first after the conquest, sonne of this Henry, was next king of england, immediately after whose coronation, Alexãder king of Scottes, being then of ful age did homage to hym for Scotlande at Westminster, swearyng as all the realt did after this maner.

I. D. N. king of Scottes shalbe true and faithfull vnto you Lorde E. by the grace of God king

king of England, the noble and ſuperior lord of the kingdome of Scotland, and vnto you I make my fidelitie for the ſame kingdome, the which I hold and claime to hold of you. And I ſhall beare you my faith and fidelitie of lyfe and limme, and worldly honour againſt all me, faithfully I ſhall knowledge and ſhall doe you ſeruice due vnto you of the kingdom of Scotland aforeſayde, as God me ſo helpe and theſe holy Euangelies.

This Alexander king of Scottes died, leauing one only daughter called Margaret for his heire, who before had maried Hanygo, ſonne to Magnus king of Norway, which daughter alſo ſhortly after died, leauyng one onely daughter her heire, of the age of two yeares, whoſe cuſtody and mariage by the lawes of king Edgar, and Edward the confeſſour, belonged to Edward the firſt: wherupon the nobles of Scotland were commaũded by our king Edward to ſend into Norway, to conuey this yong Quéne into England to him, whom he entended to haue maried to his ſõne Edward: and ſo to haue made a perfite vnion betwéne bothe Realmes. Hereuppon their nobles at that tyme conſidering the ſame tranquillitie, that many of them haue ſithens refuſed, ſtode not vpon ſhiftes and delayes of minoritie nor contẽpt, but moſt gladly conſented, and therupon ſent two noble men of Scotlande into Norway, for hir to be brought to this king Edwarde, but ſhe died before their comming thither, & therefore they required nothing but to enioye the lawful liberties that they had quietly poſſeſſed in the laſt king Alexander his tyme.

After the death of this Margaret, the Scots were deſtitute of any heire to the crown from this Alexander their laſt king, at which time this Edwarde diſcended from the bodye of Mawde daughter of Malcolme ſometyme king of Scottes, beyng then in the greateſt broile of his warres with Fraunce, mynded not to take the poſſeſſion of that kingdome in his own right, but was contented to eſtabliſh Baliell to be king therof, the weake title betweene him, Bruſe, & Haſtings, being by the humble petition of all the realme of Scotland committed to the determination of this king Edward, wherin by autentique writing they confeſſed the ſuperioritie of the realme, to remaine in king Edward, ſealed with the ſeales of fiue. Biſhops fiue. earles, and fiue barons of Scotland, & which ſhortly after was by the whole aſſent of ỹ three eſtates of Scotland, in their ſolemne Parliament confeſſed and enacted accordingly, as moſt euidently doth appeare.

The Baliell in this wiſe made kyng of Scotlãd, did immediately make hys homage and fealty at Newcaſtle vpon ſaint Steuens day (as did likewiſe all the Lordes of Scotland, eche one ſetting his hand to the compoſition in writing) to king Edward of England for the kingdom of Scotland: but ſhortly after defrauding the benigne goodneſſe of this king Edward, he rebelled, and did very much hurt in englande: Hereupon king Edward inuaded Scotland, ſeazed into his hãds the greater part of the countrey, and toke all the ſtrengthes thereof, whereuppon Baliol king of Scottes came vnto king Edwarde at Pauntroſſe in Scotland with a white wãd in his hand, and there reſigned the crowne of Scotland, with all his right, title, and intereſt to the ſame, into the handes of this kyng Edward, and therfore made his Charter in writyng, dated and ſealed the fourth yeare of his raigne. All the nobles and gentlemen of Scotlande alſo repayred to Barwike, and did homage & fealtie to king Edwarde, there beõmyng his ſubiectes. For the better aſſurence of whole othes alſo, king Edward kept all the ſtrengths & holdes of Scotland in his owne handes, and hereupon all their lawes, proceſſe, all iudgement, all giftes of aſſices and others, paſſed vnder the name and autoritie of king Edwarde. Lelande touchyng the ſame rehearſall, writeth thereof in this maner.

In the yere of our lord 1295. the ſame Iohn king of Scottes, contrary to his faith and alleageaunce, rebelled againſt king Edward, and came into england, and burnt and ſlew without all modeſty and mercy. Whereupon king Edwarde with a great hoſte went to Newcaſtle vppon Tine, paſſed the water of Tweede, and beſieged Barwike, and gote it. Alſo he wan the caſtell of Dunbar, & there were ſlaine at this braũt 15700. Scots. Then he proceeded further, and gate the Caſtle of Roheſborow, and the caſtle of Edẽborough, Striuelin and Gedworth, and his people herried all the lande.

In the meane ſeaſon, ỹ ſayd king Iohn of Scots conſidering ỹ he was not of power to reſiſt and ỹ ſaid king Edward ſent his letters and beſought him of treatie and peace, which king Edward benignly graunted, and ſent to him againe that he ſhould come to the towne of Berthin, and bring thither the great lords of Scotland wt̃ him. The king of england ſẽt thither Antony Beke, biſhop of Durhã, with his royall power to conclude the ſaide treatice: and there it was agreed that ỹ ſaid Iohn and all the Scottes ſhould vtterly ſubmitte thẽſelues to the kings will, & to the end ỹ ſaid ſubmiſſiõ ſhould be perfourmed accordingly, ỹ

king

king of Scottes laid his sonne in hostage and pledge. There also he made his letters sealed with the common seale of Scotland, by the which he knowledging his simplenes & great offence done to his lord king Edward of englande, by his full power & frée will, yelded vp all the lande of Scotland, with all the people & homage of the same. Then ỳ said king Edward went forth to sée the mountaines, and vnderstandyng that all was in quyete and peace, he turned to ỳ Abbey of Stone of Chanons regular, where he toke the stone called the Regall of Scotland, vpō which the kings of Scotland were wont to sitte, at the time of their coronations for a throne, and sent it to the Abbey of Westminster, commaundyng to make a chaire thereof for the prestes that should sing masse at the high altare: which chaire was made, and standeth yet there at this day.

In the yere of our Lord 1296. the king held his Parliament at Barwike: and there he toke homage singularly of all the lordes and nobles of Scotland. And for a perpetuall memory of the same, they made their letters patentes sealed with their seales, & thē the king of england made William Warreine earle of Surrey and Southsare, Lord Warden of Scotland, Hugh of Cressingham treasorer, and William Ormesby iustice of Scotland, and forthwith sent king John to the tower of London, and John Comyn, and the earle Badenauth, the erle of Bohan & other lordes into england to diuers places on this syde of the Trent.

And after that in the yere of our lord, 1297 at the feast of Christmas, the kyng called before him the sayd John king of Scottes, although he had committed hym to warde; and saide that he would burne or destroy their castels, townes & landes, if he were not recompenced for hys costes & damages sustained in the warres, but king John & the other that were in warde, answered that they had nothing, sith their liues, their deathes, and goods were in his handes. The king vpon that answer moued with pity, graunted them theyr lyues, so that they would doe their homage & make their othe solemnly at the high altar (in the church of the Abbey of Westminster) vpon the Eucharist, that they and euery of thē should holde and kepe true fayth, obedience, and allegiaunce to the said king Edward and his heires kinges of englande for euer. And where the said king of Scots saw the kinges banner of england displayed, he and all hys should draw there vnto. And that neyther he nor any of his from thencefoorth should beare armes against the king of england or any of his bloud. Finally, the king rewarding wyth great giftes the sayd king John & his lordes, suffered them to departe. But they went into Scotland alway imagining (notwithstāding this their submissiō) how they might oppresse king Edward and disturbe his realme. The Scottes sent also to the king of Fraunce for succour and helpe, who sent them shippes to Barwike furnished with men of armes, the king of england then beyng in Flaunders.

In the yeare of our lord 1298. the king wēt into Scotland with a great host, and ỳ Scots also assembled in great number, but the king faught with them at Fawkirke on S. Mary Magdalenes daye, where were slayne lr. M. Scots, and William Walleys that was their captayne fled, who beyng taken afterward, was hanged, drawen, and quartered at London.

After this the Scottes rebelled agayne, and all ỳ lordes of Scotland chose Robert Bruis to be king, except only John Cōmyn earle of Carrike, who would not consent thereto because of his othe made to ỳ king of england. Wherefore Robert Bruis * slewe hym at Dumfrise, and the same Robert Bruis was crowned at Schoone Abbay. Hereupon the king of england assembled a great hoste, and rode thorough all Scotland, and discomfited Robert Bruis, and slue viij. M. Scottes, and toke the most part of all the lordes of Scotlande, putting the temporall lordes to death because they were forsworne. This was done, vpon the 29. of Jan. 1306.

Edward borne at Carnaruan sonne of this Edward, was next king of England, who frō the beginning of his reigne enioyed Scotlād peaceably, doing in all thinges as is aboue sayde of king Edwarde his father, vntill toward the latter ende of his reigne, about which time thys Robert Bruse conspired against him & with the helpe of a few forsworn Scottes, forswore himselfe king of Scottes. Hereupon this Edward with Thomas earle of Lancaster and many other Lords made warre vpō him about the feast of Mary magdalene, the sayde Bruse and hys partakers being already accursed by the Pope for breaking the truce that he had established betwixt thē. But being infortunate in his first warres against him, he suffered Edwarde the sonne Baliol to proclaime himself king of Scottes, and neuertheless hælde forth his warres agaynst Bruse, before the ending of which he dyed, as I reade.

Edwarde borne at Windsore sonne of Edward ỳ second was next king of england at ỳ age of fifténe yeares, in whose minoritie the Scots practised with Isabell mother to this Edwarde and wyth Roger Mortymer earle of

of the March to haue their homages releaſed, whoſe good will therin they obtayned, ſo that for the ſame releaſe they ſhoulde pay to thys king Edward thirtie thouſand pounders ſterling in thꝛée yeares next following, that is to ſay, tenne thouſande pounde ſterling yearely. But bicauſe the nobilitie & commons of this realme woulde not by parliament conſent vnto it their king being within age, the ſame releaſe pꝛoceéded not, albeit the Scottes ceaſed not their pꝛactiſes with thys Quéene and Earle. But befoꝛe theſe thꝛée yeres in which their money (if ỹ bargaine had taken place) ſhoulde haue béene payed were exꝑired, our king Edwarde inuaded Scotlande and ceaſed not the warre vntill Dauid the ſonne of Robert le Bruſe then by their election king of ſcotlande abſolutelye ſubmytted hymſelfe vnto hym. But for that the ſayde Dauid Bꝛuſe had befoꝛe by pꝛactiſe of the Quéene and the Earle of Marche, marryed Jane the ſiſter of this king Edward: he mouued by naturall zeale to his ſiſter, was contented to giue the realme of ſcotlande to this Dauid Bꝛuſe, & to the heires that ſhoulde be begotten of the body of the ſayde Jane (ſauing the reuerſion and meane homages to this king Edwarde and to his owne children) wherewith the ſame Dauid Bꝛuſe was right well contented, and therevpon immediately made his homage for ſcotlande vnto him.

Howbeit ſhꝛtly after cauſeleſſe conceyuing cauſe of diſpleaſure, this Dauid pꝛocured to diſolue this ſame eſtate taily, and therevpon not onely rebelled in ſcotlande, but alſo inuaded englande, whyleſt king Edwarde was occuꝑyed about hys warres in France. But this Dauid was not onely expelled englād in thend, but alſo thinking no place a ſufficient defence to his vntrueth, of his owne accoꝛde fled out of ſcotlād: wherby the coũtreis of Annandale, Gallaway, Mars, Teuydale, Twedale, and Ethꝛike were ſeaſed into the king of englandes handes, and new Marches ſet betwéene englande and ſcotland at Cockburnes pathe and Sowtry hedge, which whē this Dauid wēt about to recouer againe, his power was diſcomfited, and himſelf by a few engliſhmen taken and bꝛought into englande where he remayned pꝛiſoner eleuen yeres.

Duryng thys tyme, kyng Edwarde enioyed Scotlande peaceably, and then at the contemplacion and wery ſuite of his ſoꝛowfull ſiſter wyfe of this Dauid, he was contented once againe to reſtoꝛe him to the kingdome of Scotlande, whereupon it was concluded, that for this rebellion Dauid ſhoulde paye to king Edward the ſomme of one hundꝛed thouſande marckes ſterling, and thereto deſtroy all his holdes and foꝛtreſſes ſtanding againſt the engliſh boꝛders, & further aſſure the crowne of ſcotland to the childꝛen of this kyng Edward for lacke of heire of his owne bodye, all which thinges he dyd accoꝛdingly. And for the better aſſurance of his obeiſance alſo, he afterward deliuered into the hāds of king Edward ſundꝛy noble men of ſcotlād in this behalf as his pledges. And this is the effect of the hiſtoꝛy of Dauid, touching his dealings: now let vs ſée what was done by Edwarde Balliol, whereof our Chꝛonicles doe make repoꝛt as followeth.

In ỹ yere of our loꝛd 1326. Edward ỹ third king of england was crowned at Weſtminſter, and in the 5. yere of his reigne Edward Balliol right heire to ỹ kingdome of ſcotlād came in & claymed it as due to him. Sundꝛy loꝛdes and gentlemen alſo, which had title to diuers landes there, either by themſelues, oꝛ by their wiues did ỹ like, wherupō the ſayde Balliol & they went into ſcotland by ſea, and landing at Kinghoꝛne with 3000. Engliſhmen, diſcomfited 10000. Scottes, and ſlewe 1200. and thē went foꝛth to Dunfermeline, where the ſcots aſſembled againſt them with 40000. men, and in the feaſt of S. Laurence, at a place called Gaſtmoꝛe (oꝛ otherwyſe Gladmoꝛe) were ſlaine v. Erles, xiij. Barōs, a hundꝛed and thꝛée ſcoꝛe knightes, two M. men of armes, and many other, in all xl. M. and there were ſlaine on the engliſh part but xiij. perſons only.

In the eight yere of the raign of kyng Edward, he aſſembled a great hoſte and came to Barwike vpon Twéde, & laid ſiege thereto To him alſo came Edward Balliol king of ſcots, wꝫ a great power to ſtrength & aide him againſt the ſcottes who came out of ſcotland in foure battailes well armed and arayed.

Edwarde kyng of england, and Edwarde king of ſcottes, apparelled their people either of them in foure battailes: and vppon Halidon hyll, beſide Barwike, met theſe two hoſtes, and there were diſcomfited of ỹ ſcots, xxv. M. and vij. C. whereof were ſlayne viij. erles, a thouſand and thꝛée hundꝛed knightes and gentlemen. This victoꝛy done, the kyng returned to Barwike, and the towne wyth the caſtell were yelded vp vnto him.

In the eyght yeare of the reigne of king Edward of englande, Edward Baillol kyng of ſcottes came to Newcaſtell vpon tine and dyd homage.

In the yeare of our Loꝛde 1346. Dauid Bꝛuys by exhoꝛtacion of the king of France rebelled, and came into england with a great hoſte vnto Neuilles croſſe: But the Archbiſhoppe of Yoꝛke with diuers tempoꝛall men, fought

fought wᵗ him and the ſaid king of ſcots was take, and William earle Douglas & Hoꝛriſe earle of Strathoꝛne were bꝛought to Londō, & many other Loꝛds ſlayne, which wyth Dauid dyd homage to Edward king of england.

And in the thirtie yere of the kings reigne, and the yeare of our Loꝛde 1355. the ſcottes wanne the towne of Barwicke, but not the Caſtell. Hereupon the king came thither wᵗ a great hoſte, and anone the towne was yᵉlden without any reſiſtance.

Edwarde Bailiol, conſidering that God dyd ſo many marueylous & gracious thinges foꝛ kyng Edwarde, at his owne will gaue vp the crowne and the realme of ſcotland to king Edwarde of england at Rokeſboꝛough, by his letters patents.

And anon after the king of england, in pꝛeſence of all his Loꝛdes ſpirituall and temporall, let crowne himſelfe kyng there of the realme of ſcotlande, and oꝛdayned all thinges to hys intent, and ſo came ouer in englande.

Richarde the ſonne of Edward, called the blacke pꝛince, ſonne of this kyng Edward, was next king of Englande, who foꝛ that the ſayde Jane, the wyfe of the ſayde king Dauyd of Scotland was deceaſed without iſſue, and being enfoꝛmed how the Scottes deuiſed to their vttermoſt power to bꝛeake the limitacion of this inheritance touching ỹ crowne of ſcotland, made foꝛthwith war againſt thē, wherin he bꝛent Edēbꝛough, ſpoyled all their countrey, toke all their holdes, and maintained continually warre againſt them vnto his death, which was Anno domi. M.CCC. xcix.

Henry the fourth of that name was next kyng of englande, he continued theſe warres begun againſt them by king Richard, & ceaſſed not vntyll Robert king of ſcots (the third of ỹ name) reſigned hys crowne by appointment of this kyng Henry, and deliuered hys ſonne James bꝛyng then of the age of nyne yeares, into his handes to remayne at his cuſtodie, Wardſhip and diſpoſition, as of his ſupeꝛioꝛ Loꝛd, accoꝛding to the olde lawes of king Edwarde the confeſſour. All this was done Anno dom. M. CCCC.iij. which was within fiue yeares after the death of kyng Richarde: This Henry the fourth reigned in this ſtate ouer them fourteene years.

Henry the fift of that name ſonne to thys king Henry the fourth was next king of england. He made warres againſt ỹ french king, in all which this James then king of ſcottes attended vpon him as vpon his ſupeꝛioꝛ loꝛd, with a conuenient number of ſcots, notwithſtanding their leagꝛe with fraunce. But this Henry reigned but nine yeares, whereby the homage of this James their king (hauing not fully accompliſhed the age of one and twentye yeares) was by reaſon and lawe reſpited. Finallye the ſayd James wyth dyuers other loꝛdes attended vpon the coꝛpes of the ſayde ſalde Henry vnto Weſtminſter, as to his dutie appertayned.

Henry the ſixt, the ſonne of this Henry the fift, was next king of englande to whome the ſeignoꝛie of ſcotlande and cuſtodye of thys James by right lawe and reaſon diſcended, marryed the ſame James king of ſcottes to Jane daughter of John earle of Sommerſet, at S. Mary ouer Iſe in ſouthwarke, and toke foꝛ the value of thys marryage, the ſumme of one hundꝛeth thouſand markes ſterling.

This James king of ſcottes at his full age, did homage to the ſame king Henry the ſixt, foꝛ the kingdome of ſcotland at Wyndſoꝛe, in the moneth of January.

Since which tyme vnto the dayes of king Henry the ſeauenth, graundfather to our ſouereigne loꝛd that now is, albeit this realme hath bēne moleſted with diuerſitie of titles, in which vntꝛeete tyme neither lawe noꝛ reaſon admit pꝛeſcription to the pꝛeiudice of any ryght: yet did king Edwarde the fourth next king of englande by pꝛeparation of warre againſt the ſcottes in the latter ende of hys reigne, ſufficiently by al lawes induce to the continuaunce of his claime to the ſame ſupeꝛioꝛitie ouer them.

After whoſe death, vnto the beginning of the reigne of our ſouereigne loꝛde king Henry the eight, exceeded not the number of xxty yeares, about which tyme the impediment of our clayme of the ſcottes part, chaunced by the nonage of James their laſt king, which ſo continued the ſpace of one & twentie yeres. And like as his minoꝛitie was by all law and reaſon an impediment to himſelf to make homage, ſo was the ſame by like reaſō an impediment to ỹ king of this realme to demaunde any, ſo that the whole time of intermiſſion of our claime in the time of the ſayde king Henry the eyght, is deduced vnto the number of thirteene yeres, & thus much foꝛ this matter.

Of the wall ſometime buylded for a partition betweene Englande and the Pictes. Cap. 17.

HAuing hitherto diſcourſed vpon the title of the kings of england, vnto the ſcottiſh kingdome. I haue nowe thought good to adde hereunto the deſcription of the wall that was in times paſt, a limite vnto both the ſayde regions, & therefoꝛe to be touched in this firſt booke as generallye apperteinent vnto the eſtate

ſtate, of the whole Iſlande.

The firſt beginner of the Picts wal

The firſt author and beginner therefore of this wall was Hadriane the emperour, who as Ælius Spartianus ſayth, erected the ſame of foure ſcore miles in length, to deuide the barbarous Britons from the more ciuile ſort, which thē were generally called by the name of Romaines.

The finiſher of the wall.

After hys tyme Seuerus the emperour cōming againe into this Iſle, (where he had ſerued before in repreſſion of the tumultes here begun, after ẏ death of Lucius) amongſt other thinges he finiſhed the wall that Hadriane had begunne and extended it euen vnto the the weſt ſea, that earſt went no farder then foure ſcore myles, from the eaſt part of the Ocean, as I haue noted already. It is worthy ẏ noting how that in thys voyage he loſt 50000. men in the ſcottiſh ſide, by one occaſion and other, which hinderaunce ſo incenſed him, that he determined vtterlye to extinguiſh theyr memory from vnder heauen, and had ſo done in dede, if his life had indured but vntill another yeare. Sextus Aurelius writing of Seuerus, addeth howe that the percell of the wall, which was left by Hadriane, and finiſhed by this prince, conteyned two & thirtye miles, whereby the breedth of this Iſland there, and length of the wall conteyneth onlye 112. miles, as maye be gathered by hys wordes, but chiefly for the length of the wall Spartianus who touchyng by it among other thinges ſaieth of Seuerus as followeth, Brittaniam (quod maximum eius imperij decus eſt) muro per tranſuerſam inſulam ducto, vtrinq; ad finē Oceani muniuit, that is, he fortified Britaine (which is one of the chiefe acts recorded of his time) with a wall made ouerthwart the Iſle, that reached on both ſides euen to the very Ocean.

The wall goeth not ſtreight by a line but in and out in many places.

The ſtuffe of the wal

That this wal of ſtone alſo, the ruines therof which haue miniſtred much matter to ſuch as dwell nere therunto in their buildinges is triall ſufficient. Hereby in lyke ſorte it commeth to paſſe, that where the ſoile about it is leaſt inhabited, there is moſt mention of the ſayde wall, which was wrought of squared ſtone, as vnto this day may euidently be confirmed. Howbeit this Wall was not the onelye partition betwene theſe two kingdomes, ſith Iulius Capitolinus in vita Antonini Pij doth write of another that Lollius Vrbicus did make beyond the ſame, of Turffe, which nertheleſſe was often throwen downe by the ſcottes, and eftſones repayred againe vntill it was geuen ouer and relinquiſhed altogether. The like mudde wal hath bene ſéne alſo within the wall about an arrow ſhot from that of ſtone, but how farre it went, as yet I cannot finde, this onely remayneth certaine, that the wall made by Hadrian and Seuerus was ditched with a notable ditch, and a rampire made theron in ſuch wiſe, that the ſcottiſh aduerſary had much adoe to enter & ſcale the ſame in his aſſaults. Betwixt Thirlewal, and the Northe Tine, are alſo in the waſte groundes, manye parcelles of that walle yet ſtanding, wherof the common people doe babble many thinges.

Two other wals.

A rampire

Beginning therefore with the courſe thereof, from the weſt ſea, I finde that it runneth frō Bowneſſe to Burgh, about foure miles, and likewiſe from thence within halfe a mile of Caerleil, and leſſe on the north ſide, and beneath the confluence of the Peder and the Eden. From hence it goeth to Terreby a village about a myle from Caerleil, then thorow the Barrony of Linſtocke, and Gilleſland, on the north ſide of the riuer Irding or Arding, & a quarter of a mile from the Abbey of Leuercoſt. Then 3. myles aboue Leuercoſt, and aboue the confluence of Arding, and the Pultroſe becke (which deuideth Gilleſland in Cumberlande, from ſouth Tindale in Northūberland) it goeth to Thirlwall caſtle, thē to the Wall towne, next of all ouer the riuer to Swenchelo, Carraw (peraduenture Cairuozen) tower, to Walwyc, and ſo ouer ſouth Tine, to Cockely tower, Portgate, Halton cheles, Winchelſer, Rutchelſer, Heddon, Walhottle, Denton, and to Newcaſtle, where it is thought that S. Nicholas churche ſtandeth on the ſame. Howbeit, Leland ſayth, that it goeth within a myle of Newcaſtle, and thē crooketh vp toward Tinmouth vnto Walleſende, ſo called becauſe the aforeſaid wall did ende at the ſame place. And thus much I read of the Pictiſh wal. As for the Romaine coyne that is often found in the courſe thereof, the curious bricke about the ſame nere vnto Carleil, beſide the excellent Cornellines and other coſtlye ſtones already entailled for Seales oftentymes take vp in thoſe quarters, I paſſe thē ouer as not incidēt to my purpoſe. In like maner I wold gladly alſo haue ſet downe the courſe of Offaes diteh: but foraſmuch as ẏ tractatiō therof is not to be referred to this place, becauſe it is not a thing generall to ẏ whole Iſland, I omitte to ſpeake of that alſo. Yet thus much will I note here by the report of one (who ſaith how he did tread it out) that he followed it from the Dée to Ryznaburgh hill thorow Treuclach forreſt, by eaſt af Crebith, Cauch hil, Mountgonnery caſtle, the new caſtle and Diſcoid, & hauing brought it hitherto, either loſt it, or ſought after it no further, & ſo much of ſuch thinges as concerne the generall eſtate of the whole Iſland.

The courſe of the wal from weſt to eaſt.

The

The second Booke, of the hystoricall description of Britaine, conteining these chapters following.

1. Of riuers and waters that lose their names before they come at the sea, & first of those betwene the Thames and Sauerne.
2. Of such riuers as fall into the greater afore mentioned, betweene Sauerne, & the Humber.
3. Of those that fall into the mayne riuers, betwene Humber and the Thames.
4. Of the partition of Englande into shyres and counties.
5. Of the number of Byshopricks in Englande.
6. Of our Vniuersities.
7. Of cities & townes.
8. Of castels & holdes.
9. Of pallaces belõging to the prince.
10. Of the manner of buylding and furniture of our houses.
11. Of fayres and markets.
12. Of armour & munition.
13. Of the nauy of Englande.
14. Of Bathes & hote Welles.
15. Of parkes and warrens.
16. Of woodes & rises.
17. Of antiquities foũd in Englande.
18. Of the marueyles of England.

Of ryuers and waters that lose their names before they come at the sea. Cap. 1.

I Haue in the former Treatise made report of most of the greatest riuers in Englande, wherewyth our seafaring men are very well acquainted, not only by reason of their notable issues into the Oceã, but also for the oftẽ herborow & passage, which they haue by diuers of them, farre vp into the countrey. Nowe therefore will I procéde, with the descriptiõ of such as are yet in parte vntouched, and whereby the chanels and courses of the first are not a litle increased. In tractation whereof I will not omitte to reiterate the description of those maine riuers, that are not already perfitely set downe, neyther the insertion of such as earst I had no knowledge of. And as I first begannc with the Thames in that booke, so will I nowe make mine entraunce with such riuers as fall into the same, not letting any one escape, wherin a man in the Winter season may wet hys horse fote vp vnto the fotelockes.

Isis. How and where this riuer issueth out of the grounde, I haue before set downe, noting the place to be within a myle of Tetbury, wherof some doe vtterly mislike, bycause that ryll in sommer drowthes is oft so drie, that there is litle or no water at all seene running in the same. For this cause therefore many affirme the very head of Isis to come from the pole aboue Kemble. Other confounde it with the head of the Cyrne or Chyrne, called in latine Corinium that riseth aboue Coberley. For my part I followe Lelande, as he doeth the Monke of Malmesbury, that wrate the hystorie entituled Eulogium historiarum, who searched the same of set purpose, and pronounced wyth Lelande, although that at this present that course be very smal, and choked vp as I doe here with mowldes. Procéding therefore from the hed, it first of all receyueth the Kemble water called the Coue, which ryseth aboue Kemble towne, goeth by Kemble it selfe vnto pole and Somerford, & accompanyeth ỳ Thames, vnto Canes, Alhtõ Canes & Holwõ, vntil they mẽte with the Chirne, the next of all to be described. Coues.

The Chyrne is a faire water, rysing out of the grounde aboue Coberley. From whence it runneth to Cowley, Cowlesburne, Randcome, and so into the Isis on the left side aboue Crekelade. These thrée waters beyng thus vnited & brought into one chanell, within a little space of the head of Isis, it runneth by Crekelade, beneath which towne it receyueth the Rhe, descending from Elcombe, Escot, Redburne, Widhil, and at the fall into Isis, or not farre of ioyneth with another that runneth west of Purton by Bradẽ forrest, &c. Corinium. Rhe.

Next of all our Isis mẽteth with the Amney on the left hande, which comming from aboue Holly rode Amney, runneth by Downe Amney, and finally into the Isis a litle aboue Isey. In lyke sorte I reade of another that mẽteth withall on the right hand aboue Isey also, which so farre as I can call to remembraunce, commeth from about Dryfield and falleth so into our Isis, that they runne as one vntill they come at the Colne, although not so nakedly and without help, but that in this voyage, the maine streame doth crosse one water that descendeth from Swindon, & going also by Stratton toward Sewingham, is it selfe increased with two rilles by the way, whereof one commeth from Liddenton by Wambrey, as I haue bene informed. Amney.

The Colne is a fayre riuer rysing by northe Colneius.
nére to Witchington, and from thence goeth to Shiptons, Compton Abdale, Wittenton, Parnewoorth, Colnedeanes, and Colne Rogers, Winston, Bybery, Colne Alens, Quenington, Fairford, and west of Lachelade into the riuer Isis, which hereabout on the southside also taketh in another, wherof I finde this remembraunce. The Isis being

once

once paſt Seuingham, croſſeth a brooke from ſoutheaſt that mounteth about Aſhebyry and receyuing a ryll from by weſt, (that commeth from Hinton) beneath Shrineham, it afterward ſo deuideth it ſelfe, that the armes therof include Inglesham, and by reaſon that it falleth into the Iſis at two ſeuerall places, there is a pleaſant Iſlande produced, wherof let thys ſuffiſe.

Leens. Beyng paſt Lechelade a mile, it runneth to S. Johns bridge, & thereabout meeteth wyth ỹ Leche, on the left hande. This brooke wherof Lechlade taketh the name (a towne wherunto one peece of an olde Vniuerſity is aſcribed, which it dyd neuer poſſeſſe, more then Cricklade did the other) ryſeth eaſt of Hapnet, frō whence it goeth to Northleech, Eſſēton, Ankerworth, eaſt Leche, ſouth Thorpe, Farendon and ſo into the Iſis. From hence thys famous water goeth by Kēſcot toward Radcote bridge, (taking in the rill that riſeth in an odde peece of Barkeſhyre, and runneth by Langford) & being paſt ỹ ſaid bridge, (now notable thorowe a conſpiracye, made there ſometimes by ſundrye Barons againſt the eſtate) it is not long ere it croſſe two other waters, both of thē deſcending from another odde parcell of the ſaide countie; whereof I haue this note gyuen me for my further information. There are two falles of water into Iſis, beneath Radcote bridge, whereof the one commeth from Shilton, in Barkeſhire by Areſcote, blacke Burton and Clarrefield. The other alſo riſeth in the ſame piece and runneth by Baiſenorton vnto Bampton, and there receyuyng an armelet from the firſt that breake of at Blackeburton, it is not long ere they fall into Iſis, and leaue a pretye Iland. After theſe confluences, the main courſe of the ſtreame, haſteth by Shifford, to Newbridge, where it ioyneth with the Winruſh. Winruſh.

The Winruſh ryſeth aboue Shyeburne, in Glouceſterſhyre; frō whence it goeth to Winruſh, and comming by Barringtō, Burford, Widbrooke, Swinbeck caſtel, Witney, Duckington, Cockthorpe, Stanlake, it meeteth wyth the Iſis weſt by ſouth of Northmore. From hence it goeth beneath Stantō, Hartingcourt and Enſham; betweene which and Caſſenton, it receyueth as Lelande calleth it the Bzuerne water. Bziwerus

It ryſeth aboue Limington, and going to Norton in the Marſhe, and thorowe a parche of Worceſter ſhire vnto Euenlode, betweene it and the foure ſhyre ſtones, it taketh in a rill called Come, comming by the Long and the little Compton. After this alſo it goeth by Bradwell, Odington, and ſo to Bleddenton, aboue which towne, it taketh in the Rolriche water, that iſſueth at two heades, in ỹ hilles that lie by weſt of little Rolriche, and ioyne aboue Kenkeham, and Church hill. From thēce alſo it goeth vnto Bzuerne, Shiptō vnderwood, Aſcot, Short hamton, Chorlebury, Cornebury parke, Stonfielde, Longcombe, and ſouth eaſt of Woodſtocke parke, taketh in the Enis, that riſeth aboue Emſtone, and goeth to Cyddington, Glymton, Motton (wher it is increaſed wyth a rill (that runneth thether frō Steple Barton, by the Beechin trée) Woodſtocke, Blaydon, ſo that after this confluence, the ſayde Enys runneth to Caſſentō and ſo into the Iſis, which goeth frō hence to Orforde, and there receiueth the Charwell, now preſently to be deſcribed. Rolriche. Enis. Charwell.

The heade of Charwell is in Northampton ſhyre, where it ryſeth out of a little pole, by Charleton village, ſeauen miles aboue Banberye northeaſt, and there it iſſueth ſo faſt at the verye ſurge, that it groweth into a pretye ſtreame, in maner out of hand. Sone after alſo it taketh in taketh in a rillet called ỹ Bure, which falleth into it, about Otmere ſide, but foraſmuch as it ryſeth by Bincester, ỹ whole courſe thereof is aboue foure myles, and therefore cannot be great. A friende of myne proſecuitting the reaſt of this deſcription reporteth thereof as followeth. Bure. Culen.

Before the Charwell commeth into Orforde ſhyre, it receiueth the Culen, which falleth into the ſame, a lyttle aboue Edgecote, & ſo dyſceding toward Wardington, it meeteth with another comming from by northweſt, betweene Wardington & Cropredy. At Banburye alſo it meeteth wyth the Come (which falleth from Fenny Cōton by Farnebore, and afterwards going by Kings Sutton, not farre from Ayne, it receiueth the diſcharge of dyuers ryllettes, in one bottome before it come at Clifton. The ſayde water therefore ingendred of ſo many brookelettes, conſiſteth chiefly of two, whereof the moſt ſoutherly called Oke, commeth from Oke Norton, by Witchington or Wiggington, and the Berſords, and carying a few blind rilles withal, doth meete with the other that falleth from by northweſt into the ſame, within a myle of Charwell. That other as I coniecture, is increaſed of three waters; whereof eache one hath his ſeuerall name, the firſt of them therfore, height Tudo, which comming betweene Epwell and the Lee by Toddington, ioyneth about Broughton with the ſeconde that runneth from Horneto, named Ouus, as I gelle. The laſt falleth into the Tude or Tuvelake, beneath Broughton and for that it riſeth not far from Sotteſwel in Warwikſhyre, ſome are of the opinion, that it is to be called Sotbrooke, Come. Ouus. Tudo. Sotbroke. Souarus.

broke. The nert water that mæteth with our Charwell beneath Clifton commeth from about Croughton, and after this is the Sowar or Swere, that riseth north of Michael Tew, & runneth by nether Wotton. The last of all is the rey alias Bure, whose hed is not farre aboue Burcester, alias Bincester, & Burncester: & frō whence it goeth by Burecester to Merton, Charleton, Fencote, Addington, Noke, Islip, and so into Charwell, that holdeth on hys course after this augmentation of the waters, betwene Wode and Water Eton, to Marston, and the east bridge of Oxford by Magdalene colledge, and so beneath the southbridge into our aforesayd Isis.

Sowar.

Burus.

In describing this ryuer, this one thyng right honourable is come vnto my mynde, touchyng the centre and naueil as it were of England. Certes, there is an hilly platte of ground in Helledon paroche, not farre from Danbery, where a man may stand & behold the heds of three notable ryuers, whose waters, and those of such as fall into them, do aboundantly serue the greatest parte of England, on this side of the Humber: the first of these waters is the Charwel, already described. The second is the Leme that goeth westward into the fourth Auon: and the third is the head of the Nene or fift Auon it selfe, of whose courses there is no Carde but doth make sufficient mention, and therefore your honour may behold in the same how they do coast the country, and also measure by compasses how this plot lyeth in respect of all the rest, contrary to common iudgement, which maketh Northampton to be the midst of our countrey. But to go forward with my description of the Ouze, which beyng past Oxford goeth to Isly, Bennington, Sanforde, Rodleye, Newnham, and so to Abington, without increase, where it receyueth the Oche, otherwyse called the Coche, a little beneth S. Helenes, which runneth thither of two brockets as I take it, whereof one cōmeth from Compton, out of the vale and west of the hill of the White horse, the other from Binges Letcombe and Wantage in Barkshire, and in one chanell entreth into the same, vpō the right side of his course. From Abington likewyse (taking the Arun withall southwest of Sutton courtney) it goeth by Applesord, long Wittenham, Clifton, Wittenham the lesse, and beneth Dorchester, taketh in the Tame water, from whence the Isis loseth the preheminence of the whole denomination of this ryuer, and is contented to imparte the same with the Tame, so that by the coniunction of these two waters, Thamesis is produced, & that name continued euen vnto the sea.

Widdest of England whereabouts.

Ocus.

Arun.

Thame ryuer ryseth in the easterly partes of Chilterne hils, towards Penley parke, at a towne called Tring west of the saide park, which is vij. myles from the stone bridge, that is betwene Querendon and Aylesburye (after the course of the water) as Leland hath set downe. Running therfore by long Merstō and Puttenham, Hucket and Scarton, it receyueth sone after a Ryll that commeth by Querendon from Hardwicke, and ere long an other on the other side that riseth aboue Wyndouer in the Chilterne, and passyng by Halton, Weston, Turrill, Broughton, and Aylesbury, it falleth into the Tame, west of the sayd towne, except my memory doe faile me. From this confluence, then the Tame goeth by Ethorpe, the Winchingtons, Coddington, Cherley, Notley Abbey, and comming almost to Tame, it receyueth one water from southeast aboue the sayd towne, and another also from the same quarter beneath the towne, so that Tame standeth enuironed vpon three sides, with three seuerall waters, as may be easily sene. The first of these commeth from the Chilterne east of Below or Bledlow, from whence it goeth to Hinton Horsenden, Kingsey, Towsey, and so into the Tame. The other descendeth also from the Chilterne, and goyng by Chinner, Crowell, Siddenham, and Tame parke, it falleth in the end into Tame water, and then they procede together as one, by Shabbington, Rycote parke, Dracote, Waterstoke, Milton, Cuddesdon, and Chiselton. Here also it taketh in another water from by east, whose hed commeth from Chilterne hils, not farre from Stocking church, in the way from Oxford to London. From whence it runneth to Weston (and mætyng beneth Curham with Watlington ryll) it goeth on to Chalgraue, Stadham, and so into the Thame. Frō hence our streame of Thame runneth to Newentō, Draton, Dorchester (sometyme a Bysshops see and a noble city) and so into the Thames, which hasteth in lyke sorte to Bensington, Crowmarshe or Wallingford, where it receyueth the Blaue, descendyng from Blauburg, now Blewbery as I learn. Thus haue I brought the Thames vnto Wallingforde, situate in the vale of white horse that rūneth a long therby. Frō hence it goeth by Newenham, Northstoke, Southstoke, Goring, Basildon, Pangburne, where it mæteth with a water that commeth from about Hamstede Norrys, runneth by Frizelham, Bucklebury, Stanford, Bradfeld, Tidmarsh, & Pangburne. After which confluence it goeth on betwene Mapledorham and Purley to Cauersham, and Cauersham manour, and a little

Thame.

Blauius.

beneath receyueth the Kenet that commeth therinto from Readyng.

Cenethus. The Kenet ryseth aboue Ouerton, v. or vj. myles west of Marleborow, or Marlingsborow as some call it, and then goyng by Fyfeld, Clatford, Faulon, and Pzestbure, vnto Marlebury, it holdeth on in lyke order to Ramsbury, and northwest of little Cote, taketh in a water by north descending from ẏ hils aboue Alburne chase, west of Alburne town. Thence it rūneth to little cote, Charnham strete, and beneth Charnham strete, it crosseth the Bedwin, which (taking ẏ Chalkburn rill withal) cōmeth frō great Bedwyne, & at Hūgerford also, two other in one botom somewhat beneth the towne. From hence it goeth to Auington, Kinbury, Hamsted marshall, Enburne, Newbery, and beneath thys towne, taketh in the Lamburne water that cōmeth by Isbiry, Egerton, the Sheffords, Welford, Borford, Donington Castle, and Shaw. From Newbery it goeth to Thatchā, Welhampton, Aldermaston, a little aboue which village, it receyueth the Alburne, an other broke increased wt sundry rilles, & thus goyng on to Padworth, Olton, and Bichael, it commeth at last to Readyng, where as I sayd it ioyneth with the Thames, and so they go forward as one by Sonning to Shiplake, and there on the east side receyue the Loddon that commeth downe thither from the south, as by his course appeareth.

Bedwinus. Chalkeburne. Lamburne Alburnus.

Lodunus. The Loddon ryseth in Hamshire betweene west Shirburne, and Wotton, towarde the southwest, afterwarde directyng his course toward the northwest, thorowe the vine, it passeth at the last by Bramley, and thorow a piece of Wiltshire to Stradfield, Swallowfield, Arberfield, Loddon bridge, leauyng a patch of Wiltshire on the right hande, as I haue bene informed. This Loddon not farre from Turges towne, receyueth two waters in one botome, whereof the westerly called Basingwater, commeth from Basingstoke, and thorow a parke vnto the aforesaid place. The other descendeth of two heds, from Mapledour well, and goeth by Shewes Newenham, Rotherwyke, and ere it come at Hartly, ioyneth with the Basing water, from whence they goe togyther to Turges, where they meete with the Loddon, as I haue sayd alredy. The next streame toward the south is called Ditsford broke. It ryseth not farre from Upton, goeth by Orwell and beneath Wharnborow castle, receyueth the Ikell (cōmyng with a parke of the same denomination) frō whence they go togither by Paddingley vnto Swallowfield, and so into the Loddon. In this voyage also, the Loddon meeteth with

Ditis vadum. Ikelus. Elucius.

the Elwy or Eluey that commeth from Aldershare, not farre by west of Cuerley: and about Eluetham, likewyse with another cōming from Dogmansfield, named ẏ Deuke, and also the third not inferior to the rest, rōnyng from Erm, whose head is in Surrey, and goyng by Ashe, becommeth a limite, first betwene Surrey & Hamshire, then betwene Hamshire and Barkeshire, and passyng by Ashe, Erynley, blackewater, Yerley, & Finchamsted, it ioyneth at last with the Ditsford, before it come at Swalowfield. To conclude therfore with our Loddon, hauyng receiued all these waters, and after the last confluence with thē now beyng come to Loddon bridge, it passeth on by a part of Wiltshire to Twiford, then to Wargraue, and so into the Thames that now is meruelously increased and grown vnto triple greatnesse to that it was at Orford Being therfore past Shiplake and Wargraue, it runneth by Horsependen or Hardyng, then to Henley vpon Thames, where sometyme a great rill boyleth it selfe in the same. Then to Kemēham, Greneland (goyng all this way from Shiplake iust north, and now turnyng eastwards agayne) by Medenham, Hurley, Bysham, Marlow the greater, Marlow the lesse, it meteth with a broke sone after that consisteth of the water of two rilles, whereof the one called the Use, ryseth about west Wickham out of one of the Chiltern hils, and goeth frō thence to east Wickham or high Wickham, a prety market towne. The other named Higden, descendeth also from those mountaynes, but a myle beneath west Wickham, and ioyning both in one at ẏ last in the west ende of east wickham town, they go togyther to Woburn, Hedsor, and so into ẏ Thames. Some call it the Tide and that word do I vse in my former treatise, but to proceede. After this confluence, our Thames goeth on by Cowkham, Topley, Maydenhead (aliās Sudlington) Bray, Dozney, Clure, new Windsore, (takyng in neuertheless, at Eaton by ẏ way, the Burne which riseth out of a Moze, and commeth thither by Burneham) olde Windsor, Wraybozow, and a little by east therof, doth crosse the Cole, whereof I finde this short description ensuyng.

Ducus. Eryn. Use. Higden.

The Cole riseth nere vnto Hamsted, frō whence it goeth to Redburn, S. Bighels, S. Albons, Aldeham, Watford, and so by Moze to Richemansworth, where there is a confluence of three waters, of which this Cole is the first. The second called Gadus, riseth not farre from Asherige, an house or palace belongyng to the prince. From hence it runneth to great Gaddesden, Hemsted, betwene

Colus, aliās Mere and Mertume. Gadus.

kinges

kinges Langley, and Abbots Langley, then to Hunters, and Cashew bridges, and so to Richmanswoorth, receyuing by the way a rill commyng from Albury by northwest, to Northchurch, Barkehamsted, and beneath Hemstede ioyning with the same. The last commeth in at northwest from aboue Chesham, by Chesham it selfe, then by Chesham Boys, Latimers, Mawdens, Cheynies, Sarret and Richemanswoorthe, and so going on all in one Chanell, vnder the name of Cole, it rūneth to Vrbridge, where it taketh in the Misenden water, from northwest, which rising aboue Misenden the greater, goeth by Misenden the lesse, Hagmondesham (now Hammersh̄) the Hache, Chalfhunt Gyles, Chalfhunt S. Peters, Denham, and then into the Cole aboue Vrbridge as I sayd. Some after this our Cole doth parte it selfe into two braunches, neuer to ioyne agayne before they come at the Thames, for the greater of them goeth thorow the goodly medowes streight to Colbroke, the other vnto two milles, a mile and a halfe east of Colbroke in the way to London, leauyng an Iland or betwene them of no small size and quantitie.

Vindeles. Beyng past the Cole, we come to the fal of the Vindeles, which riseth by northwest nere vnto Bagshot, frō whence it goeth to Windlesham, Chobham, and meetyng with a Bracket commyng westward from Wisley, they run togyther toward Chertesey, where when they haue met with a small rill rising north of Sonning hill in Windlesor great parke, it falleth into the Thames on ẏ north east side of Chertesey. When we were come beyonde this water, it was not long ere we came vnto another on the same side, that fell into the Thames betwene Shepperton on the one side, and Oteland on the other, and is called the Waye.

Veius. The Weie or the Waye rising by west, cōmeth from Oxted, and some after taking the Hedley broke with all (which riseth in Wulmere forrest, and goeth by Hedley & Frensham) hasteth by Bentley, Farnham, Alton, Wayberley, Elsted, and so to Pepper Harrow, where it ioyneth with the Thuresby water, which commeth not farre of from a village of the same denomination. From hence also it goeth to Godalmyng, and then toward Shawford, but ere it come there, it crosseth Crauly becke, which rising somewhere about ẏ edge of Sussex shoot of Ridgewyke, goeth by Hachery parke, Knoll, Crauly, Bramley, Wonarshe, & so into the Waye. From hence then our ryuer goeth to Shawford (and some after meeting with the Abbinger water that commeth by Shere, Albury, and the chappell on the hill) it procedeth to Guldeford, thence to Stoke, Sutton in the parke, Send, Woking, and at Newarke parke side, taketh in a broke that ryseth of two heds, whereof one doth spring betwene two hils north of Pepper harrow, and so runneth thorow Henley parke, the other aboue Purbright, and afterward ioyning in one, they go forth vnto Newarke, and being there vnited, after the confluence it goeth to Purford court, to Byfler, Mayfrede, Oteland, and so into the Thames.

Abbinger. Molis. Frō Oteland the Thames goeth by Walton, Sunbury, Iwell, Moulsey, Hampton, and ere it come at Hampton cowrte on the north side, and east Moulsey on the other, it taketh in the Moule water, which geueth name vnto the two townes that stande on eche side of the place, where it falleth into our streame. It ryseth in Woodforrest, & going by Burstow, it meeteth afterward with another gullet, conteyning a small course from two seuerall heds, whereof one is also in the forrest aforenamed, the other rūneth from Bebush wood, and comming by Ifeld, meeteth with the first aboue Horley, and so run on in one chanell, I say, till they ioyne with the Moule water, whereof I spake before. After this confluence in lyke sorte, it is not long ere the Moule take in another from by North, which commeth from about Betham, on the one side, and another on the other, runnyng by Oxley and Capell, and whereinto also a braunch or rill commeth from a wood on the northwest part. Finally, beyng thus encreased with these many rilles, it goeth by east Bechewoorth, west Bechewoorth, and ouer against the Swalow on the side of Drake hil, takyng in another that commeth thither frō Wotton by Darkyng and Milton, it rūneth to Nickleham, Letherhed, Stoke, Cobham, Athire parke, east Moulsey, and so into the Thames, which after this coniunction goeth on to Kingston, and there also meeteth with another becke, rising at Ewell south of Nonsuch. Certes, this rill goeth from Ewell by ẏ olde parke, then to Maudon, and so to Kingston towne. The Thames in lyke maner beyng past Kingston, goeth by Tuddington, Petersham, Twickenham, Richmond, and Shene, where it receyueth a water on the northwest side, which commyng from about Harrow on the hill, and by west of the same, goeth by Hayes, Harlington, Feltham, and Thistlewoorth into the Thames.

Thuresby. Crawley. Brame. The nert fall of water is at Sion, nere vnto new Brainford, so that it issueth into the Thames betwene them both. This water is

called Brane, that is in the Brittish tong (as Leland saith) a frogge. It riseth about Edgeworth, and commeth from thence by Kingesbiry, Twiford, Perriuall, Hanwell, and Auferley. Thence we followed our riuer to old Brētford, Norlach, Cheswyke, Barnelmes, Fulham and Putney, beneth which townes it crossed a becke from Wandlesworth, that ryseth at Woodmans turne, and goyng by Ealthalton, nieteth another comming from Croydon by Bedington, and so goyng on to Mitcham, Marton Abbey & Wandlesworth, it is not long ere it fall into the Thames.

Wandbarn

Next vnto this is the Maryburne rill on the other side, which commeth in by Saynt James, so that by this tyme we haue eyther brought the Thames, or the Thames conueighed vs to London, where we rested for a season to take viewe of the seuerall tydes there, of which eth one differeth frō other, by 24. minuts, that is 48. in an whole day, as I haue noted afore, except the wether alter thē. Beyng past London, and in the way toward the sea: the first water that it meeteth with al, is on Kent side, west of Grenewich, whose hed is in Bromley parish, and goyng from thence to Lewsham, it taketh in a water frō by east, & so directeth hys course forth right vnto the Thames.

Lée.

The next water that it meeteth withall, is on Esser side, almost agaynst Woolwiche, and that is the Lée, whose hed riseth shorte of Kempton in Hertfordshire, 4. myles south east of Luton, and goyng thorowe a peece of Brokehall park (leauing Woodhall park, on the north, and Hatfield on the south, with an other park adioyning) it goeth toward Hartford towne. But ere it come ther, it receiueth a water (peraduenture the Marran) rising at northwest in Brodewater hundred frō aboue Welwin, northeast of Digeswell, & going to Hartingfeld bury, wher the said cōfluence is within one mile of the towne. Beneth Hatfield also it receyueth the Beane (as I gesse) commyng from Borwood by Benington, Alton, Watton, and Staplefford, and a little lower, the third arme of increase from aboue Ware, which descēdeth frō two heds: whereof the greatest commeth from Barkeway in Edwinstre hundred, the other from Sandon in Oddesey hundred, and after they be met beneth little Hormeade, they goe togither by Pulcherchurche, or Puckriche, Stonden, Thundridge, Wadesmill, Benghō and so into the Lée, which from hence runneth on tyll it come at Ware, and so to Amwell, where on the north side it receiueth the water that commeth from little Hadhā, thorow a peece of Singleshall parke, then by great Hadham, and so from Widford to the aforesayde towne. From hence also they go as one to olde Stanstede called le veil, braunchyng in such wyse ere it come there, that it runneth thorow the towne in sundry places. Thence it goeth forth to Abbots Stāsted, beneath which it meeteth wyth the Stoure, west as I remember, of Roydon. This Sture riseth at Wendelbotes, from whence it goeth to Langley, Clauerynge, Berden Manhuden, & Bytcheanger (where it receyueth a rill commyng from Elsinghā & Stanstede Mountfitchet.) Thence it hyeth on to bishoppes Stourford, Sabrichworth, and beneath this town, crosseth with another frō the east side of Elsingham, that goeth to Hatfield Brodock, Shiryng, Harlo, and so into the Stoure, and from whence they goe togither to Elsbye, Parmedon, and next into the Lée. These thinges beyng thus perfourmed, the Lée runneth on beneth Hoddesdon, Broxburne, Wormley, where a water breaketh out by west of the maine streame, a mile lower then Wormely it selfe, but yet within the parosche, and is called Wormeley locke. It runneth also by Cheston Munry, and out of this a little beneath the sayde house, breaketh an arme called the Shirelake; because it deuideth Essex and Hartford shires in sunder, and in the length of one medow called Frithey, this lake rūneth not but at great floudes, and meeteth agayne with a succor of ditchwater, at a place called Hockesdich, half a myle from his first breakyng out, and half myle lower at Parsh point, ioyneth agayne with the streame from whence it came before. Thence commeth the first arme to S. Pauly bridge (the first bridge westward frō that tyme) vppon Waltham causey, and halfe a myle lower then Pauly bridge at the corner of Ramney meade, it meeteth with the kinges streame, and principal course of Lye or Lée, as it is commonly called. The second principall arme breaketh out of the kynges streame at Hallyfielde halfe a myle lower then Cheston Munnery, and so to the fullyng mill and two bridges by west of the kynges streame, whereinto it falleth about a stones cast lower at a place called Walkinshelf, except I was wrong informed. Chesson and Hartfordshire men say, do say that the kings streame at Waltham, doth part Hartfordshire and Esser, but the Esser men by forrest charter do plead their liberties to holde vnto S. Paulies bridge. On the east side also of ỳ kinges streame breaketh out but one principall arme at Hatfield, three quarters of a myle aboue Waltham, and so goeth to the corne mill in Waltham, and then to ỳ kings streame

Marran.

Beane.

Sturus.

streame agayne, a little beneath the kynges bridge. From hence the Lée runneth on till it come to Stretforde Langthorne, where it braunceth partly of it selfe, and partly by mans industry for mils. Howbeit herein the dealyng of Alfrede sometyme king of England, was not of smallest force, who understandyng the Danes to be gotten vp wyth their ships into the countrey, there to kil and slay, by the conduct of this ryuer: he in the meane tyme before they could returne, dyd so mightely weaken the mayne chanell by drawyng great numbers of trenches from the same, that when they purposed to come back, there was nothyng so much water left as the ships dyd draw, wherfore being set on ground, they were some fired, and the aduersaries ouercome. Finally beyng past Westham, it is not long ere it fal into ỹ Thames. One thyng I read more of this riuer before the conquest, that is, how Edward the first, ꝛ sonne of Alfrede, builded Hartford towne vpon it, in the yeare of grace 912. at which tyme also he had Wittham a town in Esser in hande as hys sister called Aelfiede repayred Oxford and London, and all this 4. yeres before the buildyng of Maldon. But concernyng our ryuer it is noted, that he buylded Hertford or Herudford betwene 3. waters, that is, the Lée, the Benefuth, and Memmaran, but how these waters are distinguished in these dayes, as yet I cannot tell. It is possible, that the Bene may be the same which commeth by Benington, and Benghow, which if it be so, then must the Memmarran be the same that descendeth from Whitwel, for not farre from thence is Brantfield, which might in tyme past right well be called Marranfield, for of lyke inuersion of names I coulde shew many examples.

Beyng past the Lée (whose chanell is begun to bé purged 1576. with further hope to bring the same to the north side of London) we come vnto the Rodon, vpon Esser side in lyke maner, and not very farre (for 4. miles is the most) from the fall of the Lée. This water ryseth at little Canfielde, from whence it goeth to great Canfield, high Roding, Eythorpe Roding, Leden Roding, White Roding, Beauchampe Roding, Fifield, Shelley, high Ongar, and Chepyng Ongar, where the Lauer falleth into it, that ariseth betwixt Matchyng and high Lauer, and takyng another rill withall commyng from aboue Northweld at Cheping Ongar, they ioyne I say with the Rhodō, after which confluēce, Leland coniecureth that ỹ streame is called Iuel: for my part, I wote not what to say of it, but hereof I am sure that ỹ whole course beyng past Ongar, it goeth to Stansted riuers, Theydon mounte, Heybridge, Chigwell, Woodford bridge, Ilford bridge, Barkyng and so into the Thames.

Alfrede.

Rodon or Rodunus.

Lauer.

Iuelus.

The Darwent meeteth with our sayde Thames vpon Kentes side, two myles and more beneth Erith. It riseth at Tanridge, or thereaboutes, as I haue bene informed by Chrystofer Sartons Card late made of the same, and all the seuerall shyres of England at the infinite charges of sir Thomas Sackforde knight, and maister of the requestes, whose zeale vnto his countrey herein I cannot but remember, and so much the rather, for that he meaneth to imitate Ortelius, and somewhat beside this hath holpen me in the names of the townes, by which these ryuers doe run. Would to God hys plats were once finished. But to proceede. The Darwent I say, rising at Tanridge, goeth on by Titsey toward Brasted, and receiuyng on eche side of that towne (and seuerall bankes) a riuer or rill, it goeth on to Rockhold, Shorehā, Kinsford, Horton, Darnehith, Dartford or Derwentford, and there takyng in the Cray on the left hand that commeth from Orpington by Mary Cray, Powles Cray, North Cray, and Crayforde, it is not long ere it fall into the Thames.

Darwent.

Crayc.

The nert water that falleth into the Thames, is west of the Mauay Iles, a rill of no great fame, neyther long course, for rising about Cozingham, it runneth not many miles east ꝛ by south, ere it fall into ỹ mouth of this riuer, which I doe now describe.

The chiefe hed of this streame, ryseth in Wold forrest, southwest of Eastgrenested, ꝛ goyng by Hartfield and Whetelin, it receiueth a rill from the second hed, that commeth in from south east, and eyther from the north side of Argas hill, or at the left wise out of the south part of Waterdon forrest, as Sarton hath set it downe. After this confluence it is not long ere it take in another by west, from Colwden warde, and the third aboue Penshurst, growing frō two heds, whereof one is in Lingfield parke, the other west of Crawherst: and ioyning aboue Edinbridge, it doth fall into the Midway beneth Hever towne, ꝛ Chiddingstone. From Penhirst our mayne streame hasteth to Ligh, Tunbridge, ꝛ Twidley, and beneth the towne, it crosseth a water from North, whereof one hed is at the Hote, another at Wrotham, the thirde at west Peckham, and likewyse an other from south east, that runneth east of Capell. Nert after this it receiueth the These, whose forked hed is at Tischirst, which descendyng downe toward the north, taketh in not far frō Scotny

Medeuius. This riuer is described alredy, but here with more diligence, better helpe, and after their opinion that accompt it not to fall into the sea but into ỹ Thames.

a bꝛoke out of the noꝛthside of Waterdē foꝛeſt, whoſe name I find not except it be the Dour. After this confluence our ryuer goeth to Goldhirſt, and commyng to the Twiſt, it bꝛaunceth in ſuch wyſe that one parte of it runneth into Midwaye, another into the Garan oꝛ rather Cranebꝛoke, if my coniecture be any thyng. The Garan as Leland calleth it, oꝛ the Crane as I do take it, riſeth nere to Cranebꝛoke, and goyng by Sillinghirſt, it receyueth ere long one water that commeth by Fretingdon, and another that runneth from great Charde by Smerdon & Hedcoꝛn, croſſing two rils by the way from by noꝛth, Hedcoꝛne it ſelfe ſtanding betweene thē both. Finally, the Garan oꝛ Crane mꝫtyng with the Midway ſouth of Pallyng, they on ỹ one ſide, and the Theſe on the other, leaue a pꝛety Iſland in the midſt, of foure miles in lēgth and two miles in bꝛedth, wherin is ſome hilly ſoyle, but neyther towne noꝛ village, ſo far as I remember. From Palling foꝛward, the Midway goeth to weſt Farlegh, eaſt Farlegh, and ere it come at Maidſtone, it entertayneth a rill that riſeth ſhoꝛt of Jenham, & goeth by Ledes and Otterinden. Being paſt Maidſtone, the Midway runneth by Allington, Snodland, Hallyng, Cuckſtane, Rocheſter, Chatham, Gillingham, Upchurch, and ſone after bꝛaunching, it embꝛaceth ỹ Grene at hys fall, as his two heds do Aſhdon foꝛeſt, that lyeth betwene them both. I would haue ſpoken of one creke that cōmeth in at Cliffe, and another that runneth downe from Halſto by S. Maries, but ſithe I vnderſtand not with what backewaters they be ſerued, I let them paſſe as not skilfull of their courſes. And thus much of the riuers that fal into the Thames, wherin I haue done what I may, but not what I would foꝛ myne owne ſatiſfaction, till I came from the hed to Lechelade.

Garunus. Cranus.

Auon.

Being paſſed the Thames and hauing as I thinke ſufficiently in my foꝛmer treatiſe deſcribed all ſuch waters as are to be found betwéene the Stoure in Kent, & Auon in Wiltſhire, it reſteth that I pꝛocéede with this ryuer, and here ſupply many thinges that I befoꝛe omitted, although not by mine owne ouerſight ſo much as by the abuſe of ſuch as ſhoulde haue better pꝛeſerued the pamphlets to be inſerted. Certes this Auon is a godly riuer ryſing as I ſaydc beforе néere vnto Wolfe hall, although he that will ſéke moꝛe ſcrupulouſlye foꝛ the head in déede, muſt looke foꝛ the ſame about the boꝛders of the foꝛeſt of Sauernake (that is Soure oke) which lieth as if it wer embꝛaced betwene ỹ firſt armes therof, as I haue bene enfoꝛmed. Theſe heds alſo do make a confluence by eaſt of Martinſhall hill, and weſt of Wotton. From thēce it goeth to Hilton, Powſey, Manningfield Abbey, Manningfielde croſſe, & beneth Newington taketh in one rill weſt from Rudboꝛow, and another a little lower that riſeth alſo weſt of Alcanninges, and runneth into the ſame by Patney, Merden, Wilſoꝛd, Charleton, and Ruſhal. Beyng therfoꝛe paſt Newington, it goeth to Aphauen (wherof Leland ſpeaketh) to Cheſilbury, Cumpton, Ablington, little Almſbury, Darntfoꝛd, Woodfoꝛd, olde Saliſbury, and ſo to newe Saliſburye, where it receiueth one notable riuer from by noꝛthweſt, and another frō noꝛth eaſt, which two I wyll firſt deſcribe, leauyng the Auon at Saliſbury. The firſt of theſe is called the Wilugh, and riſeth among the Deuerels, and runnyng thence by hill Deuerell, & Deuerell long bꝛidge, it goeth toward byſhops ſtraw, taking in one rill by weſt, and another from Upton by Werminſter at noꝛthweſt. From biſhops ſtraw it goeth to Noꝛtō, Upton, Badhampton, Steplyngfoꝛd, and Stapleſoꝛd, where it mēeteth with the Winterbury water from by noꝛth, deſcending from Maddenton by Winterburne. From Stapleſoꝛd it haſteth to Wiſhfoꝛd, Newtō, Chilhampton, Wilton, and thither cōmeth a water vnto it from ſouthweſt, which ryſeth of two heds aboue Duerdonet. After this it goeth by Woꝛdcaſtle, to Tiſbury, and there receiueth a water on eche ſide, whereof one cōmeth from Funthill, the other from two iſſues (of which one riſeth at Aulſy, the other at Swalodiſe) and ſo keppng on ſtill with his courſe, our Wilugh runneth next nert of all by Sutton. Thence it goeth to Fouant, Boberſtocke, Southburcombe, Wilton, (where it taketh in the Fomington oꝛ Nadder water) Weſtharnam Saliſbury and Eaſtharnam, and this is the race of Wilugh. The other is a naked arme oꝛ ſtreame without any bꝛaunches. It riſeth aboue Collingburne Kingſton in the hils, and thence goeth to Colingburne, the Tidwoꝛthes (wherof ỹ moꝛe ſoutherly is in Wiltſhire) Shipton, Cholterton, Newton, Toney, Idmerſon, Poꝛton, the Winterburnes, Lauerſtock, and ſo into Auō eaſt of Sariſbury. And thus is the confluence made of the afoꝛeſayd waters, with thys our ſecond Auon, whereinto another water falleth (called Becquithes bꝛoke) a nyle beneth Harneham bꝛidge, whoſe head is fiue miles from Sarum, and thꝛée myles aboue Becquithes bꝛidge, as Lelande doth remember, who noteth the Chalkeburne water to haue hys due recourſe alſo, at thys place into the afoꝛeſayde riuer. Certes it is a pꝛetye bꝛoke, and riſeth fiue myles from Shaftelbury,

Nadder becke.

Becquith bꝛoke.

Chalkeburne.

bury, and in the way toward Salisbury in a botom on the right hand, whence it commeth by Knightō and Fennystratford, to Honington, that is about 12. myles from the hed, and about two miles and an halfe from Honington beneth Dostocke, goeth into the Auon, a mile lower then Harnham bridge, except he forget himselfe. This Harneham whereof I now entreate, was sometime a prety village before the creation of new Salisbury, & had a church of S. Martine belongyng vnto it, but now in steade of this church there is onely a barne standyng in a very low meade on the northside of S. Nighels hospitall. The cause of the relinquishyng of it was the moistnesse of the soile, very oft ouerflowen. And whereas the kinges high way lay sometyme thorough Milton, licence was obteyned of the kyng & bishop of Salisbury, to remoue that passage vnto new Salisbury also, & vpō this occasion was the maine bridge made ouer Auon at Harneham. By this exchaunge of the way also olde Salisbury fel into vtter decay, and Milton which was before the hed towne of the shire, and furnished with 12. paroche churches, grew to be but a poore village, and of small reputation. Howbeit, this was not the onelye cause of the ruine of olde Salisbury, sith I read of two other, wherof the first was a salue vnto the latter, as I take it. For where as it was giuen out that the townesmen wanted water in olde Salisbury, it is flat otherwise, sithe that hill is very plentifully serued with springes and wels of very sweete water. The truth of ỳ matter therfore is this. In the tyme of ciuill warres, the souldiors of the castle and Chanons of olde Sarum fell at oddes, in so much that after often brawles, they fell at last to sad blowes. It happened therfore in a Rogation weeke that the clergy goyng in solemne procession, a cōtrouersie fell betwene them about certayne walkes and limites, which the one side claymed and the other denied: Such also was the whote entertainement on eche part, that at the last the Castellanes espying their tyme, gate betweene the clergy and the towne, and so copled them as they returned homeward, ỳ they feared any more to gange about their bounds for ỳ yere. Hereupon the people missing their belly chere (for they were wont to haue bāketting at euery station, a thing practised by the religious in old tyme wherewith to linke in the cōmons vnto them) they conceyued forthwith a deadly hatred against the Castellanes, but not beyng able to cope with them by force of armes, they consulted with their bishop, and he with them so effectually, that it was not long ere they, I meane the Chanons, began a church vpō a pece of their owne ground, pretending to serue God there in better safetie, and with farre more quietnesse then they could do before. The people also seyng the diligence of the chanons, and reputyng their harmes for their owne inconuenience, were as earnest on the other side to be nere vnto these prelates, and therfore euery man brought hys house vnto that place, & thus became old Sarum in few yeres vtterly desolate, and new Salisbury rayled vp in stede therof, to the great decay also of Harnham and Milton, whereof I spake of late. Nowe to returne agayne from whence I thus digressed. Our Auon therefore departyng from Sarisbury, goeth by Burtforde, Longford, and taking in the waters afore mencioned by the way, it goeth by Stanley, Dunketon, Crafforde, Burgate, Fordyng bridge, Kingwood, Auon, Chrystes church, and finally into the sea. But ere it come all there, and a little beneth Chrystes church, it crosseth the Stoure, or Sture, a very faire stream, whose course is such as may not be lefte vntouched. It ryseth of fiue heds, wherof three lie on the north side of the Parke at Sturton within the pale, the other ryse without the parke, and of this riuer the towne and Barony of Sturton doth take his name as I gesse, for except my memory do to much faile me, the lord Sturton giueth the fiue heds of the said water in hys armes, but to procēde. After these braunches are conioyned in one botome, it goeth to long Layme mill, Stiltō, Milton, and beneth Gillingham receyueth a water that descendeth from Pere. Thence ỳ Sture goeth to Bugley, Stoure, Wellcouer bridge, Stourpronell, and ere long taketh in the Cale water, from Pen that commeth downe by Wickhampton, to Mozeland, and so to Stapleford, vij. miles from Wickhampton, passing in the sayd voyage, by Wine Caunton, and the fiue bridges. After this cōfluence, it runneth to Hinton Maries, & some after crosseth the Lidden and deuilish waters all in one chanell, whereof the first ryseth in Blackmore vale, and goeth to bishops Caūdell: the second in the hils south of Pulham, and so runneth to Lidlinch: the third water issueth nere Ibberton, and goyng by Fisehed to Lidlington, and there meetyng wyth the Lidden, they receiue the blackewater aboue Baggeburne, and so go into the Stour. After this the Stoure runneth on to Stouretō minster, Fitleford, Hammond (and some after takyng in one water that commeth frō Hargraue by west Orchard, and a seconde frō Funtmill, it goth on to Thele, Ankeford, Handford, Durwelton, Knightō, Wianston, Cliff. Bland-

Three Townes decayed by chaunging of one way.

An holy conflict.

New Salisbury begunne.

Sturus.

Cale.

Lidden. Deuils.

Iber. Blackwater.

Blandford, Carleton, and croſſing ere long a rill that riſeth about Tarrent, and goeth to Launſton, Munketon, Caunſton, Tarrant, it proceedeth forth by Shepwyc, and by and by receyuing an other brooke on the right hand (that riſeth about Strickeland, and goeth by Quarleſton, Whitchurch, Anderſtō & Winterburne) it haſteth forward to Stourminſter, Berforde lake, Alen bridge, Winburne, aliās Twinburne minſter, whether commeth a water called Alen (from Knoltō, Wilkehāpton, Eſtambridge, Hinton, Barnſley) which hath two heds, wherof one ryſeth short of Woodcotes, and eaſt of Farneham, named Terig, the other at Munketon aboue S. Giles Winburne, and goyng thence to S. Gyles Alheley, it taketh in the Horton beck, as the Horton doth the Cranburne. Finally, meeting with the Terig aboue Knoltō, they run on vnder the name of Alen to the Stour, which goeth to the Canfordes, Preſton, Kingſton, Perley, and Polneſk. But ere it come at Polneſk, it taketh in two brookes in one bottom, wherof one commeth frō Woodland parke by Holt parke and Holt, another from aboue vpper Winburne, by Edmondeſham, Vertwood, and Pannington, & ioyning about S. Leonardes, they go to Hornbridge, and ſo into Stoure. After which confluence, the ſayd Stoure runneth by Iuor bridge, and ſo into Auon, leauyng Chriſtes church aboue the meeting of the ſayde waters, as I haue ſayd before.

This Stoure aboundeth with pike, perche, roche, dace, Gudgeon and eles.

Hauyng in this manner paſſed Chriſtes church hed, we come to the fall of the Burn, which is a little brooke runnyng frō Stourefield heath, without braunches, and not touched in my former voiage for want of knowledge, and information therof in tyme.

Burne.

When we had left the Burne behynde vs, we entred Pole hauen, now far better known vnto me then it was at the firſt. Goyng therfore into the ſame, betwene the north and the ſouth pointes, to ſee what waters wer there, we left Brunkeſey Iſland and the caſtle on the left hand within the ſaid pointes, and paſſing about by Pole, and leauing that Creke, becauſe it hath no freſh, we came by Holton and Keſworth, where we beheld two falles, of which one was called the north, the other the ſouth waters. The north ſtreame hight Piddle as I heare. It riſeth about Alton, and goeth from there to Piddle trenche hed Piddle hinton, Walterſtow, and ere it come at Birſtā, receiueth Deuils brooke that cōmeth thither from Bugham, and Melcombe by Deuilish-town. Thence it goeth to Tow piddle, Aſhe piddle, Turners piddle (taking in ere it come there, a water that runneth from Helton by Middleton, Milburne and Biere) then to Hide, and ſo into Pole hauen, and of this water Marianus Scotus ſpeaketh, except I be deceyued. The ſouth water is properly called Frome for Fraine. It riſeth nere vnto Euerſhot, and going down by Fromequitain, Chelmington, and Catſtocke, it receyueth there a rill from beſide Rowſham, and Wizarehall. After this it goeth on to Chilfrome, and thence to Maden Newtō, where it meeteth with the Dwke, that riſeth eyther two miles aboue Yokeparke at Kenforde, or in the great ponde within Yoke parke, and goyng by the Tollardes, falleth into the Frome about Maden Newton, and ſo go as one from there to Fromevauchirch, Crokelwey, Frampton, and Muckilford, and receiueth nere vnto the ſame a rill frō aboue Upſidlyng by S. Nicholas Sidlyng, and Grimſton. From hence it goeth on by Stratton & Bradford Peuerell, and beneath this Bradford, it croſſeth the Silley, aliās Mintern and Cherne brookes both in one chanell: whereof the firſt riſeth in vpper Cherne pariſh, the other at Minterne, and meeting aboue middle Cherne, they go by nether Cherne, Forſton, Godmanſton, and aboue Charneminſter into Frome. In ỹ meane time alſo our Frome braunceth and leaueth an Iſlande aboue Charneminſter, and ioyning agayne nere Dorcheſter, it goeth by Dorcheſter, & Forthington, but ere it come at Beckington, it meeteth with an other Becke that runneth thereinto from Winterburne, Stapleton, Martinſtow, Heringſtow, Caine and Stalford, and from thence goeth without any further increaſe as yet to Beckington, Kinghton, Tinkleton, Horton, Wooll, Bindon, Stoke, and beneath Stoke, receiueth ỹ iſſue of the Luckeforde lake, from whence alſo it paſſeth by Eaſtholme, Warham, and ſo into the Bay. From this fall, we went about the arnie point by Slepe, where we ſaw a little creke, then by Owre, where we beheld an other, and then commyng againe toward the entraunce by S. Helens, and Furley caſtell, we went abroade into the maine, and founde our ſelues at liberty.

Frome. Deuils. Silley. Mintern. Cherne. Luckford.

When we were paſt Pole hauen, we left the handfaſt point, the Peuerell point, S. Adelmes chappell, and came at laſt to Lughort hauen, wherby and alſo the Luckeforde lake, all this portion of ground laſt remembred, is left in maner of a byland or peninſula, and called the Iſle of Burbecke, wherin is good ſtore of alam. In lyke ſort goyng ſtill weſterly, we came to Sutton pointes, where is a creeke. Then vnto Way or Wilemouth, by kinges Welcombe, whereinto when we

were

were entred, we ſaw three falles, whereof the firſt and greateſt commeth from Upwey by Bradwey, and Radypoll, receiuyng afterward the ſecond that ran from eaſt Chekerell, and likewiſe the third that maketh the grounde betwene Weymouth and Smalmouth paſſage almoſt an Iſlande. Goyng by Portland and the point therof, called ỳ Raſe, we ſayled along by the Shingle, till we came by S. Katherines chappel, where we ſaw the fal of a water that came downe from Blackden Beaconward, by Portelham and Abbotesbury. Thence we went to another that fell into the ſea, nere Byxton, and deſcended from Litton by Chilcombe, then vnto the Byde or Byxte porte, a pretty hauen and the ryuer it ſelfe ſerued with ſundry waters. It riſeth as I ſayd before, halfe a myle or more aboue Bemiſter, and ſo goeth from Bemiſter to Netherbury by Parneham, then to Melplaſhe, and to Byxteport, where it taketh in two waters from by eaſt in one chanel, of which one ryſeth eaſt of Pettlecourt, and goeth by Porteſloke, and Milton, the other at Alkerwell, & runneth by Longlether. From hence alſo our Byde goyng toward the ſea, taketh the Simen on the weſt that commeth by Simenſburge into the ſame, the whole ſtreame ſone after fallyng into the ſea, and leauyng a pretty hauenet.

Byde. Nature hath ſet the mouth of this ryuer in maner betwixt two hils, ſo that a little coſt would make a hauen there.

Simen.

The next porte is the Chare, ſerued wyth two rilles in one confluence, beneath Charemouth. The cheefe hed of this riuer is as Leland ſayth in Marſhewode parke, and commeth downe by Whitchurch: the other runneth by weſt of Wotton, and meetyng beneth Charemouth towne, as I ſaid, doth fall into the ſea.

Chare.

Then came we to the Cobbe, and beheld the Lime water, which the townelmen call the Buddle, and is already deſcribed vnder ỳ ſame denomination. Certes, there is no haue here that I could ſee, but a quarter of a mile by weſt ſouthweſt of ỳ towne, is a great and coſtly Jutty in the ſea for ſuccour of ſhippes. The towne is diſtaunt from Colyton, about 5. miles, and here we ended our voyage from the Auon, which conteyneth the whole coſt of Dorcester, or Dorcetſhire, ſo that next we muſt enter into Somerſet Countie, and ſee what waters are there.

Buddle.

The firſt water that we meete with all in Somerſetſhire is ỳ Are, which riſeth as you haue heard, not far from Bemiſter, and to ſay it more preciſely nere vnto Cheddington in Dorſetſhire, from whence it runneth to Moſterne, Febrow, Clayton, Weyforde bridge, Winham fourde, and receiuing one rill from the eaſt by Hawkechurch, and ſone after another comming from northweſt by Churchſtoke, from Wainbroke, it goeth to Areminſter, beneath which it croſſeth the Pare, that commeth from about Buckland, by Whitſtaunton, Parecomb, Long bridge, Stockeland, Kilmington bridge (where it receiueth a broke from by ſouth, that runneth by Dalwood) and ſo into the Are. From hence our Are goth to Drake, Puſbury, Cullyford, but ere it come altogither at Cullifoꝛd, it meteth wt a water ỳ riſeth aboue Cotlei, & goeth frō thēce by Widworthy, Cullitō, & there receiuing a rill alſo procedeth on after ỳ cōfluence aboue Cullifoꝛd bridge into the Are, & frō thence hold on together into ỳ maine ſea.

Are. yare aliâs Irtey.

By weſt of Berewoꝛth point lieth a creke ſerued ſo farre as I remember, with a freſhe water that commeth from the hils ſouth of Southley to Branſcombe.

Sidmouth hauen is the nert, and thither cōmeth a freſhwater by S. Maries from the ſayd hils that goeth from S. Maries afoꝛeſaid, to Sidbury, and betwene Saltcombe & Sidmouth into the maine ſea.

Sid.

By weſt of Auterton point alſo lyeth another hauen, and thither commeth a pretty riueret, whoſe hed is in the Hackpendon hils, and commeth downe firſt by Apauter, then by a parke ſide to mohuns Auter, Punketō, Honnyton, Buckewell, and noꝛth of Autry receiueth a rill called Tale, that riſeth noꝛth weſt of Broadembury in a woode, and from whence it runneth by Pehembury, Uinnitō, and making a confluence with the other, they go as one betwene Cadde and Autry, to Herford, Luton, Collaton, Auterton, Budeley and ſo into the ſea. This riuer is afoꝛe deſcribed vnder the name of Otterey, as Leland left it vnto me: now will I caſt about the Start point that I may come to Exe.

Autri aliâs Otterey.

Tale.

The Exe riſeth in Exemoꝛe in Somerſetſhire (as I ſaid befoꝛe out of Leland) and goeth from thence to Exeford, Winſford, and Exton where it receiueth a water comming from Cutcombe by noꝛth. After this confluence it goeth on toward the ſouth, till it meete with a pretty brook, riſing noꝛtheaſt of Whettel (goyng by Brunton regis) increaſed at the left with three rilles which come all from by noꝛth. Theſe beyng once met, this water rūneth on by weſt of the beacon that beareth ỳ name of Haddon, and ſone after taketh in the Barle that receiueth in like ſoꝛt ỳ Done at Hawkebridge, and from hence goeth by Dauerton, and Combe, and then doth meete with the Exe, almoſt in the very confines betwene Doꝛſet and Somerſet ſhires. Beyng paſt this coniunction our Exe, paſſeth betwene Bruſhford and Purbath, and then to

Exe.

Barley.

Done aliâs Doue ſtroke.

Exe

Ere bridge, where it taketh in as I heare a water by Weast, from East Anstye, and after thys likewyse another on eche side,

Woodburn. whereof one commeth from Dirforde and Baunton, the other called Woodburne, somewhat by east of Okeforde. From these mætinges it goeth to Caue & thorough ỹ forrest and woodes to Hatherland and Washfields vntill it come to Tiuerton, and here it receiueth the Lomund water, that ryseth aboue Alhebrittle, and commeth downe by Hockworthy vpper Loman, and so to Tiuerton that standeth almost euen in the very cõfluẽce. Some cal this Lomũd the Simming

Lomund or Simming. brooke or Sunninges bathe. After this our Ere, goeth to Bickley, Theuerten (taking in a rill by west) nether Ere, Bramford, beneath which it ioyneth with the Columbe,

Columb. that riseth of one heade, northeast of Clary Haydon, and of another south of Shildõ, and mæting beneath Columbe stocke, goeth by Columbe and Bradfeld, and there crossing a rill that commeth by Ashforde, it runneth south to Wode, Noze haies, Columbton, Brandnicke, Beare, Columbe John, Horham, and ioyning as I sayde wyth the Ere at Brafod it passeth vnder but one bridge, ere it mæte wyth another water by west,

Cride. Fozten. growyng of the Fozten and Cryde waters, except it bee so that I doe iudge amisse. The Cride riseth aboue Wollesworthy, and nære vnto Upton, after it is past Dewrish, crossleth a rill from betæwne Puggill and Stockley by Stocke englishe, &c. From hence it goeth to Fulford where it mæteth with the Fozten, whereof one braunche commeth by Caldbrook, the other from S. Mary Tedburne, and ioyning aboue Crediton, the chanell goeth on to the Cride (which ere long also receiueth another from by northe, cõming by Stockley & Combe) then betwene Haine and Newton Sires to Pines and so into the Ere which stayeth not vntill it come to Excester. From Excester it runneth to Were there taking in a rill from by west, and another lower by Eremister, next of all vnto

Cliuus. Toppesham, beneath which towne the Cliue entereth ther into, which rising about Plymtree, goeth by Clift Haydon, Clift Laurence, Brode Clift, Honiton, Southõ, bishops Clift, S. Mary Clyst, Clyst S. George, & then into the Ere, that runneth forward by Notwel Court, Limstõ and Ponderham castle. Here

Ken. as I here, it taketh in the Ken (or Kenton brooke, as Leland calleth it) commyng from Holcombe Parke, by Dunsdike, Shillingford, Kenford, Ken, Kenton, and so into Ere hauen, at whose mouth lye certaine rockes, which they call the chekellones, except I be deceiued.

The next fal, wherof Leland sayth nothing at all, commeth by Alhecombe and Dulish, and hath hys hed in the hils therby.

The Teigne mouth is the next fall that we Teigne. came vnto, and it is a goodly poze. The hed of this water is alredy touched in my first boke to be in Dartmoze among the Cidley hilles. From whence it goeth to Cydley towne, Crokerne Teignton dzue, where it receyueth the Crokerne commyng from by nozth, and likewise another west of Fulford parke. Thẽ it goeth to Duckford, Brideforde, Kirslow, Chidley, Knighton, and beneath the bridge there receyueth the Boup whose course is to nozth Boup. Boup, Lilley, and Bouytracy. Thence it runneth to kinges Teingneton, taking in Eidis a brooke beneath Pzeston that cõmeth Eidis. from Edeford by the way, and whẽ it is past this confluence, at Kings Teigneton, it crosseth the Leman which commeth from Sadleton rocke by Beckington, and Newton Leman. Buchels, and sone after the Aller that riseth Aller. betwene Danbury and Marog well, afterward falling into the sea by bishops Teignton, south of Teignemouth towne.

From hence we goe still southwardes (as we haue done long alredy by southwest) by Wozthstone, and finding thzee oz foure smal crekes betwene Wozthstone rocke and the Bery point, we go furder to Newstone rock, and so into Dartmouth hauen, whereinto sundzy waters haue their direct courses.

The riuer of Darnt commeth out of Darntmoze, xb. myles aboue Totnesse (as I said befoze) from whence it goeth to Bucklande Hole, and sone after taking in the Asheburn Asheburn water on the one side that runneth frõ Sadleton rocke by nozth, and the Buckfastlich Buckfastlich. that commeth from nozth west, it runneth to Staunton, Darington, Hemston, and there also crossing a rill on eche side, passeth fozth to Totnesse, Bowden, and aboue Gabriell Stoke, mæteth with the Harthurne that rũneth vnder Rost bridge, two miles aboue Totnesse, oz as an other sayeth, by Ratter, Harberton, Painesford, and Aspzempton into Darnt, which ere long also commeth to Cozntworthy, Grenewap, Dittham, Darntmouth, betwene the Castels, and so into the sea.

From hence we went by Stokefleming to another water, which commeth from blacke Aton, then to the second that falleth in east of Slapton, and so coasting out of this bay by the Start point, we saile almost directly west, till we come to Saltcombe hauẽ. Certes this poze hath very little fresh water cõmyng vnto it, yet the hed of such as it is, ryseth

ſeth nere Buckland, and goeth to Dodbꝛoꝁ, which ſtandeth betwene two creꝛkes. Thẽce it hieth to Charelton, where it taketh in a ril whoſe hed commeth from ſouth and noꝛth of Sherekoꝛd. Finally, it hath another creꝛke that runneth vp by Ilton, and the laſt of all that falleth in noꝛth of Poꝛtlemouth, whoſe hed is ſo nere the bay laſt afoꝛe remembꝛed, that it maketh it a ſoꝛy peninſula, as I haue heard it ſayd.

Awne. Then come we to the Awne, whoſe hed is in the hils farre aboue Bꝛent towne, from whence it goeth to Dirkoꝛd wood, Loddewel, Yache, Aunton, Thoꝛleſton, and ſo into the ſea ouer againſt a rocke called S. Nighels boꝛow.

Arme. Arme riſeth aboue Yarkoꝛd, thence to Stokoꝛd, Iuy bꝛidge, Armington bꝛidge, Flẽte, Dꝛchardton and Dwnewell.

Yalme. Yalme goeth by Coꝛnewood, Slade, Stratley, Yalmeton, Collaton, and Newton ferry.

Plim. Being paſt theſe Poꝛtlets, then next of all we come to Plimmouth hauen, a very buſie pẽce to deſcribe, becauſe of the numbers of waters that reſoꝛt vnto it, & ſmall helpe that I haue foꝛ the knowledge of their courſes, yet will I doe what I may in this, as in the reſt, and ſo much I hope by Gods grace to perfoꝛme, as ſhall ſuffice my purpoſe in this behalfe.

Plim. The Plimne oꝛ Plym, is the very ſame water that gyueth name vnto Plimpton towne. It ryſeth in the hilles weſt of Coꝛnewood, and commeth downe a ſhoꝛt courſe of thꝛée miles to Newenham after it bée iſſued out of the ground. From Newenham alſo it rũneth to Plimpton, and ſone after into the Stoure, which Stour aryſeth noꝛthweſt of Shepiſtour, and goeth from thence to Nemchurch, Hele, Shane Bickley, & ſo to Eſoꝛde where taking in the Plym, it runneth downe as one vnder the name of Plymme, vntill it go paſt Plymmouth and fall into the hauen South eſt of Plymmouth afoꝛeſayde. Plymmouth it ſelf ſtandeth betwẽne two creꝛkes, not ſerued wyth anye backewater, therefoꝛe paſſing ouer theſe two, wée enter into the Thamar that diſchargeth it ſelfe into the afoꝛeſaid hauẽ, going therfoꝛe vp that ſtreame which foꝛ the moſt part parteth Deuonſhire from Coꝛnewall, the firſt riueret that I met withall on the eſt ſide is called Taup, the hed wherof is amõg the mountaines foure miles aboue Pẽters Taup, beneath which it mẽteth with another water from by weſt, ſo that theſe two waters include Harpe Taupe, betwẽne them though nothing nẽre the conduence. From hence the Taue oꝛ Taup runneth to Tauiſtocke, aboue which it taketh in a rill from by weſt, and another aboue noꝛth Bucklande whoſe head is in Dartmoꝛe, and commeth thereunto by Sandfoꝛde and Harrow bꝛidge. From hence it goeth into Thamer, by noꝛth Buckland, Monks Buckland, Beare, and Tamerton Folly. Hauing thus diſpatched the Taup. The next that falleth in on the eſt ſide vpwardes is the Lidde, which ryſing in the hilles aboue Lidfoꝛde, runneth downe by Currypton and Hiddenham, and ſo to Lidſtone, aboue which it recepueth the Truſhell bꝛoke, which riſing noꝛth eaſt of Bꝛedikton, goeth by Truſholton to Ibaine, where it recepueth a rill that commeth by Bꝛadwood from Germanſwye, and after the confluence runneth to Liſton, and frõ thence into the Thamar. The next aboue this is the Coꝛewater, this riſeth ſomewhere about Elwell oꝛ Yelwell, and goyng by Virginſton, runneth on by S. Giles without any increaſe vntill it come to Thamar. Next of all it taketh in two bꝛokes not much diſtant in ſunder, wherof the one commeth in by Glauntõ, the other from Holſwoꝛthy, and both eaſt of Tamerton, which ſtandeth on the farther banke, and other ſide of the Thamar, & weſt noꝛthweſt of Tedcote, except the quarter deceiue me.

Lidde. Truſhell. Coze.

Thamar. Certes, the Thamar it ſelfe riſeth in Somerſetſhire, about thꝛée miles noꝛtheaſt of Hartlande, and in maner ſo croſſeth ouer the whole weſt country betwene ſea and ſea, that it leaueth Coꝛnewall, a bylande oꝛ peninſula. Being therfoꝛe deſcended from the hed, by a tract of vj. myles, it commeth to Denboꝛow, Pancraſe well, Bꝛidge Reuel, Tamerton, Tetcote, Luffencote, Boyton, & Wirrington, where it mẽteth wyth a water on the weſt ſide called Artey, that riſeth ſhoꝛt of Jacobſtow. Two miles in like ſoꝛt from this confluence, we met with the Kenſey, whoſe hed is ſhoꝛt of Marpeſton, by ſouth eaſt, frõ whence it goeth by Treneglos, Tremone, Treſmure, Trewen, Launſton, and ſo into the Thamar that runneth frõ hence by Lowhitton vnto Bꝛadſton, and goyng on toward Dunterton, taketh in a rill from ſouth Pitherwye, and by Leſant. Beneath Dunterton alſo it croſſeth the Enian. This ryuer riſeth at Dauidſton, and directeth his race by S. Clethir, Lancaſt, and Trelaſk firſt, and then vnder ſundꝛy bꝛidges, vntill it mẽte wt the Thamar. From hence alſo the Thamar goeth by Siddenham to Calſtocke bꝛidge, Calſtocke towne, Clifton, Targreue (there aboutes taking in a creꝛke aboue Landilip) and running on from thence, hafteth toward Saltaſhe, where it receiueth the Liuer water. The head of Liuer is about Bꝛownwelly hill,

Artey. Kenſey. Enian. Liuer.

hill, from whence it goeth on to Nozth hill, Lekenhozne, South hill, and taking in a rill by east (from aboue Kellington) it runneth on to Newton, Pillaton, Wottō, Blosselemmyng, S. Erne, and beneth this village crosseth a rillet that runneth thither from Bicton by Dunthocke, S. Germaines and Sheuiocke. But to pzocéede after the confluence, it goeth betwéene Erly & Fro Martine castle, and sone after taking in a ril from by nozth, that passeth west of S. Steuens, it is not long ere it fall into the Thamar, which after this (receiuyng the Milbzoke créke) goeth on by Edgecomb, and betwene S. Mighels Ile and Rioden pointe into the maine sea. And thus haue I finished the deseriptiō of Plimmouth water, and all such falles as are betwéene Newton rocke on the east side, & the Kāme hed on the other.

Sutton. After this we pzocéeded on with our iourney toward the west, and passing by Longstone, we came sone after to Sothan baie, where we crossed the Seton water, whose hed is about Lifeard, and his course by Pynheniet, Thakrench, Tregowike, Sutton, and so into the sea.

Low. Then came we to Lowe, and goyng in betwéene it and Mount Ile, we finde that it had a bzaunched course, and thereto the confluence aboue Lowe. The chiefe heade ryseth in ẏ hils, as it were two miles aboue Gaine, and goyng by that towne, it ceaseth not to continue his course, east of Duloe, til it come a little aboue Low, where it crosseth and ioyneth with the Bzodoke water that runneth frō Bzodokes by Trewargo, & so into ẏ sea. Perte vnto these are two other rils before we come at Faw, or Fawy, whereof in my former treatise, I made some small intreaty.

Fawy. Foy or Fawy riuer riseth in Fawy moze, on side of an hill, from whence it runneth by certayne bzidges, till it méete with the Glin water

Glyn. west of Glyn towne, which rising aboue Temple, and meting with a rill that cōmeth in from S. Neotes, doth fall into Fawy a mile and meze aboue Respzin from by east. After this confluēce then, it goeth to Respzin bzidge, Lesserme castle, Lostwithiel bzidge, Pill, S. Kingtons, S. Winnow, and Golant, and here also receiueth the Lerine water out

Lerinus. of a parke, that taketh his way into the main streame by Byconke, Tethe, and the fining house. Beyng thus vnited, it pzocéedeth vnto Fawy towne, taking in a rill or créke from aboue it on the one side, and another beneath it south of Halling on the other, of which two this latter is the longest of course, sith it runneth thzée good myles before it come at the Foy, and thus much had I to adde vnto the description of the sayd Fawy conteined in my former treatise. I might haue touched the créke that lyeth betwéene Knaueland & blackbottle pointes ere I came at Foye or Fawy, but sith it is serued only with the salt, I make small account to speake of it. But to pzocéede, entering finally into the bale commonly called Trewardith bale, which lyeth into the land betwene the Canualle and the blacke head pointe, we sawe the fall of two small bzokes, not one very far distant from another. The first of them entring west of Trewardith, the other east of S. Blayes and both directly agaynst Curwarder rocke, except I mistake my compasse. Neyther of thē are of any great course, and the longest not full thzée miles and an halfe, wherefoze sith they are neither bzaunched noz of any great quantity, what should I make long haruest of a little cozne, and spende moze tyme then may well be spared about them.

Lustell. When we wer past the blackhed, we came to Lustell bzoke, which is increased with a water that commeth from aboue Mewan, & within a myle after the confluence they fall into the sea at Pentozen, from whence we went by the black rocke, and about the Dudman pointe, till we came to Chare hales,

Chare. where falleth in a pzety water, whose hed is two miles aboue S. Tues. Thēce we went by here & there a méere salt créke, til we passed ẏ gray rocke, in Gwindzaith baie, & S. Anthonies point, where Leland maketh his accópt to enter into Falamouth hauē, to the fozmer deseription wherof, I wil adde another here, wherby the first shal be moze plain and easie.

Fala. The Fala riseth a little by nozth of Penuenton towne, and goyng westwarde til it come downwardes toward S. Dionise, it goeth frō thence to Melader, S. Steuens Grampont, Goldon, Crede, Cozuely, Tregue, Moran, Tregūnan, it falleth into the hauen with a good indifferent fozce, and this is the course of Fala. But lest I should seme to omit those créekes that are betwene this and S. Antonies point, I will go a little backe again, and fetch in so many of them as come now to my remēbzaunce. Entring therefoze into ẏ pozt, we haue a créke that runneth vp by S. Antonies toward S. Gerens, then another that goeth into the lande by east of S. Maries castle, with a fozked hed passing in the meane time, by a great rocke, that lieth in the very midst of the hauen, in maner of the thirde poynte of a Triangle, betwéene S. Maryes castle and pendinant. Thence we cast about by the sayde castle, and came by another créke, that falleth in by east, then the second aboue S. Iustus, the third at Arocnoza, the fourth at

Rilan,

Kilan, and hauing as it wer visited all these in order, we come backe againe about by Tregonnian, and then going vpward betweene it and Talueene, til we come to Fentangolan, we founde the confluence of two great crekes beneath S. Clementes, whereof one hath a fresh water comming down by S. Perther, the other another frō Truro, increased wt sundry braūches, though not one of the of any greatnesse, and therfore vnworthy to be handled. Polewhole standeth vpon the hed almost of the most easterly of them. S. Kenwen and Truro stand aboue the confluence of other two. The fourth falleth in by west, frō certaine hils: as for the firſt and first, as they be little crekes and no fresh, so haue I lesse language and talke to spend about them. Of S. Cate, and S. Feokes crekes, I spake inough before, the towne of S. Feoke standyng betwen the both. That also called after ye saint, rising aboue Peranarworthill, and comming thence by Kyrkio, falleth into Falamouth, northeast of Miloz, which standeth vpon the point betweene it & Miloz creke. Miloz creek (for Lelād did kepe no order in their description) is next Restronguet. Some cal it Miloz pole, from whence we went by Trefusis point, and there found an other great fall frō Perin, which beyng braunched in the toppe hath Perin towne almost in the very confluence. Thus leauyng Fala hauen, as more troublesome for me to describe, then profitable for seafaring men without good aduise to enter into, we left the rocke on our left hand, and came streight southwest to Helforde haueir, whose water commeth downe from Mreke (where is a confluence of two small rilles whereof that ryll confluseth) by Mawgan and Trelawarren, and then it receyueth a rill on the north ripe from Constantine, after whose confluence, it goeth a maine vntill it come to the Ocean. Beneath thys also is another rill commyng from S. Partirs, by whose course, and another ouer against it on the west side that falleth into ye sea by Winniton, all Penage is left almost in maner of an Iland. From hence we go south to ye Manacle point, then southwest to Lysard, and so north and by west to Predannocke pointes, beyonde which we mete with the fall of the said water, that riseth in the edge of Penage and goeth into ye sea by Melian on the north, and Winniton on the south. By north also of Winniton, is the Cury water that ryseth short of Magan, and toucheth with the Ocean south of Pengwenian point.

D. Cate.
D. Feoks.
Miloz.
Hayle.
Cury.
Low.

From hence we sayled to the Lowmouth which some call Lopole, because it is narower at the fall into the sea, then it is betweene the sea and Hailston. It riseth aboue S. Stephans, and comming downe by Wendron, it hasteth to Hailston or Helston, from whence onely it is called Low, but betweene Helston & the hed, men call it commonly Cohor. Here Leland omitting a great number of waters betweene this and the landes end, and so forth about the point vnto the Haile, as you may see in my former treatise, I thinke it good so far as to me is possible, to supply his want in this place, although I confesse that I cannot do it so exactly as I would. Beyng therefore passed the Low, I came to another water that descendeth without any increase from Crowan by Symney, whose whole course is not aboue 3. myles in all. Then goyng by the Cudan point, we entred the mountes Bay, and goyng streight north (leauing saint Nighels mount a little vpon the left hand) we came to the Lyd, which rising short of Tewidnacke, descendeth by Lidgeuan, and so into the sea. Certes the course of these waters can not be long, sith in this very place, the breadth of lād is not aboue foure miles, and not more then fiue at the very landes ende. There is also a rill east of Bozugy, and Gulual, and another west of the same hard at hand, and likewise the third east of Pensantz: and not a ful quarter of a myle from the second, southwest of Pensantz, also lieth the fourth that cōmeth from Sancrete warde by Newlyn, from whence goyng southwest out of the Baye by Moulhole Ile, that lyeth south of Moulhole towne, we come to a water that entreth into the Ocean betwixt Remels and Lamorley point. Truly the one hed therof commeth frō by west of Sancrete, the other by from west of an hill that standeth betwene them both, and ioyning aboue Remels, it is not long ere they salute their grandame. After this and before we come at Roscastle, there are two other crekes, wherof one is called Boskenny that riseth south of S. Buriens, and an other somewhat longer then the firſt that issueth by west of the aforesayd towne, wherein is to be noted, that our cardes made heretofore doe appoint S. Buriens to be at the very landes ende of Cornewall, but experience now teacheth vs that it commeth not nere the lands end by three miles. This latter rill also is the last that I do read of on the south side, and likewyse on the west, and north tyll we haue sayled to S. Jes baye, which is full x. myles from the landes ende, or Bzesan Ile eastward, and rather more if you reckon to the fall of the Haile, which lieth in the very midst and highest part of the bay of the same. The soile also is very hilly here, as for S. Jes towne, it is almost (as I sayd) a byland, and

Cohor.
Symney.
Lyd.
Bzesan Ile.

yet

yet is it well watred with sundry rilles that come from those hils vnto the same.

Haile. The Haile riseth in such maner, and from so many heds, as I haue before described out of Leland. Howbeit, I will adde somewhat more vnto it for the benefite of my readers. Certes, the chiefe hed of Haile riseth by west of Godalfin hils, and goyng downe toward S. Erthes, it receyueth the second and best of the other three rilles from Godalfin towne; Finally, commyng to S. Erthes, and so vnto Clowart. the mame bay, it taketh in the Clowart water from Cuymer, south of Phelacke which hath two heds, the sayd village standyng directly betwixt them both.

Caine. The Caine ryseth southeast of Caineburn towne, a myle and more, from whence it goeth without encrease by west of Gwethian, and so into the sea west of Para Darway.

Luggam. From hence we coasted about the point, and left the bay till we came to a water that ryseth of two heds from those hils that lye by south of the same: one of them also runneth by S. Uni, another by Redruth, and metyng within a myle they fall into the Ocrane, beneath Luggam or Tuggan. A myle and a halfe from this fall we come vnto an other small rill, and likewyse two other creekes betwixt which the towne of S. Agnes stãdeth, and likewyse the fourth halfe a mile beyond the most easterly of these, whose head is almost three myles within the land, in a town called S. Alyn. Thence going by the Panrock, and west of S. Piran in the Sande, we finde a S. Pirās creke. course of three myles and more from the hed, and hauyng a forcked braunch, the partes do mete at west aboue S. Kybbard, and so go into the sea. I take this to be S. Pirans creke, Crantock. for the next is Carantocke pill or creke, whose hed is at Gulwarth, from whence it goeth to Trerise, and some after takyng in a rill, from by west it runneth into the sea east of S. Carantakes. Beyende this is an other creke that ryseth aboue little S. Colan, and goeth by lesse S. Columb, and east & by north hereof, commeth down one more, whose hed is almost south of the nine stones, and goyng from thence to great S. Columbes, it passeth by Lanherne, and so into the sea. S. Merous creke is but a little one, rysing west of Pad- Padstowe. stow, and fallyng in almost ouer against the Gull rocke. Then turning betwene the point and the blacke rock, we entred into Padstow hauen, whose waters remayne next of all to be described.

Alen. The Alane ryseth flat east from the hauen mouth of Padstow, well nere eight or nyne myles, about Dauidston, nere vnto which Enyam. the Enyam also ariueth, that runneth into the Thamar. Goyng therfore from hence, it passeth to Camelford, S. Aduen, S. Bernarde, (both Cornish saintes) and some after receyueth a rill at north east descending frō Rowters hil. Thence it goeth to Blisland, Helham, the first bridge of name that standeth vpon Alyn. Ere long also it taketh in one ryll by south from Bodman, another from S. Laurence, the third by west of this, and the fourth that commeth by Wethiell, no one of them exceedyng the course of three miles, and all by south. From hence it goeth towarde Iglesale warde, and there receyueth a water on the east side, which cōmeth about two miles from aboue S. Teath, by Michelston, S. Tuchoe, S. Maben (mo Cornish patrones) and finally south of Iglesall, meeteth with the Alen that goeth from thence by S. Breaca to Woodbridge. Here about I finde that into our Aleyn or Alen, there should fall two riuerets, wherof the one is called Carnesey, the Carnese other Layne, and commyng in the end to the Layne. full notice of the matter, I see them to issue on seuerall sides beneth Woodbridge almost directly the one against ỹ other. That which descendeth from northwest, and riseth about S. Kew, is named Carnesey as I heare, the other that commeth in on the southwest banke right Laine, and noted by Leland to rise two miles aboue S. Esse, but how so euer this matter standeth, there are two other crekes on eche side also beneth these as Pethzike creke, Pethzik and Pinner creke, so called of two Cornish Pinner saintes (for that syple bird many, wherwith I finish the description of Alen, or as some call it Dunmere, and other Padstow water. Dunmere Beyng past Padstow hauen, and after we had gone three myles, we came to Portgwin a poore fisher towne, where I finde a broke and a pere. Then I came to Portisset two myles further, and founde there a broke a pere, and some succour for fisher botes. Nert of all vnto a broke that ran from south east, directly north into the Sauern sea, and within halfe a myle of the same lay a great black rocke lyke an Iland. From this water to Treuenni is about a myle, where the paroch church is dedicated to S. Symphorian, and in which paroch also Tintagel castle standeth, which is a thyng inexpugnable for the situation, and would be made with little reparations one of the strongest thinges in England. For it standeth on a great high terrible crag enuironned with the sea. There is a chappell yet standyng in the dungeon thereof, dedicated to S. Wlet. Tintagell towne and Treuenni are not a myle in sunder. The nert creke is called Bosynni, which is a myle frō Tintagell, and to the same Tredwy water reso- Tredwy. teth,

teth, and so they goe to the sea betwixt two hils, wherof that on the one side lyeth out like an arme or cape, and maketh the fashion of an hauenet or pære, whether shiplets sometyme doe resort for succour. A Frier of late dayes toke vpō him to make an hauen at this place, but in vayne. There lie also two black rocks as Ilets, at the west northwest point, or side of this creke, the one (sauyng that a little gut doth part them) ioyning with the other, and in these by all likelyhode is great store of gulles. I can not tell whether this be the water that runneth by Boscastle or not, but if it be not, then haue I this description of the latter.

Boscastle. Boscastle creke that lyeth east of Tintagiel, is but a small thyng running at the most not aboue two myles into the land, yet it passeth by foure townes, wherof the first is called Lesneth, the seconde S. Juliet, the third, Minster, and the fourth Boscastle or Buckcastle as some men doe pronounce it.

Bede. In Bede bay, I find the Bedewater, whose chiefe hed is not farre from Morton. Thence runnyng to Stratton, it receiueth the Launcels. Launcels rill before it come at Norham. And here also it crosseth another whose hed is east off. Mary wike, from whence it runneth by Wollton and Whalesborow, and thence into the sea betwene Efford and Plough hyll. And thus much of ỹ waters that lie betwene the poynt of Cornwall, and the Hartland hed vpon the northside of Cornwall. Nowlet vs do the lyke with those that remayne of Deuonshire, wherof the said Hartland is the very first point in this our poeticall voiage. Hauing therfore brought Hartland point on our backs, we come next of all to Barstable bar, and so into the Hauen, wherinto two principall streames do perpetually vnburden their chanels.

Ocus. The first and more westerly of these is called Ocus, whose hed is not farre west of the hed of Darnt, both in Darntmore. Rising therefore in the aforesayd place, it runneth northwest to Snorton, and so to Okehampton, beneath which towne it meeteth with an other water comming from southeast, and riseth not much west from the hed of Tawe. From hence it goeth to Stowe Erborne, Mulke Okington, and Iddesley, where it taketh in the Tanrige a very pretty streamelet, whose issue is not full a mile by east from the hed of Thamar. Comming therfore by west and east Putforde, Bulworthy, Bockington, Newton, and Shebbor, it receiueth a forked rill that runneth from eche side of Bradworthy by Sutcombe, Treborow, Milton, and so to Thornebiry, where meeting with another forked water (wherof one head commyng from Dunland, ioyneth with the other north of Cockebiry) it goeth with speede into the Tanrige water. After this confluence it runneth on to Shepewash (by west wherof falleth in the Buckland water frō by north) thence to high Hainton, and so Haytherlay, north wherof it taketh in a rill frō by south, and endeth his race at Iddesley, by ioynyng with the Oke. Hence then the Ocus hasteth to Dowland, and betwene it and Doulton, receiueth one rill from by east, as it doth an other betwene Doulton and Harton frō by west, and so proceeding on with his course, it commeth east of Torrington the lesse, and taking in a water at east, that runneth from three heds (by Wolly parke) betwene which Combe and Roughborow are situate, it descendeth to Torrington the more, and meting with the Langtree water on the one side, and the Ware brooke on the other, it proceedeth to Bedisford, crossing a rill by the way that commeth vnto it betwene Annary and Litham. From Bedisford bridge it goeth without any increase to Weekley, Norham, Appledour, and so into the hauen.

Buckland. Langtree. Were or Ware.

Tawe. The Taw of both is the more noble water, and hath most rils descending into hys chanell. Howbeit by these two is all the hart of Deuonshire well watered on the northside of ỹ Mores. The Tawy riseth directly at south, west of Throwley, and north of the head of Darnt. From thence also it runneth to Sele, South Taueton, Cockatre, Bathe, Northtaueton, Atheridge, Colridge, and some after receiueth the Bowmill creke, whereof one hed riseth at Bow, the other at Mill, and meting beneth bishops Norchard, they fall into the Taue north of Nimeth Rowland, as I haue bene informed. From hence then it runneth by Edgeforth, to Chimligh, by south wherof, it meeteth with a ril comming down of two heds from about Kaienford, by Wetheridge and Thawley. Thence it goeth to Burrington, and Chiltenholtwood, and there taketh in the Moulebray water consisting of two in one chanell, wherof the Mol doth ryse aboue north Moulton, and cōming to Moulton, receiueth another rill running frō Molland, and some after the second that growing by two brookes ỹ hed of one heyng at Knawston, and of the other west of Crokeham, and both vniting themselues beneath Marlston, doth fal into the same ere long also, and so go togyther till it crosse the Bray, which (beyng the second of the two that maketh the Moulebray) riseth at Bray, commeth by Buckland and south of Holtwood doth make his confluence with Taw. Beyng past the woode, it goeth

Bowmill.

Moulebray.

Bray.

eth on to Brightley hall, Taucton, Tauestocke, and Berstable, sometyme a prety walled towne with foure gates, but nowe a little thyng and such indede, as that the suburbes thereof, are greater then it selfe. I suppose that the name of this towne in the Brittish speache, was Abertaw, because it stode toward the mouth of Taw, and Bernelle pronounced short as I gesse, for Abernelle. As for Staple it is an addition for a market, and therfore hath nothyng to doe in the proper name of the towne. King Athelstane is taken here for the chiefe priuileger of the towne, this is also worthy to be noted hereof, that the houses there are of stone, as most are in all the good townes thereabout.

But to procede with our purpose. Beneath this Towne there falleth in a water that hath one head nere about Challacombe, and another at east Downe, whereof this descendyng by Stoke ryuer, and the other by Sherwell, they vnite themselues within three myles of Berstaple. Some after also it taketh in another that descendeth from Bitenden by Alfeford, and the last of all east of S. Anthonies Chappell, named the Donehame, because one hed is at west Done, and the other at Yam, both of them metyng west of Alfe. And thus is Taue described, which is no great water nor quick streame, as may appeare in Low water mark at Berstable, & yet is it a prety riuerét. This also is worthy to be noted therof, that it receiueth no brooke from by west, whereof I would somewhat meruaile, if Taurige were not at hand.

Donehame.

Beyng past the Taue, Cride bay and Bugpoint aliás Bagpoint, we go by Poze baye, Pozestone, aliás Pozstone, and then toward the northeast, till we come by a créekelet to Ilfare combe, & so to Combe marton, where at (I meane eche of them) are sundry créekes of saltwater, but not serued with any fresh, that I as yet do heare of. Parry there is betweene Martinbowe and Trenslowe, a créeke that hath a backewater, which descendeth frō Parracombe (so farre as I call to mynd named Parradine beck) but the greteste of all is betwene Linton and Connisbery called Oze, which riseth in Somersetshire in Exmoze, (east of Poze oke, moze then a myle) and goyng by Owze, falleth into the sea betwéene Linton & Connisbery, so that the whole race therof, amounteth in & out to an 8. miles as I haue heard reported. Thus haue I finished ỳ discourse of the waters of Deuōshire, whose breadth in this place from hence ouerthwart to the checkestones in the mouth of Ere, on the south side of the Ile, is 38. miles or vnder 40. and so much likewyse is it frō Plimmouth to Hartlād point, but the brodest part there commeth to 36. miles, where as the broadest part of Cornewall doth want two myles of 40.

Paradine.

Orus.

The breadth of Deuonshire & Cornewal.

Beyng past the aforesayde limites of the counties we came to Portloch bay, whether commeth a water named Loche that descendeth from Stokepero, Lucham and Portloch without increase. Thence to Dunsteir brook, which runneth from about Wotton, and Courtney by Tunbercombe and Dunsteir, then to another that commeth west of Olde Cliffe, leauyng a parke on the west side, next of all to Watchet water, whereof one hed cōmeth from the Quantock hils south of Bickualer by Westquantocke head, and almost at Donisford, receyueth the Williton becke, thē to east Quantocke brooke (omitting a créket) & next of all to Doddingtō water, ỳ goeth by Holsford, Alforton, & afterward into the sea.

Loch.

Durus.

Vacetus.

Williton.

Doddington.

From hence we go by Bottesall pointe, to Stert pointe, where two noble riuers doe make their confluence, which I will seuerally describe, as to my purpose appertayneth.

The first of these is called the Iuell. It ryseth aboue Oburne, and at Shirburne receyueth a water wherof Lelād saith thus. There are seuen springes in an hill called the seuen sisters, northest frō Shireburn, which gather into one botom, & come into ỳ Mere. Another brooke likewise cōmeth by Heydō frō Pulcādell, three myles from thence by flat east, betwixt the parke and the Mere full so great as the streame of the Mere, and ioyning at the lower mill of Shireburne, with the Merewater, it is not long ere it fall into the Euill. Thence our Euill goeth on toward Glasen Bradford, and ere it come there, taketh in a forked rill from by south, descending from about west Chelbury and Chetnall in Dorset shire, beneth which towne ỳ other hed falleth into the same, so that they run forth by Bearhaggard & Thornford (til they méet with the Iuel) & so to Clifton, Euil, Trent, Mutforde, Alhinton, and east of Limminton it méeteth with the Cade that runneth from Parlington, by north Cadbiry, and some after crossing a rill also from by east, that cōmeth frō Blackeford by Compton, it hasteth to south Cadbiry, Sparkford, Quénes Camel, west Camel, & so into Iuell, which runneth on to Kimmington, Ilchester, Ilbridge, long Sutton, and ere it come at Langport, taketh in two famous waters in one chanell, next of all to be remembred before I go any further. The first of all these riseth southeast betwene the Parets (where it is called Parret water), and goeth to Crokehorne, and at Meriot taketh in a brooke from the east, which cōsisteth of

Iuelus.

The seuen sisters.

Cade.

Parret.

of two courses vnited at Bowbridge, wherof the one descendeth from Perr by Hasilbury, the other from aboue the three Chenocks, as I doe vnderstand. From hence also they goe as one with the Parret water, toward south Pederton (taking in at east a becke cõming from Hamden hil) thence to Pedcrton, Lambroke, Thorney bridge, & Huchelney where it meeteth with the seconde called Il or Ilus, whose hed is aboue Chellington, & comming down frõ thẽce by Cadworth, before it come at Dunniet, it taketh in a ril that runneth by Chafcomb and Knoll. Thence leauing Ilmister on the east side, it meeteth with another from by East, descending from aboute Whitlakington. Then it goeth to Pokington (where it crosseth ỹ Ilton water by west) next to Ilbruers, and there it ioyneth with a rillet that riseth by west at Staple, and runneth by Bicknell and Abbots Ily, and after this confluence goeth on toward Langport. And here after some mens opinion, the Iuell loseth hys name, and is called Parret, but this coniecture cannot holde, sithe in the olde writers it is called Iuell, till it fall into the sea. Neuertheleſſe, how so euer this matter standeth, beyng past Langport, it goeth by Alwber toward S. Antonies, where it meeteth with the Tone next of all to be described. The Tone issueth at Clatworthy, and goeth by west of Wiuelscombe, to Stawley, Ritford, Runton, Wellington and Bradford, beneath which it taketh in a faire water commyng from Sanford Combe, Elworthy, Brunte Rafe, Wiluerton, Oke and Hilfarens. After this confluence also it runneth to Helebridge and there below meteth with one water that runneth by Hawse, Hethforde and Norton, then another frõ Crokeham by bishops Sledlard, and the third and fourth at Tawnton, that descendeth from Kingston by north, and another by south that ryseth about Pidmister, and thus is the Tone increased, which goeth from Taunton to Riston, Creche, Northcurry, Ling, and so by Anthony into ỹ Iuell, that after this confluence meeteth ere long with the Chare, a prety riuer that commeth by east from Northborow, by Carletõ, Badcare, Litecare, Somerton, Higham Audry more, Audry, and Michelsborow. From whence goyng on betwene Quenes more and North more, it receyueth one broke called Peder from by southwest, that runneth thorough Pederton parke and Northmore, and likewyse another that passeth by Durley, ere it doe come at Bridgewater. From Bridgewater it goeth by Chilton directly northwest, and then turnyng flat west, it goeth northwardes towards the sea, takyng in two waters by the way, wherof one runneth by Coripole and Cannington, and beareth ỹ name of Camington, the other by Siddington and Comage, and then receyuyng the Brier before it come at Start point, they fal as one into the Ocean, wherof let this suffice for the description of the Iuel, whose streame doth water al the west part of Somersethire and leaue it very fruitfull. Cãmingtõ Brier.

The Brier, Bruer, or Brẽr, ryseth of two waters, wherof one is in Selwood forest, and commeth downe by Brunecombe, Bruham, and Bruton. The other which Lelãd nameth Mellos, is northeast of Stafford towne, & goyng by the same, it runneth by Redlinche, to Wike where it meteth with the other hed, and thence go on as one to Awnsford, Alford (where it taketh in a water called Dulis frõ by north that ryseth nere Dolting, and commeth by Euerchurch parke) then to the Lidfordes, Basborow wod, the Tor hil, Pont perilous brig (wherinto they fable that Arthur beyng wounded to death did throw Calybur hys sword) by Glastenbury and so into the Mere. Beside this riuer there are two other also that fall into the said Mere, wherof the one called Soway commeth from Crechurch parke, & Pulton by Hartlack bridge, the other named Cos or the Coscombe water, from aboue Shepton, Mallet (which east of Wyke taketh in a water commyng from Welles) by Wyke, Gedney, and so into the Mere. Finally, returning all into one chanell it runneth to Burtlehouse, and sone after deuiding it selfe, one arme goeth by Bastian alias Brent bridge, to High bridge, leauyng Huntespill a market towne by South west, the other by Marke to Rokes bridge, Hebbes passage, and so into the sea, leauing a faire Iland wherin beside Brentmarsh are 7. or 8. townes, wherof Uphill is none, which is contrary to my former assertion, and here in therfore not onely the same, but also an other errour in the name of this riuer is worthy to be redressed, beside a third touching the course of the said Are, which braunceth not so low, but rather runneth into the braunche of Brier that lyeth most easterly, as experience by the eie of him that of set purpose hath of late ridden to view it, doth manifestly confirme. Now as touching the water that commeth from Wels, which falleth as I said into ỹ Coscomb water on the right hand of the Cawsey. You shall vnderstand that as many springs are in Wels, so the chiefe of them is named Andres well, which ryseth in a medow plat not farre from the east ende of the cathedrall church, and afterward goeth into the Coscomb, in such place as I haue noted. Brier. Lelãd wryteth ỹ first Brieuelus & the seconde Mellodun" or ỹ Milton water. Dulis. Soway. Cos.

Milton. Golafer. Leland speaketh of the Milton and Golafer waters, which should fall likewyse into the Wzier, but whether those be they wherof the one ryseth aboue Stalkozdell, and in the discent runneth by Shipton, Pitcomb, and so to Awnskozd on the one side, as the other doth rise betwene Batcomb and Upton noble on the other halfe: oz vnto whether of them eyther of these names are severally to be attributed, as yet I do not read.

Axe. 2. The Cheder bzooke, dzaweth. 12. miles within a quarter of a myle of his heade. The second Axe issueth out of Dwky hole, from whence it goeth by Dwky towne, afterward meeting with the Cheder bzook that commeth from the Cheder rocks, it runneth by Were, Ratcliffe, and after a little compasse into the nozthest wzaunch of the afozesayde riuer last described, betwene Kokes bzidge and Hebbes passage, as I haue bene informed.

Bane. From the fall of Axe we come to an other called Bane, nozthest of Woodspzing, whose hed is about Banwel parke, oz els in Smaldon wood. Then to another, and to the third,

Artro. called Artro, which riseth about Litton, and goyng by the Artroes, Abbey, Perrybzidge (receiuyng a rill ere it come together from by south) beneth Cungesbiry, oz as I learne betwene Kingston and Laurens Wike it meeteth with the sea.

Sottelspill. Sottelspill water ryseth betwene Cheueley and Nailesey, howbeit it hath no encrease before it come into the sea at Sottelspill, moze then the next vnto it, which is named Cleueden water, of a certaine towne neere to the fall therof. It ryseth southeast of

Cleueden Barrow, goeth by Burton Naileley, and so vnto Cleuedon.

Auon. 3. The Auon commonly called the third Auon is a goodly water, and growen to be very famous by sondzy occasions, to be particularly touched in our descriptiõ of Bzistowe. It ryseth in the very edge of Tetbury, and goeth by long Newtõ to Bzokenton, Whitchurch, and Malmsbury, where it receiueth two waters, that is to say, one from by west cõming by Foxeley, and Bzomleham, which rũneth so neere to the Auon in the west suburbe of Malmesbury, that the towne thereby is almost made an Iland. Another from Okesey parke by Yankerton, Charleton, and Garesden. After this confluence it halseth to Cole parke, then goeth it toward the southeast, till it meete with a water comming from south west (betwene Hullauington and Bzadfield) by Alton: and sone after with another at the nozthside from Bynall by Wotton Basset (thozow the parke to Gretenham, and vnder bzidges) and after ỹ confluẽce to Dauntsey, Segar, Sutton, Chzistmalsozd, Auon, Calwales house, & then to west Tetherton. Beneth this towne also it taketh in a water increased by two bzokes, wherof one cõming from Cleue by Hilmarton, Whitley house and Bzamble, (and there receiuyng another that commeth by Calne) passeth on by Stanley into the Auon, which from thẽcesozth goeth to Chippenham, Kowdon, Lekham, and then receiuing Cosham water, goeth to Lacocke, Melsham, and ere it come at Whaddon, crosseth two other in one chanell, wherof one riseth about Bzumham house, and goeth to Sene, the other about the Diuizes, and frõ thence runneth to Potterne wood, Crekewood, Wozton, Mallon, Bucklington, and ioyning with the other aboue Litleton, they run by Semmington, and nozth of Whaddon afozesayd into the maine streame, wherof I now intreat. From hence our Auon runneth to Stauerton, and south west of that towne meeteth with the Were that cõmeth from Upton by Dilton, Bzoke parke (there crossing a rill from Westbiry vnder ỹ plane) then to nozth Bzadley, Trubzidge, and so into Auon that goeth from thence to Bzadfozd, and within a myle oz there about, before it come at Freshfozd, it meteth with ỹ Frome, whose description doth insue.

Cosh Were. Westby vnder ỹ plane ner Wil out a ỹ oz twai

Frome The Frome ryseth in the east part of Shẽdip hils, and from thence rũneth by Astwijc, ỹ Cole pits, Lye vnder Wendippe, Whateley, Elmesbzidge, and sone after taketh in the Nonney water, comming from Nonney castle, thẽce to Walles & Dzcharley bzidge, where it receiueth a pzety bzoke descending from Frome Selwode west of Bzackley, increased with sundzy rils, wherof two come out of Selwood fozrest (and one of them from the Fratry) another out of Long lead parke, from Hozningham, and the fourth from Colley. Hence our Frome goeth to Lullington, Beckington, Farley castle, Bozde and Fresh fozd, and taking in the Silling bzoke falleth into the Auon beneath Bzadfozd, and east of Freshfozd. From thence goyng beneath Stoke, it receyueth on the left hande a water commyng from southwest, increased by sundzy bzokes, whereof one commeth frõ Camelet by Litleton, and Dankerton, the other from Stone Elton, Midsommer Nozton, by Welston, Rodstocke, Wzigleton, Foscot, and Wellow (and there takyng in a rill from Phillips Nozton, it goeth) by Clauerton to Hampton, & there it meeteth wyth another water commyng from Barthfozde, whose hed is at Littleton, from whence it rũneth by west Kinton to Castle comb (where it ioyneth with a rill rising by nozth from Litleton dzue) and thence commeth south to

Nonney Silling.

Slaugh-

Slaughtenford, Haselbury, Bor, Baithford, and so into the Auon, which turnyng playne west hasteth to Baithwyc, and (meeting wt another in his passage from Coldaston) to Bathe the Tiuertons and Cosson. Here also it taketh in a rill by the way from Markesbiry by Wilmerton and Newton, and then goyng on to Salwford, it meeteth with one rill sone after west of Northstocke, called Swinford, and another by Bittō, from Durhain by Wike, and so procedeth stil holding on his way to Cainsham, where it crosseth the Chute, which issueth at Winford, and goeth by bishops Chue to Penford, and there receiueth the Clue commyng from Cluton, and from thence to Chute, and so into Auon. The Auon likewyse after all these confluences goeth to Bristelton, and so to Bristow, beneath which it receyueth a rill on eche side; (whereof one commeth from aboute Stoke lodge in Gloucester shire, beyng a faire water and running by Acton, Frampt̄, Hambroch, Stapleton, and thorow Bristow, the other by south from Dundzey hill & towne, by Bispzt and Bedminster) and so discending yet lower, goeth to Rawnehain passage & Clyston, then by S. Vincentes rocke and Laie, next of all to Crocampill, and finally into the sea, whether all waters by nature do resort.

Beside this water, Leland maketh mention of Alderley brok, which in some auncient recordes is also called Auon, and runneth by Barkeley. In like maner he talketh of Douresley becke, whose principal hed is in Douresley towne, howbeit he saith no thing of it more, then that it serueth sundry tucking lucking milles, & goeth by Tortworth or foure miles further, before it come at the Sauern. Finally, making mention of an excellent quarrey of hard stone about Douresley, he telleth of the Tortworth becke that runneth within a sight shot of Barkeley towne, and falleth on the left hande into Sauerne marches, taking with all the Alderley or Auon, except I mistake his meanyng, which may sone be done among his confused notes.

Of the Sauerne, and such riuers as fall into the same, as also of other, whereby the rest afore mencioned, are increased before we come to the Humber.

Chap. 2.

The Sauerne springeth from the byghe mountaines of southwales, as I haue before remembred, and runnyng frō thence, the first water that it receiueth of any name, is called Dulas, which commeth therinto on the south side, & south west of Lan Idlos. It riseth as it should seeme of diuers heds in the edge of Radnorshire, and taking in sundry small rils, it meeteth at the last with ẏ Brueham brooke, and so they go togither till they fal into the Sauerne. Beneth lan Idlos likewise it taketh in the Clewdogh from north west, produced by the influence of foure prety brokes, whereof one is called Bacho, another Dunguin (commyng out of lin Glaslin) the third Lhoid rising in lin Beglin, & the most southerly Bigga. After which confluēce our Sauerne procedeth on by Berhlaid toward Landyman, taking in by the way on the east side the Couine, thence to Cairfuse castle; where it meeteth with the Carnon and the Taran both in one chanell, and going not far from the aforesaid fortresse. After this it crosseth the Hawes, on the north halfe beneth Aberhawes, next of all the Dulesse, that riseth in the edge of Radnorshire, and meteth with it before it come at Newton, otherwise called Trenewith, as I finde in Brittishe language. Being past Newton, it runneth forth by Landilouarne, and so forth on till it come to the fall of the Wule, whose hed is in ẏ edge of Radnor also, and therto his passage by Kery and Lanmerepwyg. After this also it procedeth further till it meete with the Kenlet or the Camalet (which taketh in also ẏ Tate or Tadbrokewater, rysing out of the hilles a myle from Bishops towne) the whole course therof beyng about seuen miles from the hed as I haue often heard. Of this also I find two descriptions, wherof one I borrow out of Leland, who saith that it is a prety broke runnyng in the dale by Mountgomery, and commyng within halfe a myle of the place where Chirbiry prory stood, it falleth into ẏ sauern, about a mile from thence. Of the rils saith he that run from the hils thorow Mountgomery, which are a myle from the Sauern shore, & likewise of the Lan Idlos broke that meeteth with all within foure miles of the hed, I speake not but thinke it sufficient to touche those of some estimation, onely leaning ẏ rest to such as may hereafter deale with thinges more particularly, as time and trauaile may reueale the truth vnto them, and hitherto Lelande whose wordes I dare not alter. But another noteth this Camalet or Kenlet to run by Moze, Liddiom, Sned, Churchstocke, Chirbury, Walcote and Winsbiry, and so into the Sauerne. From hence then, and after this confluence it goeth on by Fordon, Leighton and Landbreup toward Belueuerley, & there it meeteth with sundry waters in one chanell, wherof the one called the Tanet, is a very prety water (wherinto the Pe-

Bruehan. Clewdogh Bacho. Dungum. Lhoid. Bigga. Couine. Carnon. Taran. Hawes. Dulesse. Wule. Kenlet. Camalet. Tate. Laindles. Tanet.

Pencry or Wurnewy Auerney.

uerey or Wurnelwy doth fall, which descendeth from the hills by west of Watrafall not farre from Lhan Fuin) the other Auerny, and ioyning beneath Abertannoth or aboue Lannamonach nere vnto the ditch of Offa, it is not long ere they méete with the Mozdant brook, and there lose their names so soone as they ioyne and driue their waters with it. The hed of the Mozdant ryseth out of Lanuerdan hils, where diuers say that the paroche church of Croste Oswald or Oswester sometimes stod: Certes Oswester is 13. miles northwest frō Shrewsbury, and conteyneth ample within the walles. It hath in like sort foure suburbs or great stretes, of whiche one is called Stratlan, another Mullyn, the third Beterich (wherin are 140. barnes standyng on a row belonging to the cittizens or burgesses) and the fourth named the black gate strete, in whith are 30. barnes maintayned for corn and hay. There is also a brooke running thorough the towne by the crosse, comming frō Simons well, a bowe shot without the wall, and goyng vnder ỳ same betwene Thorowgate and Newgate, it runneth also vnder the blacke gates. There is an other in lyke sorte ouer whose course the Baderikes or Beterich gate standeth, and therfore called Bederichs brooke. The third passeth by the Willigate or Newgate, and these fall altogether with the crosse brooke a myle lower by south into the Mozdant that runneth (as I sayd) by Oswester. From hence also it goeth to Mozdant towne, and betwéene Lanobzeuy & Melverley doth fall into the Sauerne. After this our principall streame goeth to Sheauerton castle, Mountford, and Victon chappell, and here it receyueth a water on the left hande, that riseth of two heds, whereof one is aboue Merton, the other at Ellismere, and ioynyng betwéene Walcheuses and Bagley, the confluence runneth on by Radnall, Halto, Tedesmer, Roiton, Baschurch, Walford, Grafton, Pitton, and so into the Sauerne. From hence it runneth to Fitz, Eton, or Leyton, Barwise, Upper Rollall, Shelton, and so to Shrewsbury, where it crosseth the Mele water, whose head as I heare, is sayd to bée in Melton.

Simons beeke.

Bederichs.

Mele.

The Mele therfore rising at Melton, goeth by Broctō, Worthen, Alton Pigot, Wellley, Atterley, and at Lea it méeteth with the Haberley water, that cōmeth down by Pontesford and Aunston. After this confluence also it runneth to Newenham, and Crokemele (there taking in a ril on ỳ other side that descendeth by Wellbury & Stretton) & thence goyng on to Hanwood, Nobald, Pulley, Bracemele and Shrewsbury, it falleth as I sayd, into the open Sauerne. From hence our Sauerne hasteth to Vffington, Preston, and betwéene Chilton and Brampton taketh in the Terne, a faire stream and worthy to be well handled if it lay in me to performe it. This riuer riseth in a Mere beside Welbridge park, nére vnto Tern Mere village in Staffordshire. Frō whence it runneth by the parkes side to Knighton, Norton, Betton, and at Draiton Hales crosseth with a water commyng from aboute Adbaston, (where M. Brodocke dwelleth) and runneth by Chippenham and Amming: so that the Terne on the one side, and this brooke on the other, do inclose a great part of Bloze heth, where a noble battaile was sōetime purposed betwéene king Henry the 3. and ỳ Duke of Norke, but it wanted execution. But to procéede after this confluence, it runneth to Draiton Hales, Ternehill bridge, & ere long taking in a ril from Sandford by Blechley, it goeth to Stoke Allerton, Peplaw, and Eaton, where it crosseth with a brooke that ryseth about Brinton, and goyng by Higham, Norton, the great Mere, Forton, Pilson, Pickstocke, Leinton, Tibberton and Bolas, it ioyneth with the said Terne not far from Water Upton. Thence passing to Crogenton, it meteth with another brooke, that commeth from Chaltwen Alton, by Newporte, Longford, Aldney, and so thorow the Wilde moze to Kinesley and Slépe, and finally into the Terne, which hasteth from thence to Eston bridge, and nere vnto Walcote taketh in the Roden. This water riseth at Halton in Cumber mére lake, and commyng to Duckley, crosseth a rill from Cowlemere by Lenyall. Thence it goeth to Norton, and (ioyning with another rill beneth Nonnelay that commeth from Hidle) runneth on to Wen, Alton (there crossing a rill beneth Lacon hall from Prées ward) and so to Lée, Bessorde, Stanton, Norton, Shabzé, Paynton, Rodé, Rodington, and then into Terne that runneth from thence by Charlton, Upton, Norton, Barwise, Accham, & so into ỳ Sauerne two miles beneath Shrewsbery as I wéene. Thus haue I described the Terne in suche wyse as my simple skill is able to performe.

Tern

Rode

Now it resteth that I procéede on as I may, with the Sauerne streame with which after this former confluence it goth vnto Rorater, Brampton, Eaton vpon Sauerne, Draiton (where it ioyneth with the Euerne that runeth from Frodesleyward, by Withiall & Pitchford) Crelledge, Garneston, Leighton, and betwéene the two Bildasses crosseth the Rhe or Wenlocke water, and so goeth on to Brolley and Hord parke, where it vniteth it

Haberley.

Euer

Wenl or Rh

it selfe with another brooke to be described in this place whilest the Sauerne rest, and recreate it selfe here among the pleasaunt bottomes.

This water ryseth aboue Tongcastle, and ere it haue run any great distaunce from the hed, it méeteth with a rill commyng by Shirisse Hales, and Staunton. Thence it goeth on to Hatton, Royton, & there crossing another from Woodhouses, cómyng by Haughton and Euelin, it procéedeth to Beckebiry and Higford, and not omitting here to crosse ỳ Worse that runneth vnto it out of Snowdon pole, it passeth forth to Badger, Acleton, Ringlesord, and so into Sauerne, somewhat aboue Bridgenorth except myne information deceiue me. From Bridgenorth our Sauerne descendeth to Woodbury, Quatford, and there taking in the Marbrooke beneath Eaton (that riseth aboue Collaton, and goeth by Morul and Underto) it runneth by Didmanston, Hempton, Aueley, and beneath in the way to Bargate, crosseth with a brooke commyng from Upton parke by Chetton, Billingsley, and Highley, which beyng admitted, it holdeth on to Areley, Eyarnewood parke, Hawbache, and Dowlesse. Here also it méeteth with the Dowlesse water, a pretye brooke issuyng out of Cle hils in Shropshire, which are 3. myles from Ludlow, and running thorow Clebiry park in Wire forrest, and takyng with all the Lempe, doth fall into the Sauerne not very far from Bewdley. But to procéede. From Bewdley our Sauerne hasteth directly to Ribford, Areley and Redston, and here it méeteth with a water called Stoure, descending from Eley, or out of the pondes of Hales owen in Worcester shire, where it receyueth one rill from ỳ left hand, and an other from the right, and then goeth on to Sturbridge (taking in there the third water ere long running from Sturton castle) then to Kniuer Whittenton, Ducrley and Rydormisser, aboue which it crosseth one brookelet that commeth thyther by churche hill, and another beneath it that runneth by Belborow, betwirt which two waters lyeth an odde peece of Staffordshire included, and also the Cle hill. From hence the aforesayde Sauerne hasteth by Redston to Shrawley, and aboue this towne receiueth the Astley water, as beneath the same it doth an other. From Witley thẽ it goeth on to Holt castle, and so to Grimley, taking in therabout with the Dour, and Sulway waters, whereof this riseth at Chadswyc, and runneth by Stoke priory, & Dreitwiche, the other aboue Chadesley, and commeth by Dourdale. After this it goeth forth vnto Worcester, in olde tyme called Cair Brangon, by Cair Frangon, where it méeteth with the Tiber, or Tiberto water on the right hand aboue that city, and beneath it nére vnto Powyc with ỳ Temde, whose description shall be set downe before I procéede or goe any further wyth the Sauerne. Tiber.

The Temde or as some name it ỳ Tame, riseth vp in Radnorshire out of the Pelénith hils, and sone after hys issue, méeting with a water from Withal, it runneth to Begeldy, Lanuerwaterden, and so to Knighton, which is v. or vj. miles as I heare from hys originall. From Knighton it goeth ouer the ditch of Offa vnto Standish, and crossyng a rill that commeth from betwene the parkes, named Clude (and is a bound of Radnorshire) it goeth to Buckton, Walford, and Lanuardé, where it méeteth with the Bardwell or Berfield, and the Clun both in one chanell, of which I find these descriptions here followyng worde for worde in Lelande. The Bardwell or Barfield riseth aboue new chappel, in the honour of Clun, hard by the ditche of Offa, and goeth by Bucknell. The Clun issueth out of the ground betwéne Lhan Uehan and Paiston, and going on by Bucton, Clun castle, Clundon, Purslaw, and Clunbiry, it crosseth with a brooke that runneth along by Kempton and Brampton. Thence goyng forth by Clunbury, Brome, Abcot and Parlow, it méeteth with the Bardwell, and so into the Temde, not very farre from Temderton. I suppose that Lelãd calleth the Bardewell by the name of Dwke, but I will not abide by it because I am not sure of it. After these confluences therfore our Temde, goeth by Trippleton, Deunton, Burrington, and Bromefield, where it méeteth with the Duey, which is an indifferent streame, and increased with sundry waters, wherof I say as followeth. The first of all is called the Bow. It riseth as I learne in the hilles betwéne Hillington and Shelue, and from thence cõmeth down by Lindley and Hardwyc, where it crosseth the Warren that issueth out of the ground about Rotly chappell, and runneth by Adston and Mentnor. After the confluence also goyng on by Choulton and Cheynles, it taketh in the Quency and Strabroke both in one chanell, wherof the first riseth at Lebotwood, and commeth downe by the Strettons till it passe by Feilanton. The seconde mounteth about Longuill, & goeth by Rushebury, Newhall, Harton, and Alcaster, from whence it is not long ere it fal into the Quény, and so by Stratford into the Duey, which hath borne that name sithens the confluence of the Bow and Warré at Hardwyc, wher-

Tẽde. Clude. Berfielde. Clun. Dwke. Duey. Bow. Warren. Quency & Strabrok.

Hath of

of I spake before. Finally, the Dney which
Somergil. some call the Somergill beyng thus increa-
sed, it runneth on to Hawford chappel, New-
tō, Dneybury, Bromefield, & so into Temde,
and next of all to Ludlow. The Temde be-
yng thus brought to Ludlow, meeteth with ỹ
Cozne. Cozne which commeth thorowe Cozuedale
frō aboue Broctor by Horehouses, Shipton,
Hungerford, and a little beneath takyng in a
ril that commeth by Tugford, and Brancott
castle, goeth on to Corsham castle, and there
crossing another from S. Margarets Clee, it
hyeth to Stanton Lacy, and so likewyse to
Ludlow. From Ludlow in lyke sort it goeth
to Ludford, the Alhefordes, little Hereford,
Burrington and at Burford buiteth it selfe
Ladwiche. with the Ladwich that commeth beneth Hil-
burne stoke, from betweene Browne, Clee-
hill, and Stittertons hill, to Middelton, Hen-
ley, Ladwich, Conam, and so into Temde,
which beneth Temdbury receyueth another
ril on the other side, and the second on ỹ left
Rhe. hand called Rhe, that commeth from aboue
Ricton, Staterton, Hounde, Mene, Clebiry,
Knighton, and then into the Temde. From
hence the Temd goeth by Alkā, Lingridge,
Shelley Welch, Clifton, Whitburne (and
crossing a water that commeth from ỹ Sa-
pies) to Knightwyc and Bradwaies. Here
about againe it intertaineth a rill that des-
cendeth from aboute Kidbury on the right
hand, and goeth by Collomathern, Credeley,
Austrike, and so into Temd, and then proce-
dyng forwarde the said streame, renneth to
Braunforde, & ere long (taking in the Lang-
herne that ryseth about Hartley, and passeth
Lang- herne. by Kengelwyc) it goeth to Powyc, and so in-
to the Sauerne before it come at Wickece-
ster. Thus haue I brought all such streames
before me that fall into the Sauerne, from
the hed, vntill I come to Powyc, wherof as
you may easily perceiue the Temde, is the
most excellent. Now it resteth that I proced
with the rest of the discourse intended con-
cernyng this our riuer. Certes, frō Powyc
mils which are about halfe a myle beneath
Worcester, ỹ Sauerne runneth on to Kemp-
sey and Cleueld, whence after it hath crossed
a broke commyng from Cowley, & it hasteth
first to Stoke, and so to Upton, but ere it
come there, it drouneth another fall descen-
dyng from Maluerne hilles by Blackemore
parke, and sone after the third growyng by
two braunches, whereof one commeth also
from Maluerne hils by little Maluerne and
Welland, the other from Elderford by Pen-
dock and Longdon. After these confluences
in lyke sort, it runneth to Bushelley, & Tew-
kesbiry, where it receiueth the Auon, that fo-
loweth next of all in order to be described,
before I proced any further in my discourse
of Sauerne.

The Auon riseth at Pauesby in the bor- Auo
ders of Northhampton shire, a little fro hād
of Gillesborow, and fote of the hils whereon
Pauebey standeth, and eue out of the church
yard of the sayde village. From hence it go-
eth to Welford, Stamford, Lilburne, Clif-
ton, and Rugby, by north wherof it crooketh a
water called Swift, which commeth from Swiu
aboue Rymcote, to Lutterworth, Browne o-
uer and Collford. From thence also it goeth
to Newbold, Wolston, Rugington, & betwene
the Stonlies taketh in the Sow. This Sowe Souu
is a prety water cōming from aboue Calen-
don to Whitley, & sone after meeting with a
riueret from Couentry, which some doe call
Shirburne water, it goeth thence to Bag-
ginton where it taketh in a rill called Rynel,
as I haue red from Kenelworth, frō whence Ryn
it runneth to Stonley, and so into the Auon.
After this confluence the Auon procedeth on
to Stonley Abbey, Alchehow, Milverton, Ed-
monds cote, and a pace to Warwic. But ere
it come there, it meeteth from south east with
two waters in one chanell, wherof the least
commeth to Parton from bishops Itching-
ton, by Herburbiry and Thorpe, where it
crosseth a rill from Southam. The other is
called Leame, or Lime that descendeth from Lem
about Helladen, or neere vnto Catesby in
Northampton shire, and going by Duecote,
Braunston, Lemington and Merton, it ioy-
neth with the other, and then go from thence
together vnder the name of Leame, to Yun-
nington, Cobbington, and so into the Auon
as I gaue notice before. At Warwycke also
the Auon taketh in a water runnyng north-
west from Grone parke. Thence it goeth on
to Berford, and there crossing another from
Shirburne, it passeth forth to bishops Pam-
ton, meting finally with the third, frō Rine-
ton that runneth by Walton and Charlcote.
After this last rehersed confluence, it hasteth
to Stretford vpon Auon, and thē to Ludding-
ton ward, where it taketh in the Stoure that Stou
riseth aboue Cherington, and whose course
from thence is such, as that beyng once past
the head, it goeth by Weston, and ere long
crossing a water from Campden, hangyng
Alton, and Todnam, it runneth to Barche-
ston, Aldermalton, Clifford, and so into the
Auon. From hence then the sayd Auon goeth
to Luddington, Burton, Bitford, and Cleue,
and beyng parted from the said towne, ere it
come at Sawford, it receiueth the Arrow or
Aur, which rising in the blacke hils in Wor- Arro
cester shire, commeth by Alcherche, Beley
parke,

parke, Pyſley, Studley, & thē taking in another rill called Alne, out of Feckham foreſt, & going by Colwghtō park, it haſteth to Alceſter, Arrow, Ragley, Wheteley, Bouington, Stādford, & ſo into Auō, which after this cōiunctiō goeth to Alſentō, & thē to Couelholm: But ere it come there it receyueth two waters in one Chanell, whereof the firſt ryſeth about Willerſey, ỹ other nere to Buckland, and ioyning beneath Badſey, they fall into Auon, vnder the name of Pludor breke before it come to Couelholme. Beyng paſt Couelholme it croſſeth ỹ Vincell, which ryſing out of the hilles ſomewhere about Sudley, runneth two myles farther to Winchelcome, and Gretton, and taking in a ryll by the waye from Hayles, proceedeth on (going within one quarter of a myle of Hayles Abbaie) to Tuddington, or Doddington, beneath which when it hath croſſed another rill that commeth from Stanwaie, it goeth to Warmington, Sedgebarow, and receyuing there the laſt on the ryght hande alſo (as all aboue rehearſed) it falleth into the Auon, whē it is come by Hinton, vnto a towne called Hamptō, or as ſome do write it Ampton. After this confluence the Auon goeth to Charlton, to Crapthorne (and there taking in a rill on the left hand) to Fladbyry wike, & almoſt at Perſore bridge, meeteth with a braunched water that commeth by Pidle, whereof one heade is at Alberton, an other at Pidle. Frō Perſore it goeth to Birlingham, and ſone after carrying a breke withall diſcending from Fakenham, by Bradley, Himbleton, Huddenton, Crowley, Churchehill, Pibletō, Beſſefore and Deſſefore, it fleeteth to Eckington, Bredon, Twining, Witton, & Tewkeſbiry, where it ioyneth with the Sauerne.

Now to reſume the courſe of the Sauerne, you ſhall vnderſtande that from Tewkeſbiry it goeth to Derehirſt, thē how paſſage, and ſone after receyuing the Chiltenham water that commeth thither by Bodenton, Sawton, & Norō, it runneth to Alhelworth, Sainthirſt, & here it parteth it ſelf till it come to Gloceſter, where it vniteth it ſelf againe. But in the meane time ỹ eaſterly braūch receyueth a forked chanell, wherof one heade is not farre from Leke hāpton, the other about Witcōb, frō whēce it goeth to Brockworth. The other braunche or arme, taketh in the Leaden that cōmeth down by Preſtō, Dimmock, Pantley vper Leadon, Leadon court and there taking in one rill that commeth from Linton by Arekenoll, and another beneath it frō Tainton by Rudforde, it falleth into the ſayde braunche on the right ſide, before it come at Gloceſter. The Sauerne therefore being paſt Gloceſter, it meeteth wyth a little ryll on the ryght hande, and thence holdyng on his courſe by Elmore, Minſterworth Longney to Framilode, it receyueth ere it come at this latter the Strowd broke, which riſing not farre from Syde, goeth by Mallade, Edgeworth Frampton Strowde, and receyuing there a water that commeth from Pannelwiſe Lodge, by Pitteſcombe on the one ſide, and another from Radbridge on the other, it proſequeth hys voyage to Stone houſe, Eſtington, whyte Mylen, and ſo toward Framilode where the ſayde Strowde doth fall into the Sauerne. Strowd.

After the fall of Strowde, the Sauerne goeth from thence to Newenham, and Arlingham, and ſone after receyuing a water on eche ſide, whereof one commeth from Uley by Cham and Chambridge, the other by Blackney and Catcombe, it goeth forth tyll it meete with another water, on eche ſyde, whereof that on thenglyſhe halfe is forked, ſo that one heade thereof is to be founde about Borwell, the other at Horton, and meeting aboue Tortworthy, they runne by Stone and Barkeley Caſtell, and ſo into the Sauerne. That on ỹ welch halfe is named Newarne, which commeth from the forreſt of Deane, and ſo into the Sauerne. Newarne.

The nert ryuer that falleth into the ſayde ſtreame is the Wie, or Guy, whoſe deſcription I haue not ſo exactly as I would wiſh, & therfore I muſt be contented to ſet it down as I may, the like alſo muſt I doe vō the reſt of thoſe of wales, becauſe mine information failleth me, without all hope of redreſſe. Wye or Guy.

The Guy therefore ryſeth out of ỹ blacke mountaines of wales, in Radnor ſhire & cōming by Lhāgerik, & Riadargoy it receiueth one ryll from northeaſt by S. Harmon, & another from the weſt called Darnoll. Thence it goeth to Lhanuthel, and in the way betwirte Riadar and Lanuthell, it ioyneth wyth the Elland (whoſe heade is nere to Comerykwith) & taketh likewiſe into him the Clardwen that deuideth for a ſeaſon Radnor ſhire from Brecknoch. From Lhanuthel it goeth weſt of Diſſart, where it receyueth ỹ Ithan, a riuer riſing aboue Lhanibiſter, and from whence it runneth to Landwy, and Lanbaderne vaur. Beneath this alſo it croſſeth a water on eche ſide, wherof that on the ryght hand conſiſteth of the Duleſſe, and the Clucdoch, after their confluence, other the hight Lomaron whoſe heade is aboue Lanihangle. After theſe confluences, it runneth on crinkeling in ſtraunge maner, till it come to Diſſart, (taking in the Hawy on the left ſide ere it come there) and then into ỹ Wy, which Darnol. Elland. Clardwē. Ithan. Duleſſe. Clucdoch. Lomaron. Hawy.

directeth his course to Bealt, alias Lhanuear where it receyueth the Prwon, a notable streame, and inlarged by sondry faire waters, as the Weuerey, the Dulas, and the Comarch on the one side, and likewise an other Dulesse, beside sondry small rils on the other. After this our Irwon goeth to Lhanuareth where it crosseth the Dehon on the one side, then to Aberedwy, and there receyueth the Edwy on the other, and after that the Machawey that runneth by Castle pain, and so going on méeteth in processe of tyme with the Leuẽni, wherof Leland in his commentaryes, doth write as here insueth.

Yrwon.
Weuery.
Dulesse.
Comarch.
Dulesse.
Dehon.
Edwy.
Machawy.
Leuenni,

The Leuenni, otherwise called the Euer or Euery, is a faire streame rising in Welche Talgarth hard by Blain Leuenni, among the Atterill hilles, from whence it goeth to Brecknock Mere, which is two miles long, and a myle brode, and where mẽ fish in Vniligneis or botes of one péece, as they doe in Lhin Seuathan, which is foure myles from Brechnoch. Finally bringing great store of Red sande withall, and there with the Brennich water (that hath his originall issue at Pennith gader, and is encreased with the Trufrin) it falleth into ẏ Wie abone Glesebyry three miles from Hale, at a place that of the onelye fall of this brooke is named Aberleuenni. Being come to Hale (a pretye towne where much Romaine coine is found, which the people call Jewes money) it méeteth with the Dulesse that cõmeth also from the Atterell by Kersop, and from thence goeth to Clifford castel, the Whitneles, Winferton, Letton, Bradwarden, Brobery, Monington, Byforde, Bridgesalers, Eaton, Brynton and Herefordе, where it méeteth with a water ryling shorte of Wormesley, and goeth by Maunsell, Lacy, Brinsop, Credell, Stretton and Huntington, and sone after into the Wye, beside a little ryll that runneth betwene them both euen into Herefordе towne. From hence in lyke sorte the Wye hasteth to Rotheras church, Hamptõ, and Mordeford, where it taketh in sundrye waters in one chanell, of which the Lug or Luy is the principall, and next of all to be described before I go any furder with ẏ course of the Wye, whereinto it dischargeth the chanell. It ryseth as I reade, harde by Melenith neare to a chappell of our Ladye of Pylale, from whence it goeth to Rineton, Titley, Stanbach, Staunton, Pembridge, Arellande, Storbach, Euington, Brparley, beneath which it crosseth the Wadele, comming from new Radnor, Harton, olde Radnor, Nash, and hereabout méeting with an other running by Weston hall, to Monacht, Fulbrooke, Preston (a market towne) and so to Byton, where ioyning with ẏ Wadel, they run on as one to ouer Lée, Kilminster, Kingeslande, Elton, and Leon Minster (or Lemister) taking in the Dney by the waye, before we come at the towne. At Lemister it selfe in like sort three waters doe méete, and almost enuironne the towne, that is to say, the Lug, the Pinfulley or Pinsell (a ryuret rysing at Kingeslande two myles from Lemister) and the Kenbrooke, which commeth out of the blacke mountaines. From Lemister the Lug or Luy goeth on to Eton, and there taketh in a rill beneath Hampton, whereof one heade is betwéene Hatfield and Buckleton, an other neare vnto Marston, & méeting both at Humber. From Hampton it goeth to Wellington, Morton, Sutton, Shelwyke, Lugwardine, & Longward, where it crosseth the Fromey or frome a prette water, and worthy to be remembred. It ryseth aboue Wolferelaw, from whence it commeth downe to Bromeyarde, Auenbary, Frome cassell, Stretton vpon Frome, and there taking in a water (called Acton, or Loden as I take it) comming from aboue Byschoppes Grendon, by Pencomb, Colwarne, Stoke Lacy, Colwarne, and Engleton, it (I meane Frome) goeth on to Yarkeley, Dorington, and Longwarde, and so into the Lug, which runneth furthwith to Mordford or Worthford, & so into the Wye, vnto whose description I nowe returne agayne. Being come therefore vnto Mordforde, it goeth to Hamlacy, Ballinghã, Capull regis (where it receyueth a water called Treske, from Berche by Treske) Fawley, Brokanton, Howe capull, Inkeston, Foy, Brampton, Bridstowe, Wilton Castell, the Rosse (and there a rill from Bishoppes Opton by Budhall,) Wereferde, Yam, Glewston, Godderiche, (here in lyke sort méeting with another that commeth from Ecleswall, by Peniard Castell and Coughton) to Welche Bicknor, Englishe Bicknor, Huntesham & Whitchurch, where it taketh in Gaynar water that cõmeth from Birche, by Lanwarne, Michaell church, and at Langarran crossing the Garran brooke, that ryseth in Gregwood fiue myles from Monemouth by Norwest, these two doe runne as one, to Marston, Whitchurch and so into the Wye, which goeth from thence to Dirton and Monemouth, where I will stay a whyle till I haue described the Mone, next of all to be remembred here.

Dney.
Pinsel.
Kenbrooke
Fromey.
Acton alias Loden.
Treske.
Gaynar.
Garran.

The Mona ryseth in the forrest of Hene, twentie myles from Monemouth by west in Cirtlande, and going by Creswell, or Craswall,

Mona.

wall, after it hath runne a good distaunce frō the head, it receyueth the Elkon on the one side, and the Elkill or Yesgill on the other: but first of all this last remembred that commeth thither by Lanthengle, Elkill and the olde Court. As for the other it commeth frō aboue Knedoch by Landuehans churche, and this is all that I can say of these two. After these confluences therfore, the Mona goeth to Cluedoch, & taking in the Hodny that rūneth by fine Capell, Lantony abbay, Stāton, Michaell churche, it hasteth on to Walderston, Landsillo, and then toyneth wyth the Dour, that ryseth a little aboue Dourston, which is fyue miles aboue Dour abbay, so that it runneth thorow the Gilden dale, by Peterchurch, Folwchurche, Morhampton, Newcourt, Dour, and beneath Dour taketh in the Dulesse, from Lanuethengle, by Harlestwas cassell on the one side, and eare long the Wormesbecke from aboue Keuernal by Didley, Deueror, Worthebridge and Kenderchurch on the other, and so running all in one chanell vnto Mona, that riuer goeth on to Kinech churche, Grismonde, Cardway, Skenfrith, Warnethall, Perthire and so to Monemouth, where it meeteth wyth the Wye.

Elkon.

Elkill.

odney.

our.

ulesse.

ormes-
tche.

rolly.

wy.

The Guy or Wye therfore being increased with thus many brookes and waters, passeth on from hence, and going toward Landogo, it meeteth with ẏ Trolly becke, whose head is aboue Lannam ferry and goeth from thence by Lhantellio, Lanthangell, Gracedieu, Diggestow, Wonastow, Troy and so into Wye, that runneth also by Wilts wood chase, taking in there the Elwy that cōmeth from aboue Landelwy by Langowen, Lanissen, Penclase, Trilegh, and Langogo, where meeting with the afore sayde streame, the Wye directeth his course from thence by Tinterne abbay, Chepstow and so into the sea, leauing the Treacle (a Chappell standing on a rocke) on the left hande betweene it and Sauerne, ouer against the point that lyeth south of Wetteley. Nert vnto the Wye, I finde a rill of no great course, comming downe from Mounton chappell, by a place of the bishops of Landaffe. Thence passing by Charlton rocke, and the point whereon Trinitie chappell standeth, I come vnto the fall of Trogy, which ryseth short of Trogy cassell, & runneth towarde the sea, by Landuair, Dewlton, Calycot and so into the Ocean.

Wye.

Trolly.

Elwy.

Trogy.

The next fall is of a water that commeth from about Penho by Saint Bides, north and by west of Denny Island, which lieth midway betweene that Fall & Horshot point, and before I touche at Goldcleffe point, I crosse another fall of a freshe brooke, whose heade is aboue Landuciго, and course by Lhanbed, Langston, Lhanwarne, & thorowe the more to Wilston.

Denny I-
de in ẏ
west of
th Sa-
ue.

The Vske or Wiske, in latin Osca riseth in such sort as I haue already described, & running in processe of tyme, by Trecastell, it taketh in the Craie brooke, on the right hande before it come to Kidburne chappell. Going also frō thence toward Deuinock, it crosseth the Senney on the same side, (which riseth aboue capel Senney) next of all the Camblas, and at Abbraine the Brane, or the Bremich whose head is three miles from Brecknock, and running by Lanthengle, it meeteth I say with the Vske, about Mayster Awbries Maner. Beneath Aber Ysker, it receyueth the Ysker, which riseth aboue Martir Kinoch and commeth by Battell chappell, and goyng fromthence by Lanspythed, and Newton, it runneth in the ende to Brecknocke, where it taketh in the Hodney on the one side, whose head is in Blaine Hodney, and commyng downe from thence by Defrune chappell, Lanthāgle, & Landiuilog it meeteth with the Vske at Brecknocke townes ende, which of the fall of this water, was sometime called Aberhodni, as I haue bene informed: on the other halfe likewise it receyueth ẏ Tertarith that ryseth among the Bane hylles, fyue myles from Brecknoch and commeth likewise into the very subburbes of ẏ towne beneath Trenewith, or newe Troy wherby it taketh the course.

Vske.

Craie.

Senny.

Cambias.

Brane.

Ysker.

Hodney.

Tertarith.

After these confluēces, the Vske procēdeth on towarde Aberkinurike, or the fall of a water whose heade is in the rootes of Menuchdenny hil, and passage by Cantreffe. Thence it goeth by Lanhamlaghe, Penkethley castell, Lanlanfreid Landetty, Langonider, & sone after receyuing the Kiangall (which riseth about the hill whereon Dynas Cassell standeth, and runneth by Lanyhangle and Tretoure) it passeth betweene Laugattocke and Cerighhowell, to Langroyny, and there crosseth the Groyny brooke, that discendeth from Monegather Arthur hill, by Peter Church, as I finde. When the Vske is past this brooke, it taketh in three other short rils, from by south with in a little distance, whereof the first hight Cledoch Maur, the seconde Fydan, & the thirde Cledochvehan. Of these also the last falleth in nere to Lanwenarth. From hence the Vske runneth to Abergeuenni towne, where it meeteth with the Geuenni water from by north (that riseth short of Bettus Chappell) & so goeth on to Hardwise, beneath which it crosseth three nameles

Kynaricke

Kiangall.

Groyny.

Cledoch-
vaur.

Fidan.

Cledoch-
vehan.

Geuenni.

rilles

Gruenni. rilles on the right hande before it come at Lanhangle vpon Vske, of whose courses I know not any more then that they are not of any length nor the chanel of sufficient greatnes seuerally to entreate of. Betweene Kemeneys and Trostrey it meeteth with such an other rill that commeth downe by Bettus Newith. Thence it goeth to Cair Vske or Bzenbigei, but eare it come there, it receyueth the Birthin on the right hande, which is a prettie water descending from two heades, wherof the first is north west of Manyhylot, as the other is of Lanyhangle & Pentmorell. Next vnto this it ioyneth with the Elwy aboue Lanbadocke, whose heade is East of Penclase, and running westwardes by Penclase, Lanmillen, Langolwen (and beneath Landewy taking in a broket from Ragland castell, that commeth downe thither by Raglande parke) it bendeth southwest vntill it come at the Vske, which crinckling toward the South meeteth with three rilles before it come to Narthey chappell, wherof the first lyeth on the right hande, and the other on the left. Frō Narthelly it hasteth to Kemmeys, and eare it come at Carleon, taketh in two waters on the ryght hande, of which the first commeth downe betweene Landgwy & Landgweth, & by Lhan Henoch, without any farder increase: but the other is a more beautifull streame, called Auon, and thus described as I finde it among my pamphlettes.

Birthin. Cair vske standeth on one side of Vske, and Carlō on the other, but Cair vske by diuers miles farder into the land.

Auon. The Auon ryseth in the hilles that seeme to part Monemouth and Brecknock shires in sunder, and running downe from thence by Capell Newith and Triuethin, it receyueth a water from by south almost of equall course, & from that quarter of the countrie and in processe of time, another little one frō the same side, eare it come to Lanyhangle, from whence it goeth to Gwennocke & Penrose, and so in Vske before it go by Carleon. Being past Carlion it runneth to Crymdy, where M. Harbert dwelleth, and there carying another broke withall, that descendeth by Henlis and Bettus chappell, it runneth furth to Newport (in Welch castel Newith) and from thence into the sea taking the Ebowith water withall, whose race I described in my first booke, but hauing nowe more intelligence of his course, I will ones againe deale with it in this manner as I reade it.

Ebowith. The Ebowith riseth in ẏ very edge of Monemouth shyre, aboue Blaineg went, and coming downe by Lanbeleth and Tumberlow hyll (crossing a ryll from North east by the way) it taketh in therabout ẏ Serowy, that runneth by Trestrent, and is of lesse race hitherto, then the Ebowith, and frō that same quarter. After this confluence it goeth to Riskey, Rochestron castell, next of all thorowe a parke, and so to Grenefeld castell, and is not long ere it fall into the sea, being the last issue that I doe finde in the county, which beareth the name of Monemouth, & was in olde time a part of the region of the Silures.

Serowy.

The Kemeney or as some corruptly call it the Ponney is a goodly water, and from the head a march betweene Monemouth & Glamorgan shires. It receyueth no water on the east side, but on the west diuers smal beckes, whereof three are betweene the rising & Bathetere chappell, the fourth commeth in by Capel Gledis, the fift from betweene the Faldray and Lanbadoc, the sixt and seuenth before it come to Bedwas, and the eyght ouer against Bedwas it selfe, from chappell Martin: after which confluences it runneth on by Maghan, Keuen, Mabley and Romeney, and ere long crossing a becke at North east, that commeth by Lanyssen, and Rathe it falleth sone after into the Sauerne, Sea, but see more of this in my former Treatize.

Kemeney.

The Taffe riseth among the woody hilles, that lye west, and by north of Mynchdeny hill, and going downe to Capell Nanty, it taketh in a rillet from by west, & afterward another from by east, comming by Morlais castell, called Taffe behan (as the former is named Taffe vaur) so that Menuch hill doth lye betweene these two heades, and therto is an hill of no smal height and greatnesse. Being ioyned they go on to Marty Tidull as one, & so procede til they mete with Cunnō, (or rather Kenon, tenne myles from Clauth constable, a faire Broke running to Aberdare, and after that with the Rodney, before described) where into the Cledugh falleth, a myle from Ketgowghe & an halfe, on ẏ west side, after which confluence it hasteth to the sea without any farder increase, by Castell Coythe, Whitchurche, Landaffe, and Cardiffe, as I gesse.

Taffe vaur. Taffe behan. Cunnon or Kenon Rodney. Cledung

The Lay ryseth in the hylles aboue Lantrissent (for all the region is very hilly.) From whence comming by Lantrissent, it runneth by Coit Marchan parke, Lambeder S. Brides, Lhannihangel, Leckwith, Ladowgh, Cogampyll, and so into the sea, without anye manner increase by anye rylles at all saving the Dunelais, which ryseth foure myles from his fall, east northeast, & meeteth withall a little more then a quarter of a myle from Pont Melin Vaur, and likewise by west, the Methcoide that commeth from Glinne Rodeney, and wherein to the Pedware discharged that small water gathered in his chanell.

Lay. Dunelais Methcoit Pedware

Leauing

Leauing the Laie which some call Claye, and passing the Pennarth baie, that lyeth betweene the Pennarth and the Lauerocke pointes, we left Scilley Islet (which lyeth in the mouth of Scilley hauen before described) and came vnto the Barry whose heade is aboue Wrinkton castell, and from whence hée runneth by Deinspewis, Cadorton, Barry and so into the sea.

Barry.

Thawan is the next streame (sauing Come Bidy touched afore) nowe to be described. It ryseth of two headlettes aboue Lanlannan, and thence goeth to Cowbridge, Lanblethian, Landoghe, Beanpere, Flymston, Gylston, and betweene the east and the west Aberthawan into the Sauerne Sea. But ere it come all there it receyueth a broke called Kenlan, or Karnlan, or Kenser, on the Eastside, whose heade is east of Bolston, and commyng by Charnelhoyde, Lhancaruan, and Lhancadle, it falleth into the former aboue eyther of the Thawans, Lelande sayth, that Kenlan hath two heades whereof the more Northerly called Brane, lieth in Lucnlithan, & runneth seauen myles before it méete wyth the other. Leauyng this water we sayled on, casting about the nashe point, omytting two or three waters whereof I haue made mencion in my former treatise by the way, because I haue nothing more to adde vnto their descriptions, except it be that the Colhow taketh in a rill frō Lan Iltruit, of whose course (to saye the truth) I haue no manner knowledge.

Thawan.

Kenlan.

The Ogur or Gur, which some falsely call Ogmur, is a welfaire streame, (as we were wont to saye in our olde englishe) whose head is in the same hilles, where the Rodeneis are to be founde, but much more westerlye, and running a long course ere it come to any village, it goeth at the length beneth Languineuere, to S. Brides vpon Ogur, then to newe castell, and Narthermaure, beneath which it méeteth the Wenny, halfe a mile from Ogor castell on the east banke. It ryseth fiue or sixe miles from this place, among the hilles, and comming downe at last by Lanharne, it crosseth a ryll ere long from northeast, and the confluence passeth forth by Coitchurch, Ogor castell, and so into the Ogor. Lelande wryting of the waters that fall into thys Ogor sayth thus. Into the Ogur also resorteth the Garrow two myles aboue Lansanfride bridge, descending from Blaingarow. It taketh furthermore sayeth hée another called Leuenny rysing in the Paroch of Glin Corug, at Northwest, and then running two myles lower, vniteth it selfe with the Corug broke, a little short thing & worthie no longer speach. From this confluence the Leuenni goeth seuen myles farder eare it méete with the Ogor on the west side, at Lansanfride, two myles aboue Penbowt, and so farre Lelande. Next vnto the Ogur is the Kenlig water, that commeth downe by the Pyle and Kenlige castell, and being past the same we crosse the Margan rill, where Sir Edwarde Nanrell dwelt, and so vnto Auon, which hauing two heades as is said, the more easterly of them commeth downe by Hauedaport chappell, the other by Glin Corug, Michaell church, Aber Auon, and so into the sea. From hence we went along by the Cole pittes to the mouth of the Neth.

Gur.

Kenny.

Arrow,

Laenne,

Corug

Leuenny.

Kenlig.

Margan.

Auon.

Neth.

The Neth is a faire water, rysing of fiue heades, whereof the more easterlye named Nethvchā. Nethvehan riseth not farre from the head of the Kennon, and comming downe to Aberpirgwin, it receiueth Nethvaur, a litle aboue the towne, which rising not farre southeast of the head of Taup, receiueth ỳ Traugarth, the Weltay and the Hepsay (all which are accompted, as members of his heade) in one chanell about a myle or more before it ioyne with Nethvehan. After these confluences, the maine streame runneth in and out by sundry myles till it mette with the Dulesse, whose head is aboue Chappel Brenaunt. Thence it goeth to Cador towne, or betweene it and Lamiltyde, then to Nethtowne, and beneath the same receiuing the Cledoch, that runeth by Kelebebilch, and also Neth abbay where Y. Crumwell dwelleth, it goeth on by Coitfranke forrest, Nethwood, Brypton ferry and so into the sea.

Neth.

Nethvchā.

Neth Vaur.

Traugarth.

Weltay.

Hepsay.

Dulesse.

Cledoch.

Taup.

The Taup (for I passe ouer the Crimline becke, bicause I want his description) riseth in the thickest of the blacke mountaines, and comming downe west of Callwen chappell, it receyueth on the east banke a ryll, named Coiell, that runneth thither by Coielburne chappell, and beyng thus vnited the chanell passeth forth by Istraguules, and then méeting with the Turche, or Torche water that commeth from the foote of the blacke mountaine, it runneth to Langoge, Lansamled, S. Johns, Swansey, and so into the Baie. Being past this we come by another litle fal, whose water runneth three or foure myles, ere it come into Swansey Baie, but without name. Thence going about by Dyscermout castell & Bumbles point, we go forth toward the southwest, by Pennarth point, till wée come to Ilston water, whose head is not far within the lande, and yet a rill or two doth fall into the same. Then casting about by Drwiche point, wée go onwarde there by and sayling flat north by the Holme, and S.

Coiell.

Torche.

Ilston.

Kell-

Bennettes chappell and then Nozth east by Whitfozde point, we went at length to the Lochar, oz Loghoz, oz as Lhoyd nameth it the Lychwz. It ryseth aboue Gwenwy chappell, from whence it goeth to Landbea, and aboue Bettus receiueth a rill named Amone that entereth thereinto frō nozthcast. Being past Bettus it passeth by Laneddy, Arthelas bzidge, and ouer against Landilo Talabout, it crosseth from by west the Combwily and afterwarde the Mozlais aboue Langnarche on the same side. Then comming to Leghoz castell, it taketh in on the east side, the Lhu whose course is not aboue fiue myles, and thence losing the name of Lochar, it is called Burray as I gesse vntill it come to the sea. From this water we passed by Bachannis Isle, to the Aberlheddy water, whose heade being aboue Penacrois, it passeth by Lhanelthey & thence into the sea. Then went we to the Duleste, thence by the Pembzay and Caricoit pointes, till we came about to the Wandzes oz Vendzaith mouth, whose description is sufficiently set downe in the fozmer Treatize, and therfoze but in vaine to be repeated here, except I might adde somewhat thereunto therby to make it moze perfite.

Lochar.
Amone.
Combwilly.
Mozlais.
Lhu.
Burray.
Lheddy.
Duleste.
Wandzes.

The Towy ryseth in such sozte and place as I haue sayde, parteth Bzecknocke from Cardigon shyze, foz a certaine season, till it come by the water of Traulnant (that falleth thereinto from by east,) vnto Pylin Capell, and so to Istrodesine where it meeteth with the Tothe that commeth thether from Lhiuerwin where it ryseth and so thozowe Rescoth fozrest, till it vnite it selfe with the Pescotter, which mouting out of the ground in theoge of Cardigan shyze, runneth along as a limite and marche vnto the same, till it ioyne with the Tothe, & both come togither beneath Istrodesine into Towy. After this confluence it cōmeth to Lhanuair Awbzey, Lonyhowell and Landonuery, and here it receyueth two waters in one chanell, whereof the first is called Bzane, the other Gutherije (which lyeth moze southerly of the two) & fall as I sayd into Towy beneath Landonverey, which rūneth on till it meete with the first Duleste that goeth by Lanurdy, then with the Marlais, & these on the Nozthwest. But a litle lower it taketh in many waters in one chanell beneath Langadocke, called Modewy from by east, whereof I haue thys aduertisement. The Modewy oz as some pzonounce it Motheuy, ryseth of two heades, which ioyning aboue Lanyhangle, ỹ streame runneth on till it mette with the Cledoch on the left hande, pzoceding also farder toward Langadocke, it receiueth not far from thence the Sawthey whose two heades descende frō the blacke mountaines oz east edge of Carmardineshyze, as mine infozmation leadeth me. After this confluence the seconde Duleste doth meete with the Towy (whose head is in the hilles aboue Talthogay abbay) then comming downe by Landilonaur, Dinefar castell, and Golden groue, it receyueth the thirde Duleste, from by nozth that commeth in by Dzillan castell and after that the Cothey, whose race is somewhat long and therfoze his description not vtterly to be passed ouer. Not farre from the head (whose place is alreadie set downe) and somewhat beneath Lanapinsent chappell, it taketh in the Turchebecke, that runneth thither from Lanacroyes. Thence it goeth to Lansawell, Abergozlech, Bzeghuangothy, Lannigod and so into Towy, which halking fozwarde by chappell Dewy, receyueth the Rauelthy, from by nozth, then the Gwily frō nozthwest, whose head is aboue Lany Pinsent, & race by Canwell, Eluert, Comewply, and Perling hill, as I haue often heard. After this confluence with the Gwply, the Towy goeth to Caermardine, then to Lanygang, then to Lanke-phan, s. Ilmacles and so into the sea.

Sawthy.
Duleste.
Duleste.
Cothy.
Tarche.
Rauelthy.
Gwily.

Next vnto the Towy is the Taue, whose head is in the blacke mountaines as is afozesayde, at the rootes of Wrenni vaur hill in Pembzokeshyze, from whence it runneth by Lanunrieach, Langludien, Lanualteg, and taking in the Duddery from southwest, out of the same countie by Lanbedernelfray, it goeth to Eglesware chappell, beneath which it crosseth the Marlais by Nozth that runneth by Lanbedy & Whitlande. Thence mēting with one rill (called Uenni as I take it) that commeth thozow Cardith fozrest on the one side, & the Cayze on the other that runneth into it west of Landowzor, it halketh to S. Clares where it taketh in the Barthkynny, oz Barthkinni, as Leland calleth it, & the Gow both in one chanell, of which the first ryseth aboue Capell Bettus, from whence it runneth by Talacouthe, Killant and Langynnyn, the other issueth out of the grounde aboue Trologh Bettus, by Mydzun, & ioyning with the fozmer a little aboue S. Clares they runne into the Taue, and from thence to Lanyhangle, and betwéene it and Abercowen, admitteth finally the Gowē streame, which comming likewyse from the blacke mountaines goeth by Ebbernant, and so into the Taue, who directeth his course, by Lacharne castell and then into the sea.

Taue.
Duddery.
Marlais.
Uenni.
Cair.
Barthkinni
Gow.
Gowen.

The next water that we come to is the Gwair, which is but a small thing ryding aboue

Gwair.

boue Crugwair, and going into the sea, at Argwaire. Then passed we by another comming out of Rath forrest called Coit Rathe, the water it selfe rising short of Templeton. Thence leauing the Monkeston rocke, we came to Tenby or Dynbechy Pisewd, and passing into the Port betweene the castell and S. Catherines rocke, we founde it serued with two little backewaters, of so smal countenaunce, that they are not worthye of any farder talke to be spent in their descriptions. After this we passed betweene Londy and an other Islet or rock lying by northwest of the same, to Ludsop point, and so to Abertrewēt where I founde a silly freshe watr, that ryseth a myle or thereabout within the lande. Frō thence we went southwards by Bzede hauen, til we came to S. Gowans point. Thē gathering west & by North before we came at Shepe Illande, we founde another freshe water, that riseth short of Kyriog Maharen, and running south of Uggarston, Windmil hill, or betweene it and Castell Norton and Gupton, it holdeth on flat west all the way, till it come at the Oceane. The Shepe Ile not afore described is but a little plot, lying at the very point of the Bay before we came at ỳ Blockhouse, which standeth north of the same at the very entrie into Milforde hauen vpon the east side. By north of Shepe Ile & betweene it and the Stacke rocke (which lyeth in the very middest of the hauen) at another point is Rat Ile, yet smaller then the former. Being therfore passed these, we cast about towarde the northwest, by the Poptōs and Pennar, till wee came to the Pennar mouth, out of which the Salt water issueth that in maner enuironneth Pembroke. Frō this (omitting sundry salt crékes on both sides of the hauen) we came to the fall of two waters in one chanel aboue whose cōfluence, Williamston parke standeth, & whereof one (a mére salt course,) incloseth three partes of Carew castell. The other rysing neare to Coit Rath forrest is a freshe, and going by Gefraiston, Creswel and Lawrenny, it leaueth the Spareh on the south side, and goeth into the hauen after confluence with the former.

Nowe come I to the two swordes, afore mencioned whose courses I finde described in this order, The Clothy ryseth at the foote of Wzenny baur hill and comming downe to Monachlodge, Langelman, Lannakeuen, and Egremond, it receyueth a ryll from by northwest before it come at Lanhaddon castell. Care long also it taketh in another on the east side from Narbarth castell, by Robeston, then going by Cunaston, Slebach, Picton castell, at Rise castell poynt west of Coit Kenles (as I haue béene informed) it méeteth with the other sworde, named Dugledy wher of I reade as followeth. The hed of the Dugledy, is somewhere at northwest, betwéene S. Laurences and S. Dugwels, from whence it rūneth to Trauegarne, Redbarton, and taking in a rill by the waye from Camrose at the west, it goeth to Hauerford west, and there vniteth it selfe with a water, which peraduenture, is the same that Lelād called Guyly. Certes it riseth about Waltō, and comming by S. Leonardes chappel and Pendergest, it falleth, I say into the Dugledy, ouer against the towne of Hauerforde, or Herforde west, but in Welch Hulforde as Lhoid doth set it downe. Beneath Herforde it taketh in another water from southwest, whose head is short of S. Margarettes chappell, and enteraunce betwéene Harraldston, and Herforde, which Harraldstone, receyueth the name of Harralde the successour of Edwarde the confessour as some call him, who was a grieuous mall vnto the Bzitons that remayned in the time of the sayde Edwarde as I haue noted alreadie. The Cultlell cōmeth into the Dugledy beneath Bolston, with a streight course from by North, of three or foure myles, after whose vnition with the aforesayde water, they runne on as one till they mette with the Clothy falling out by the waye sundzy salt crékes as the maine chanell doth from thencefozth vntill it passe the Sandy hauē, the Dale rode (whither a silly fresh rill commeth of small value) and be come about agayne into the large Oceane. Hauing thus shewed the courses of those few fresh waters that come to Milford hauen, we cast about by the blockehouse and S. Annes chappell to Gateholme Ile, that lyeth betwéene S. Annes and the Willocke point, directlye ouer against Stockeholme Illand that is scituate farder of into the sea, towarde the southwest, and is full halfe so great as the Scalmey ỳ I before described. Betwéene the Willocke point also and the Scalmey, directly west, is the midlande Ile, full so great as the Gateholme.

The Gresholme lyeth directlye west of Scalmey, from whence if you sayle thyther on the south side, you must needes past by the newstone rocke: if on the north of Scalmey, you must leaue the Yarlande stone on your lefthand. Whervnto if you note well the scituation of these Illands already named, and conferre them with the Ramsey and S. Dauids land, you shall finde them to produce as it were two daungerous pointes, includyng the Bzid baie, wherein (notwithstanding the great-

Dugledy.

Gwyly.

Cultlel.

Gateholme Ile.

Stocke-holme Ile

Midlande Ile.

Gresholme

greatneſſe) are 1000. perilles, and no freſhe Brookes for me to deale withall. Thus hauing doubled the Willocke point, we entred yet into the Baie, to ſée what Iſles were there againſt the nerte publication of thys booke, if it maye pleaſe God to graunt mée lyfe to ſée it printed once againe, eyther by it ſelfe or otherwiſe.

S. Brides Iſlande.

Firſt of all therefore I ſawe S. Brides Iſlande, a very little patche of grounde, nére the lande, before I came at Galtrop rode. From thence we went aboute by the little hauen, Doluach Hauen, Caruay Hauen, Shirelace rocke, Carnbuddy, and Carnay Bayes, Portclais, and ſo into the ſounde betweene Ramſey and the point. In thys ſound lykewiſe is a litle Iſle, almoſt annexed to the maine, but in the middeſt thereof is a rocke called the horſe (a myle and more by north of Kibby rocke, that lyeth ſouth eaſt of Ramſey) and more infortunate then tenne of Setanes coltes, but thanked be God I neuer came on his back. Thence paſſing by S. Stephens baie, and Whiteſande baie, we ſaluted the Biſhop and his Clarkes, as they went in Procеſſion on oure left ſyde (beyng lothe to take any ſalted holy water at their hands) and came at laſt to the point called S. Dauids head. From whence we coaſted along toward the ſoutheaſt, till wée came ouer againſt S. Catherins, where goyng northwardes by the broade hauen, and the Stromables heade, we ſayled thence northeaſt, and by north, to Langlas head, then flat ſouth by the Cow and calfe (two cruell rockes) which we left on the left hande, and ſo coſted euer to Abergwin or Fiſcarde, where we founde a freſhe water named Gwin, or Gwerne, whoſe courſe is in manner directly out of the eaſt into the Weſt, vntill it come within a myle of the aforeſayde Towne. It ryſeth flat north of the percely hill, from whence it goeth by Pont vain, Lauerellidoch, Lanchar, Landilouair, and ſo to Abergwine, or Abergwerne, for I doe read both. Frō Abergwin, we caſt about by Dynas heade, till we come to the fall of Neuerne, where Newport ſtandeth. The head of thys ryuer is aboue Capell Nantgwyn, from whence it runneth by Whitchurch, but ere it come at Kylgwin, it taketh in a little water that ryſeth short of Wreny vaur, & thence go forth as one vntill they come to Newport. Cardigan hauen is the next fall that I dyd ſtumble on, wherein lyeth a little Iſlande ouer againſt the north point. Hereinto alſo commeth the Teify, whereof I haue ſpoken ſomewhat in my former treatiſe, but ſith it ſufficeth not for the for the full knowledge of the courſe of thys ſtreame, I wyll ſupply the want euen here in ſuch order as inſueth.

A ſorte of dangerous rockes lying on a row vpon the weſt ende of ſouthwals called the biſhop and his clarkes

Gwerne.

Neuerne.

Teify or Tiue.

The Teify or Tiue ryſeth in Lintiue as is aforeſayde, and after it hath runne from thence a little ſpace, it receyueth a broke frō ſoutheaſt that commeth out of Lin Legnant and then after the confluence runneth on to Stradfleur Abbaie, beneath which it méeteth with the Pyrieke water (that ryſeth aboue Stradmyrich) and ſone after with the Landurch, (both from the northweſt) and finally the Bromis aboue Tregaron, that commeth in by the eaſt as Leland hath ſet down. Nére to Landiwbrcuy alſo it croſſeth the Brennige by eaſt, & then goeth to Landuair, Cledoghe, Kellan, & ſone after taking in the Matherne from by Eaſt that parteth Cardigan partely from Carmardine ſhire, and likewiſe ẏ Dulas aboue Lanbedder, (which ryſeth aboue Langybby, and goeth thence to Bettus) on the northweſt, it goeth next of all to Lanbedder towne, then to Lanybair, beneath which it croſſeth the Grauelth, thence to Pēcarocke, Lanibether, Lanlloyny, Lanyhangle, and Landiſſel, and there it vniteth it ſelfe with the Clethor, which cōmeth down thither by Lantiſiliued chappell, Lanfraine, and finaly Landiſſell from by north as I doe here. After this confluence it procédeth on to Landuay, Alloyne, Bangor, Langeler, Landeureog and Newcaſtell, ere long taking in the Kery from by north, whoſe heade is not farre from that of Clethor, and whoſe courſe is ſomewhat inlarged by ſuch rilles as diſcend into the ſame. For weſt of Capel Kenō, two becks in one chanell doe fall into it, although they be nameleſſe, and but of a lyttle length. Beneth Tredwair, alſo croſſeth another from by weſt, that runneth along by Bettus, Euan, and finally méeting wyth the Teify, they runne as one by Kennarth (ſtill parting Cardigon ſhire, from Carmardin, as it hath done ſith it met wyth ẏ Matherne) and ſo forth on till they ioyne with the Cheach which ryſing aboue Chapple Euan, doth part Carmardine and Brecknocke ſhire in ſunder, till it come vnto the Teify. Frō this confluence, and being ſtill a Limite vnto Cardigon ſhire, it goeth by Marierdiue, and ſo to Cardigan, taking in one rill from by north and two on the ſouthweſt ſide, but afterwarde none at all, before it come to the ſea.

Myrick

Landu

Bromi

Brenn

Mathe

Dulas.

Graue

Kery.

Cletho

Cheach

Ayron.

Ayron ryſyng as is aforeſayde aboue Blain Penial, runneth on by Lamberwoody Langytho, Tregrigaron hill, Treuilian, and ſone after taking in a ryll from by ſouth it rūneth by Iſkrade, Kylkēnen, Lanicharin, and finally into the Sea, croſſyng by the way

the

the Bidder broke, which comming from Dehewide, doth fall into the same, betweene Lanychayzin, and Henbenney.

The Arth is no great thing, neyther of any any long course, yet it ryseth three or foure myles or more within the lande slopewise, & comming by Lambadern, & Treueglois, it falleth into the sea, northeast of Aberarth. The Ris or rather the Werey, ryseth of two heades, aboue whose cõfluence standeth a town, named Lanyhangle, Redrod, & from whence it goeth by Lanygruthen to Laristed, and so into the Ocean.

The Ystwith ryseth in the blacke mounteynes, aboue Comerkwith from whence it runneth certeine myles, vntill it come vnto Pspitty, Istwith, Lanauon, Lanyler, Lan Nachairne, and so into the sea taking withal the Ridall or Redhell not far from the shore, whereof I haue this discription. The Ridall ryseth in the toppe of Plimlymmon hyll out of a lake named Lin Ridal, from whence going towarde Spitty Kinwen, it crosseth one water on the north, and another beneath it on the southeast, and so goth on by Lanbeder vaur, till it come to Aberistwith, the Istwith and so into the Ocean.

The Salique broke descendeth in like sorte from the blackmounteines, and going Ummaboue, toward Gogarth, or Gogyrthar, it receyueth the Mallalique, and from thence goeth into the sea.

The Lery ryseth toward the lower ground of the blacke hylles, and going by Lanthangle castell Gwalter, it runneth from thence northeast into the Ocean. Thus haue I brought me selfe out of Cardigon shire, vnto the Wy, that seemeth for a certeine space to be marche betweene the same and Merionneth, & here wt also I ende with the description of southwales, and likewise of all that region remayning, whereof I haue no farder knowledge, more then is alreadye set downe in my first booke, sith those y promised helpe herein haue vtterlye deceyued me. Yet thus much will I note of such waters as fall into the sayde riuer on the south side, that aboue Mathanlaith it crosseth the Dowlasse Du and Dowlasse Kuen both in a chanell, whose heades lye by west of y Kuoluadan hill. Beneath the sayde towne likewise I fynde the Leuennaunt, which hauing two heades, the more southerly of them is Limes betweene Radnor shire & Põemoth. After these it crosseth the Eynon, the Kinuer, and the Cledour, and thus farre for wales I saie againe, sith for the rest I yelde vnto a non plus, vntill I come to y Dee, of whose course I haue some informatiõ, (after it hath receyued y Byrrog & the Morlais, both in one bottome,) on the south side of Chirke castell, but not from the very head for want of information. Hauing therfore, mette with the aforesayde water, the De proceedeth to Belfocke, Orton Hadocke, Orton bridge and Bangor, where the slaughter of monkes was made, or not far of from thence, and of which Monasterie I find this note insuing. Their abbaye of Bangor stoode sometime in Englishe Maylor, by hyther and south of the riuer Dee. It is nowe ploughed ground where that house stoode, by the space of a Welch myle (which reacheth vnto a myle and an halfe Englishe) and to thys daye the tillers of the soyle there, doe plowe vp bones as they saye of those monks that were slaine in the quarell of Augustine, and wythin the memorie of man, some of them were taken vp in their rotten weedes, which were much lyke vnto those of our late monkes, as Lelãd doth set it down, yet Erasmus is of the opinion, that the apparel of the Benedictine monkes, was such as most men did were at their first institutiõ. But to proceede, thys Abbaye stoode in a fayre valley, and in those tymes the ryuer ranne harde by it. The compasse thereof lykewise, was as y circuite of a walled Towne, and to this daye two of the the gates may easily be discerned, of which the one is named Port Hogan lying by north, the other Port Clais, situate vpõ the south. But y Dee hauing now changed his chanell, runneth thorow y very middest of the house betwixt these two gates, the one of them being at the lest a full halfe myle frõ the other. As for the squared stone that is founde hereabout, and the Romaine coine, there is no such necessity, of the rehearsell thereof, but that I maye passe it euer without any farther mencion.

The Dee therefore beyng past Bangor, goeth to Worthenbury, and there receyueth sundry waters into one chanell, whereof the chiefe ryseth nere to Blackmere (a maner pertayning to the Earle of Shrewesbury) from whence it goeth to Whitechurch, Dusacre hall, and sone after taketh in a ryll that discendeth from Coilley, after which cõfluence, it runneth on by nether Durtwiche, to Olde castell, Tallarne, and ere long crosseth two other waters in one channell also, whereof one runneth by Penly chapell, another from Hawmere, and ioyning at Emberhall, they go from thence to Worthenbury, and so into the Dee, which by and by vniteth it selfe with another at Shockebridge that commeth in from Ridding. Thence it runneth betweene Holt castell, and Farne, and ere it come to Alford two waters comming

The situation of the monastery of Bangor.

ming out of Wales doe ioyne withal, wher-
of the one is named Alin and descendeth by
Alen. Grafforde, Warfforde, Cragwilly and Alen
towne, the other goeth by Pewforde & Pot-
ton. Beneath Alforde towne end likewise the
Gowy. Dée receyueth the Gowy, whose heade is at
Pecforten at two seuerall places, and after
the confluence goeth by Beston castell, & Be-
ston towne: thence to Trérton and Hakelly
where it deuideth it selfe, so that one arme
runneth by Totnall, Gowburne (where M.
Venables lyeth) Lée hall and beneath Alforde
againe into the other braunche of the ryuer
Dée, which goeth in the meane time by Sta-
plefforde, Hocknell plat, Plemstow, & a litle
aboue Thorneton crosseth a water that com-
meth from Chester, and goeth to Thornetō
by the Baites, Charletō, Blackforde, Crow-
ton, and Stoke, whereby Wyrall is cut frō
the maine of Englande and left as a very Ile
Alen. lande. Finally our Dée goeth from Alforde
to Eaton hall, Eccleston, Huntingdon hall,
Boughton and so by Chester towne into the
hauen adioyning, and thus much of the Dée,
which receyueth in like sort the Alen mencio-
ned euen now wherof I gaue some notice in
the former Treatize, and I haue found more
sithens that time in Leland which I will not
here omitte, to set downe worde for worde as
I reade it in his Commentaries. One of the
greatest riuers, saith he, that falleth into this
streame, (meaning Dée) is named Alen. It
ryseth in a pole called Lin Alen, and goeth
from thence by Lanteglan, Lan Armon,
Lanueris, Holesdale, and at Hispalin rūneth
into the grounde for a certaine space, about
a quarter of a mile in length, and there after
it is ryssen againe with a great vehemencie,
becommeth a marche betwéne Holesdale
(a Lordship full of very fine riuerets, called
in Welche Stradalyn) and Flint, for a fiue
miles grounde. From thence going thorow
Horedale, Bromefielde aliâs Haylor & Cam-
ridge, halfe a myle beneath Holt, it falleth
into the Dée, which hath the best Trowtes
Best Trowtes in Dée Rue Dedoch. in England. Beside this it receyueth also the
Rue Dedoch, which commeth downe within
a quarter of a myle of Wreram, & méeteth
wythall a myle aboue Holt, a verye prétie
streame, and such a one in déede as brédeth
the same Trowt, for which the Dée is com-
Abon. mended. The Abon falleth into ỳ Dée, with-
Terig. in a myle of Ruabon churche. I had almost
forgotten (saith the sayde Authour) to speake
of the Terig otherwise named Auon Terig,
which being almost so great as the Alen, cō-
meth thorow a péece of Hale Lordship into
Holesdale, and so into Alin. I ouer passe also
Rowne. the Rowne that commeth by the south ende
of Holesdale towne, and sone after into this
water. Also the Brone, descending frō Regi- Brone.
nalds tower, & after thre quarters of a myle
lykewyse into the Alen. Finally the Wyrral Wyrall.
which ryseth within lesse then a quarter of a
myle of Chester, & falleth into Dée at Flock-
ers broke, without the north gate, wherein
is a Docke called Port pole for great ships
to ride at a spring tyde. Hitherto Leland,
whose sayings herein shal not perish, because
they may be profitably vsed in the next publi-
cation of this booke, yf it euer happen to be
liked and come thereto.

Being past the Dée we come next of all vn- Wiuer.
to the Wiuer, then the which I reade of no
riuer in England that fetcheth more or halfe
so many windlesses and crincklinges, before
it come at the sea. It ryseth in Buckle hilles,
which lye betwene Ridley & Buckle towns,
and sone after making a lake of a myle and
more in length called Ridley pole, it rūneth
by Ridley to Chalmōdly. Thence it goeth to
Wrenbury where it taketh in a water out of
a more that commeth from Harbury: and Combr.
beneath Sanford bridge the Combrus from
Combermer or Comber lake: and finallye
the thirde that commeth from about Mone-
ton, and runneth by Langerslaw, then be-
twéene Shenton and Atherly parkes, and so
into the Wiuer, which watereth all the west
part of England, and is no lesse notable then
the fift Auon or thirde Duze, whereof I haue
spoken already. After these confluences it ha-
steth also to Audlem, Hawklow, and at Bar-
derton crosseth the Betley water, that run- Betley.
neth by Duddington, Middenbery and so
by Barderton into the aforesayde streame.
Thence it goeth to Nantwiche, but eare it
come at Marchforde bridge, it mæteth with
a rill called Salopbrooke, as I gesse cōming Salop.
from Caluerley warde, and likewise beneth
the sayde bridge, with the Lée and the Wul- Lée & Wu-
uarne both in one chanell, wherof the first ri- uarne.
seth at Weston, the other goeth by Copnall.
From thence the Wiuer rūneth on to Win-
chton and Cardeswise, and the next water
that falleth into it is the Ashe, (which passeth Ashe.
by Darnall Graunge,) and afterwarde go-
ing to Warke, the vale Royall, and Eaton,
it commeth finally to Northwiche where it
receyueth the Dane, to be described as fol- Dane.
loweth. The Dane riseth in the very edges
of Chester, Darbyshyre, and Staffordshyre,
and comming by Wharnesorde, Switham-
ley and Bosley, is a limite betwéne Staf-
forde and Darby shyres, almost euen from
the very head, which is in Parwell forrest.
It is not long also ere it met with the Bidle Bidle.
water, that commeth by Congerton, and af-

ter

ter the cõfluence goeth to Swetham, the Heremitage, Cotton and Croxton, there taking in two great waters whereof the one is called Whelocke, which comming frõ the edge of the countie by Hoxton to Sandbach crosseth another that descendeth from Churche Cawlton, and after the confluence goeth to Warmingham (ioyning also beneath Middlewich with the Croco or Croxtõ, the second great water, whose head commeth out of a lake aboue Byuerton as I heare) and thence both the Whelocke and the Croco go as one to the Dane, at Croxton, as the Dane doth from thence to Bostocke, Dauenham, Shebyuch, Shurlach and at Northwiche into the aforesayd Wyuer. After this confluence the Wyuer runneth on to Barneton, and there in like sort receiueth two brookes in one chanell, whereof one commeth from aboue Allostocke, by Holme and Lastocke, the other from beyonde Birtles mill, by Chelforde (where it taketh in a rill, called Piuerey) thence to ouer Peuer, Holforde & there crossing the Waterlesse brooke (growing of two beckes and ioyning at nether Tabley) it goeth forth to Winchambridge, and then meeting with the other, after this confluẽce they procéede till they come almost at Barneton, where the saide chanell ioyneth with a pretie water running thorow two Lakes, whereof the greatest lyeth betweene Comberbach, Rudworth, & Marbury. But to go forwarde with the course of the maine riuer. After these cõfluences our Wiuer goeth to Warham, Actonbridge, and Dutton, ouer against which towne, on ỳ other side it meeteth with a rill, comming from Cuddington, also the second going by Norley, and Critton, finally the thirde some after from Kinsley, and then procéedeth on in his passage, by Alheton chappell, Frodesham, Rockesauage, and so into the sea: and this is all that I doe finde of the Wyuer, whose influences might haue béene more largely set downe, yf mine instructions had béene more amplye deliuered, yet this I hope maye suffice for his description, and knowledge of his course.

The Mersey riseth among the Peke hils, and from thence going downe to the Woodhouse, and taking sundrie rilles withal by the waye, it becommeth the confines betweene Chester and Darbyshyres. Going also toward Goitehal, it meeteth with a faire brooke increased by sundrye waters, called Goyte, whereof I finde this short and briefe description. The Goyte riseth not far frõ the Shire meere hill (wherein the Doue and the Dane haue their original) that parteth Darbyshire and Cheshyres in sunder, and thence commeth downe to Goyte howses, Duertõ, Tarhall, Shawcrosse, and at Weybridge taketh in the Frith, and beneath Berohall the Set that riseth aboue Thersethall and rũneth by Duersette. After this confluence also the Mersey goeth to Goyte hall, and at Stockford towne meeteth with the Tame, which deuideth Chestershire and Lancastershyres in sunder, and whose heade is in the very edge of Yorkeshyre, from whence it goeth Southwarde to Sadleworth Firth, then to Mukelhirst, Staly hal, Ashdon Underline, Dunkefield, Denton, Reddish, and so at Stockeford or Stopford into the Mersey streame, which passeth forth in like sort to Doddesbyry, receyuing a brooke by the waye that commeth from Lime parke, by Burnhall parke and Chedley. From Doddesbury it procéedeth to Northen, Ashton, Aiston, Flixton, where it receiueth the Irwell a notable water, and therefore his description is not to be omitted before I doe go forward any farder with the Mersey. It riseth aboue Bacop, and goeth thence to Rosendale, and in the waye to Aytenfielde it taketh in a water from Haselden. After this confluence it goeth to Newhall, Brandlesham, Bury, and aboue Ratcliffe ioyneth with ỳ Racbe water, a faire streame and to be described when I haue finished the Irwell, as also the nert vnto it beneath Ratcliffe, because I wouldo not haue so manye endes at once in hande wherewith to trouble my readers.

Frith.
Set.
Tame.
Irwell.
Ræus, or Racbe.

Beyng therfore past these two, our Irwel goeth on to Clifton, Hollonde, Edgecroft, Strang wayes, and to Manchester, where it vniteth it selfe with the Yrke, that runneth thereinto by Royton Midleton, Heaton hill, and Blackeley. Beneath Manchester also it meeteth with the Medlocke that cõmeth thyther frõ the north east side of Oldham, & betweene Clayton and Garret Halles, and so betweene two parkes, falling into it about Holme. Thence our Irwel going forward to Woodsall, Whicleswise, Eccles, Barton, & Deuelhom, it falleth neere vnto Flixton, into the water of Mersey, where I will staye a while withall, till I haue brought the other vnto some passe, of which I spake before.

Lelande speaketh of the Cozue water aboute Manchester, but I knowe nothing of his course.
Yrke.
Medlocke.

The Racbe consisteth of sundrye waters, whereof eche one in a maner hath a proper name, but the greatest of all is Racbe it self, which ryseth among the blacke stony hilles, from whence it goeth to Littleborough, and beyng past Clegge, receyueth the Beyle, that commeth thither by Wylcrnaw chappell. After thys confluence also, it meeteth with a rill neere vnto Rachedale, and some after with the Spzotton water, and then the

Racbe.
Beile.
Spzotton.

Sudley. Sudley broke, whereby his chanell is not a litle increased, which goeth from thence to Crisehirst and so into the Irwell, before it come at Ratcliffe.

Bradsha. The second streame is called Bradsha. It ryseth of two heades, aboue Turetō church, whence it runneth to Bradsha, and ere long Walmesley. taking in the Walmesley becke, they go in one chanell till they come beneath Bolton in the Moze. From hence (receyuing a water that commeth from the rootes of Rauenpike, hill by the way) it goeth by Deane and Bolton in the moze, and so into Bradsha water, which taketh his way to Leuermoze, Farnworth, Leuerlesse, and finally into the Irwell which I before described, and whereof I finde these two verses to be added at the last.

Trke, Irwell, Medlocke, and Tame,
When they meete with the Mersey, do lose their name.

Nowe therefore to resume our Mersey you shall vnderstande that after his confluence with the Irwel, he runneth to Partington, and not farre from thence interteineth ẏ Gles. Gles, or Glesbroke water, increased wyth sundrye armes whereof one commeth from Lodward, an other from aboue Houghton, the thyrde from Hulton Parcke, and the fourth from Shakerley: and beyng all vnited nere vnto Leighe, the confluence goeth Bollein broke. to Holcroft, and aboue Holling greene into ẏ swift Mersey. After this increase the saide streame in lyke sort runneth to Rigston, & there admytteth the Bollein broke water into his societie, which rising nere ẏ Chamber in Warwell Forest goeth to Ridge, Sutton, Warfield, Bollington, Prestbyry, and Newton, where it taketh in a water cōming frō about Pot Chappell, which runneth frō thence by Adlington, Wodfode, Wymsley Ryngey, and Ashley, there receyuing the Birkin. Byrkin broke that commeth from betwene Allerton and Marchall, by Walberly, and War. sone after the Warus or War, that cōmeth thereunto from War towne, by Rawstorne, and after these confluences goeth on to Downham, and ouer against Kirton beneth Crosforde bridge into the Mersey water, which proceeding on, admitteth not another that meeteth with all nere Lym before it go to Thelwall. Thence also it goeth by Bruche and so to Warrington, a little beneath crossing a broke that commeth from Par by Browsey, Bradley and Saukey on the one side, and another on the other that commeth thither from Gropenhall, and with these it rūneth on to nether Walton, Acon grange, and so to Penkith, where it interteineth the Bolde, and sone after the Grandiche water on the otherside, that passeth by Preston, and Daresbyry. Finallye our Mersey goyng by Poulton, it falleth into Liuerpole Hauen, when it is past Runcorne. And thus much of the Mersey, comparable to the Wyuer, and of no lesse fame then most ryuers of thys Iland. Bolde Sunsd

Beyng past these two we come nert of all to the Tarbecke water that falleth into the sea at Harbecke, without finding any mo tyll we be past all Wyrall, out of Liuerpole hauen, and from the blacke rockes, that lye vpon the north point of the aforesayd Iland. Then come we to the Altmouth, whose fresh Alt. tyding not farre into the lande, commeth to Fesson, and sone after receiuing another on the ryght hand, that passeth into it by Aughton, it is increased no more before it come at the sea. Neyther finde I anyother falles till I mēte with the mouth of the Parrow and Dugleſſe, which haue their recourse to the sea in one Chaneil as I take it. Tarbe

The Dugleſſe commeth from by west of Dugl Rauenspike hill, and ere long runneth by Andertonford to Worthington, & so (takyng in two or three rylles by the waye) to Wigē, where it receyueth two waters in on chanel, of which one commeth in south from Byrn Parke, the other from northeast. Being past thys it receyueth one on the north side from Standishe, and another by south from Holland, & then goeth on towarde Rufford chappell taking the Taude with all, that discendeth from aboue Shelmerscale towne, and Taud Skech goeth thorow Lathan Parke, belonging as I here vnto the Earle of Darby. It meeteth also on the same side, with Merton mere Mert water, in which mere is an Iland called Netholme, and when it is past the hanging bridge, it is not long ere it fall into the Parrowe.

The Parowe ryseth of two heades, whereof Farro the second is called Bagen broke, & making Bage a confluence beneath Yelby wode, it goeth on to Burghe, Eglesson, Crosson, and then toyneth nert of all with the Dugglesse, after which confluence, the maine streame goeth forth to Bankehall, Charleton, Yow, Yesket, and so into the sea. Lelande writyng of ẏ Parow, saith thus of the same, so farre as I now remember. Into the Dugleſſe also runneth the Parrow, which commeth within a myle or thereabout, of Chorlton towne, that parteth Leland shire, frō Darby shire, vnder the foote of Chorle also I finde a ryll, named Croyle, and about a myle and an half frō thence a notable quarrey of stones wherof the inhatants doe make a great boll and

price,

pyre, and hetherto Leland.

The Rybell as concerning his heade is sufficiētly touched already in my first booke. Beyng therefore come to Gisborne, it goeth to Sawley or Salley, Chatburne, Clitherow castell, & beneath Mitton, meeteth with the Odder, which ryseth not farre from the crosse of grete, and going thence to Shilburne, Newton, Radholme parke, & Stony hirst, it falleth ere long into the Ribble water. From hence the Ribble hath not gone farre, but it meeteth with the Calder. Thys broke ryseth aboue Holme church, goeth by Towley and Burneley, (where it receiueth a trifeling rill) thence to Higham, and ere long crossing one water that commeth from Wicoler, by Colne, and another by and by named Pidle broke that runneth by Newe church, in the Piddle: it meeteth with ỹ Calder, which passeth forth to Paniam, & thence (receyuing a becke on the other side) it runneth on to Altham, and so to Martholme, where the Henburne broke, doth ioyne with all, that goeth by Akingtō chappell, Church, Dunkinhalghe, Rishton, and so into ỹ Chalder as I haue sayde before. The Chalder therefore being thus inlarged, runneth forth to Reade (where M. Nowell dwelleth) to Whalley, and sone after into Ribell, that goeth from this confluence to Salisbury hal, Ribchester, Osbaston, Sambury, Keuerden, Law, Ribles bridge, and then taketh in the Darwent, before it goeth by Pontwarth into the sea.

The Darwent deuideth Lelande shire from Anderneſſe, and it ryseth by east aboue Darwent chappel, and sone after vniting it selfe with the Blackeburne, & Rodleſworth water, it goeth thorowe Howghton Parke, by Howghton towne, to Walton hall, and so into the Ribell. As for the Sannocke broke, it ryseth somewhat aboue Longridge chappell, goeth to Broughton towne, Cotham, Lee hall, and so into Ribell: and here is all that I haue to say of this ryuer.

The Wire ryseth eight or ten miles from Garstan, out of an hill in Wiresdale, from whence it runneth by Shiresheb chappell, & then going by Wadland, Garstan, & Byrkelande hall, it first receyueth the seconde Calder, that commeth down by Edmersey chappell, then another chanel increased with sundrie waters, which I will here describe before I procede with the Wire. I suppose that the first water is called Plympton broke. It riseth south of Golner, and cōmeth by Cawforde hall, and eare long receyuing the Barton becke, it procedeth forward till it ioyneth with the Broke rill, that cōmeth by Claughton hall where M. Broke hales doth lie, and so thorow Hersco forrest. After this confluēce the Plime or Plimton water meeteth with the Calder, and then with the Wire which passeth forth to Wighel church, and the Raw cliffes, and aboue Thorneton crosseth the Skipton, that goeth by Potton, then into the Wire rode, and finally into the sea, according to his nature. Skipton.

Beyng past the fall of the Wire, wee coasted vppe by the salt cotes to Coker mouth, whose shortnesse of course deserueth no discriptiō. The next is Cowdar, which cōming out of Wire dale (as I take it) is not increased with any other waters, more then Coker, and therefore I wyll rydde my handes thereof so much the sooner. But beyng past these two, I came to a notable ryuer called the Lune, whose course doth reast to be described as followeth, & whereof I haue two descriptions, the first being set down by Leland as M. More, of Catherine hall in Cambridge, deliuered it vnto him: the next I exhabite as it was giuen vnto me, by one that hath taken paynes as he sayth to searche out and view the same, but very lately to speake of. The Lune saith M. More riseth at Crossehoe, in Dent dale, in the edge of Richmonde shire out of three heades. North also from Dentdale, is Garsdale, and thereby runneth a water, which afterward commeth to Sebbar dale, where likewise is a broke meeting with Garsdale water, so that a little lower they go as one into Dentdale becke, which is the ryuer that afterwarde is called Lune, or Lane, as I haue verye often noted it. Beside these waters also before mencioned, it receyueth at the foote of Sebbar dale, a great broke which cōmeth out of ỹ Worth, betweene Westmerlande and Richmonde shires, which taking with him the aforesaide chanelles, doth runne seauen myles ere it come to Dentdale foote. From hence it entereth into Lansdale, corruptlye so called peraduenture for Lunesdale, and runneth therin eyght or nyne myles southwarde, and in this dale is Kyrby. Hetherto M. More (as Leland hath exemplified that percell of his letters) but mine other note wryteth hereof in thys maner. Burbecke water ryseth at Muskall heade, by west, and going by Muskall foote to Skaleg, it admitteth the Breder that descendeth thither from Breder dale. From hence our Burbecke goeth to Breder dale foote, and so to Tybary, where it meeteth with foure rylles in one bottome, of which one commeth from beside Orton, another from betweene Raisebecke and Sunbiggin: the thirde and fourth from eche side of Lang- Cokar. Cowdar. Lune. Burbecke Breder.

dale, and after the generall confluēce made, goeth towarde Roundlwathe aboue which it
Barrow. vniteth it selfe with the Barow. Thence it runneth to Howgill, Delaker, Firrebanke, and Killingtō, beneth which it mæteth with a water comming from the Pozull hilles,
Dent. and afterwarde crossing the Dent brooke (that runneth thither from Dent towne) beneath Sebboz, they continue their course as one into the Burbecke, from whence it is called Lune. From hence it goeth to Burbozne chappell, where it taketh in an other rill comming from by east, then to Kyrby Lansdale, and aboue Whittenton, crosseth a brooke comming from the Countie stone, by Burros, and sone after beneath Tunstal
Gretey. the Gretey, which descēding from about Ingelbozow hill passeth by Twyselton, Ingleton, Thozneton, Burton, Wyatton & neare Thurlande castell toucheth finally with the Lune, which braunceth and sone after vniteth it selfe againe. After this also it goeth on
Wenny. towarde New parke, & receyueth the Wen-
Hinburne. ny, and the Hinburne both in one chanell, of which this riseth nozth of the crosse of Grete, and going by Benthams and Robertes hill,
Rheburne aboue Wray taketh in the Rheburne that riseth nozth of Wulfcragge. After thys confluence also aboue New parke, it maketh his gate by Aughton, Laughton, Skirton, Lancaster, Erclike, Alwclike, Sodday, Ozton, and so into the sea. Thus haue you both the descriptions of Lune, make your conference oz election at your pleasure foz I am swozne to neyther of them both.

Docker. The next fall is called Docker, and peraduenture the same that Lelande doth call the
Kery. Kery, it ryseth nozth of Docker towne, and going by Barwyc hall, it is not increased befoze it come at the sea.

Being past this we finde a fozked arme of the sea called Kenlandes: into the first of which diuers waters doe runne in one chanell, as it were from foure principal heades, one of them comming from Grarrig hall, another from by west of Whinfielde, & ioyning with ỹ first on the east side of Skelmere
Spzota. parke. The third called Spzot oz Spzota ryseth at Sloddale, and commeth downe by west of Skelmer parke, so that these two brookes haue the afozesayde parke betweene them, and fall into the fourth east of Barneside, not very farre in sunder. The fourth oz
Ken. last called Ken, cōmeth frō Kentmeres side, and going to Stauelop it taketh in a rill frō Chappleton Inges. Then leauing Colnehed parke by east, it passeth by Barneside, to Kendall, Yelston, Sigarthe, Siggeswyc, Leuenbzidge, Pilnethozpe, and so into the sea.

Certes this Ken is a prettie deepe riuer, & yet not safely to be aduentured vpō with Botes and Balingers by reason of rolling stones, and other huge substaunces that oft annoy & trouble the middest of the chanell there. The other peece of ỹ fozked arme, is called Win- Winst
star, ỹ head wherof is aboue Winstar chappell, and going downe almost by Carpmaunsell, and Netherlake, it is not long eare it fall into the sea.

The Winander water ryseth about Dum- Winan
balrase stenes, from whence it goeth to Langridge, where it maketh a mere: thē to Ambleside, and taking in eare it come there, two rilles on the left hande, and one on the right that commeth by Clapergate, it maketh as I take it the greatest mere, oz freshe water in Englande, foz as I reade it is well neare ten myles in length. Therinto also doe three oz foure waters come, whereby the quantity thereof is not a little increased: finally comming to one smal chanell aboue Newbzidge, it is not long eare it fall into the sea.

On the west side of the point also commeth Spar
another thozow Furnesse felles, and frō the hilles by nozth thereof, which eare long making another Lake not farre from Hollinhow, and going by Bzidge ende, in a narrow chanell, passeth fozth by Cowlton & Sparke bzidge, and so into the sea. There is in like
Fosse fozte a water called the Fosse, that ryseth neare vnto Arneside, and Tillerthwates, & goeth fozth by Grisdale, Saterthwate, Rustande, Powbzidge, Bowth, & so falleth with the Winander water into the maine sea.

Leau Hauing passed the Leuen oz Conysandes oz Winander fall (foz all is one) I come to the Lew which riseth at Lewike chappell, & falleth into the sea beside Plumpton. The
Raw Rawther descending out of lowe Furnesse hath two heades, whereof one commeth frō Pennyton, the other by Ulmerstone abbay, and ioyning both in one chanell, they hasten into the sea whither all waters direct theyr voyage. Then come we to another rill southwest of Aldingham, descending by Glaiston castell, and likewyse the fourth that ryseth neare Lyndell, and running by Dawltō castell and Furnesse abbay, not farre from the Barrow heade, it falleth into the sea ouer against Wauey and Wauey chappell, except myne aduertisementes misleade me.

Dod The Dodon cōmeth frō the Shire stone hill bottome, & going by Blackhil, Southwake S. Johns, Ulkay parke, and Bzoughton, it falleth into the saltwater, betweene Kyrby and Wallum castell, and thus are we now come vnto the Rauenglasse point.

Comming to Rauenglasse, I finde harde

by the towne a water comming from two heades, and both of them in Lakes or Poles, wherof one iſſueth out of Denock mere, & is called Denock water, the other named Eſke from Eſke pole, which runneth by Eſkedale, Dalegarth, and ſone after meeting with the Denocke, betweene Mawburthwate, & Raneglaſſe falleth into the ſea. On the other ſide of Rauenglaſſe alſo cõmeth the Pite broke, from Pyterdale as I reade.

Then finde we another which commeth from the hylles, and at the fyrſt is forked, but ſone after making a Lake, they gather againe into a ſmaller chanell: finally meeting with the Brenge, they fall into the ſea at Carleton ſoutheaſt, as I weene of Drig.

The Cander or as Lelande nameth it the Calder, commeth out of Copeland Forreſt, by Cander, Sellefielde and ſo into the ſea. Then come we to Euer water deſcending out of a pole aboue Coſwaldhow, and thence going by Euerdale, it croſſeth a water from Arladon, and afterward proceedeth to Egremond, S. Johns, and taking in another ryll from Hyde, it is not long ere it meeteth with the ſea. The next fall is at Mozeſby, wherof I haue no ſkill. Frõ thence therefore we caſt about by ſ. Bees to Derwentſet haue, whoſe water is truely written Dargwent, or Derwent. It riſeth in the hilles about Borrodale, from whence it goeth to the Graunge, thence into a Lake, in which are certaine Iſlandes, and ſo to Keſwiſe where it falleth into the Burſemere, or the Burthmere pole. In like ſort the Burthmere water, riſing among the hils goeth to Tegburtheſworth, Forneſide, S. Johns and Thrlcote: and there meeting with a water from Griſdale, by Waketh-wate, called Griſe, it runneth to Burneſſe, Keſwiſck and there receiueth the Darwent. From Keſwiſe in like ſorte it goeth to Thorneſwate (& there making a plaſh) to Armanſwate, Iſel, Huthwate and Cokermouth, & here it receyueth the Cokar, which riſing among the hilles, commeth by Lowſewater, Brakenthwate, Lorton and ſo to Cokarmouth towne, frõ whence it hafteth to Bridgeham, and receiuing a rill called the Wire on the ſouth ſide that rũneth by Dein, it leaueth Sainburne and Wirketon behinde it, & entreth in the ſea. Leland ſayth that the Wire is a creeke, where ſhippes lie oft at rode, and that Wirketon or Wirkington towne doth take hys name thereof. But to proceede, the Elme riſeth in the mines aboue Amautree, and from Amautre goeth to Pereſby Harby, Brow, and there taking in a rill on the left hande comming by Torpenny it goeth to Hatton caſtell, Alwarby, Brythy, Dereham & ſo into the ſea. Thence we go about by the chappell at the point, and come to a baie ſerued with two freſh waters, whereof one riſing weſtward goeth by Warton, Raby, Cotes, & ſo into the maine, taking in a rill withall from by ſouth, called Croco that cõmeth from Crockdale, by Bromefield. The ſecond is named Wampole broke, and this riſeth of two heades, whereof one is about Cardew, thence in lyke ſorte, it goeth to Thureſby, Croſton, Dwton, Gamleſby, Wampall, the Larth, and betweene Whiteridge and Kyrby into the ſaltwater. From hence we double the Bowlneſſe, and come to an Eſtuary, whether three notable ryuers doe reſorte, (and this is named the Soluey mouth) but of all, the firſt exceedeth which is called Eden, and whoſe deſcription doth followe here at hande.

The Eden deſcendeth as I heare from the hilles in Athelſtane moore at the foote of Hulſtat Mozuell hill where Swale alſo riſeth and ſoutheaſt of Pallerſtang forreſt. Frõ thence in like maner it goeth to Pallerſtãg towne, Pendragon caſtell, Wharton hall, Nethy, Hartley caſtell, Kyrkeby Stephen, and eare it come at great Mulgraue it receiueth three waters, whereof one is called Helbecke, becauſe it commeth from the derne and elinge mountaines by a towne of the ſame denomination, the other is named Bellow and deſcendeth frõ the eaſt mountaines by Sowarſby, and theſe two on the northeaſt: the thirde falleth from Rauenſtandale, by Newbyggin, Smardale, Soulby, Blaterne and ſo into Eden, that goeth from thence by Warcop and taking in the Dzne about Burelles on the one ſide, and the Mozeton becke on the other, it haſteth to Appleby, thence to Cowlby where it croſſeth the Dzebecke, thence to Bolton, and Kyrby, and there meeting with the Trowt becke and beneath the ſame with the Liuenet, (whereinto falleth an other water frõ Thurenly meeting wyth all beneath Clebzon) it runneth finally into Eden. After the confluences alſo the Eden paſſeth to Temple, and ſone after meeting with the Milburne and Blincozne waters, in one chanell, it runneth to Winderwarth and Horneby where we will ſtaie till I haue deſcribed ỹ water that meeteth withall neere the aforeſayde place, called the Vlſe.

This water commeth out of a Lake, which is fedde with fyre rilles wherof one is called the Darke, and neare the fall therof into the plaſh is a towne of the ſame name: the ſeconde hight Hartſop, & runneth frõ Hartſhop hall by Depedale: the thirde is Paterdale rill: the fourth Glent Roden, the fift

Eden. Helbecke. Bellow. Dzne. Mozeton. Dzibecke. Trowt becke. Liuenet. Milburne Blincozne Vlſe. Darke. Hartſop. Paterdale. Roden.

Glenkgwin. Glenkwent, but the firth runneth into the sayde lake, south of Dowthwate. Afterward when this lake cõmeth toward Pole towne, it runneth into a small chanell, and going by Barton, Dalamaine, it taketh in a rill by the waye from Daker castell. Thence it goeth to Stockebridge, Ponewoth, and sone after meeteth wyth a prety broke, called Loder, Loder. comming from Thornethwate by Bauton, and here a ril, then by Yelton, and there another, thence to Askham, Clifton, and so ioining with the other called Vlse, they go to Brougham castel, Pine churches, Horneby, and so into Eden, taking in a ryll as it goeth that commeth downe from Pencath. Beyng past Hornby our Eden runneth to Langunby and sone after receiuing a ryll that commeth from two heades, and ioyning beneath Wingfel, it hasteth to Lasenby, then to kirke Oswalde, (on eche side whereof commeth in a ril from by east) thence to Monney, & there a ryl, Anstable, Cotehyll, Corby castel. Wetherall, Newby, where I wyll staye till I haue described the Irding, and such waters as fall into the same before I go to Carleill.

Irding. The Irding ryseth in a Moze in the bozders of Tindale, nere vnto hozse hed Crag, Terne. where it is called Terne becke vntil it come to Spyerag hill, that deuideth northumberland and Gillesland in sunder, from whence it is named Irding. Beyng therefore come to Duerhal, it receiueth the Pultrose becke, Pultrose. by east, and thence goeth on to Duerdenton, Netherdenton, Leuercock, and Castelsteade, where it taketh in the Cambocke, that runCambocke neth by Kyrke Cambocke, Askerton castel, Walton, and so into Irding, which goeth from thence to Irdington, Newby, and so into Eden. But a litle before it come there, it crosseth with the Gilly that commeth by Gilly. Tankin, and sone after falleth into it. After these confluences, our Eden goeth to Linstocke castell, (and here it entertyneth a broke, comming from Cote hill warde by Aglionby) thẽ vnto Carleill, which is almost enuironed wyth foure waters. For beside ẏ Eden it receyueth the Peder, which Leland Pedar alias, Logus. calleth Logus from south east. This Peder ryseth in the hiles southwest of Penruddock, from whence it goeth to Penruddocke, then to Grastocke castell, Cateley and Kendersidehall, and then taking in a water from Unthanke, it goeth to Cathwade, Pettrell way, Newbiggin, Carleton, & so into Eden, northeast of Caerleill. But on the north side Bruferth. the Bruferth broke doth swiftely make hys entraunce running by Leuerdale, Scalby castell, and Housedon as I am informed. The thirde is named Candan, (if not Deua after Leland) which ryling about the Skidlow hilles, runneth to Hosedale, Calobecke Warnell, Saberham, Rose Castell, Dawston, Brounston, Yarrington. and west of Cairleill falleth into Eden, which goyng from thence by Grimsdale, Kyrke Andros, Beaumout, falleth into the sea beneath the Rowcliffe castell. And thus much of the Eden, which Lelande neuertheless describeth, after another sort, whose wordes I will not let to set downe here in this place, as I finde them in his commentaries.

The Eden after it hath runne a prety space from his head, meeteth in time with the Vlse Vlse after Leland. water, which is a great broke in Westmerlande, and ryling aboue Maredale, a myle west of Loder, it commeth by the late dissolued house of Shappe Pryory, three myles frõ Loder. Shappe, and by Brampton village into Loder or Lodon. Certes thys streame within halfe a myle of the head, becommeth a great lake for two myles course, and afterwarde waxing narrow againe, it runneth forth in a meane and indifferent botome. The sayde Eden in lyke sort receyueth the Aymote about three myles beneath Brougham castell and into the same Aymote, falleth the Dacor becke (already touched) which riseth by north west in Waterdale hilles, foure myles aboue Dacor castell, and then goyng thorowe Da- Dacor. cor Parke, it runneth by east a good myle lower into Eymote, a lyttle beneath Delamaine, which standeth on the left side of Dacor. In one of his bookes also he sayeth, how Carleill standeth betwéene two streames, that is to saye the Deua, which cõmeth thether from by southwest, and also the Logus Deua. that discendeth frõ the south east. He addeth moreouer howe the Deua, in times past was named Vala or Bala, and that of the names Vala. of these two, Lugibalia for Caerleill hath béene derived. &c. And thus much out of Lelande, but where it had the cause of this hys coniecture as yet I haue not reade. Of thys am I certeine that I vse the names of most ryuers here and elsewhere described, accordingly as they are called in my time, although I omitte not to speake here and there of such as are more auncient, where iust occasion mouueth me to remember them, for ẏ better vnderstãding of our histories, as they doe come to hande.

Blacke Leuen and white Leuen waters, Leuen. fall into the sea in one chanel, and with them the Lamforde and the Eske, the last confluLamford ence beyng not a full myle from the mayne Eske. sea. The white & black Leuen, ioyning therefore aboue Bucknesse, the confluence goeth to Bracken hill, Kirkleuenton, & at Tomunt Tomunt. water

water méeteth with the Eske. In lyke sorte the Byrsop ioyning with the Lydde out of Scotland at Byrsop foote, running by Stangerdike side, Harlow, Hath water, & taking in the Eske aboue the Mote, it loseth the former name, and is called Eske, vntill it come to the sea.

Hauing in this maner finished the description of the courses of most of the ryuers lying vpon the west coast of our country: now it resteth that wée cut ouer vnto the west side of the same, and as it were call backe vnto mynde, the most notable of such as wée erst omitted, vntill we come at the Humber, and from thence vnto the Thames.

First of all therfore as touching ỳ Twede, this I haue to note, that the olde and auncient name of the Till that falleth into ỳ same is not Bromis, from the heade as some doe nowe call it, (and I following their assertions haue set downe) but rather Brennicke, & beside that Lelande is of the same opinion. I finde howe the kingdome of Brenicia, toke denomination of thys water, and that only therof it was called Brenicia, or Brennich, and vpon none other occasion.

In my tractatiõ also of ỳ Tine, I reserued the courses of one or two waters vnto this booke of purpose, but sithens the impressiõ of the same, I haue found the names & courses of sundrye other, which I will also deliuer in this place, after I haue touched the Alen or Alon, and one or two more which I appointed hether, because that at the first I vnderstoode but little of them.

The Alen or Alon, hath two heades whereof one is called east Alen, ỳ other west Alen. The first of them riseth south east of Sibton Sheles, and going by Simdorp, it taketh in a rill withall from by east: After which confluence it runneth to Newshele, Allington, Caddon, Olde towne, and in hys waye to Stauertpele, méeteth with the west Alen. The West Alen ryseth in the hilles aboue Wheteley shæles, from whence it goeth to Spartwell, Hawcopele, Dwston, & taking in a rill thereaboutes, it procéedeth on to Permandby, and crossing there another ril in lyke maner from by West, it goeth to Whitefielde, and ioyning some after with ỳ east Alen, they run as one to Stauert pole, Plankforde, and so into the Tine.

Into the north Tine likewise falleth the Ridde, at Riddesmouth. It riseth within three myles of the Scottishe marshe, as Lelande saith & commeth thorowe Riddesdale whereunto it giueth the name. Another writeth howe it ryseth in the rootes of the Carter, & Redsquire hylles, and ere it hath gone farre from the heade, it taketh in the Spelhop frõ the north and the Chellop on the south, beside sundrye other wyld rylles nameless and obscure, and therfore not worthy to be remembred here. After it hath passed Otterburne, it goeth to the medow Holwgh, Woodburne, Risingham, Leame, and so into the Tine, a little lower, then Belindgeham, which standeth somewhat alofe from north Tine, and is as I take it ten myles at the least aboue the towne of Herham. Beneath ỳ confluence in like sort of both the Tines, standeth Corbridge, a towne sometime inhabited by the Romaines, and about twelue myles from Newcastell, and hereby doth the Corue run, that méeteth ere long with the Tine. Not far of also is a place called Colchester, wherby Lelande gesseth that the name of ỳ brooke should rather be Cole then Corue, and in my iudgement his coniecture is very lykely, for in the lyfe of S. Oswyn (otherwise a feeble authoritie) the worde Colbridge is alwayes vsed for Corbridg, wherof I thought good to leaue this short aduertisement, and hetherto of part of my former reseruatiõs. Now it resteth that I touch ỳ names of a few riuers & beckes togither as Lelande hath left them, whose order and courses may peraduenture hereafter be better knowne then they are to me at this present, for lacke of sound instruction. The Deuilles booke, he supposeth to be called Dill, of a town not far of that is commonly called Dilstan, wherby ỳ Tine doth runne. As the Darwent also doth fall into ỳ Tine, beneth Blaidon, so doe sundry brookes into the Darwent in two chanels, as Blackburne, which goeth into Horslop burne, as Horslop doth into Darwent, on the east side, and on the other banke the Hawkesburne, that rũneth into Rouelop, as Rouelop doth finally into Darwent, which is sayde to ryse of two heades, whereof one is nére Knedon, the other at Kidlamhope, and after the confluence, going to Hunterworth, Blaunchelande, Acton, Aspersheles, Blackehedley, Pansheales, Newlande, Darwent cote (by by north east whereof commeth in a ryll on the other side) Spen, Gibside, Hollinside, Swalwel, and so into the Tine. In like sorte Lelande speaketh of a water called Hedley, that should fall into the Tine, whose heade is at Skilorawe, from whence it runneth to Uptthelde, Lamsley, Rauensworth towne, Rauensworth castell, Redhughe, and so into Tine, Southwest of Newcastel, but he omitteth wickham broke (he sayth) because it ryseth short of the towne, and is but a little rill. Finally ỳ Themis doth fal into Tine a mile or therabout aboue Getishead, & not very far beneth

Chellop.
Corue.
Dill.
Darwent.
Blacke-burne.
Horslop.
Rouelop.
alias Ridlamhope.
Hedley.
wickham.
Themis.

beneth Rauenſworth caſtell, riſing ten miles by ſouth into the land, as Lelande hath likewiſe ſet downe.

Were. Ptolomy wryting of the Were, calleth it Uedra, a ryuer well knowne vnto Beda the famous Prieſt, who was brought vp in a monaſtery ẏ ſtood vpon his bankes. It receiueth ſaith Lelande the Derneſſe, whereinto Derneſſe. Bzome. the Bzome alſo doth emptie his chanell, that ryſeth aboue Repare parke, as I haue bene informed. In lyke ſorte I fynde howe it admitteth lykewyſe the Coue, that commeth Coue. from Lancheſter, which is fyre myles higher then Cheſter in the Streate, and then goeth to Cheſter it ſelfe, whereabout it meeteth Hedley. Gaundleſſe. with the Hedley. Finally the Gawndeleſſe, that ryſeth fyre myles by weſt Akelande caſtell, and running by the ſouth ſide thereof paſſeth by weſt Akeland S. Helenes Akelande, S. Andrewes Akeland, Biſhops Akeland and eare long into the Were, and thus much of waters omitted in ẏ Tine & Were.

Theſe. Lelande writing of the Theſe, repeateth the names of ſundry riuerets, whereof in the former Treatize I haue made no mencion at all, notwithſtanding ẏ ſome of their courſes may perhaps be touched in the ſame, as Thureſgil the Thuriſgill whoſe heade is not farre frō the Spittle that I do reade of in Stanmore. Gretty. The Gretley commeth by Warningham & Yortham and falleth into the Theſe aboue Dare. Croftes bzidge. The Dare or Dere runneth by Darlington, & likewiſe into the Theſe aboue the aforeſayd bzidge. As for the Wiſke Wiſke. it commeth thereinto from by ſouth vnder Wiſke bzidge, Danby, Northalberton, and eare long alſo into a greater ſtreame, which going a little lower vnder an other bzidge doth runne by one chanell into the aforeſayd ryuer before it come at the Theſe. And theſe are the bzokes that I haue obſerued ſith the impreſſion of my firſt booke in Leland, thoſe that followe I referred hither of purpoſe.

Thorpe. alias Leuend. The Thorpe, riſeth of ſundry heads, whereof one is abone Pinching Thorpe, from whence it goeth to Nonnethorpe, and ſo to Stokeſley. The ſeconde hath two bzaunches, and ſo placed that Kildale ſtandeth betwene them both: finally meeting beneath Eaſby they go by Eaton and likewiſe vnto Stokeſley. The laſt hath alſo two bzaunches, whereof one commeth from Ingleſby, and meeteth with the ſeconde beneath Bzoughton, & going from thence to Stokeſley they mete with the Thorpe aboue the towne, as the other fal into it ſomewhat beneath the ſame. From hence it goeth to Ridley and there taketh in another rill comming from Potto, thence to Crawthorne. Crawthorne bzoke, Leuanton, Pilto, Hilton, Ingleſby & ſo into the Theſe, betwene Yarne and Barwiſe, whereof I made mencion before although I neither named it, nor ſhewed ẏ deſcriptiō. Some cal it not Thorpe but the Leuend bzoke, or Leuen water, and thus much of ſome of the waters eyther omitted or not fullye touched in the former Treatize.

Of ſuch ſtreames as fall into the maine riuers betweene Humber and the Thames. Cap. 3.

Duze. THe courſe of the Duze is alreadie ſet forth in the firſt booke of this deſcription & ſo exactely as I hope that I ſhall not nede to adde any more thereunto at this time. Wherefore I will deale onely with ſuch as fall into the ſame, ymagining a voyage frō the Rauenſpurne, vntill I come nere to the heade of Theſe, and ſo ſouthwardes about againe by the bottome of the hilly ſoyle vntill I get to Burſton, Sheffelde, Scroby, and the very ſouth point of Humber mouth, wherby I ſhall croſſe them all that are to be found in this walke, and leaue I doubt not ſome eſpeciall notice of their ſeuerall heads & courſes.

Hull or Hulne. The courſe of the Hul is already deſcribed, yet here I will not let to inſert Lelandes deſcription of the ſame, and that more for thoſe odde notes which he hath ſet down in the proceſſe of his matter, then that I thincke his dealing herein to be more exacte then myne, if ſo much may be ſayde without all cauſe of offence. The Hulne (ſaieth he) riſeth of three ſeuerall heads, whereof the greateſt is not farre from Dryfielde, nowe a ſmall village fyrtene myles frō Hull. Certes it hath bene a goodly towne, and therein was the pallace of Egbright king of the Northumbers, and place of Sepulture of a noble Saxon king, whoſe name I now remember not although his Tōbe remaine for ought that I do know to the contrarie, with an inſcription vpon the ſame written in Latine letters. Neare vnto this towne alſo is the Daneſielde, wherein great numbers of Danes were ſlaine, and buried in thoſe hils, which yet remaine there to be ſene ouer their bones and carkaſſes. The ſecond head ſaith he is at Elkburne, and the third at Emmeſwell, and meeting altogither not farre from Dryfielde, the water there beginneth to be called Hulne, as I haue ſayde alreadie. From hence alſo it goeth thorowe Beuerley medowes, and comming at the laſt not farre from an arme led from the Hulne by mans hande (and able to beare great veſſels) almoſt to Beuerley towne, & Cotting meeting thereabout alſo with the Cottinghā ham. becke

becke comming frō Weſtwood by the way, it hacketh to Kingſton vpon Hulne, and ſo into the Humber without any maner impechement.

The Fowlney riſeth about Godmanham, from whence it goeth by Wighton, Hareſwell, Seton, Williams bꝛidge, and ſone after ſpꝛeading it ſelfe, one arme called Skelflete, goeth by Cane Cawſey to Bꝛowneflete and ſo into the Ouze. The other paſſeth by Sandholme, Gilbertes dike, Scalby chappell, Blacketoft and ſo into the afoꝛeſayde Ouze, leauing a very pꝛetie Iſlande, which is a parcel as I here of Walding fen moꝛe, though otherwyſe obſcure to vs that dwell here in the ſouth.

The Darwent ryſeth in the hilles that lye weſt of Robin Whodes baie, oꝛ two myles aboue Ayton bꝛidge, weſt of Scarboꝛow as Lelande ſayth: and eare it hath runne farre from the head, it receyueth two rilles in one bottome from by weſt, which ioyne withall about Langdale ende. Thence they go togyther to Bꝛorey and at Hackneſſe take in an other water comming from about Silſey. Afterwarde it commeth to Ayton, then to Haybꝛidge, and there croſſeth the Kenfoꝛde that deſcendeth from Rōbertelton. After this alſo it goeth on to Potterſbꝛumton where it taketh in one rill, as it doth another beneath running from Shirburne, and the thirde yet lower, on the fader bancke, that deſcendeth from Bꝛumpton. From theſe confluences, it runneth to Fowlbꝛidge, Arbꝛidge, Peldingham bꝛidge, and ſo to Cotehouſe, receyuing by the way many waters. Lelande reconing vp the names of the ſeuerall bꝛookes, numbꝛeth them confuſedly after his accuſtomed oꝛder. The Darwent ſaith he receyueth diuers ſtreames as the Shyꝛihutton. The ſeconde is the Crambecke, deſcending from Hunderſkell caſtell, (ſo called tanquā à centum fontibus, oꝛ multitude of Spꝛinges that ryſe about the ſame) and goeth to Rie, which comming out of the Blacke moꝛes, paſſeth by Riuers abbay, taking in the Ricoll on the left hande, then the Seuen, the Coſſey and Pickering bꝛooke. The Seuen alſo ſayeth he riſeth in the ſide of Blackmoꝛe, and thence goeth by Sinnington foure myles frō Pickering, and about a myle aboue a certayne bꝛidge ouer Rie goeth into ẏ Streame. The Coſſey in like ſoꝛte ſpꝛingeth in ẏ very edge of Pickering towne, at a place called Keld head, and goeth into the Rie two myles beneath Pickering, about Kyꝛby minſter. Finally Pickering water ariſeth in Blackemoꝛe, and halfe a myle beneath Pickering falleth into Coſſey, meting by the way with the Pocklington becke, and an other ſmall rill oꝛ two of whoſe names I haue no knowledge. Hitherto Lelande, but in mine opinīō it had bēne far better to haue deſcribed them thus. Of thoſe waters that fal into the Darwent beneath Cotehouſe, the firſt commeth from Swenton, the ſeconde from Ebberſtō, the thirde from Dlerſton, the fourth from Thoꝛnetō, and Pickering, and the fift on the other ſide that commeth thither from Wintringham, foꝛ ſo ſhoulde he haue dealt in better oꝛder, & rid his hands of them with moꝛe expeditiō, referring the reaſt alſo vnto their pꝛoper places. But to pꝛocēde after myne owne maner. Being paſt Cotehouſe, & eare the Darwent come at Wickham, it croſſeth the Rie, which riſeth of two heades, and ioyning weſt of Loꝛton they run thoꝛow Glanſby parke. Finally receyuing the Coſſey it mēeteth at the laſt with an other ſtreame increaſed by the falles of fiue waters & moꝛe, eare it come into ẏ Darwent. The moſt caſterly of theſe is called Seuen, & ryſeth as is afoꝛeſayde in Blackemoꝛe, from whence it goeth by Sinnington, Myrton, Noꝛmanby, Newſounde, How & ſo into the Rie. The ſeconde named Dou hath his oꝛiginal likewiſe in Blackemoꝛe, and deſcēding by Raſmoꝛe, Keldon and Edſton, (where it receyueth the Hodge becke, that commeth by Berneſdale, Kirkedale, and Welburne) it goeth to Sawlton, and there taketh in firſt the Ricoll, that goeth by Careton, & whereof Kidall as ſome think (but falſly) doth ſeme to take the name. Then Feſſe, which ryſeth aboue Biliſdale chappell, & mēeteth with the Rie at the Shaking bꝛidge, from whence they go togyther vnder the Rie bꝛidge, to Kiuis abbaye, and thence (after it hath croſſed a becke from the weſt) thoꝛowe a parke of the Earle of Rutlandes to Newton, Muniton, and ſo to Sawton, oꝛ Sawlton, as I doe finde it wꝛitten: Here alſo it taketh in the Holbecke bꝛooke, that commeth thither from by weſt by Gyling caſtell, and Stangraue, from whence it goeth on to Bꝛaby, next into the Seuen, then into the Rie, and ſo into the Darwent, which from thēce doth run to Wickhā. Being paſt Wickhā, it meteth with a water that cōmeth thereinto from Grynſton to Setterington at ſoutheaſt, and thence it goeth on to Malton & Malton, Sutton, Wellam, Furby, & Kirkham, receyuing by ẏ way one rill on the one ſide and another on the other, whereof this commeth from Burdfall, that other frō Coniſthoꝛpe. From Kyꝛkeham it goeth to Crāburne and Dwlham bꝛidge, (croſſing by the way an other bꝛooke comming from S. Edwardes goꝛe, by Faſton) then to Aldby, Buttercram,

Pocklington.

Rie.

Coſſey.

Seuen.

Doue oꝛ Doue.

Hodgebecke.

Ricoll.

Feſſe.

Holbecke.

tercram (alias Butterham) brdg, Stamford brdg, Kerby brdg, Sutton, Cllerton, Aughton, Bubwith, Wrcfill, Babthorpe & so into ỹ Duze, wherwith I finishe the description of the Derwent, saving that I haue to let you vnderstand how Leland heard that an arme ran sometime from the hed of Darwent also to Scarborow till such time as two hils betwixt which it ran, did shalder & so choke vp his course.

Fosse. The Fosse (a slow stream yet able to beare a good bessell) ryseth in Nemore Calaterio, or among the woody hilles now called Galters forrest, and in his descent frō the higher ground, he leaueth Crake castel, on his west side: thence he goeth by Marton abbay, Marton, Stillington, Farlington, Towthorpe, Erswijc, Huntingdon, and at Yorke into the Duze.

Kile. The Kile ryseth flat north at Newborow, from whence it goeth by Thorneton on the hyll, Ruskell parke, Awne, Collerton, and so into the Duze about Newton vpon Duze.

Swale. The Swale is a ryght noble ryuer. It riseth in the hilles aboue Kyrkedale, and from this towne it goeth to Kelde chappell, Carret house, Crackepot, Whiteside, and nere vnto Palen, taketh in the Barney water, which commeth from the north east. Thence it goeth by Harcaside to Reth (where it meeteth with the Arcley) and so to Flemington, Grinton, Marrike (taking in the Holgate that commeth from by south: & in the way to Thorpe, the Mariske becke, or peraduēture Applegarth water, as Leland calleth it, that discendeth from the north) then to Thorpe, Applegarth, Richmonde, Ealby and Brunton. Here by North it entertayneth two or thre waters in one chanell, called Rauenswathe water, whereof the two fardest doe ioyne not far from the Dawltons, & so go by Rauenswath, Hartforth, Gilling, & at Skeby meete wyth the thirde, comming from Richmonde Beaconwarde. By west also of Brunton, the Swale meeteth with the Rhe, runnyng from Resdale, and beyng past Brunton, it goeth to Catertje bridge beneath Brunton, then to Ellerton, Kyrkeby, Langton parua, Thirtoft, Anderby Steple, and before it come vnto Gatenby, it meeteth wō ỹ Bedall broke, alias Leminges becke, that cōmeth west of Kellirby, by Cūstable, Burton, Langthorpe, Bedall, and Leming chappell. From Gattenby lykewise it goeth by Nawby, and at Brakenbyry, receiueth the Wiske, which is a great water, rysing betweene two parkes aboue Swanby in one place, and southeast of Mountgrace Abbaie in another, and after the confluence which is about Sidlebridge, goeth on betweene the Rughtons to Appleton, the Smetons, Byrby, Huttō Conyers, Danby, Wijc, Pasford, Warlaby, and taking in there a ryll from Brunton, by Aluerton, it proceedeth to Otteringtō, Newley, Byrby Wiske, Newton, and Blackenbury, there meeting as I sayde with the Swale, that runneth from thence by Skipton bridge, Catton, Topcliffe, and Kanyton, and aboue Eldmyre, meeteth with sundrye other rylles in one botome, whereof the northwesterley is called Cawdebec: the south Easterly Kebecke, which ioyne east of Thornton mire, and so go to Thorneton in the Kreate, Kilwington, Thruske, Solwerby, Crakwyc, and sone after crossing another growing of the myrture of the Willow, and likewyse of the Cuckwolde beckes, which ioyne aboue Bridforth, and running on till it come almost at Dalton, it maketh confluence with the Swale, and go thence as one by Thornton bridge, Witton vpon Swale, and so into the Duze.

Cawde Kebecke.

Cuncke Woldes becke.

Skell. The Skell ryseth out of the west two myles from Fountaines Abbay, and commeth as Lelande sayth with a fayre course by the one side of Rippon, as the Uze doth on the other. And on the bankes hereof stode the famous Abbaie called Fountaines, so much renoumed for the lusty monkes that dwelled in the same. It receiueth also the Lauer water, (which ryseth thre myles from Byrby, and meeteth withall nere vnto Rippon) and finally falleth into the Uze, a quarter of a mile beneath Rippon Towne, and almost midde waye betweene the North and Huicke bridges.

Lauer.

Nidde. The Nidde ryseth among those hilles that lye by west northwest of Gnaresborowe, fyue myles aboue Pakeley bridge, & going in short processe of time by West houses, Lodg houses, Woodhall, Newehouses, Nidlesmore, Kaunsgill, Cowthouse, Gowthwall, Bureley, Brymham, Hampeswale, & sone after meeting with the Killingale becke, it goeth after the confluence, by Bylton parke, Gnaresbridge, Washforde, Cathall, Willesthorp, Munketon, or Nonnocke, and so into the Duze, foure tēne miles beneath Gnaresborow, beyng increased by the waye wyth very fewe or no waters of any countenance. Lelande hauing said thus much of ỹ Nidde, addeth herevnto the names of two other waters, that is to say, the Couer & the Burne, which doe fal likewise into the Uze or Duze, but as he sayth little of the same, so among all my Pampheletes, I can gather no more of them, then that the first ryseth fyre myles aboue Couerham by west, and falleth into ỹ Uze,

Killing

Couer.

Burne

Uze, a little beneath Middleham bridge, which is two myles beneath the towne of Couerham. As for the Burne, it ryseth at Moze hylles, and falleth into the sayde ryuer a lyttle beneth Nasham bridge, and so much of these two.

The Wharfe or Swerfe, ryseth aboue Ughtershaw, from whence it runneth to Beggermons, Kasemill, Hubberham, Wackden, Starbotton, Kettlewell, Cunnistō in Kettlewell, and here it meeteth with a rill comming from Haltongill chappel, by Arnecliffe, & ioyning withal nozth east of Kilnesey crag, it passeth ouer by the lower grounds to Gyzsington, and receyuing a ryll there also from Tressilde parke, it prozcedeth on to Bzunsall bzydge. Furthermoze at Appletrewyc, it meeteth wyth a ryll from by nozth, & thence goeth to Barden Towze, Bolton, Beth and Pilley hall, where it crosseth a rill comming frō by west. Thence to Addinghā, taking in there also a another from by west, and so to Ikeley, and receyuing ere long a nother by nozth from Denton hall, it hasteth to Weston Uauasour, Oteley, and Letheley where it taketh in the Padside, & the Washburne, both in one streame from Lyndley ward, and thence to Calley chappell, & there it crosseth one from by nozth, & another ere long from by south, and so to Pardwode castell, Kereby, Wodhall, Collingham, Linton, Wetherby, Thozpatche, Newton, Tadcaster, and when it hath receyued the Cocke becke from southwest, that goth by Barwy, Aberfozth, Leadhall, and Grymston, it runneth to Erton, Bzzby Wharf, Askel, Kither Nunapleton, and so into the Duze, beneath Calwod, a castell belonging to the Arche bishop of Pozke, where he vseth oft to lye when he refresheth himselfe, with chaunge of ayze & shift of habitation, foz the auoiding of such infection as maye otherwise engender by his long abode in one place, foz want of due purgation, and aiering of his house.

The Air ryseth out of a Lake, South of Darnbzoke, wherin as I here is none other fish but red Trowt, & Perche. Leland saith it riseth neere vnto Oztō in Craven, wherfoze the oddes is but litle. It goeth therfoze from thence to Mawlam, Hamlithe, Kyzby Moldale, Calton hall, Areton, and so fozth tyll it come almost to Gargraue, there crossing the Otterburne water on the west, & the Winterburne on the nozth, which at Flasby, receiueth a ryll from Yelton as I here. Being past Gargraue, our Air goeth on to Eshton, Elswode, and so fozth on, first receyuig a bzoke from southwest, (wherof one bzaunch commeth by Marton, the other by Thoznet, which meete about Bzoughton) then another from nozthest, that runneth by Skipton castell. After this confluence it hasteth to Newe biggin, Bzadley, and Kildwyc, by south east whereof, it meeteth with one water from Mawlis, and Glusburne oz Glukelburne, called Glyke, another lykewyse a lytle beneath from Seton, beside two rylles from by nozth, after which confluence it runneth by Reddlesdē, & ouer against this towne the Lacocke and the Wozth doe meete withall in one chanell, as the Mozeton water doth on the nozth, although it be somewhat lower. Thence it goeth to Kisheozth hall, & so to Bungley, where it taketh a ryll from Denholme parke to Shipeley, & there crossing another from Thoznton, Leuenthozpe, and Bzadley, it goeth to Caluerley, to Chistall, and so to Leedes, where one water runneth thereinto, by nozth from Wettlewode, and two other from by south in one chanell, whereof the first hath two armes, of which the one commeth from Pudsey chappell, the other from Adwalton, their confluence being made aboue Farnesley hall. The other lykewise hath two heades, whereof one is aboue Mozley, the other cōmeth from Domingley, and meeting with the first not far south west of Leedes, they fall both into the Aire, and so runne with the same to Swillington, & there taking in ẏ Rodwel becke south of the bzidg, it prozcedeth to Ollerton, Castelkozde, Bzotherton and Ferribzidge there receiuing the Went, a becke from Pontifract which ryseth of diuers heads, wherof one is among ẏ cole pits. Thece to Beall, Berkin, Kellingtō, middle Hodlesey, Teplehirst, Gowdall, Snathe, Rawcliffe, Newlande, Army, and so into the Duze wyth an indifferent course. Of all the ryuers in the Nozth, Lelande (in so many of hys bookes as I haue seene) sayth least of this. Mine annotations also are very slender in the particular waters whereby it is increased: wherfoze I was compelled of necessity to conclude euen thus with the description of the same, & had so left it in deede if I had not receyued one other note moze to adde vnto it (euen when the leafe was at the prelle) which saith as followeth in maner wozde foz wozde.

There is a noble water that falleth into Aire, whose heade as I take it is about Stāfozde. From whence it goeth to Crestō chapell, to Kingfield, and there about receyuing one ryll neere Elfrabzight bzidge, and also the Hebden by nozthwest, it goeth to Bzearley hall, and so taking in the thirde by nozth it prozcedeth on eastwarde by Mozley bzidge chappell, (and there a ryll from southwest)

Glyke.
Lacocke.
Wozth.
Mozeton.
Redwell.
Went.
Hebden.

and

and so to Coppeley hall. Beneath this place I finde also that it receyueth one ryll from Hallyfaxe, which ryseth of two heades, & two other from southwest, of which one commeth by Barestande, and Stanelande in one chanell, as I reade, so that after this confluence the aforesayd water goeth on toward Cowforde bridge, and as it taketh in two rilles aboue the same on the North side, so beneath that bridge, there falleth into it a prety arme increased by sundry waters comming from by south, as from Warcheden chappell, from Holmeswrth chappell, and Kyrke Heton, eche one growyng of sundrie heades, wherof I would say more, if I had more intelligēce of their seuerall gates and passages. But to procēde from Cowford bridge it runneth to Wunfeld, & receiuing ere long one ryll from Leuersage hall, and another from Burshall by Dewesburye, it goeth on North east of Thornehul, south of Horbyry thornes, & therabout crossyng one ryll from by south from Woller by newe Milner Damme, and sone after another from northwest, called Chald, rysing in the Peke hilles, whereon Wakefielde standeth, and likewise the thirde from south east, and Waterton hall, it goeth by Warmesfield, Newelande, Altoftes, and fynally into the Aire, west of Castelwrth, as I learne. What ỳ name of this ryuer should be as yet I here not, and therefore no merueile that I doe not set it downe, yet is it possible such as dwell thereabout are not ignoraunt thereof, but what is that to me, if I be not partaker of their knowledge. It shal suffise therefore thus farre to haue shewed the course thereof, and as for the name I passe it ouer vntill another time.

Chalde.

Trent. The Trent is one of the most excellent ryuers in the lande, and increased wyth so many waters, as for that onely cause it may bee compared either with the Ouze or Sauerne, I meane the seconde Ouze, whose course I haue lately described. It ryseth of two heads which ioyne beneath Norton in the more, & from thence goeth to Hiltō Abbay, Bucknel church, and aboue Stoke, receyueth in the foule bryke water, which commeth thyther from Tunstall, by Shelton, and finally making a confluence they go to Wanlete, where they mēete wyth another on the same side, that discendeth frō Newcastell vnder Line, which Lelande taketh to bee the very Trent it selfe, saying, that it ryseth in the hylles aboue Newcastell, as maye be seene by hys commentaryes. But to procede. At Trentham or not farre from thence, it crosseth a riueret from northeast, whose name I know not, & thence goyng to Stone Aston, Stoke Burston, the Sandons and Weston, a little aboue Shubburne and Yawod, it receyueth the Sowe, a great chanell increased wyth sundry waters, which I will here describe, leauyng the Trent at Shubburne, tyll I come backe agayne. The Sowe discendeth from the hylles, aboue Whytemore chapell, and goeth by Charleton, and Stawne, and beneath Shalforde ioyneth wyth another by northeast that commeth from Byshoppes Offeley, Eglechal, Chelby, Rauntō. After thys confluence also, it runneth by Bridgeforde, Tillington, and Staffforde, beneath which Towne, it crosseth the Penke becke, that ryseth aboue Nigleton, & Berewod, and aboue Penke bridge, vniteth it self with another comming frō Knightley ward, by Gnaschall church, Eaton, and so goyng forth as one, it is not long ere they fall into Sow, after they haue passed Drayton, Dunstan, Acton, and Banswiche, where losing their names, they with the Sow & the Sow with them, doe ioyne wyth the Trent, at Shubburne, vpon the southerly bank. From Shubburne ỳ Trent goeth on, to lytle Yarwode, (mēeting by the way one ryll at Dudley bridge, and another south of Riddesley) thence by Hawkshery, Wauesfane, Ridware and so towarde Yorhall, where I must staye a whyle to consider of other waters, wherewith I mete in this voiage. Of these therfore the lesser commeth in by south frō Farwall, the other from by west, a fayre streame, and increased with two brookes, whereof the first ryseth in Nedelwode forrest, northeast of Haggarsley parke, wherinto falleth another west of Hamsted Ridware, called Blythe, which ryseth among the hylles in Whateley more, aboue Weston Cony and thence goyng to the same Towne, it commeth to Careswel Drycote, alias Drycote, Painsley, Gratwitch, Grymley, Aldmaston, Hamsted Ridware, and finally into the Trent, directly west of Yorhall, which runneth also from thence, and leauing Kinges Bromley, in a parke (as I take it) on the left hand, and the Blacke water comming from Southton, and Lichefielde on the ryght, goeth streight waye to Catton, where it mēeteth wyth the Tame, whose course I describe as followeth. It riseth in Staffordshyre (as I remēber) not farre from Pettishall, & goeth forth by Hamsted, towarde Pyrihall and Brimichams Aston, taking in by the way a rill on eache side, whereof the first groweth through a confluence of two waters, the one of them comming from Tyrton, the other from Aldbury, and so rūning as one by Wedbury till they fall into the same. The latter commeth

Foulbrook

Blythe.

Tame.

from

from Wolfhall and ioyneth with it on the left hande. After this and when it is paſt the aforeſayd places, it croſſeth in like ſort a rill frō Smethikewarde: thence it goeth to Parneton hall, beneath which it mēeteth with the Rhe, and thence thorow the parke, at Parke hal by Watercote croſſing finally the Cole, whoſe heade is in the forreſt by Kingeſnortō wood, and hath this courſe, whereof I nowe giue notice. It riſeth as I ſayde in the forreſt by Kingeſnorton wood, & going by Parcley and Kingeſhirſt, it mēeteth betwēne that & the parke, with a water running betwēne Yelmedon and Sheldon. Thence it paſſeth on to Coleſhull, by eaſt whereof it ioyneth with a brooke, mounting ſouthweſt of Solyhull called Blithe, which going by Yenwood and Barſton, croſſeth on eche ſide of temple Balſhall a rill, whereof one cōmeth thorow the Quēnes parke or chaſe that lyeth by Weſt of Kenelworth, and the other by Kenelworth caſtell it ſelfe, from about Haſely parke. After which confluences it procēdeth in like maner to Hampton in Arden, & the Packingtons and ſo to Coleſhull, where it mēeteth with the Cole, that going a little farder vniteth it ſelf with the Burne, on the one ſide, (whereinto runneth a water comming frō Anſley on the eaſt) & ſone after on ỹ other doth fal into ỹ Tame. That which ſome call the Rhē, Leland nameth the Brimichā water, whoſe head as I heare is aboue Norfield, ſo that his courſe ſhoulde be by Kingeſnortō, Bremicham, Budſton hall, till it fall beneath Parneton into the Tame it ſelf, that runneth after theſe confluences on by Lē, Kingeſbyry parke, & going by eaſt, of Drayton Baſſet Parke to Falkeley Bridge, it mēeteth with another water, called Burne alſo comming from Hammerwich churche, by Cheſterforde, Shenton, Thickebrowne, and the north ſide of Drayton, Baſſet parke, whereof I ſpake before. From hence our Thame runneth on to Tamworth, there taking in the Ancre by eaſt, whoſe deſcription I had in this maner deliuered vnto me. It riſeth aboue Burton, from whence it goeth by Ponneaton, Witherley and Atherſtone. Ere long alſo it taketh in a water frō northeaſt, which commeth by Hugleſcote, Shapton, Cunſtō, Twicroſſe (vniting it ſelf with a water from Boſworth) Ratcliffe and ſo into Ancre: which after this confluence paſſeth by Whittendō, Crindō, Polleſworth Armington, Tamworth and ſo into Tame, that haſteth to Hopwath, Cōberford hall, Telford, & ſone after croſſing a rill that ryſeth ſhorte of Swinfelde hall, and commeth by Feſkyrke, it runneth not farre from Crorhall, and ſo to Catton, there about receyuing his laſt increaſe not worthie to be omitted. This brooke is named Meſe, & it riſeth in the great parke that lyeth betwēne Worthington, & Smethike, from whence alſo it goeth by Aſheby de la ſouche Packington, Melham & Stretton, & therabout croſſing a ril about Pethersale Graunge, from Duerſale by eaſt, it procēdeth by Chilcote, Clifton, Croral, into the Thame and both out of hand into the maine riuer a mile aboue Reptō. Leland writing of this riuer as I earſt noted ſaith therof in this wiſe. Into the Thame alſo runneth the Bremicham brooke, which ryſeth foure or fiue myles about Bremicham in the Blacke hils in Worceſterſhyre, and goeth into the aforeſayde water a myle aboue Crudworth bridge. Certes ſayth he this Bremicham is a towne maintayned chiefly by ſmithes, as Paylers, Cutlers, Edgetole forgers, Lorimers or Bitmakers, which haue their yron out of Staffordſhire, and Warwiſe shyres, and coles alſo out of the firſt countie, & hitherto Leland. Nowe to reſume the Trent, which being growen to ſome greatneſſe, goeth on to Walton, Drakelow, and there croſſing a water that commeth by Newbold hall, it rūneth to Stapenell, Minſhull, Wightmere, and Newtō, Souche, where it receyueth two chanels within a ſhort ſpace, to be deſcribed a part. The firſt of theſe is called the Dow or Doue. It ryſeth about the three ſhyres mēere, & is as it were Limes betwēne Staffordſhyre and Darbyſhyres vntill it come at the Trent. Deſcending therfore from the head, it goeth by Erles Both, Pilbury Graung, Hartington, Wolſcot, Eaton, Hunſington Graunge, and aboue Thorpe receyueth the Manifolde water, ſo called bycauſe of ỹ ſundrie crinckling rils that it receyueth & turnagaines that it ſelfe ſheweth before it come at the Dow. Riſing therefore not farre from Are edge croſſe, (in the bottome thereby) it runneth from thence to Longmore, Shene, Warſlow Chappell, and Welton. Beneath Welton alſo it taketh in the Hanſby water, that commeth out of Blackenmore hilles to Waterſall, where it falleth into the ground, and afterwarde mounting againe is receyued into the Manifold north of Thorowley as I heare, which goeth from thence to Ilam & aboue Thorpe doth caſt it ſelfe into Dowe. Hauing therefore mette togither after this maner, the Dow procēdeth on to Mapleton, beneath which it croſſeth one water deſcending from Bradlingtō by Fenny Bentley, and another ſomewhat lower that commeth from Hockton hall by Hegnaſton and Aſheburne, and then going to Patterſielde,

Meſe.

Dow.

Manifold.

Hanſley.

Narbury,

Barbury, Ellaston, Rawlston, Rowcester, it
Churne. mæteth with the Churne, euen here to be described before I go any farder. It riseth a good waie aboue Delacrasse abbay, and comming thither by Hellelby wood, it taketh in
Dunsmere the Dunsmære betweene Harracrasse, and Leike. Thence it goeth to the Walgraunge,
Yendor. and a little beneath receyueth ỹ Yendor, that commeth frō aboue Harton, thence to Chedleton, & hauing crossed the Alchenhirst brooke
Aula Canuti. aboue Cnutes hall, it runneth by Pylston,
Alchenhirst Frogball, Below hill, Alton castell, Pyrkwood & at Rowcester falleth into the Dow, which care long also receyueth a rill from Crowsden, and then going to Eton mæteth
Teine. first with the Teine that commeth thither from each side of Chedley by Teinetwone, Bramhirst and Stranehill. Secondly with
Attoyeter or Uncester. the Uncester or Attoyeter water, and then going on to Perchington, Sidbery, Cawltō, it crosseth a brooke from Sidnister colledge, by Saperton. From this confluence in lyke sorte it passeth forth, to Tilbery castel, Parston and at Edgerton, mæteth with the water that commeth from Yelderley by Longforde (whereinto runneth another that commeth from Hollington) and so to Hilton. These waters being thus ioyned and many endes brought into one, the Dow it selfe falleth eare long, lykewyse into the Trent, aboue Newton Souche: so that the maine riuer being thus inlarged, goeth onwardes with his course, and betweene Willington and Reptō mæteth with two waters on sundry sides, whereof that which falleth in by Willington ryseth nere Dawbery Lyes, & runneth by Trussely and Ache: the other that entreth aboue Repton descendeth from Hartesburne, so that the Trent being past these hasteth to Twiforde, Ingleby, Staunton, Wesson, Newton, and Alton, eare long also
Darwent. mæting with the Darwent, next of all to be dispatched. The Darwent riseth plaine west nere vnto the edge of Darbyshyre, aboue Blackewell a market towne, and from the heade runneth to the new chappell within a few miles after it be risen. Frō hence moreouer it goeth by Yowden house, Darwent chappel, Yorkeshyre bridge, and at Witham
Neue. bridge doth crosse the Neue or Nonius that commeth from Newstole hill, by Netherburgh, Hope, (crossing there one rill frō Castelton, another from Bradwell, & the thirde at Hathersage, from stony ridge hill) and so goeth on to Padley, Stockehall, receyuing a rill by the way from by west, to Stony Middleton, and Ballow, and hauing here taken
Burbroke in the Burbroke on the one side, and another from Halsop on the other, it goeth to Chatworth and to Rowsley, where it is increased with the Wye comming from by west, & also a rill on the east, a little higher, but I will describe the Wye before I go any farder.

The Wye ryseth aboue Burston well, and Wye.
there is increased with the Hawkeshow, and Hawe
the Wyle broke, whose heades are also far- Wyle.
der distaunt from the edge of Darbyshyre, then that of Wye, and races somewhat longer, though neither of them be worthie to be accompted long. For the Wyle, hauing two heads, the one of them is not farre aboue the place where Wilebecke abbaye stode, the other is farder of by west, about Wilebecke towne, and finally ioyning in one they runne to Cuckney village, where receiuing a beck that commeth downe from by west, it holdeth on two miles farder, there taking in the seconde rill, and so resort to Rukforde, or the Rukfo,
Pan becke: Unto this also do other two rils alias S
repaire, wherof the one goeth thorowe & the becke.
other harde by Paunsfield, of which two also this latter ryseth west about foure miles, and runneth forth to Clipston (three myles lower) and so likewise to Rukforde, whereof I will speake hereafter. In the meane tyme to returne againe to the Wye. From Burston well, it runneth to Staddon, Cowdale, Cowlow, New medow, Milhouses, Bankewell, and Haddon hall, beneath which it re-
ceyueth the Lath kell, that runneth by Ouer- Lath
haddon, and the Bradforde both in one bot- Bradf
tome after they be ioyned in one, at Alport, & this is the first great water that our Derwent doth mete withall. Being therfore past the Rowsleies, the sayde Derwent goeth to Stancliffe, Darley in the peke, Wensley, Smitterton hall, and at Matlocke taketh in a rill by northest, as it doth another at Crū-
forde that goeth by Botes hall. From Matlocke, it procedeth to Watston, or Watsond, Well bridge, Alderwash and ioyneth
with an other streame called Amber com- Amber
ming in from by North by Amber bridge, whose description shall insue, in this wise as I finde it. The heade of Amber is aboue Edlesson hal, or as Leland saith east of Chesterfielde, and comming from thence by Middleton, to Ogston hall, it taketh with al another brooke, descending from Hardwyke woode, by Alton and Stretton. Thence it goeth to Higham, Brackenfelde, and aboue Dale bridge, meeteth with a brooke running from Hucknallwarde to Shirelande parke side (there crossing the Yorcton Becke) & so to Alfer- Yorcto
ton, except I name it wrong. From Dale bridge it goeth by Wingfelde, to Yedge, Fritchlin, and so into Darwent, taking the water

water withall that discendeth from Swanswyc by Pentridge, as Leland doth remēber. From this confluence likewise it runneth to Belper, where it mēteth with a ryll comming from Horley parke: thence to Makeney, and at Duffelde, receyueth the Eglesburne, which ryseth about Wirkesworth or Dereworth but in ỳ same parish out of a rock & commeth in by Turnedyche. From Duffeld, it passeth to Bradsall, Darley Abbaie, and at Darby Towne, taketh in a ryll comming from Wirkasson, by Weston vnderwoode, Kidleston, and Merton.

If a man shoulde saye that Darwent ryuer giueth name to Darby towne, he should not well knowe howe euerye one woulde take it, and thereby he might happen to offende some. In the meane tyme I beleeue it, let other iudge as pleaseth them, sithe my coniecture can preiudice none: to proceede therfore. From Darby it runneth on by Alwaston, Ambaston, the Wettes, and so into Trent, which goeth from hence to Sawley, & northy of Thrumpton taketh in the Soare, a fayre streame and not worthy to be ouerpassed.

It ryseth in Leicester shyre aboue Wigton & thence goeth to Sharnesord, Sapcote, and beneath Staunton, taketh in a ryll that commeth by Dounton and Broughton Astley. Thence to Marlebrowe and before it come to Elton crosseth another on the same side (discending by Burton, Glen, Winstowe, Kilby and Blabye) then to Leircester towne, Belgraue, Burstall, Wanlippe, & ere it come at Cullington or Colston, crosseth the Eye, which riseth aboue Bramston, goeth by Knawstow, Somerby, Pickewell, Whitesonden, & beneath (a little) receyueth a ryll on the ryght hande from Coldnorton. Thence to Staplesorde, and sone after crossing a broke from aboue Sproxton, Colon, Garthrope and Sarby, it runneth to Wiuerby, Brentingby, and ere it come at Milton, mēteth with two other smal rils, from the right hand whereof one commeth from about Caldwell by Thorpe Arnolde, & Waltham in the woulde, the other from Skalesorde warde, & from Melton goeth by Sisonby, there mēting with another from northeast ouragainst Kirby Bellars, after which tyme ỳ name of Eye is changed into Wark, or Arke, and so continueth vntill it come at the Soare. From hence also it goeth to Asserby, Radgale, Haby, Trussington, Ratcliffe, and sone after crosseth sundry waters not very farre in sunder, whereof one commeth from Queston, by Twisorde, Ashby and Gadesby, another from Loseby, by Baggraue, and Crawston, and ioining with ỳ first at Quennyhow, it is not long ere they fall into the Warke. The seconde runneth from Engarsby, by Barkeley, and Sison. But the thirde and greatest of the three, is a chanell increased with three waters, whereof one commeth from Norton, by Burton, Kylby, Foston and Blaby, the other from Dounton, by Broughton, and Astley, and mēting with the thirde from Sapcoth, and stony Staunton, they run togyther by Narborow, and sone after ioyning aboue Elstō, wyth the first of the three, they go as one by Elston to Leircester, Belgraue, Wanlippe, and aboue Cullington, doe fall into ỳ Wark and sone after into the Soure. The Soure, in lyke sorte goyng from thence to mounte Sorrel, & taking in another broke southwest from Leircester forrest, by Glenfield, Anstey, Thurcaston and Rodeley, ioyneth wyth the Soure, which goeth from thence to mount Sorrell, and Quarendon (where it taketh in a water comming from Charnewode forrest, and goeth by Bradegate and Swythlande) and then proceedeth to Cotes, Loughborow and Stanforde, there also taking in one ryll out of Notingham shyre, by north east, and sone after another from southwest, comming from Braceden to Shepeshened, Garrington and Dighely graung, and likewise the thirde, from Worthington, by Disworth, long Whitton, & Wathorne. Fynally after these confluences, it hasteth to Sutton, Kingston, and Ratclife, and so into the Trent.

These thinges being thus brought togither, and we nowe resuming the discourse of the same riuer. It doth after his mēting wyth the Soure, proceede withal to Barton, where it taketh in the Erwash, which ryseth about Erwashe. Ryrby, and thence goeth to Selston, Wanlesby, Codnor castell, Eastwode, and crossyng a water from Beual, runneth to Soshal Trowel (& there taking in another rill comming from Henor, by Shyppeley) it proceedeth on to Staplesorde, long Eaton, and so into the Trent. This beyng done it goeth to Clifton, and ere it come at Wilsorde, it mēteth with a broke that passeth from Staunton, by Bōny and Rodington, and thence to Notinghā, where it crosseth the Line, which ryseth aboue Newsted, and passyng by Papplewyke, Hucknall, Bassorde, Radsorde and Linton, nerte of all to Thorpe and Farmdon, where it braunceth and maketh an Iland, and into the smaller of them goeth a broke frō Beuer castell, which rising betweene east Well & Eaton in Leircester is called the Dene, & Dene. from thence runneth by Bramston to Knipton,

ton, & beneth Knipton méeteth with a brooke that commeth by west of Croxston, & thence holdeth on wt his course, betweene Willesthorp & Beuer castel aforsaid, & so to Bottelworth, Pormantō, Killington, Shilton there receyuing the Snite frō by south (whose head is nere Clauiton, and course from thence by Hickling, Langer, Whalton, Dxton, and Flareborow) and ere long another comming from Bingham, and Sibthorpe. Thence our Trent runneth to Coram, Hawton, Newarke castel, and so to Winthorpe, where the braunches are reunited, and thence go on by Holme, to Cromwell (and some after taking in a brooke comming frō Bilthorpe, by Kersal, Cawnton, Norwel & Willowby) to Carlton, and to Sutton, there making a litle Ile, then to Grinton, where it toucheth a streame one eche side, whereof one commeth from Norehouse by Weston, and Grethorp, another from Langthorpe, by Collingham, and Bolthorpe. From hence lykewyse it passeth to Clifton, Newtō, Kettlethorpe, Torkesey, Knath, Gamlborow, Waltrith, Stockwith, and leauing Axholme on the left hande, it taketh with all Hogdike water, out of the Ile, and so goeth forth to Wildsworth, Eastferrye, Fraisworth, Burringham Gummels, Hixburghe, Burton, Walcote, & at Ankerbury into the Humber, receiuing the Downe with by the way, which for his nobleneste is not to be ouerpassed.

Snite.

The Done therfore riseth in Yorkeshire among the Pekehils, & hauing receiued a water cōming by Ingbirchworth goth to Pennicstō, which is foure myles frō the hed, then by Orspring, to Thurgoland, and some after (ioining by the way with the Bishop water, that runneth by Bishop chappell, & Hondesheise) it méeteth with another comming frō Bowlerstō chapell. Then goeth it by Waddesley wood to Waddesley bridge, and at Alwerton receiueth the Bradfelde water. Then passeth it to Crokes, and so to Sheffelde castell, (by east whereof it receyueth a brooke from by south that commeth thorowe Sheffeldpark.) Thence it procéedeth to Westford bridg, Brikle bridg & southwest of Tinsley receyueth the Cowley streame, that runneth by Ecclesfeld. Next of al it goeth to Rotherhā where it méeteth with ỹ Rother a goodly water, whose head is in Darbyshyre, about Palley, from whence it goeth vnder the name of Doley, till it come at Rotheram, by north Winsfelde churche, Wingerworth, & Foxelande hall twelue myles from Rotheram, to Chesterforde, where it méeteth with the Iber, and Brampton water that commeth by Holme hall, both in one chanel. Thence it

Done alias Donne.

Cowley.

Rother.

Iber.

Brampto.

runneth to Toptom castell, & ere long crossing one water comming from Dronefelde by Whittington on the one side, and the seconde from aboue Brimington on the other, it goeth thorowe Staley parke, and ere long méeteth with the Crawley becke, wherof I finde this note. The Crawley ryseth not far from Hardwise, and going by Stanesby and Woodhouse, it receiueth aboue Netherhorpe, one water on the one side comming from the olde parke, and another from Barlebrowe hill on the other, that runneth not far from Woodthorpe. After this confluence likewyse they run as one into the Rother, which hasteth from thence to Eckington (there crossing a ryll that runneth by Bryley hill) and so to Kilmarshe, in the confines of Darby shire, where it taketh in the Gunno from by east, thence to Boughton, vniting it selfe thereabout wyth another by west from Gledles, called Yelebrooke, which deuydeth Yorke shyre from Darby shyre, and so runneth to Treton, Whiston, there taking in a ryll frō Aston and so to Rotheram, where it méeteth wyth the Donne, & from whence our Done hasteth to Aldwarke, Swaiton, Yerburge, there takyng in the Darne, which I wyll next describe, and kaye with the Done, vntil I haue finished the same. It ryseth at Combworth and so commeth about by Bretton hall, to Darton warde, where it crosseth a water that runneth from Gunthwake Hall, by Cawthorne vnited of two heades. From hence it goeth to Burton graunge, then to Dzar, where it toucheth wyth a water from southwest & then goeth to Derfielde & Goldthorpe, but ere it come to Sprotborowe, it vniteth it selfe with a faire ryuer, increased by dyuers waters, before it come at ỹ Done, & whereinto it falleth as I here northeast of Yerburghe. After this confluence lykewyse the Done goeth by Sprotborowe, to Warneswoth, Doncaster, Wheatley (there méeting wyth the Hampall créeke on the northeast side, which ryseth east of Ryby) thence to Sandal, Ryske Sandall, Branwith ferry Stanford, Fishelake, and so to Thuorne, or Thurne, where it crosseth the Idle (whose description followeth) & finally into Trent, & so into the Humber. But before I deale with the description of the Idle, I will adde somewhat of the Rume which is a fayre water: for although the description thereof be not so exactly deliuered me as I looked for, yet such as it is I wyll set downe, conferring it wyth Lelandes booke and helping their defecte so much as to mé is possible. It ryseth by south of Maunsfielde, fyue myles from Rumsorde abbaye, & when the streame commeth nere

Trawl

Gunne

Yelebrooke.

Hamp

the

the abbay, it caſteth it ſelfe abroade and maketh a fayre lake. After this it commeth againe into a narrowe chanell, and ſo goeth on to Rumford village, carying the Budbye
tō, and the Gerberton waters wyth all. From thence & with a meetely long courſe, it goeth to Bawtry or Vautrye, a market towne in Nottingham ſhyre, fiue myles from Doncaſter, and ſo into the Trent. Beneth Rumford alſo commeth in the Gyrt, which goeth vnto Southwel myles, & ſo into the Trent. Nowe as concerning our Idle. The Idle ryſeth at Sutton in Aſhfelde, & from whence it runneth to Paunſfelde, Clypſton and Allerton, where it taketh in a water that riſeth in the forreſt, one myle north of Bledworth, and runneth on by Rughforde abbaye, tyll it come at Allerton. The forreſters call thys Pan becke, whereof Lelande alſo ſpeaketh, who deſcribeth it in thismaner. Pan broke ryſeth ſome where about Linthirſt woode, from whence it goeth to Bilſthorpe, and ſo to Allerton. But to procéede the Idle hauing taken in the Panbecke, it runneth to Bothomſall, by Boughton, and Perlethorpe
g but ere it come there, it meeteth the Meding Mayden, or Midding broke, which ryſing about Teuerſall, goeth to Pleaſley, Pettleworth, Salwcan, Warſop, Budley, Thureſby, Bothomſall & ſo into the Idle. After thys it procéedeth to Houghton, weſt Drayton, but ere it touche at Graunſton or Gaunſton, it taketh in the Wily, which commeth from Clowne, to Creſwell, Holbecke, Woodhouſe Milebecke, Normanton, Elley, Graunſtō, and ſo into the Idle. Beyng thus increaſed the Idle runneth on to Idleton, Dodſal, Retforde, Bollam, Tilney, Patterſey abbaye, & ſo to Bawtry, where it meeteth another frō the ſhire Okes, that ryſeth aboue Geytford, paſſeth on to Workſop (or Radfurth) Oſberton, Bilby, and Blythe, there vniting it ſelf wyth thrée ryllés in one botome, wherof one commeth from Waldingwel to Careleton, and ſo thorowe a parke to Blithe towne, another from by weſt Furbecke thrée myles and ſo to Blithe, but the third out of ỹ white water néer to Blithe, and there being vnited they paſſe on to Scroby, and ſo into the Idle. From hence it runneth on to Miſſen, to Sadlers bridge, & nert of all to Santoft, where it meeteth with the Sandbecke, which ryſing not farre from Sandbecke towne, paſſeth by Tickhill, Roſſington bridge, Brampton, Kilholme, Lindholme, & one myle ſouth of Santoft into the Idle water, which runneth from thence to Thorne, where it meeteth with the Done, & ſo with it to Crowley. Finally enuironning the Ile of Archolme, it goeth to Garthorpe, Focorby, and ſo into the Trent, Leland wryting of the Wily, Wile or Gwily, as ſome wryte it, ſaith thus thereof. The Wile hath two heades, whereof one is not far aboue the place where Wilbecke abbaie ſtode, the other ryſeth farder of by weſt aboue Welbecke, or Wilebecke Towne: finally ioyning in one, they runne to Cuckeney village, where crolling a becke that commeth in frō by weſt, it holdeth on two myles farder, there taking in the ſeconde ryll, and ſo reſort to Ruſforde. To thys ryuer likewiſe ſaith he do two other waters repaire, wherof ỹ one goeth hard by Paunſfeld (riſing foure myles from thence by weſt) & then commeth thrée myles lower vnto Ruſford, the other ſo far as I remember goeth quite thorowe the towne. Hauing thus finiſhed ỹ courſe of the Trent, & ſuch notable waters as diſcharge themſelues into the ſame. I find none of any coūtenance omitted before I come to Lindis or Witham, where I haue to make ſupplie of foure or fiue as followeth, albeit that their courſes be not of any quantitie in compariſon of thoſe, whereof I ſpake in the Trent.

Into Witham therefore from by north and Witham.
ſeuen myles beneath Lincolne, there falleth a faire water, the heade whereof is at Yake- Yake.
thorne, from whence it goeth by Hanworth, Snarford, Reſby, Stainton, and at Bullington meeteth with a water on each ſide, whereof one commeth from Yaytō and Turrington, the other from Sudbroke, and likewyſe beneath Byrlinges with the third comming from Barkeworth by Stanſted, and ioining all in one ſome after, it is not long ere it fall into the chanell of Witham, and ſo are neuer more hearde of. There is alſo a broke by ſouthweſt, that commeth from Ryrby to Cateley, Billingams, and the ferry. At Ta- Bane.
terſall it meeteth with the Bane, which ryſeth aboue Burghe, and nére vnto Ludford goeth downe to Dunnington, Stanygod, Hemmingſby, Bamburghe, Fillington, Horne caſtell (where it croſſeth a rill from Belchewoth) Thorneton, Parton, Halton, Ryrkeby, Comſby, Taterſall and ſo to Dogdike ferry. Aboue Boſton, likewiſe it taketh in a water comming from Luſeby by Bolingbroke, Stickeford, Stickney, Sibbeſey and Hildrike. And to Boſton towne it ſelfe doe finally come ſundry brookes in one chanell, called Hammond becke, which riſing at Doneſby runneth on to Wrightbold where it caſteth one arme into Holly well water. Thence it haſteth towarde Donnington, re- Bolingceyuing foure brookes by the waye, whereof brorow.
the firſt commeth from Wilthorp, the ſeconde Sem-
from Fokingham, called Bollingbrowe or ryngham.

Sempringham water, the thirde frō Bridge ende, the fourth from Sempringham, and afterwardes the maine streame is founde to runne by Lyrton holme, and so into the Witham. Into the Wylande likewyse falleth the Hallywell, which ryseth of a spring that runneth towarde the east from Halywell to Oneby, Esonden, Gretforde, and so to Catbridge, where it receyueth another rysing at Witham and West of Wanthorpe, and the seconde comming from Laund, and so runne from thence togither to Willesthorp & Catbridge, and then into the Hallywell, which after these confluences, goeth to Tetforde, & Castcole, where it meeteth with a Drayne, comming from Bourne, and so thorowe the Fennes to Pinchebeck, Surflete, and Fosdike, where it meeteth with the Welland, in ỹ mouth of the washe as I haue bene aduertised. And thus much of the smaller brookes, wherby the greater are augmented, ouer all the realme of Englande. Certes I would if it had bene possible, haue dealt more orderly in their descriptions, but sith many occasiōs hindered my purpose, that which I haue done I hope shall suffice for this time, sith here after I may happen to take farder trauaile herein, & bring the whole discourse to some more perfite order, as better instruction and good acceptation of that which is done alreadie shall encourage me thereto.

Of the deuision of Englande as it is now generally named into Shyres Cap. 4.

Trinobantes. Ordolukes. Tegenes. Silures. Brigantes. Cankes. Canges.

IN reading of auncient writters as Cæsar Tacitus and others, we finde mention of sundrie regions to haue bene sometyme in this Iland, as of the Trinobantes, Ordolukes, Tegenes, Silures, Icenes, Brigantes, Cāges, and Kentishmen and such like, but sith the seuerall places where most of them laye, are not perfitelye knowne vnto the learned of these dayes, I doe not meane to pronounce my iudgement also vpō such doubtfull cases, least that in so doing I shoulde but increase conjectures, and leading peraduenture the reader frō the more probable, intangle him in the ende with such as are of lesse value & nothing so lykely to be true, as those which other men haue set downe before me. It shall suffice therfore to begin with such a ground, as from whence some better certaintie of thinges may be deriued, and that is with the estate of our Iland in the time of Alfrede, who first deuided England into shyres, whiche before his tyme, and sithence the cōming of the Saxons, was limited out by familes and hydelandes, as Wales hath also bene by hundreds of townes, which then were called Cantredes, as olde recorde doth witnesse. Into how many shyres the sayde Alfrede did first make this partition of the Iland, it is not yet founde out, howbeit if my conjecture be any thing at all, I suppose that he left not vnder eyght and thirtie, sith we finde by no good author that aboue fifteene haue bene added by any of his successours, sith the time of his decease. This prince therefore hauing made the generall partition of his kingdome into shyres, or shares, he deuided againe the same into lathes, as lathes into hundreds, & hundredes into tithinges, or denaries, as diuers haue written, and M. Lambert following their authorities, hath also giuen out, saying almost after this manner in his description of Kent. The Danes (saith he) both before, and in the time of king Alfrede, had flocked by the sea coastes of this Iland in great numbers, sometimes wasting and spoiling with sworde and fire, whersoeuer they might arriue, & sometime taking great bootes with thē to their ships, without doing any farder hurt, or domage to the countrey. Thys inconuenience continuing for manye yeares togither, caused our husbandmen to abandon their tillage, and gaue occasion and hardnesse to euill disposed persons, to fall to the lyke pillage, as practising to followe the Danes in these theyr theftes and robberies. And the better to cloake their mischiefe with all, they feigned thēselues to be Danish Pyrates, and woulde sometime come alande in one port, and sometime in an other, driuing daply great spoyles as the Danes had done vnto their ships before them. The good king Alfrede therfore (who had marueylously trauayled in repulsing the barbarous Danes) espying this out rage, & thinking it no lesse the part of a politicke prince to rote out the noysome subiect, then to holde out the forren aduersarie: by the aduice of his nobilitie, and therample of Moses (who followed the counsell of Jethro his father in law to the like effect) deuided the whole realme into certaine partes or sectiōs, which (of the Saxon worde, Schyran, signifying to cut) he termed shires or as we yet speake, shares, or portions, and appointed ouer euery such one shire an Erle or Alderman or both, to whome he committed the gouernement of the same. These shyres also he brake into lesser partes, wherof some were called lathes, of the worde Gelathian, which is to assemble togither, other hundredes for that they coined iurisdiction ouer an hundred pledges, & other tithinges, bycause there were in eache of them to the

Alfride brought Englande into shires which the Britons diuided by Cantredes and the Saxons by familes.

Shire share one.

Englishmen some their countr

Erle an Alderm

num-

number of tenne persons, whereof euery one frō time to time was suretie for others good abearing. He prouided also that euery man shoulde procure himselfe to be receyued into some tithing, to the ende, that if any were founde of so small and base a credite that no man woulde become pledge or suretie for him, he shoulde forthwith be committed to prison, lest otherwise he might happen to do more harme abroade. Hitherto M. Lambert, by whose wordes we may gather very much of the state of this Iſlande in the time of Alfride, whose institution continued after a sort vntill the comming of the Normans, who chaunged the gouernement of the realme in such wise (by bringing in of new officers and offices, after the maner of their countries) that very little of the olde regiment remayned more then the bares names of some officers (except peraduenture in Kent) so that in these dayes it is hard to set downe any great certainty of things as they stode in Alfrids time, more then is remembred, & touched at this present. Some as it were roming or rouing at ỹ name Lath, affirme that they were certen circuites in euery coũty or shyre, cõtayning an appoynted number of townes, whose inhabitauntes alwayes assembled to know and vnderstande of matters touching their portions, in to some one appoynted place or other within their limites, especially whylest the causes were such as required not the ayde or assistaunce of the whole countye. Of these Lathes also (as they saye) some shyres had more some lesse, as they were of greatnesse. And M. Lãbert seemeth to be of the opinion that the lets of our tyme (wherein these pledges be yet called Franci plegij of the worde Frée burghe) doe yelde some shadow of that politike institutiõ of Alfrede: but sith my skill is so small in these cases that I dare not iudge any thing at all as of myne owne knowledge, I will not sette downe any thing more then I read, and reading no more of lathes, my next talke shal be of hundredes. The hundredе, and the wapentake is all one, and by this diuision not a name appertynent to a sette number of townes (for then all hundredе shoulde be of equall quantitie) but a limited iurisdiction, within the compasse whereof were an hundred persons called pledges, or ten denaries, or tithings of men, of which eache one was bounde for other good abering, and laudable behauiour in the cõmon welth of the realme. The chiefe man lykewyse of euerie Denarie or Tithing was in those dayes called a tithing man in latine Decurio, but now in most places a borsholder as in Kent, where euery tithing is more ouer named a Burrow, although that in the West countrie he be still called a Tithing man, and his circuit a Tithing as haue heard at large. I reade further more and it is partly afore noted, that the sayde Alfride caused eache man of frée condicion (for the better maintenaunce of his peace) to be ascribed into some hundred by placing himselfe in one Denarie or other, where he might alwaies haue such as should sweare or saye vppon their certen knowledge for his honest behauiour and ciuile conuersation if it should happen at any time, that his credite should come in question. In like sort, I gather out of Leland and other, that if any smal matter did fall out worthie to be discussed, the Tithing man or borsholder (now officers, at the cõmandement of ỹ Constable) should decide the same in their Letes, whereas the greatest causes were referred to the Hundredes, the greater to the Lathes, and the greatest of all to the shire daies, where the Earles or Aldermen dyd set themselues, and make finall endes of the same, according vnto Iustice. For this purpose likewise in euery Hundred were 12. men chosen of good age and wisdome, and those sworne to gyue their sentences without respect of person, and in this maner, as they gather were thinges handeled in those daies. In my tyme there are found to be in Englande 40. shyres, and likewise 13. in Wales, and these latter erected of late yeres, by King Henry ỹ eyght, who made the Bryton or Welchmẽ, equall in all respectes vnto the Englishe, and brought to passe, that both nations should indifferently be gouerned by one law, which in times past were ordred by diuers, & those far discrepant, & disagreyng one with an other, as by the seuerall view of ỹ same, is yet easy to be deserned. The names of the shyres in England are these wherof the first 10. lie betweene the Brittish sea and the Thames.

Burrow.

Twelue men.

Fourtie shyres in Englande thirteene in Wales.

Kent.	Wilshyre.
Sussex.	Dorset shyre.
Surrey.	Somerset.
Hampshyre.	Deuon.
Barkeshyre.	Cornewall.

There are moreouer on the north side of the Thames, & betweene the same & the riuer Trent, which passeth thorowe the middest of Englande as Polidore sayth 16. other shires, whereof fiue lye towarde the east, the rest towarde the west, more into the middest of the countrye.

Essex.	Norfolke.
Middlesex.	Cambridge shyre.
Hartfordshire.	Bedforde.
Suffolke.	Huntingdon.

Buckingham.	Lewcesterchire.
Oxford.	Nottingham shyre.
Northampton.	Warwicke.
Rutland.	Lincolne.

We haue 6. also that haue there place westward towardes wales, whose names insue.

Glocester.	Shropshire.
Hereford.	Stafford.
Worcester.	Chesterchire.

And these are the 32. shires which lie by south of the Trent. Beyonde the same ryuer we haue in lyke sort other 8. as

Darby.	Westmerland.
Yorke.	Richemonde.
Lancaster.	Durham.
Comberlande.	Northumberland.

So that in the portiõ sometime called Lhoegres, there are nowe fourtie shyres. In Wales furthermore are 13. wherof 7. are in south Wales.

Cardigan, or	Glamorgan.
Ceretico.	Monemuth.
Penmoroke, or	Brecknocke.
Penbroke.	Radnor.
Caermardine.	

In Northwales likewise are 6. that is to say

Anglesey.	Denbighe.
Carnaruen.	Flint.
Merioneth.	Montgomery.

Which being added to those of Englãd yeld 53. shires or coũties, so ỳ vnder the Quænes Maiesty are so many Counties, whereby it is easily discerned, that hir power farre excedeth that of Offa, who of olde time was highelye honoured for that he had so much of Brytaine vnder hys subiection as afterwarde contened 39. shyres, when the diuision was made, wherof I spake before. Odde parcelles of shyres.

Thys is moreouer to be noted in our deuision of shyres, that they bee not alwayes counted or laid togither in one percel, wherof I haue great marueyle. But sith the occasion hath growen as I take it either by Priuyledge or some lyke occasion, it is better beyefelye to set downe howe some of these partes lye then to spende the tyme in seeking a iust cause of thys their odde diuision. First therfore I note that in the part of Buckingham shyre betweene Amondesham, and Beconsfelde, there is a peece of Hartfordshyre to be founde, enuironed rounde about with the countye of Buckingham, and yet thys patche is not aboue three myles in length & two in breadth at the berye most. In Barkeshyre also betweene Ruscombe and Okingham is a peece of Wilshyre, one myle in breadth and foure myles in length, whereof one side lyeth on the Loden riuer. In the borders of Northamton shyre directlye ouer against Luffelde a towne in Buckinghamshyre, I fynde a percell of Oxfordshyre not passing two miles in compasse.

With Oxford shyre diuers doe participate in so much that a peece of Glocester shyre, lyeth halfe in Warwicke shyre and halfe in Oxfordshyre, not very farre from Horneton. Such another patche is there, of Glocester shyre not farre from long Compton, but lying in Oxfordshyre county: and also a peece of Worcester shire, directly betweene it and Glocester shyre: Glocester hath ỳ third peece vpon the North side of the Winrushe neere Falbrocke, as Barkeshyre hath one percell also vpon the selfe side of the same water, in the verye edge of Glocestershyre: Lykewyse an other in Oxfordshyre, not verye farre from Burford: and the thirde ouer against Lache lade, which is parted from the mayne countye of Barkeshyre by a lyttle strake of Oxfordshyre. Who woulde thinke that two Fragmentes of Wilshyre were to be seene in Barkeshyre vpon the Loden, and the ryuer that falleth into it: whereof and the lyke sith there are verye manye, I thinke good to gyue thys briefe admonition. For although I haue not presentlye gone thorowe wyth them al, yet these maye suffice to giue notice of thys thinge, whereof moste readers as I perswade my selfe are ignorant. But to proceede with our purpose, ouer eache of these shyres in time of necessity is a seuerall Lieutenant chosen vnder the Prince, who beyng a noble man of calling, hath almost regall authoritie ouer the same for the tyme beyng in many cases which doth cõcerne his office: otherwyse it is gouerned by a Shirife, who is resident & dwelling somewhere within the same coũty, whom they call a Vicount, in respect of ỳ Erle (or as they called him in time past the Alderman) that beareth his name of the Countye, although it be seldome seene in Englande, that the Earle hath any great store of possessions, or oughtes to doe in the County whereof he taketh hys name, more then is allowed to him, thorowe his personall residens, if he happen to dwell and bee resident in the same. In the election also of these Magistrates, diuers able Persons aswell for wealth as wisedome, are named by the commons, at a tyme and place appointed for theyr choyse, whose names beyng deliuered to the Prince, he forthwyth pricketh some suche one of them, as he pleaseth to assigne vnto that office, to whome he cõmitteth the charge of the county, and who hereupon is Shirife of that shyre, for one whole yeare, or vntill another be chosen. The Shirife also hath his vnder Shirife that ruleth & hol- Lieutenaunt Shir

holdeth the shyre courtes, & law daies vnder hym, vpon sufficient caution, vnto the high Shirife for hys true execution of Iustice, and pœlding of accoumpt, when he shall be therevnto called. There are likewyse vnder him certayne Bayliffes, whose office is to serue & returne such writtes & processes as are directed vnto thē frō the high Shirife, to make seazure of the goodes and cattelles, and arrest the bodyes of such as doe offende, presenting eyther their persons vnto him, or at the leastwyse taking sufficient bonde, or other assuraunce of them for theyr due appearance at an appointed tyme, when ỳ Shirife by order of law ought to present them to the Iudges according to his charge. In euerye hundred also are one or moe high constables according to the quātity of the same, who receyuing writtes and iniunctions from the high Shirife vnder his seale, doe forthwith charge the pety constables of euery towne, with in their limites, with the execution of ỳ same.

In eche countye likewise, are sundrye law dayes holden at their appointed seasons, of which some retaine the olde Saxon name, and are called Motelaghe. They haue also an other called the Shirifes turne, which they holde twyse in their times, in euery hundred, and in these two latter such small matters as oft aryse amongst the inferior sorte of people, are hard and determined. They haue finally their quarter sessions, wherein they are assisted by the Iustices and Gentlemen of the countrey, and twise in the yeare Gaile deliuerye, at which time the Iudges ride about in theyr circuites, into euerye seuerall countye (where the nobilitye and Gentlemen wyth the Iustices there resiaunt associate them) and mynister the lawes of the realme, wyth great solemnity and Iustice. Howbeit in doing of these thyngs, they retayne still the the olde order of the lande, in vse before the conquest, for they cōmit the full examination of al causes there to be heard, to ỳ cōsideratiō of 12. sober graue, & wise men, chosen out of ỳ same countye (which number they call an enquest) and of these inquests there are more or lesse impanled at euery assize as the nūber of cases there to be handled, doth craue and require (albeit that some one inquest hath often diuers to cōsider of) & when they haue to their vttermost poure consulted and debated of such thinges as they are charged with all, they returne againe to the place of Iustice, wyth theyr Verdicte in wryting, according whereunto the Iudge doth pronounce his sentence, be it for life or death or any other matter, whatsoeuer is brought before him. Beside these officers afore mencioned, there are sundry other in euery countye, as Crowners, whose duety is to enquire of such as come to their death by violence, to attache and present the plees of the Crowne, to make inquirye of treasure founde, &c. There are diuers also of the best learned of the lawe, beside sundry Gentlemen, where the number of Lawyers doe not suffice (and whose reuenues doe amount to aboue twenty pound by the yeare) appointed by especiall commission from the prince, to loke vnto the good gouernement of hir subiectes, in the Counties where they dwell, and of these the least skilfull in the lawe are of the peace, the other both of the peace and quorum otherwise called of Oyer & Determiner, so that the first haue authoritie onely to heare, the other to heare & determine such matters as are brought vnto their presence. These also doe dyrect theyr warrantes to the kepers of the Gayles which in their limitations for the safe keping of such offenders as they shal iudge worthie to be kept vnder warde, vntill the great assizes, to thende their causes may be further examined before the residue of the countye, & these officers were first deuised in the eightēne yeare of Edwarde the thyrde, as I haue bēne informed.

Iustices of peax and quorum.

They mēte also and togither with the Shyrifes, doe hold their Sessions at foure times in the yeare, whereof they are called quarter Sessions, and herin they inquyre of the common anoyaunces of the kings lege people, & sundrie other trespasses determining vppon them as iustice doth require. There are also a thyrde kinde of Sessions holden by the high Constables and Baylifs afore mencioned, called Petie Sessions, wherein the weights & measures are perused by the Clarke of the market for the countey, who sitteth with thē. At these mētings, also Victuallers, & in like sort seruants, labourers, roges, and runnagates are often reformed for their excesses, although the burning of vagabounds thorow their eares, be referred to ỳ quarter sessiōs or higher courts of Assise, where they are adiudged also to death, if they be take the third time & haue not sith their second apprehention applyed thēselues to labor. And thus much haue I thought good to set downe generally of the sayde countles and their maner of gouernaunce, although not in so perfit order as the cause requireth, bycause that of all the rest there is nothing wherewith I am lesse acquainted then with our temporall regiment, which to saye truth doth small concerne my calling.

Quarter sessions.

Petty sessions.

Of the number of Bishoprijcks in Englande and Wales, and of the presente state of the churche there. Cap. 5.

Two prouinces.

THere are two prouinces in England, of which the firste and greatest is subiect to the se of Cauntorbury, the seconde to that of Yorke. And of these eyther hath hir Archbishop resident continuallye within hir owne limits, who hath not onely the chiefe dealing in thinges appertaining to the Hierarchy and iurisdiction of the churche, but also great authoritie in ciuile affayres, touching the gouernement of the common wealth so farre forth as their seuerall circuites doe extende. The Archbishop of Cantorbury is comonly called Primate of all Englande, and in the coronation of the kings of this lande, his office is to set the Crowne vpon their heades. They beare also the name of their high chaplens perpetually, although not a few of them haue presumed in tyme past to be their requalles and voide of any subiection vnto thē, which maye easilye appeare by their owne actes, epistles, and aunsweres, wherein they haue sought not onely to match, but also to mate them with great rigour and more then opē tirannie. Exampies hereof I could bring many, but this one shall suffice of Anselme, who making a showe as if he had bēne very vnwilling to be placed in the se of Cantorbury, gaue his aunswere to the letters of such his friendes as made request vnto hym to take that charge vpō him. Secularia negotia nescio, quia scire nolo, eorum namq; occupationes horreo, liberum affectans animum. Voluntati sacrarum intendo scripturarum, vos dissonantiam facitis, verendumq; est ne aratrum sancte Ecclesiæ, quod in Anglia duo boues validi & pari fortitudine, ad bonū certantes, id est rex & Archepiscopus, debeant trahere, nunc oue vetula, cum Tauro indomito iugata, distorqueatur a recto. Ego ouis vetula, qui si quietus essem, verbi Dei lacte, & operimento lanæ, aliquibus possem fortasis non ingratus esse, sed si me cum hoc tauro coniungitis, videbitis pro disparilitate trahentium, aratrum non recte procedere. &c. Which is in English thus. Of seculer affayres I haue no skil, bycause I will not know them, for I euen abhorre the troubles that ryse about them, as one that desireth to haue his minde at libertie. I applye my whole indeuour to the rule of the scriptures, you lead me to the contrary. It is to be feared lest the plough of holy church which two strong Oxen of equal force, and both like earnest to contende vnto that, which is good (that is the king and the Archebishop) ought to drawe, shoulde thereby now swarue from the right forrow, by matching of an olde Shepe, with a wilde vntamed bull. I am that olde shepe, who if I might be quiet, coulde peraduenture shew my selfe not altogither vngratfull vnto some, by feeding them with milke of the worde of God, and couering them with woll, but if you matche me with this bull, you shall see that thorowe want of equalitie in draught the plough will not go to right. &c. as followeth in the processe of his letters. Thomas Becket was so proude, that he wrate to king Henry the seconde, as to his Lord, to his king, and to his sonne, offering him his counsell, hys reuerence and due correction. &c. Others in like sort haue protested, that they ought nothing to the kinges of this lande, but their counsell onely, reseruing all obedience vnto the se of Rome: whereby we may easily see the pride & ambition of the clergie in the blinde tyme of ignorance. But as the Archbishop of Cantorbury hath lōg since obtayned the prerogatiue aboue Yorke, (although not without great trouble, sute, some bloodshed and contention) so the Archbishop of Yorke, is neuertheless primate of Englande, as one contenting himselfe with a peece at the least when (all) coulde not begotten. And as he of Cantorbury crowneth the king, so thys of Yorke doth the like vnto the Quēne, whose perpetuall Chaplin he is, and hath bēne from time to time as the writers doe reporte. The first also hath vnder his iurisdiction to the number of one and twentie inferiour bishoppes, the other hath onely foure by reason, that the churches of Scotland are now remoued frō his obedience vnto an Archbishop of their owne, wherby the greatnesse & circuit of the iurisdiction of Yorke, is not a little diminished. In like sort eache of these seuen & twenty sées, haue their Cathedral churches, wherin the Deanes doe beare the chiefe rule, being men especially chosen to that vocation, both for their learning & godlinesse so nere as can be possible. These Cathedrall churches haue in like maner other dignities and Canonries still remayning vnto thē as heretofore vnder the Popish regiment. Howbeit those that are chosen to the same are no ydle and vnprofitable persons, (as in times past they haue bēne when most of these liuinges were either furnished with straungers, especiall out of Italy, or such Idiots as had least skill of all in discharging of those functions, wherunto they were called by vertue of these stipendes) but such as by preaching and teaching can, and doe learnedly set forth the glorie of God, and farder the ouerthrow of Antichrist to the vttermost of their powers.

Anselme.

Tho. Bec.

21. Yor. vnd Sis Ca bur Or fou vnd Ar Yor

De

Ca

More-

Moreouer in the sayde Cathedrall churches vpon Sondayes and Festiual dayes, the Canones doe make certayne ordinary sermons by course, whervnto great numbers of all estates doe orderly resort, and vpon the working daies thrise in the weeke one of the sayd Canons doth reade and expounde some peece of holy scripture, wherevnto the people doe very reuerently repaire. The bishops themselues in lyke sorte are not vsle in their callings, for being nowe exempt from Court & counsell, they so applye their myndes to the setting forth of the worde, that there are verie few of them, which doth not euery Sunday or oftner resorte to some place or other, within their iurisdictions, where they expounde the scriptures with much grauitie & skill. They haue vnder them also their Archdeacons, some one, diuers two, & many foure or mo, as their circuites are in quantity, whiche Archedeacons are termed in law the byshoppes eyes: and these beside their ordinarie courtes (which are holden by themselues or their officials once in a moneth at ỹ least) doe kepe yearly two visitations or Sinodes, (as the Bishop doth in euery thirde yeare) wherin they make diligẽt inquisition & serch, aswel for ỹ doctrine & behauiour of the Ministers, as the orderly dealing of the Parishioners in resorting to their parish churches & conformity vnto religiõ. They punish also wᵗ great seuerity al such trespassers as are presented vnto them: or if the cause be of ỹ more weight, as in cases of Heresie, pertinacie, cõtempt & such lyke, they refer them eyther to ỹ Bishop of the Dioceese, or his chauncellour, or else to sundrie graue persons set in authoritye by vertue of an high cõmission directed vnto them frõ the Prince to that end, who in very courteous maner doe sée the offenders gẽtly reformed, or else seuerly punished if necessitie so inforce. Beside this in many of our Archedeaconries, we haue an exercise lately begunne, which for the most part is called a prophecie or conference, and erected only for the examination or triall of the diligence of the clergie in their study of holy scriptures. Howbeit such is the thirstie desire of the people in these dayes to heare the worde of God, ỹ they also haue as it were with zealous violence intruded themselues among them (but as hearers only) to come by more knowledg thorowe their presence at the same. Herein also for the most part two of the yonger sorte of Ministers doe expounde eache after other some peece of the scriptures ordinarily appointed vnto them in their courses (wherein they orderly go thorow with some one of the Euangelistes or of the Epistles, as it pleaseth thẽ to chose at the first in euery of these conferences) and when they haue spent an houre or a little more betweene them, then commeth one of the better learned sort, who supplyeth the rowme of a moderator, making first a briefe rehearsall of their discourses, and then adding what him thinketh good of his owne knowledge, wherby two houres are thus cõmonly spent at this most profitable meeting. Whẽ al is done if the first speakers haue shewed any peece of diligence, they are commended for their trauaile and encouraged to go forward. If they haue béene found to be slacke, their negligence is openly reproued before all their brethren, who go aside of purpose from the laitie after the exercise ended, to iudge of these matters and consulte of the next speakers & quantie of the text to be handled in that place. The laytie neuer spake but are onely hearers, & as it is vsed in some places weekely, in other once in fouretéene dayes, in dyuers monethly, and elsewhere twise in a yere, so is it a notable spurre vnto all the ministers, therby to apply their bookes which otherwyse as in tymes past dyd giue themselues to hawking, hunting, tables, cardes, dyce, typpling at the Alehouse, shooting and other like vanities, nothing commendable in such as shoulde be godly and zealous stewards of the good gifts of GOD, faithful distributers of his worde vnto the people, and diligent paynours according to their calling. Our Elders or Ministers and Deacons (for subdeacons and the other inferiour orders, sometime vsed in the Popish church we haue not) are made according to a certaine forme of consecration concluded vpon in the time of king Edwarde the first, by the clergy of Englande, and sone after confirmed by the three estates of the realme, in the high court of Parliamẽt. And out of the first sort, that is to saye of such as are called to the ministery, are Bishops, Deanes, Archedeacons, & such as haue the higher places, in the Hierarchy of the church elected, & these also as al ỹ rest, at the first cõming vnto any spirituall promotion doe yéld vnto ỹ Prince the entire tare of their liuings for one whole yeare, if it amount in value vnto ten pounde and vpwardes, and this vnder the name of first fruites. They paye the tenthes yearely also of theyr sayde liuynges, according to such valuations as haue béene made lateiye of the same: for the receyt of which two paymentes, an especial office or court is erected, which beareth name of first fruits and tenthes, wherevnto if the party to be preferred, doe not make his duetifull repayre by an appointed tyme after possession taken there to

Ministers Deacons.

First fruites and tenthes.

compounde for the payment of his fruites, he incurreth the daunger of a great penalty, lymited by a certayne estatute prouided in that behalfe, against such as doe intrude into the ecclesiasticall functiõ. They pay likewise subsidies wyth the temporaltie, but in suche sort that if these paye after foure shillinges Subsidies for lande, the cleargye paye commonly after sixe shilings of the pounde, so that of a benefice of twentye pounde by the yeare the incumbent thinketh himselfe well acquited, if all thinges being discharged he may reserue fiftéene pounde towarde his owne sustentation and maintenance of his family. Seldom also are they without the compasse of a subsidye, for if they be one yeare cleare from this payment they are lyke in the nexte to here of another graunt, so that I saye agayne they are seldome wythout the limite of a subsidie. The laity maye at euery taxation also helpe themselues, and so they doe thorowe consideration had of their decaye, and hinderaunce, and yet their impouerishmẽt cannot but touch also the Parson or Vicar, as is daily to be séene in their accounpts and tythings.

The other paimẽtes due vnto the Archbishop and Bishop at their seuerall visitatiõs, (of which the first is double to the latter) and suche also as the Archedeacon receyueth at hys Synodes. &c. remaine still as they dyd, wythout any alteration: onely thys I thynke be added within memory of man, that at the comming of euery prince, hys appointed officers doe commonly visite the whole realme vnder the forme of an ecclesiasticall inquisition, in which the cleargy doe paye double * The very cause why sweauers, pedlers & glouers haue béene made Ministers, for ỹ learned refuse such matches, so that yf the Bishops in times past hadde not made such by ouersight & friendship I wote not howe such men shold haue done wyth their aduousons. as for a glouer or a fées, as vnto the Archbishop. Hereby thẽ & by those already remembred, it is founde that the Church of Englande, is no lesse commodious to the Princes coffers then the laitye, if it doe not farre excéede the same, since their paimentes are certayne continuall and seldome abated, howesoeuer they gather vppe their owne dueties, or haue their lyuinges otherwise hardly valued vnto the vttermost fardings, or shrewdely canceled by the couetousnesse of the patrones, * of whom some do bestowe aduousons of benefices vpon theyr Bakers, Butlers, Cokes, and horsekéepers, in stéede of other recompẽce, for their long & faithful seruice which they employ vnto their most aduantage. But to procéede wyth our purpose. The names moreouer vsually giuẽ vnto such as féede the flocke remaine in lyke sort as in tymes past, so ỹ these wordes, parson, Vicar, curate, and such are not, as yet abolished more then the Canon lawe it selfe, which is daily pleaded as I haue sayde elsewhere, although the estatutes of the realme haue greatly infringed the large scope, and brought the exercise of the same into some narrower limits. There is no thing redde in our churches but the canonicall Scriptures, whereby it commeth to passe that the Psalter is sayd ouer once in thirtie dayes, ỹ new Testament foure times, and the olde Testament once in the yeare. And hereunto if the Curate be adiudged by the Bishop or his deputies, sufficientlye instructed in the holye scriptures, he permitteth him to make some exposition or exhortation in his parishe, vnto amendment of lyfe. And for as much as our churches and vniuersities haue béene so spoiled in tyme of errour, as there cannot yet be had such number of learned pastours as may suffise for euery parish to haue one: there are certaine sermones or homelies, deuised by sundry learned men, confirmed for sounde doctrine, by consent of the diuines, and publike authoritie of the prince, and those appointed to be read by the Curates of meane vnderstanding, (which Homelies doe comprehende the principall partes of christian doctrine, as of originall sinne, of Iustificatiõ by fayth, of charity and such lyke) vpon the Sabbaoth dayes, vnto the congregation. Likewise in our common prayer, the lessons are onely certeine appointed chapters, taken out of the olde and newe Testament. The administration moreouer of the sacraments and residue of the seruice, is done in the churches, wholly in our vulgare tong, that eche one present, maye here and vnderstande the same, which also in Cathedrall and Collegiate churches is so ordered, that the Psalmes onely are song by note, the rest being redde (as in common parishe Churches) by the Minister wyth a loude voyce, sauynge that in the administration of the Communion the Quier singeth the answeres, the crede, and sundry other thynges appointed, but in so plaine (I say) and distinct maner, that eche one present may vnderstand what they sing, euery worde hauing but one note, though the whole Harmony consist of many partes, and those very cunningly set by the skilful in that science. As for our Churches themselues, Belles, and times of morning and euening prayer, they remaine as in times past, sauing that all Images, shrines, tabernacls, rodloftes, and monumentes of Idolatry, are remoued, taken downe, and defaced, onely the stories in glasse windowes excepted, which for want of sufficient store of newe stuffe, & by reason of extreame charge that shoulde growe, thorow the alteration of the same into white panes thorowe out the realme, are

not

not altogither abolyshed in moſt places at once, but by lyttle and little ſuffered to decaye, that white glaſſe may be prouided and ſet vp in their romes. Finally wheras there was wont to be a great partiсion betweene the Quire and the body of the Church, nowe it is either very ſmall or none at all: and to ſaye the truth altogither needeleſſe, ſithe the Miniſter sayth his ſeruice commonly in the bodye of the church, wyth his face towarde the people, in a little tabernacle of wainescot prouided for the purpoſe, by which meanes the ignorannt doe not onely learne dyuers of the pſalmes and vſuall prayers by heart, but alſo ſuch as can read doe pray togither with him, ſo that the whole congregation at one inſtant doe poure out their peticions, vnto the liuing God, for the whole eſtate of hys church in moſt earneſt and feruent maner. Thus much briefly of the eſtate of the church of England, I meane touching the regimēt of the ſame, ẏ ſeruice of God, & forme of common Prayer: now will I returne to the particular limites of eache ſeuerall Byſhoprȳe, whereby we ſhall ſée theyr boundes, and how farre theyr iuriſdictions doe extende, beginning firſt with the Sie of Cantorbury in ſuch briefe order as followeth here at hand.

orbu- The iuriſdictiō of Cantorbury (erected firſt by Auguſtine the Monke) yf you haue reſpect to his prouinciall regiment, extendeth it ſelfe ouer all the ſouth part of this Iſland. But if you regarde the ſame onely that belongeth vnto his Sie, it reacheth but ouer one parcell of Kent: the Dioceſſe of Rocheſter enioying the reſt: ſo that in thys one countey the greateſt Archbiſhoprȳcke and at the leſt Biſhoprȳcke of all are vnited & ſtrictly lincked togither. That of Cantorbury hath vnder it one Archedeacō, who hath charge ouer xj. Deaneries or a hūdred thrée ſcore and one pariſhe churches, and in the Popiſh time there went out of this Sie to Rome at euery alienation for firſt fruites 10000. Ducates or Florens (for I reade both) beſide 5000. that the new elect vſually payed for hys pall. I woulde ſpeake ſomewhat of his peculiers diſperſed here & there in other ſhires, but ſith I haue no certaine knowledge of them, I paſſe thē ouer vntill an other tyme.

ieſter. The Sie of Rocheſter is alſo included within ẏ limits of Kent, whoſe Archedeacon hath onelye thrée Deanaries vnder his iuriſdiction containing 132. Pariſhe churches: ſo that hereby it is to be gathered that there are at the leaſt 393. Pariſhe churches in Kent, ouer which theſe two Archdeacons afore remembred doe exercise Eccleſiaſticall authoritie. This Byſhop at euery alienation was wont to pay to the Sie of Rome 1300 Ducates or florens. He was alſo croſſebearer in tyme paſt to the Archbyſhop of Cantorbury and Iuſtus was the firſt Byſhop that was inſtalled in the ſame.

The Sie of London, whereof Mellitus is accoūted to be the firſt Paſtor in the Popiſh Cataloge, is nowe conteyned to be vnder the gouernaunce of a Biſhop, which in olde time had hir Archebiſhop vntill Cantorbury bereft hir of that honour by the practiſe of Auguſtine the monke, who I wote not vpō what priuie occaſion, remoued his Archebiſhops Sie from thence farder into Kent. It includeth Eſſex, Middleſex and part of Herefordſhyre, and is neyther more nor leſſe in quantitie then the auncient kingdome of the eaſt Saxons before it was vnited to that of the weſt Saxons, as our hyſtories doe report. The iuriſdiction of this Sie vnder the biſhop is committed to foure Archedeacons, that is of London, Eſſex, Middleſex, and Colcheſter and thoſe haue amongſt them to the number of 363. Pariſhes or thereabouts, beſide the peculiers belonging to the Archebiſhop, and at euery alienation the new incumbent was bounde to pay to the Biſhop of Rome 3000. Ducates or florenes as I reade. London.

Chicheſter (the beginning of which ſie was in ẏ Iſle of Seleſey, but afterward trāſlated to Chicheſter) hath now Suſſex only, and the wight vnder which are ſixténe Deaneries, containing to ẏ nūber of 551. pariſhs. It paid at euery alienatiō to ẏ Sie of Rome 333. ducates, as I haue reade of late. One Edbert was the firſt biſhop there, thē one Cella ſucceéded, after whom the ſie was voyd by many yeres. It was erected alſo 711. by ẏ decrée of a Synode holden in Suſſex, which ſeparated it frō the iuriſdiction of ẏ ſie of Wincheſter, wherof before it was reputed a parcell. Chicheſter

Wincheſter hath Hamſhyre and Surry, & in olde time the Wight wherein are eyght Deanaries and 276. Pariſh churches, and beſide that the Biſhoppe of thys Dioceſſe is perpetuall Prelate vnto the honorable order of the Garter, his taxe at his inſtitution was 12000. ducats or florens. If the old cataloge of the Biſhoppes of this Sie be well conſidered of, and the actes of the greateſt parte of them indifferently weighed, as they are to be reade in our Hyſtories, you ſhall finde the moſt egregious hypocrites, the ſtouteſt warriours, the cruelleſt tyrauntes, the richeſt money mongers, & politicke counſellours in temporall affayres, to haue I wote not by what ſecrete worcking of the diuine prouidence bēne placed here in Wincheſter, ſith the foundation of that Sie, which was erected winche- ſter. The Byſhoppe of Winche- ſter was ſometime called biſhop of the weſtſaxōs or of Dor- cheſter, which town was giuen to Birinus & his ſucceſſours, by Kinigils of the weſt ſaxons and Oſwald king of the Northūbers.

ted

ted by Birinus, 639. (whome Pope Honorius sent hyther out of Italy) and first planted at Dorchester, in the tyme of Kynigils, then translated to Winchester, where it doth yet continue.

Salisbury

Salisbury hath nowe Barckshyre, and Wilshyre onely, for after ỳ death of Hedda, which was [illegible] Winchester was deuided in two, so that onely Hampton and Surrey were left vnto it, & Wilton, Dorset, Barckshyre, Somerset, Deuon, & Cornwall, assigned vnto Salisbury, tyll other order was taken. The valuation hereof in Rome was lately 4000. Ducats or flozens, as the tare therof yet recordeth. Certes I haue not read of any bishop that hath bene a greater ornament to this Sie then Bishop Jewell lately deceased, sith the tyme that Adelme dyd first begynne that Bysshoprycke 704. which was before a perell of the iurisdiction of Winchester, founded at Shirburne, & afterward translated to Salisbury, but I can not well tell in what yeare after the conquest.

Excester.

Excester hath Deuonshyre and Cornewall & the valuation of this liuing was 6000. ducates, which were payde at euery alienation vnto the Bishoppe of Rome.

Bathe.

Bathe, whose Sie was sometyme at Welles, hath Somersetshyre onely, and the value therof was rated at 430. Ducates in ỳ Popish taxation, except I be deceyued. This Bishoprycke was erected 905. in a counsell holden among the Gewises, whereat king Edwarde of the Westsaxons, & Plegimund Archebishop of Cãterbury were present. For that part of the country had bene seauen yeres without any Pastorall cure, and therfore in this counsel it was agreed that for the two Bishoprycks (wherof one was at Winchester another at Shireburne) there should be fiue ordayned, whereby the people there myght be the better instructed. By thys meanes Frithstan was placed at Winchester, and Etheline at Shireburne, both of thẽ being then boyde. Shireburne also sustained the subdiuision, so that Werstane was made Bishop of Cridioc or Deuonshire (whose Sie was at Kyrton) Herstan of Cornewall, and Eadulf of Welles, vnto whome Barkshyre & Dorsetshyre were appointed, but now you se what alteratiõ is made, by consideration of the limites of their present iurisdictions.

The Bysshoprycks of Shiresburne diuided into 3.

Worcester.

Worcester sometime called Epãtus wiccionum hath Worcester & part of Warwijcshyres, and before the Bishoprijc of Glocester was taken out of the same, it payde to the Pope 2000. Ducates of golde at euery chaunge of Prelate. This Sie was begunne either in or not long before the time of Offa, king of the east Angles, and Boselus was the first Bishop there, after whome, succeeded Oskort, then Egwine who went in pilgrimage to Rome, with Kinredus of Mercia & the sayde Offa, and there gate a Monasterie (which he buylded in Worcester) confirmed by Constantine the Pope.

Glocester

Glocester hath Glocestershyre only, wherin are nyne Deanaries and to the number of 294. Parishe churches, as I finde by good record. But it neuer payd any thing to rome, bycause it was erected by king Henry the eyght, after he had abolished the vsurped authoryt of ỳ Pope, except in Quéene Maries, if any such thing were demeaned, as I doubt not but it was.

Hereford

Herefordhe hath Hertfordeshyre and part of Shropshyre and payde to Rome at euery chaunge of Bishop 1800. Ducates or flozens at the least.

Lichel whose was h den fo time a westch ter, th now h a Bish of hys owne.

Lechfield wherunto Couẽtry is added, hath Staffordeshyre Darbyshire part of Shropshire & the rest of Warwijc, that is boyde of subiection to the sie of Worcester. It was erected in the time of Peada king of the south Mertians which lay on this side of ỳ Trent, & therin one Dinas was enstalled about the yeare of grace 656. after whom succeeded Kellac, thẽ Tunher an Englishman, but consecrated by the Scottes. It paid to the Pope 1733. Ducates, in mine opinion a good round fine, but not without a iust punishment, sith that in times past by. 765. Eldulf Bishoppe there vnder king Offa of Mertia woulde haue bereft the sie of Cantorbury of hir pall in the time of Pope Adriane, and so dyd for a season till thinges were reduced into their former order.

Orkord

Orkorde hath Orkorde shyre onely, a verye ponge Jurisdiction, erected by kyng Henry the eyght, and where in the time of Quéene Mary, one Goldwell was Bishop, who as I remember was a Jesuite, dwelling in Rome and more conuersant as the fame went in the blacke Arte, then skilfull in the Scriptures, and yet he was of great countenaunce amongst the Romayne monarches. It is said that obseruyng the Canons of hys order, he regarded not the temporalities, but I haue heard sithens that he wist well ynough what became of those commodities.

Ely.

Ely hath Cambridgeshyre, & the Isle of Ely. It was erected 1109. by Henry the first, being before a riche and welthy abbay. One Heruy also was made Bishoppe there, as I haue fond in a Register, belõging sometime to that house. Finallye it payde to the Pope at euery alienation. 7000. Ducates, as the Registers there doth testifie at large.

North-

Northwich called in old time Episcopatus, domucensis, (whose sée was first at Helmeha, then at Thetford) hath Suffolke and Norfolke. The circuite hereof was once all one, with that of the Kinges of the east Angles, till Ely was taken from the same, & it began about the yeare 632. vnder Sorpenwalde king of the East Sarons, and one Felix of Burgundy, was first Bishop there, who sate seuentéene yeares, and was placed therein by Honorius the Pope, finally it payde at euery alienation. 5000. Ducates to Rome of curraunt money as I reade.

Peterborow sometime a notable monastery hath Northamton, and Rutlande shires, a diocesse erected also by king Henry ỳ eight. It neuer payde first fruites to the Pope, but in Quéne Maries dayes, if ought were then demaunded, because it was a sée not recorded in the auncient Register, of hys first fruites and tenthes.

Bristowe hath Dorcet shyre, sometime belongyng to Salisbury, a sée lately erected by kyng Henry the eyght, who toke no small care for the Churche of Christ, & therfore eased a number of the auncient sées, of theyr superfluous circutes, and bestowed the same vppon such other, as he had appoynted for the better regimente and féeding of the flocke.

Lincolne of all other in times past was the greatest, for although that out of it were taken the Bishoprickes of Oxforde, and Peterborow, yet it reteineth still Lincolne, Leicester, Huntyngdon, Bedforde, Buckingham shyres, and the rest of Hartfordshyre, so that it extended from the Thames vnto the Humber, and payde vnto the Pope for the whole 5000. Ducates, as appeareth by record at euery alienation. It beganne about the beginning of William Rufus, by one Remigius who remoued his Sée to Lincolne frō Dorchester, as Math. Westminster doth report, & thus much of such Bishoprisches as lye within Lhoegres or Englande as it was left vnto Locrinus, nowe it followeth that procéede with Wales.

Lhandaffe or the churche of Tau, contayneth Glamorgan, Monmouth, Brecknoch and Radnor shyres, and payde to Rome 700. Ducats as I reade at euery chaunge of Prelate.

S. Dauides hath Pembroke, and Caermardine shyres, whose liuerie or first fruites to the Sée of Rome was 1500. Ducates at the hardest as I thincke.

Bangor is in north Wales, & hath Caernaruon, Anglisey and Merioneth shyres vnder hir iurisdiction, it paid also to Rome 126. Ducates or florence, as their bookes doe yet declare.

S. Asaphes hath Prestholme and parte of Denbigh & Flintshyres, which beyng layde togither doe amount to little more then one good countye, & therfore iustly supposed to be ỳ left Bishopricke that is to be founde within Wales, yet it paide to Rome 470. Ducates, except my memory doth fayle. And hitherto of the Prouince Caunterburye, for so much thereof as lyeth in thys Iland, nowe it resteth that I procéede with the other of Yorke in such order as I may. S. Asaphes.

The Sée of Yorke beganne aboute the yeare of grace. 625. vnder Iustus of Caunterburye, who ordeyned Paulinus the first Bishop there, in the time of Edwine of king Northumberland. Of it selfe it hath Iurisdiction ouer Yorkshyre, Nottingham shyre, & the rest of Lancaster shire, not subiect to the Sée of Chester, and when the Pope bare authority in this realme it payde vnto his Sée 1000. Ducates, beside also 5000. for the pal of the newe elect, which was more then he coulde well spare, considering the diminution of hys Sée, by meanes of the erection of a new Metropolitane in Scotland, as I haue shewed else where. Yorke.

Chester hath Chestershire, Darbishire, the most part of Lancaster shyre (vnto the Rybell) Richemonde, and a part of Flinte and Denbighe shyres in Wales also vnder one subiection for ecclesiasticall matters. In the olde popish tyme, there was no Bishoprych, called by that name (although the Bysshop of Lechfielde had sometime his Sée pitched in that place, and therefore of some was called Bishop of Chester) sith king Henry the eight was the first, that erected any there. Chester.

Durham hath the county of Durham onely, and Northumberlande, whereof the Bysshoppes haue béene sometimes Earles Palatines, and ruled the rest vnder the name of the Bishoprycke, a Sée in my opinion more profitable, & of lesse countenaunce, then his prouinciall. But whatsoeuer it be for externall apparaunce, sure it is that it payde to Rome 9000. Ducates or Florenes, at euery chaunge, as the recorde yet expresseth, Aydan a Scot was the first Bysshop of this Sée, who helde himselfe as did also manye of his successours, in Lindisfarne Ile, till one came that remoued it to Durham. Durham or Lindesfarne.

Caerleil erected 1132. by Henry the first, & whereof Ethelwolf confessor to Osmond Bysshop of Salisbury, was made originall Bishop, hath Cumberland & Westmerland, as for the Deaneries and number parysshes conteyned in the same, as yet I haue no- Caerleil.

know-

knowledge, more then of many of the other, howbeit of this I am sure, that the Pope receyued out of it at euery chaunge of Bysshop 1000. florenes, albeit that it might haue spared much more as an aduersarie thereto confessed sometyme euen before the Pope himselfe, supposing no lesse but to haue gained by hys tale.

Man. Beside all these we haue another Bishoprycke yet in England, but very obscure, because the Bysshoppe thereof hath not wherewith to maintaine his countenaunce sufficientlye, and that is, the Sie of Mona or Man, sometime named Epātus Sodorensis, whereof one Wimundus was ordeyned the firſt bishop, and John the seconde, in the reigne of king Stephē. The gift of this prelacy resteth in ỳ Erles of Darby, who nominateth such a one from time to tyme, thereto as to them doth seeme conuenient. Howbeit if that Sie might reape hir owne commodities, I doubt not but the estate of hir Bishop would quickly be amended. And thus much of our bishoprycks, and maner how the ecclesiastical iurisdiction of the church of England, is deuyded among the shyres, and countyes of thys realme. Whose Bishops as they haue bene heretofore of greater port and doings in the common wealth, then at this present, so are they nowe for the most part the best learned that are to be founde, in any country of Europe, sith neither high parentage, nor great ryches as in other countreyes, but onelye learning and vertue doe bring them to thys honour. I might here haue spoken of diuers other Bishoprycks, sometime in this part of the Iſlande, as of that of Caerlheon, where Dubritius gouerned, which was afterwarde translated to S. Dauides, and taken for an Archbishoprycke: secōdly of the Bishoprycke of Leircester, whose fourth bishop called Unwon went to Rome with Offa king of Mertia: thirdly of Ramsbyry or Miltō, & of Glocester (of which you shall reade in Math. Weſt. 489) where the bishop was called Eldad: also of Hagulstade, one of the three mēbers wherinto the Sie of Yorke was deuided after the pulsion of Wilfrid. For as I reade when Egfrid the king had driuen him away, he deuided his Sie into three partes, making Bosa ouer the Deiranes that helde his Sie at Hagulstade: Eatta ouer the Bernicians, who sate at Yorke: and Edhedus ouer Lindfar, whose successours were Ethelwine, Edgar and Kinibert, notwithstanding that one Herulfus was ouer Lindfarre before Edhedus, who was Bishop of the Mertians and middle England till he was banished from Lindisse and came into these quarters, to

Glocester a very auncient bishoprycke.

seeke his refuge and succour. I could lykewyse entreate of the Bishoppes of Whiteherne, or ad Candidam Casam, nowe a parcell of Scotland, and of diuers chaūges and alterations happning in these ſies frō time to time, but sith my purpose is to touch only the estate of thinges present, it may suffice to haue sayde thus much of them, though altogither beside mine intended purpose.

Of Vniuersities. Cap. 6.

THere are within the realme of England two noble & famous Uniuersities, wherin are not onely diuers goodly houses builded foure square for the most part of harde free stone, with great numbers of lodginges and chambers in the same for Students after a sumptuous maner, thorow the exceeding liberalitie of Kings, Quēnes, Bishops, Noble men, and Ladies, of the lande: but also large liuinges and great reuenues bestowed vpon them (the lyke wherof is not to be seene in any other region as Peter Martyr dyd oft affirme) to the maintenaunce onely of such cōuenient numbers of poore mens sonnes as the seuerall stipendes bestowed vpō the saide houses are able to support. Of these two that of Oxforde (which lyeth west and by North from London) standeth most pleasauntly of both, being enuironned in maner rounde about with pleasaunt woodes on the hilles aloft and goodly riuers in the medowes beneath, whose courses woulde bréede no small commoditie to that Citie, yf such impediments were remoued, as greatly annoy the same. That of Cambridge is distaunt from London about fourtie and fiue myles north & by east, and standeth very well, sauing that it is somewhat low & nére vnto the Fennes, whereby the holsomnesse of the ayre there, is not a little corrupted. It is excellently well serued with all kindes of prouision, but especially of fresh water fishe and wildefowle, by reason of the Ile of Ely, which is so nére at hande. Duely woodde is one of the chiefe wants to such as studdie there, wherfore this kind of prouisiō is brought them either from Esſer, & other places thereabouts, as is also their cole, or otherwise the necessity therof is supplyed with gall, and sea cole, wherof they haue great plenty lead thither by the Grant. Moreouer it hath no such store of medowe grounde as may suffice for the ordinarie expenses of the towne, and Uniuersitie, wherfore they are inforced in lyke sort to prouide, their haye from other villages about which minister the same vnto them in verye great abundaunce. Oxforde is supposed to containe

taine in Longitude eyghténe degrées and eyght and twentie mynutes, and in Latitude one and fiftie degrées and fiftie minuts, wherras that of Cambridge standing more northerly, hath twentie degrées and twentie minutes in Longitude, and therevnto fiftie & two degrées and fifténe minuts in Latitude as by exact supputacion is easie to be founde. The Colledges of Oxford for curious workmanship and priuate commodities, are much more stately, magnificent, and commodious then those of Cambridge: and therevnto the stréetes of the towne for the most part more large and comely. But for vniformitie of building, orderly compactiō and regiment, ẏ towne of Cambridge excédeth that of Oxford (which otherwise is & hath bén the greater of the two) by many a folde, although I know diuers ẏ are of the contrarie opinion Castels also they haue both, and in my iudgment is harde to be sayde, whither of them woulde be the stronger, if both were accordingly repaired: howbeit that of Cambridge is the higher both for maner of building & scituation of grounde, sith Oxforde castell, standeth low and is not so apparant in sight. The commō schooles of Cambridge also are farre more beautifull then those of Oxforde onely the diuinitie schoole at Oxforde excepted, which for fine and excellent workemanship commeth nere the mowlde of the Kings chappell in Chambridge, then the which two with ẏ chappell that king Henry the seuenth dyd buylde at Westminster, there are not in my opinion made of lime & stone thrée more notable pyles within the cōpasse of Europe. In all other thinges there is so great equalitie betwéene these two Vniuersities as no mān cā imagine how to set down any greater, so that they séeme to be the bodye of one well ordered common wealth, onely deuided by distaunce of place and not in friendly consent. In speaking therefore of the one I can not but describe the other: and in commēdation of the first I can not but extolle the latter, and so much the rather for that they are both so déere vnto me, as that I can not redily tell, vnto whyther of them I owe the most good will. Woulde to God my knowledge were such as that neither of thē might haue cause to be ashamed of their pupill, or my power so great that I might worthily requite them both for those manifolde kindenesses that I haue receyued of them. But to leaue these things & procéed with other more conuenient for my purpose. The maner to liue in these Vniuersities is not as in some other of forren countries we sée daply to happen, where the Studentes are inforced for

Readers in priuate houses.

Publicke readers maintayned by the Prince.

Study of the Quadriuialles & perspectiues neglected.

waute of such houses, to dwell in common Innes, and Tauernes, wythout all order or discipline: but in these our Colledges we liue in such exact order and vnder so precise rules of gouernmēt, that the famous learned man Erasmus of Roterodam being here amongest vs fiftie yeares passed, dyd not let to compare the trades of liuing of students of these two places, euen with the very rules and orders of the auncient Monkes: affirming moreouer in flatte wordes, our orders to be such as not onely came neare vnto, but rather farre excéded all the Monasticall institutions that euer were deuised. In most of our Colledges there are also great numbers of studentes, of which many are founde by the reuenues of the houses, and other by the purueighances & helpe of their riche frīēds, wherby in some one Colledge you shall haue two hundred schollers, in others an hundred and fiftie, in diuers a hundred and fourtie, & in dyuers lesse numbers as the capacitie of the sayde houses is able to receyue: so that at this present of one sort and other there are about thrée thousande studentes nourished in them both as by a late suruey it manifestly appeared. Euery one of these colledges haue in lyke maner their professours or readers of the tongues and seuerall sciences, as they call thē, which daily trade vp the youth there abiding, priuately in their halles, to the ende they may be able afterward whē their turne commeth about, to shewe themselues abrode by going frō thence into the commō schooles, and publicke disputations (as it were into the playne battaile) there to trie their skilles, and declare howe they haue profited sithence their comming thither. Moreouer in the publicke schooles of both the Vniuersities, there are founde at the Princes charge (and that very largely) fiue professours and readers, that is to say, of diuinitie, of the ciuile lawe, Physicke, the Hebrue & the Greeke tongues: and for the other publicke lectures as of Philosophie, Logicke, Rethoricke, & the Quadriuials. (Although the later I meane Arithmeticke, Musicke, Geometrie, and Astronomie, and with them all skill in the perfectiues are now small regarded in eyther of them) the Vniuersityes themselues doe allowe competent stipendes to such as reade the same, whereby they are sufficiently prouided for, touching the maintenaunce of their estates, and no lesse incouraged to be diligent in their functions. These professours in like sort haue all the rule of disputations and other schoole exercises, which are dayly vsed in common schooles seuerally assigned to eache of them, and such of their hearers as by their skil shewed

wed in the sayde disputacions, are thought to haue attayned any conuenient ryppenesse of knowledge, (according to the custome of other Uniuersities although not in like order) are permitted solemly to take their deserued degrees of schole in the same science, and facultie, wherin they haue spent their trauaile. From that tyme forwarde also, they vse such difference in apparell as becommeth their callings, tendeth vnto grauitie, & maketh them knowne to be called to some countenance. The first degree of all, is that of the generall Sophisters, frō whence when they haue learned more sufficiently the rules of Logicke, Rethoricke, and obtayned thereto competent skill in Philosophie, and in the Mathematicalles, they ascende hygher to the estate of Batchelers of arte. Frō thence also giuing their minds to more perfit knowledge in some or all ỹ other liberal sciences, and the tongues, they ryse at the last to be called Maisters of art, eche of them being at that time reputed for a Doctor in his facultie if he profesSe, but one of ỹ said sciēces, (besyde philosophie) or for his general skill, if he be exercised in them all. After this they are permitted to chose what other of the hygher studyes them lyketh to follow, whether it be Diuinity, Law, or Phisicke, so that beyng once Maisters of Arte, ỹ next degree if they follow Phisick, is the Doctorship belonging to that profession, and lykewyse in the study of the Law, if they bende their myndes to the knowledge of the same. But if they meane to go forward with Diuinitie, this is the order, vsed in that profession. First after they haue necessarily procēded maisters of Arte, they preach one sermon to the people in Englishe, and another to the Uniuersitie in Latin. They aunswere all comers also in their owne persons vnto two seuerall questions of Diuinity in the opē Scholes (at one time) for the space of two houres, & afterwarde reply twise against some other man, vpō a like number, and on two seuerall dayes in the same place: which beyng done wyth comendation, he receyueth the fourth degree, that is Bacheler of Diuinitie, but not before he hath bene mayster of Arte, by the space of seauen yeares, according to theyr statutes. The next & last degree of all, is the Doctorship after other three yeares, for the which he must once againe performe all such exercises & actes as are afore remembred, and then is he reputed able to gouerne and teach other, and lykewyse taken for a Doctor. Thus we see that from our enterance into the Uniuersity, vnto the last degree receiued is commonly eyghteene or twentie yeares, in which tyme if a Student hath not obteyned sufficient learning, there by to serue his owne turne, & benefite hys common wealth, let him neuer looke by tarying longer to come by any more.

Sophisters.

Batcheliers of Art

Maisters of Arte.

Batcheler of Diuinitie.

Doctor.

A man maye if he will beginne his studye with the Lawe, or Phisicke, so sone as he commeth to the Uniuersity, if his knowledg in the tongues: and ryppenesse of iudgement serue therefore: which if he doe, then his first degree is Bacheler of Law, or Phisicke, and for the same he must perfourme such Actes in his owne science, as the Bachelers or Doctors of Diuinitie, do for their partes, ỹ onely sermons except, which belongeth not to his calling: but as these are not matters of such importance as may deserue any further tractation, I so will leaue them & go in hande with the rest.

There is moreouer, in euery house a Maister, who hath vnder him a president, and certeine Centors or Deanes, appointed to looke to the behauiour, & maner of the Studentes there, whom they punish very seuerely if they make any default, according to the quantitye & qualitye of their trespasses. Ouer eche Uniuersitie also, there is a seuerall Chauncelour, whose Offices are perpetual, howbeit their substitutes, whome we call Uicechauncelors, are chaunged euery yere, as are also the Proctors, Taskers, Maisters of the Greates & other officers, for the better maintenāce of their policie & estate. And thus much at this time of both our Uniuersities.

To these two also we maye in lyke sorte adde the thirde, which is at London (serueng onelye for such as studye the Lawes of the Realme,) where there are sundrye famous houses, of which three are called by the name of Innes of the Court, the reast of the Chauncery, and all buylded before time for the furtheraunce and commoditie of such as applye their minds vnto the cōmon Lawes. Out of these also come Schollers of greate fame, whereof the most part haue heretofore bene brought vp in one of ỹ aforesaide Uniuersities, & proue such commonly as in processe of time, rise vp (only thorow their profound skil) to great honor in the cōmon welth of England. They haue also degrees of learning among thē selues, & rules of discipline, vnder which they lyue most ciuilye in their houses, albeit that the younger sort of them abroade in the Greates, are scarce able to be bryded by any good order at all. Certes this errour was wont also greatly to raigne in Cābridge & Oxforde, but as it is well left in these two places, so in forreine Countryes it cannot yet be suppressed. Besides these Uniuer-

London

uer-

nersities, also there are great number of Grammer scholes throwe out the Realme, and those very lyberally indued, for the better relefe of poore scholers, so that there are not many corporate townes now vnder the Queenes dominion, ỳ hath not one Gramer-schole at the least, with a sufficient liuing for a Mayster and Vsher, appointed to ỳ same. There are in lyke maner diuers collegiate churches, as Windsor, Wincester, Eaton, Westminster, and in the later three of those a great number of poore Schollers, daily maintayned by the liberalitie of the founders, with meate, bookes, and apparel, from whence after they haue bene well entered in the knowledge of the Latin and Greeke tongues, and rules of versifyng, they are sent to certeine especiall houses in eche Vniuersitye, where they are receyued and trayned vp, in the pointes of higher knowledge in their priuate halles, till they be adiudged meete to showe their faces in the Schooles, as I haue said already. And thus much haue I thought good to note of our Vniuersities, & lykewyse of Colledges in the same, whose names I wyl also set downe here, with those also of their founders, to the ende the zeale which they bare vnto learning may apeare, and their remembraunce neuer perish from among the wyse and learned.

Of the Colledges in Cambridge.

Yeares of the foundations.		*Colledges.*	*Founders.*
1546.	1	Trinity Colledge.	K. Henry. 8.
1441.	2	The Kinges Colledge.	K. Henry. 6. Edward. 4. Henry. 7. and Henry. 8.
1511.	3	S. Iohns.	L. Margaret grandmother to Henry. 8.
1505.	4	Christes Colledge.	K. Henry. 6. and the L. Margaret aforesaide.
1446.	5	The Queens Colledge.	L. Margaret wife to K. Henry. 6.
1496.	6	Iesus Colledge.	Iohn Alcocke Byshop of Ely.
1342.	7	Bennet Colledge.	The Brethren of a Popish guild called Corporis Christi.
1343.	8	Pembroke hall.	Mariade Valentia, Countesse of Pembroke.
1256.	9	Peter Colledge.	Hugh Balsham Byshop of Ely.
1348.	10	Gundeuill and	Edmund Gundeuill, Parson of Terrington, and Iohn Ca-
1557.		Caius Colledge.	ius. D. of Phisicke.
1354.	11	Trinity hall.	William Bateman Byshop of Norwiche.
1326.	12	Clare hall.	Richarde Badow Chauncelour of Cambridge.
1459.	13	Catherin hall.	Robert woodlarke. D. of Diuinity.
1519.	14	Magdalen Colledge.	Edward Duke of Buckingha, & Thomas Lord Awdley.

Of Colledges in Oxforde.

Yeres.		*Colledges.*	*Founders.*
1539.	1	Christes Church.	King Henry. 8.
1459.	2	Magdalen Colledge.	William wainflet B. of wincheſter.
1375.	3	New colledge.	William wickham B. of wincheſter.
1276.	4	Merton Colledge.	Walter Merton B. of Rocheſter.
1437.	5	All soules Colledge.	Henry Chicheley Archbishop of Caunterbury.
1516	6	Corpus christi Colledge.	Richarde foxe Bishop of Wincheſter.
1430.	7	Lincolne Colledge.	Richarde Fleming B. of Lincolne.
1323.	8	Auriell Colledge.	Adam Browne almoner to Edward. 2. (to Ed. 3.
1340.	9	The Queenes Colledge.	R. Eglesfeld chaplen to Philip Queene of England, wife
1263.	10	Balioll Colledge.	Iohn Ballioll King of Scotland.
1557.	11	S. Iohns.	Sir Thomas white Knight.
1556.	12	Trinity Colledge.	Sir Thomas Pope Knight.
1316.	13	Exceſter Colledge.	Walter Stapleton Bishop of Exceſter.
1513	14	Braſen noſe.	William Smith Bishop of Lincolne.
873.	15	Vniuersity Colledge.	William Archdeacon of Dureſme.
	16	Gloceſter Colledge.	
	17	S. Mary Colledge.	
	18	Iesus Colledge nowe in hande.	

There are also in Oxforde certayne Hostelles or Halles, which may right wel be called by the names of Colledges, if it were not that there is more lyberty in those then is to be seene in the other. In myne opinion the Studentes of these are verye lyke to those that are of the Innes of the chauncery.

Broade-

Brodegates.	S. Mary hall.
Hart hall.	White hall.
Magdalen hall.	New Inne.
Alburne hall.	Edmond hall.
Postminster hall.	

Besides which there is mention & recorde of diuers other Halles or hostelles, that haue bene ther in times past, as Beefe hal, Mutton hal. &c. whose ruines yet appeare: so that if antiquitie be to be iudged by ỹ shew of auncient buyldinges, which is very plentifull in Oxforde to be seene, it shoulde be an easie matter to conclude that Oxford is the elder Vniuersitye. Therein are also manye dwelling houses of stone yet standing, that haue bene Halles for students of verye antique workemanship, beside the olde walles of sundrie other, whose plots haue bene conuerted into gardens, sithence Colledges were erected.

Erection of Colleges in Oxforde the ouerthrowe of Halles.

In London also the houses of Studentes at the Common law are these.

Sergeaunts Inne.	Furniualles Inne.
Graies Inne.	Clyffordes Inne.
The Temple.	Clements Inne.
Lincolnes Inne.	Lions Inne.
Dauids Inne.	Barnardes Inne.
Staple Inne.	New Inne.

Of Cities and townes, within the realme of Englande. Cap. 7.

26. Cities in Englande.

AS in olde time we read that there were 28. flamines and Archflamines in the south part of this Ile, and so many great cities vnder their iurisdiction, so in these our dayes there is but one or two fewer, & eache of them also vnder the Ecclesiasticall regiment of some one Bishop or Archbishop, who in spirituall cases haue the charge, and ouersight of ỹ same. So many cities therefore are there in Englande and Wales, as there be Bishoprickes and Archbishoprickes: for notwithstanding that Lichfielde and Couentry: and Bathe and Welles, doe seeme to extend the aforesayde number vnto nyne and twentie, yet neyther of these copies are to be accompted, but as one intier citie, and Sie of the bishop, sith one Bishoprycke can haue relation but vnto one Sie, and the sayd Sie be scituate but in one place, after which the bishop doth take his name. It appeareth by our olde and auncient hystories, that the cities of thys southerly portion haue bene of exceeding greatnesse and beautie, whereof some were buylded in the time of the Samotheās, and of which not a fewe in these our times are quite decayed, & the places where they stode woxne out of al remembrance. Such also for the most part as yet remayne are meruaylously altered, insomuch that whereas at the first they were large & ample, nowe are they come eyther vnto a very fewe houses, or appeare not to be much greater in comparison then poore and simple villages. Antoninus the most diligent writer of the thorow fares of Brytaine, noteth among other these auncient townes following, as Sitomagus (which he placeth in the way frō Norwitch as Leland supposeth wherein they went by Colchester to London) Nouiomagus that lyeth betweene Carleill and Cantorbury, within tenne myles east of London, and likewyse Neomagus, and Niomagus which take their names of their first founder Magus, the sonne of Samothes, and second king of the Celtes that reigned in this Iland. Of these moreouer Sir Thomas Eliot supposeth Neomagus to haue stood somewhere about Chester, and George Lilly in his booke of the names of auncient places, iudgeth Niomagus to be the verye same that we doe nowe call Buckingham. And as these & sundry other nowe perished toke theyr denomination of thys prince, so their are dyuers causes, which moue me to coniecture, that Salisbury it self doth rather take the first name Sarron the sonne of the sayde Magus, then of Cæsar, Caradoc or Seuerus as some of our writers doe imagine. But sith coniecturs are no verities & mine opinion is but one mans iudgement, I will not stande now vpon the proofe of this matter, least I shoulde seeme to take great paines in adding new coniectures vnto olde, in such wyse to deteyne the heades of my readers about these trifles, that otherwyse peraduenture woulde be farre better occupyed. To proceede therfore, as sone after the first inhabitation of this Iland, our Cities began no doubt to be buylded, and increased, so they ceased not to multiplye from tyme to tyme, till the lande was thorowly furnished, with hir conuenient numbers, whereof some at this present with their auncient names, doe still remaine in knowledge, though dyuers be doubted of, & many moe perished by continuance of time, and byolence of the enemie. I doubt not also but the least of these were comparable to the greatest of those which stand in our tyme, for sith that in those dayes the most part of the Iland, was reserued vnto pasture, the townes and villages eyther were not at all (but all sortes of people dwelled in the cities indifferentlye an Image, of which estate may yet be seene in Spaine) or at the lest wise stode not so thick, as they dyd afterward in the time of the Romaines,

Sitomag
Nouiom
gus.
Neomag
Niomag

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Sarro
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Sarro
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Great cities
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Citize

maines, but chiefely after the comming of the Saxons and Normans, whē euery Lord buylded a church neare vnto his owne mansion house, & are imputed the greatest part of his lands vnto sundrie tennants, wherby the number of townes and villages was not a little increased among vs. If any man be desirous to know the names of those auncient cities, that stode in the time of the Romains he shall haue them here at hand, in such wise as I haue gathered them out of our writers obseruing euen their maner of writing of thē so neare as to me is possible.

1. London otherwise called
- Trenouanton.
- Cair Lud.
- Londinum *or* Longidinium
- Augusta of the legion Augusta that soiourned there, when the Romaines ruled here.

2. Yorke otherwise called
- Cairbranke.
- Vrouicum or Yurewijc.
- Eorwijc.
- Yeworwijc
- Eboracum.
- Victoria of the legion victrix that laye there sometime.

3. Cantorbury
- Durouernno *alias* Duraruenno.
- Dorobernia.
- Cantwarbyry.

4. Colchester
- Cair Colon.
- Cair Colden.
- Cair Colkin.
- Cair Colun, of the riuer that runneth thereby.
- Colonia, of the Colonie planted there.
- Colonceſter.
- Camulodunum.

5. Lincolne
- Cair Lud Coit, of the woodes that stoode about it.
- Cair loichoit, by Corruption.
- Lindum.
- Lindocollinum.

6. Warwijc
- Cair Guttelin.
- Cair Line.
- Cair Gwair.
- Cair vmber.
- Cair Gwaerton.

7. Chester vppon Vske
- Cair legion.
- Carlheon.
- Cairlium.
- Legeceſter.
- Ciuitas legionum.

8. Carleill
- Cair Lueill.
- Cair Leill.
- Lugibalia.

9. S. Albanes
- Cair Maricipit.
- Cair Municip.
- Verolamium.
- Verlamceſter.
- Cair wattelin, of the ſtreete whereon it ſtoode.

10. Winchester
- Cair Gwent.
- Cair Gwin.
- Cair Wine.
- Venta Simenorum.

11. Ciſceter.
- Cair Churne.
- Cair Kyrne.
- Cair Kerr.
- Cair Cery.
- Cirneceſter.
- Churneceſter.

12. Silceſter.
- Cair Segent.
- Seleceſter.

13. Bathe
- Cair Badon.
- Thermæ.
- Aquæ ſolis.

14. Shafteſbyry.
- Cair paladour.
- Septonia.

15. worceſter
- Wigornia.
- Cair Gworangon.
- Brangonia.
- Caer Frangon.
- Woorkeceſter.

16. Chicheſter
- Cair Key.
- Cair Chic.

17. Briſtow
- Cair Oder nant Badon.
- Oder.
- Cair Bren.
- Venta Belgarum.
- Brightſtow.

18. Rocheſt.
- Durobreuis corruptly Durobrouis.
- Rofceſter. Dubobrus.
- Roffa. Durobrius.

19. Portcheſter.
- Cair Peris.
- Cair poreis.

20. Cairmarden
- Cair Maridunum.
- Cair Merdine.
- Maridunum.
- Cair Marlin.
- Cair Fridhin.

21. Gloceſter
- Cair Clowy.
- Cair Glow.
- Claudioceſtria.

22. Leircester. { Cair Leir. / Cair Lirion. / Wirall teste math west. 895.

23. Cambridge. { Cair Graunt.

24. Cair vrnach.
25. Cair Cucurat.
26. Cair Draiton.
27. Cair Celennon.
28. Cair Megwaid.

As for Cair Dorme (another whereof I read likewise) it stood somewhere vpon Nen in Huntingdon shire, but nowe vnknowen, sith it was twise raced to the grounde, first by the Saxons, then by the Danes, so that the ruines therof are not extaunt to be seene. And in like sort I am ignoraunt where they stood, that are noted the far. It should seeme when these auncient cities flourished, that the same towne which we nowe call Saint Albons, did most of all excell: but chiefely in the Romaines time, and was nothing inferiour to London it self, but rather preferred before it, because it was newer, & a colony of the Romaines, wheras the other was old and ruinous, and inhabited only by the Britaines. Good notice hereof also is to be taken by Mathew paris, & other before him, out of whose wrytings, I haue thought good to note a fewe thinges whereby the maiesty of thys auncient citie, may appeare vnto posterity, and the former estate of Verlamcester not lie altogither, as it hath done hitherto raked vp in forgetfulnesse, throwe the negligence of such as might haue deserued better of theyr successours, by leauing the description thereof in a booke by it selfe, sith many particulers thereof were written to their hands, that nowe are lost and perished. Tacitus in the fourteenth booke of hys hystorie, maketh mencion of it, shewyng that in the rebellion of the Brytons, the Romaines there were myserably distressed, Eadem clades (sayth he) municipio Verolamio fuit, and herevpon Nennius in his Cataloge of cities, calleth it Cair Minucip, as I before haue noted. Ptolomy speaking of it, doth place it among the Caty euchlanes, but Antoninus maketh it one and twentie Italyan myles from London, placing Sullomaca nyne myle from thence, whereby it is euident, that Sullomaca stood very neere to Barnet, if it were not the same. Of the copasse of the walles of Verolamium there is yet some mencyon by the ruines, but of ỹ beauty of the citye it selfe, you shal partly vnderstand by ỹ which followeth at hand.

When Albane was martyred, Asclepiodotus was Legate in Britaine.

Sulomaca and Barnet all one, or not far in sunder.

In the time of king Edgar, it fell out that one Eldred was Abbot there, who being desirous to enlarge that house, it came into his mynde, to search about in the ruines of Verolamium, (which nowe was ouerthrowne by the fury of the Saxons & Danes) to see if he might there come by any curious peces of worke, wherewith to garnishe hys buylding taken in hand. To be short, he had no soner begonne to digge among the rubbis, but hee founde an exceeding number of Pillers, peces of Antique worke, threcholdes, dore frames, and sundry other peces of fine masonry for windowes and such lyke, very conuenient for his purpose. Of these also some were of porphirite stone, some of dyuers kyndes of marble, touch, and Alablaster, beside many curious deuises of harde mettall, in fynding whereof he thought himselfe an happy man, and his successe to be greatlye guyded by S. Albane: Besides these also he found sundry pyllers of Brasse, and socketes of Latton, al which he laide aside by great heapes, determinyng in the ende, I say, to laye the foundation of a newe Abbaie, but God so preuented his determinatiõ, that death toke him awaye, before his buylding was begon. After him succeded one Eadmerus, who prosequuted the doinges of Eldrede to the vttermost: and therefore not onely perused what he had left with great diligence, but also caused his pioners to searche yet farder, with in ỹ olde walles of Verolamium, where they not onely found infinite peces of excellent workemanship, but came at the last to certaine vaultes vnder the ground, in which stode dyuers Idolles, and not a fewe aultars, very superstitiously, & religiously adourned, as the Paganes left thẽ (belike) in tyme of necessytie. These Images were of sũdry mettals, & some of pure gold: their aultars likewise were rychly couered, all which ornamentes, Edmerus toke away, and not only conuerted them to other vse in his building, but also destroyed an innumerable sort of other pooles, whose estimation consisted in their formes: & substaunces could doe no seruice. He toke vp moreouer sundrye curious pottes, Jugges, and cruses of stone, & woode most artificially wrought, and carued, & that in such quantitye beside infinite store of fine houshold stuffe, as if the whole furniture of the city had bene brought thither of purpose to be hidden in those vaultes. In proceeding further he toke vp diuers pots of golde, syluer, brasse & glasse, whereof some were fylled with the ashes and bones of the Gentyles, & not a fewe with the copyes of the olde Brytons, and Romaine Emperours. All which vessels the sayde Abbot brake into peces, and melting the mettalle, he reserued it in lyke sorte for the garnysshing of hys church.

He

he founde lykewyse in a stone wall two olde bookes, wherof one conteined the rytes of the gentiles, about the sacrifices of their gods, the other as they now say, ỹ Martyrdome of S. Albane, both of thē written in old brittish letters, which eyther bycause no man then lyuing could read them, or for that they were not worth the kéeping, were both consumed to ashes, sauing that a fewe notes were first taken out of this later, concerning the death of their Albane. Thus much haue I thought good to note of the former beautie of Verolamium, whereof infinite other tokens haue béene found, since that tyme, and diuers within the memory of man, of passing workmanship, the lyke wherof hath no where else béene séene in anye ruynes wythin the compasse of the Ile, eyther for cost or quantitye of stuffe.

Furthermore where as dyuers are not a fraide to saye that the Thames came sometimes by thys citie, in déede it is nothing so, but that the Uerlume, (afterwarde called Were and the Mure) did or doth so (whatsoeuer Gildas talketh herof, whose bookes may be corrupted in that behalfe,) there is yet euident proofe to be confirmed by experience. But thus standeth the case. As those aforesayd workemen digged in those ruines, they happened oftentimes vpon Lempet shelles, péeces of rusty ancres, and Keles of great besselles, whereupon some by & by gathered that either the Thames or some arme of the Sea, did beate vpon that towne, not vnderstandyng that these thinges might aswell happen in great lakes and meres, whereof there was one adioyning to the north side of the citie, which lay thē vnwalled. This mere at the first belonged to the king, and thereby Offa in hys time did reape no small commoditie. It continued also vntill the time of Alfrise the seauenth Abbot of that house, who bought it out right of the king then liuing, & by excessiue charges dreined it so narrowly, that within a whyle he left it drie, bycause there was alwaies contention betwéene the monkes & the kings seruaunts, which fished on that water.

In these dayes there remayneth no maner mencion of this poole, but onelye in one streate, which yet is called fishpoole streate, whereof this may suffise, for the resolution of such men, as séeke rather to yéld to an inconuenience, then that their Gildas shoulde séeme to mistake thys ryuer.

Hauing thus digressed to giue some remēbraunce of the olde estate of Verolamium, it is now time to returne againe vnto my former purpose. Certes I woulde gladlye set downe with the names and number of the cities, all the townes & villages, in england and wales: but as yet I cannot come by thē, in such order as I woulde: howbeit the tale of our cities is some founde by the Bishopryckes, sith euery Sie hath such prerogatiue giuen vnto it, as to beare the name of a citie. As

London.	Excester.
Yorke.	Bathe.
Cauntorbury.	Lichefielde.
VVincheſter.	Bristow.
Cairleil.	Rochester.
Durham.	Chester.
Ely.	Chicheſter.
Norwiche.	Oxforde.
Lincolne.	Peterborow.
VVorcester.	Landaffe.
Glocester.	S. Dauids.
Hereforde.	Bangor.
Salisbury.	S. Asaph.

Whose particular plots & models with their descriptiōs shal insue, if it may be brought to passe, that ỹ cutters can make dispach of thē before this hystory be published. Of townes and villages likewise thus much will I say, that there were greater store in olde tyme then at this present, & thys I note out of dyuers recordes, charters, & donations (made in times past, vnto sundry religious houses, as Glessenburye, Abbandon, Ramsey, Ely, and such like) that there were many townes and villages, whereof at this present I fynde not so much as the ruines. Lelande in sundrye places complayneth likewise of the decaie of parysches in great cities and townes, missing in some shire, or eyght, or twelue churchs, of all which he giueth particuler notice. For albeit ỹ the Saxōs builded many townes & villages, and the Normans well mo: yet since the first hundred yeares, after the latter conquest, they haue gone againe so fast againe to decaye, that the auncyent number of them is very much abated. Rauulphe the Monke of Chester, telleth of a generall suruey, made in the fourth of the reigne of William Conquerour, surnamed the Bastarde, wherein it was founde that (notwithstanding ỹ Danes had ouerthrowne a great many) there were to the number of 52000. townes, 45002. parish churches, and 75000. Knightes fées, whereof the clergy helde 28015. He addeth moreouer that there were dyuers other buylded since that tyme, wythin the space of an hundred yeares after the comming of the Bastarde, as it were in lieu or recompence of those that William Rufus pulled downe for the erection of his newe Forrest. Howbeit if

the assertions of such as wryte in our tyme concerning this matter, eyther is or ought to be of any credite, in this behalfe, you shall not finde, aboue 17000. townes and villages in the whole, which is little more then a fourth part, of the aforesayd number, yf it be thorowly scanned. But to leaue this lamentable discourse of so notable an inconuenience (growing by inrochyng & ioyning of house to house, and lande to lande, whereby the inhabitaunts of any country are deuoured and eate vp.) It is so that our soyle being deuided into Champaigne ground & woodlande, the houses of the first lye vniformely buylded in euery towne togither with stretes & lanes, whereas in the woodlande countries (except here and there in great market townes) they stande scattered abroad, eache one dwelling in the midst of his owne occupying. And as in euery one of the first, there are comonly three hundred or foure hundred families or mansion houses, and two thousande communicantes, or peraduenture moe: so in the other we finde not often aboue fourtie or fiftie housholdes, & two hundred communicantes, whereof the greatest part neuertheles are very poore folkes, oftentymes without all maner of occupying, sith the grounde of the parishe is often gotten vp into a fewe mens handes, yea sometimes into the tennure of two or three, wherby the reast are compelled eyther to be hyred seruaunts vnto the other, or else to begge their bread in misery from doore to doore. A great number complayne of thincrease of pouertie, but few men do see the verye rote from whence it doeth procede, yet the Romaines founde it out, when they florished, and therefore prescribed limites to euery mans tenure and occupying. Homere commendeth Achilles for ouerthrowing of fiue and twentie cities, but in myne opinion Ganges is much better preferred by Suidas for buylding of three score in Inde, where he dyd plant himselfe. I coulde if nede required set downe in this place, the number of religious houses and Monasteries with the names of their founders that haue bene in this Iland, but sith it is a thing of small importaunce, I passe it ouer as impertinent to my purpose. Yet herin I will commende manye of the monasticall votaries, especiallye Monkes, for that they were authors of many goodly borowes and endwares, neare vnto their dwellinges, although otherwyse they pretended to be men separated from the world. But alas their couetous mindes one waye in enlarging their reuenues, & carnall intent an other appeared herein to to much, for being bolde from tyme to tyme to visite their tennants, they wrought oft great wickednesse, & made those endwares litle better the bordelhouses, especially where Nonries were farre of, or else no safe accesse vnto the. But what doe I spende my tyme in the rehearsall of these filthinesses, woulde to God the memorie of them might perishe with the malefactours. My purpose was also at thend of this chapter to haue set downe a table of the Parishe churches and market townes thorowout all England and Wales, but sith I can not performe the same as I woulde, I am inforced to giue ouer my purpose, yet by these fewe that insue you shall easily se what order I woulde haue vsed according to the shyres.

Shyres.	*Market townes.*	*Parishes.*
Middlesex	3.	73.
London within the walles, and without.		120.
Surrey.	6.	140.
Sussex.	18.	312.
Kent.	17.	398.
Cambridge.	4.	163.
Bedford.	9.	13.
Huntingdon.	5.	78.
Rutlande.	2.	47.
Barckeshyre.	11.	150.
Northampton.	10.	326.
Buckingham.	11.	196.
Oxforde.	10.	216.
Southampton.	18.	248.
Dorset.	19.	279.
Norffolke.	26.	625.
Suffolke.	25.	575.
Essex.	18.	415.

And these I had of a friende of myne, by whose trauayle and hys maisters excellent charges I doubt not, but my country men care long shall se all Englande set forth in seuerall shyres after the same maner that Ortelius hath dealt wyth other countries of the mayne, to the great benefite of our nation and euerlasting fame of the aforesayde parties.

Of Castelles and holdes. Cap. 8.

THere haue bene in tymes past great store of Castelles and places of defence within the realme of Englande, of which some were buylded by the Brytons, many by the Romaynes, Saxons, and Danes, but most of all by the Barons of the realme, in & about the tyme of king Stephen, who licensed eache of them to buylde so many as they would vpon their owne demeasnes, hoping therby that they would haue employed their

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vse to his aduauntage and commoditie, but finally when he sawe that they were rather fortified against hymselfe in the ende, then vsed in his defence, he repented all to late of his inconsiderate dealing, sith now there was no remedie but by force for to subdue them. After his decease king Henry the seconde came no soner to the crowne, but he called to minde the inconuenience which his predecessour had suffred and he himselfe might in time sustaine by those fortifications. Therefore one of the first things he dyd was an attempt to race and deface the most parte of these holdes. Certes he thought it better to hazarde the méeting of the enimie nowe and then in the playne field, then to liue in perpetuall feare of those houses, and the rebellion of his Lordes vpon euery light occasion conceyued, who then were full so strong as he, if not more strong, and that made them the redier to withstande & gainesay many of those procéedinges, which he and his successours from time to tyme intended. Hereupon therfore he caused more then aleauen hundred of their castelles to be raced and ouerthrowne, whereby the power of his nobilitie was not a litle restrained. Sithence that time also not a few of those which remained, haue decayed of themselues: so that at this present, there are very few or no castels at all maintayned within England, sauing only vpō the coasts and marches of the countrie for the better kéeping backe of the forrein enemie, whensoeuer he shall attempt to enter and annoye vs.

The most prouident Prince that euer reigned in this lande for the fortificatiō therof agaynst all outwarde enemies, was the late Prince of famous memory king Henry the eyght: sith beside that he repaired most of such as were alreadie standing, he buylded sundrie out of the grounde. For hauing shaken of the more then seruile yoke of the Popish tyrannie, and espying that the Emperour was offended for hys dyuorce from Quéene Catherine his aunt: and therto that the Frenche king had coupled the Dolphin his sonne with the Popes neece: and maryed his daughter to the king of Scottes, (whereby he had cause more iustly to suspect then safely to trust any one of the all as Lambert saith) he determined to stand vpon his owne defence, and therefore with no small spéede, and like charge, he buylded sundrie Blockehouses, Castelles, and Platformes vpon dyuers frontiers of his realme, but chiefely the east and southeast partes of England, whereby no doubt he dyd very much qualifie the conceyued grudges of his aduersaries and vtterly put of their hatty purpose of inuasiō. And thus much briefly for my purpose at this present. For I néede not to make any long discourse of castels, sith it is not the nature of a good Englishman to regarde to be caged vp in a cope, & hedged in with stone walles, but rather to méete wyth hys enemie in the playne fielde at handstrokes, where he may trauaile his grounde, chose his plot, and vse the benefite of sunne shine, winde & wether, to his best aduauntage and commoditie. As for those tales that go of Belton castell, how it shall saue all England on a day, & likewise the brag of a rebellious Barron in olde time that sayde in contempt (of king Henry the thirde, as I gesse)

If I were in my Castell of Bungey
Vpon the water of Waueney,
I woulde not set a button by the king of Cockney.

I repute them but as toyes, the first méere vaine, the seconde fondly vttered if any such thing were sayde, as many other wordes are and haue béene spoken of lyke holdes, (as Wallingford. &c.) but nowe growen out of memorie, and with small losse not hearde of among the common sort.

Of Pallaces belonging to the prince, and court of Englande. Cap. 9.

IT lyeth not in me to set downe exactly the number and names of the palaces, belonging to the Prince, nor to make any description of hir Graces Court, sith my callyng is and hath béene such, as that I haue scarcely presumed to pépe in at hir gates, much lesse then haue I aduentured to serch out & know the estate of those houses, and what magnificent behauiour is to to séene wythin them. Yet thus much will I saye generallye of all the houses and honours appertaining vnto hir grace, that they are buylded, eyther of square stone or bricke, or else of both, & therunto although their capacity and hugenesse be not so monstrous, as the lyke of dyuers Forren Princes, are to be séene in ỹ maine, yet are they so curious, nete, and commodious as any of them, both for conueighaunce of offices and lodginges, and excellencye of scituation, which is not the least thing to bée considered of. Those that were buylded before the tyme of King Henry the eyght, retaine to these daies the shew & Image of the auncient kinde of workmanship vsed in this lande, but such as he erected doe represent another maner of paterne, which as they are supposed to excell all the rest that he founde standing in thys Realme, so they are & shal-

be a perpetuall p̄cident, vnto those that doe come after, to followe in their wo̲rkes, and buyldinges of impo̲rtaunce. Certes Masonry did neuer better flourish in England then in hys tyme, and albeit that in these dayes there be manye goodly houses erected in the sundry quarters of thys Iland, yet they are rather curious to the eye, then substaunciall fo̲r continuaunce, where as such as hée did set vp excel in both, and therefo̲re may iustly be p̄ferred aboue al the rest. The names of those which come now to my rémebrance, are these. First of al White hall at the west ende of London (which is taken fo̲r the most large and p̄incipall of all the rest) was begun by Cardinall wolsey, and enlarged and finished by king Henry ỳ eyght. Méere vnto ỳ is. S. James, sometime a Nonry, builded likewise by the same p̄nce. Hir grace hath also Otelande, Asheridge, Hatfelde, Hauering, Enuelde, Richemond, Hampton court, (begonne sometime by Cardinall Wolsey, and finished by hir Father) and therevnto Woodstocke, erected by king Henry the seconde, in which the Quéenes maiesty delighteth greatly to so̲iourne, notwythstanding that in time past it was the place of hir captiuity, when it pleased God to try hir by affliction and calamity.

White hall.
S. James
Otelande.
Asheridge.
Hatfelde.
Enuelde.
Richemõd.
Hampton.
Woodstocke

Fo̲r strength Windlesho̲r o̲r Winso̲re, is supposed to be the chiefe, a castell buyloed in tyme past by king Arthur, as it is thought, & repayred by Edwarde the third, who erected also a notable Colledge there. After him diuers of his successours, haue bestowed excéding charges vpon the same, which notwithstanding are farre surmounted, by the Quéenes maiesty nowe lyuing, who hath appointed huge sommes of money to be employed vpon the o̲rnature, and alteration of the mould, acco̲rding to the fourme of buylding vsed in our dayes. Such also hath béene the estimatiõ of this place, that diuers kings haue not onely béene enterred there but also made it the chiefe house of assemblye, and creation of the Knightes, of the honourable o̲rder of the Garter, then the which there is nothing in this lande, mo̲re magnificent and stately. Grénewiche was first buyloed, by Humfrey Duke of Glocester, vpon the Thames side 4. miles east from London, in ỳ tyme of Henry the first, & called Plesance. Afterwards it was gretly inlarged by king Edwarde the fourth, garnysshed by king Henry the seuenth, and finallye made perfite by king Henry the eyght, the onely phenix of his time, fo̲r fine and curious masonrye. Not farre from this is Dartfo̲rde, and not much distaunt also from the south side of that sayd streame, sometime a Nonnery, but now a very cõmodious Pallace, wherevnto it was also cõuerted by king Henry ỳ eight. Eltham as I take it, was buyloed by king Henry ỳ third if not befo̲re. There are beside these mo̲reouer dyuers other, but what shal I néede to take vpon me to repeate all, & tell what houses the Quéenes maiestie hath, sith all is hirs, and when it pleaseth hir in the cõmer season, to recreate hir selfe abo̲roade, and viewe the estate of the countrey, euery noble mans house is hir Pallace, where shée continueth during pleasure, and till shée returne againe to some of hir owne, in which she remaineth so long as pleaseth hir.

windso̲r.
Grénewiche.
Dartfo̲rde.
Eltha

The court of England which necessarily is holden alwayes where the P̄nce lyeth, is in these dayes one of the most renowmed and magnificent courtes, that are to be found in Europe. Fo̲r whether you regard the ryche and infinite furniture of houshoolde, o̲rder of Officers, o̲r the interteinement of such strãgers as dailye reso̲rte vnto the same, you shall not finde many equall therevnto, much lesse one excelling it, in any maner of wise. I myght here if I woulde (o̲r had sufficient disposition of matter conceyued of the same) make a large discourse, of the honourable po̲rts of such graue councellours, and noble personages, as giue their dailye attendance vpon the Quéenes maiesty there. I could in lyke so̲rte set fo̲rth a singular commendation of the vertuous beautie, o̲r beautiful vertues of such Ladies and Gentlewomen, as waite vpon hir person, betwéene whose amiable countenaunces and cestlinesse of attyre, there séemeth to be such a daily conflict and contention, as that it is verye difficulte fo̲r me to gesse, wheter of the twaine, shal beare away the p̄cheminence. This farder is not to be omitted to the singular commendation of both so̲rts & sexes of our Courtyers here in Englande, that there are verye fewe of them, which haue not the vse and skyll of sundry speaches, beside an excellent vaine of wryting, befo̲re time not regarded. Truely it is a rare thing with vs nowe, to here of a courtier which hath but his own language, & to say how many Gentlewomen & Ladies there are that beside sound knowledge of the Gréeke & Latin tongues, are therto no lesse skilful in ỳ Spanish Italian & French, o̲r in some one of them, it resteth not in me: sith I am perswaded, that as the noble men, & gentlemen, doe surmount in this behalf, so these come very litle o̲r nothyng at all behind thẽ, fo̲r their parts, which industry god continue.

Of th Court

Beside these thinges I coulde in like so̲rte set downe the wayes and meanes whereby

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our auncient Ladies of the Court doe ſhun & auoyde yolenelle, ſome of them exercyſing their fingers with the nædle, other in cauleworke, diuers in ſpinning of ſilke, ſome in continuall reading either of the holye ſcriptures, or hyſtories of our owne, or forren nations about vs, whileſt the yonger ſort in ỹ meane time, applie their Lutes, Citharnes, prickeſong, and all kindes of Muſick, which they vſe only for recreation and ſolace ſake, when they haue leyſure, and are frée from attendaunce vpon the Quénes maieſtye, or ſuch as they belong vnto.

I myght finally deſcribe the large allowances in offices, and yerely lyueries, & thervnto the great plentie of Golde and Syluer Plate, the ſeuerall pæces whereof, are cómonlye ſo great and maſſye, and the quanty therof ſo abundantly ſeruing all the houſholde, that if Midas were nowe liuing and once againe put to his choiſe, I thinke hée coulde aſke no more, or rather not halfe ſo much, as is there to be ſæne and vſed. But I paſſe ouer to make ſuch nædeleſſe diſcourſes, reſoluing my ſelfe, that euen in this alſo the exceéding mercy and louing kindeneſſe of God doth wonderfullye appeare towardes vs, in that he hath ſo largely induced vs with theſe his ſo ample benefites.

In ſome great Princes Courtes, it is a woorlde to ſée what lewde behauiour is vſed among dyuers of thoſe that reſorte vnto the ſame, & what whoredõe, ſwearing, rybaldry atheiſme, dicing, carding, carowſing, drunkenneſſe, Glotony, quareling, and ſuch lyke inconueniences, doe daily take holde, and ſometimes euen among thoſe, in whoſe eſtates ſuch behauiour is leaſt conuenient: all which inormities, are eyther vtterly expelled out of the Court of Englande, or elſe ſo quallified by the diligent endeuour of the chiefe officers of hir graces houſholde, that ſeldome are any of theſe thinges apparantly ſæne there, with out due reprehenſion, & ſuch ſeuere correction, as belongeth to thoſe treſpaſſes. Finally to auoyde yoleneſſe, and preuent ſundrye tranſgreſſions, otherwiſe likelye to be commytted and done, ſuch order is taken, that euerye office hath eyther a Byble, or the bookes of the Actes and monumentes of the Church of Englande, or both, beſide ſome hyſtoryes and Chronicles lying therin, for the exerciſe of ſuch as come into the ſame: whereby the ſtraunger that entereth into the Court of Englande vpon the ſodeine, ſhall rather imagine himſelfe to come into ſome publicke ſchoole of ỹ vniuerſities, where many giue care to one that readeth vnto thẽ, then into a Princes Pallace, if you conferre this with thoſe of other nations. Would to god al honorable perſonages woulde take example of hir Graces Godly dealing in this behalfe, and ſhewe their conformitie, vnto theſe hir ſo good beginninges: which if they woulde, then ſhoulde manye grieuous enormities (where with G D D is highelye diſpleaſed) be cut of and reſtreined, which nowe doe reigne exceédingly, in moſt Noble and Gentlemens houſes, wherof they ſée no paterne within hir Graces gates.

The firme peace alſo that is mainteyned within a certaine compaſſe of the Princes Pallace, is ſuch, as is nothing inferiour to that we ſée daily practized in the beſt gouerned holds, & fortreſſes. And ſuch is the ſeuere puniſhment of thoſe that ſtrike, wythin the limites prohibited, that without all hope of mercy, benefite of clergie, or ſanctuary, they are ſure to loſe their ryght handes, at a ſtroke, and that in very ſolemne maner, the fourme whereof I will ſet downe, and then make an ende of this Chapter, to deale with other matters.

At ſuch time therefore as the party tranſgreſſing is conuicted by a ſufficient enqueſt impanelled for the ſame purpoſe, and the tyme come of therecution of the ſentence, the Sergeaunt of the kings woodyarde prouydeth a ſquare blocke, which he bringeth to ſome appointed place, & therwith al a great béetle, ſtaple, and cordes, wherwith to faſten the hande of the offendor, vnto the ſayde blocke, vntill the whole circumſtance of his execution be perfourmed. The Yoman of the Scullary lykewyſe for the tyme beyng doth prouide a great fire of coales harde by the blocke, wherein the fearing yrons are to be made readie againſt the chiefe Surgeon to the Prince or his Deputie ſhall occupie the ſame. Upon him alſo doth the ſergeaunt or chief farrour attend with thoſe yrons, whoſe office is to deliuer them to the ſayd Surgeõ when he ſhalbe readie by fearing to vſe the ſame. The grome of the Salary for the time beyng or hys Deputie is furthermore appointed to be readie with vineger and colde water, and not to depart from the place vntill the arme of the offender be bounde vp & fully dreſſed. And as theſe thinges are thus prouided ſo ỹ Sergeaunt Surgeon is bound from time to time to be readie to execute his charge, and ſeare the ſtump, when the hande is taken from it. The ſergeaunt of the ſellar is at hande alſo with a cup of red wine, and likewyſe the chiefe officer of the pantry with Manchet bread to giue vnto the ſayde partie, after the execution done, and the ſtomp ſeared, as the ſergeaunt of the Ewery is with

clothes, wherein to winde and wrap vp the the arme, the poman of the pultrie with a cocke to lay vnto it, the poman of the Chaũdrie with seared clothes, and finally the maister cooke or his Deputie with a sharpe dressing knyfe, which he deliuereth at the place of execution to the Sargeaunt of the Larder, who doth holde it vpright in hys hande, vntill the execution be perfourmed, by the publicke Officer appointed therevnto. And this is the maner of punishment ordayned for those that stryke within the Princes pallace, or limites of the same. The lyke priuilege is almost giuen to churches and churchyardes, although in maner of punishment great difference doe appeare. For he that bralleth or quarrelleth in eyther of them, is by and by suspended ab ingressu ecclesiæ, vntil he be absolued, as he is also that striketh wyth ỹ fist, or layeth violent handes vpon any whome so euer. But yf he happen to smite wyth staffe, dagger, or any maner of weapon, and the same be sufficiently founde by the Verdict of twelue men at his arrainement, besides excommunication, he is sure to lose one of hys eares wythout all hope of recouerye. But if he be such a one as hath bene twyse condemned and executed, whereby he hath now none eares, then is he marked with an hote yron vpon the cheke, & by the letter F, which is seared into his flesh, he is frõ thencefoorth noted as a common barratour, & fray maker, and thereunto remayneth excommunicate, till by repentaunce he deserue to be absolued.

Of the maner of Buylding and furniture of our houses. Cap. 10.

The greatest parte of our buylding in the cities and good townes of Englande consisteth onely of timber, for as yet fewe of the houses of the comminalty (except here & there in the west country townes) are made of stone, although they may in my opinion in diuers other places be builded so good cheape of the one as of the other. In olde tyme the houses of the Brytons were slitely set vppe with a few postes and many radles, the like whereof almost is to be seene in the fenny countries vnto this day, where for lacke of wood they are inforced to continue this auncient maner of buylding. It is not in vayne therefore in speaking of buylding to make a distinction betweene the playne and woodye countrie, for as in these, our houses are commonly strong & wel timbered, so that in many places, there are not aboue 6. or nine pnches betweene studde and studde, so in the open & champaine soyles they are inforced for want of stuffe to vse no studdes at all, but only rapsines, groundselles, transomes, and vpright principalles, with here and there an ouerthwart post in their walles, whereunto they fasten their Splintes or radles, and then cast it all ouer wyth clay to keepe out the winde, which otherwyse wouldе anoy them. In like sort as euery country house is thus apparelled on the out side, so is it inwardly deuided into sundrie rowmes aboue and beneth, and where plentie of wood is, they couer thẽ with tyles, otherwyse with straw, sedge, or rede, except some quarry of slate be neare hande, from whence they haue for theyr money, so much as may suffice them. The clay wherewith our houses are empanelled is eyther white, redde, or blewe, and of these the first doth participate very much with the nature of our chalke, the seconde is called lome, but the thirde eftsones changeth coulour so sone as it is wrought, notwithstanding that it loke blew when it is throwne out of the pit. Of chalke also we haue our excellent whyte lime made in most places, wherewith we stricke ouer our clay workes & stone walles, in Cities, good Townes, riche fermers, and gentlemens houses: otherwyse in stede of chalke (where it wanteth for it is so scant that in some places it is solde by the pounde) they are compelled to burne a certaine kind of redde stone, as in Wales, and else where other stones, as I haue seene by experience. Within their dores also such as are of ability doe ofte make their flowers, and parget of fine Alabaster burned, which they cal plaster of Paris, whereof in some places we haue great plentie, & that very profitable agaynst the rage of fire. In plastering likewise of our fayrest houses ouer our heades, we vse to lay first a Laire or two of white morter tempered with heire vpon Lathes, which are nayled one by an other, (or sometimes vpõ rede or wickers more daungerous for fyre and made fast here and there with sappelathes for falling downe) and finallye couer all with the aforesayde plaster, which beside the delectable whiteneſſe of the stuffe it selfe, is layed on so euen and smouthly as nothing in my iudgement can be done with more exactneſſe. This also hath bene cõmon in england, contrarie to the customes of all other Nations, and yet to be seene (for example in most stretes of London) that many of our greatest houses haue outwardly bene very simple and plaine to sight, which inwardly haue bene able to receyue a Duke with his whole trayne and lodge them at their ease. Hereby moreouer it is come to passe, that the frontes

of

of our ſtrẽtes haue not bẽne ſo vniforme & orderly buylded as thoſe of forrain cities, where to ſaye truth, the vtterſide of theyr manſions and dwellings, haue oft more coſt beſtowed vpon them, then all the reaſt of the houſe, which are often very ſimple and vneaſie within, as experience doth confirme. Of olde tyme our country houſes in ſtẽde of glaſſe dyd vſe much lattis and that made eyther of wicker or fine riftes of oke in chekerwyſe. I reade alſo that ſome of the better ſorte in and before the tymes of the Saxons did make panels of horne in ſtẽde of glaſſe, and fyre them in wodden calmes, but as horne is quite layde downe in euery place, ſo our lattiſes are alſo growne into leſſe vſe, bycauſe glaſſe is come to be ſo plentifull, & within a very little ſo good cheape as the other. Heretofore alſo the houſes of our princes and noble men were often glaſed wyth Beril, (an example wherof is yet to be ſeene in Sudley caſtell) & in diuers other places, with fine chriſtall, but this eſpecially in the time of ỳ Romaines, wherof alſo ſome fragmentes haue bẽne taken vp in olde ruines. But nowe theſe are not in vſe, ſo that onely the cleareſt glaſſe is moſt eſtẽmed for we haue diuers ſortes ſome brought out of Burgundie, ſome out of Normandy, much out of Flaunders, beſide that which is made in Englande ſo good as the beſt, and eache one that may, will haue it for his building. Moreouer the manſion houſes of our country townes & villages, (which in champaine groũde ſtande altogither by ſtrẽtes, and ioyning one to an other, but in woodelande ſoyles diſperſed here and there, eache one vpon the ſeuerall groundes of their owners) are buylded in ſuche ſort generally, as that they haue neither dairy, ſtable, nor brudhouſe, annexed vnto them vnder the ſame roffe (as in many places beyonde the ſea) but all ſeparate from the firſt, and one of them from an other. And yet for all this, they are not ſo farre diſtant in ſunder, but that the goodman lying in his bed may lightly heare what is done in eache of them with eaſe, and call quickly vnto his meney if any daunger ſhoulde attache hym. The auncient maners & houſes of our gentlemen are yet & for the moſt part of ſtrong tymber. Howbeit ſuch as be lately buylded, are commõly either of bricke or harde ſtone, their rowmes large and ſtately and houſes of office farder diſtaunt frõ their lodginges. Thoſe of the Nobility are likewiſe wrought with bricke and hard ſtone as prouiſion may beſt be made: but ſo magnificent and ſtately as the baſeſt houſe of a Barren doth often match with ſome honours of princes in olde tyme, ſo that if euer curious buylding dyd flouriſh in Englande, it is in theſe our dayes, wherein our workemen excell, and are in maner comparable in ſkill with olde Vitruuius, and Serlo. The furniture of our houſes alſo exceedeth, and is growne in maner euen to paſſing delicacie: & herein I do not ſpeake of the Nobilitie and gentrie onely, but euen of the loweſt ſorte that haue any thing at all to take to. Certes in Noble mens houſes it is not rare to ſee abundance of Arras, riche hangings of Tapiſtry, ſiluer veſſell, and ſo much other plate, as may furniſh ſũdrie cupbordes to the ſumme oftẽtimes of a thouſand or two thouſande pounde at the leaſt: wherby the value of this and the reaſt of their ſtuffe doth grow to be ineſtimable. Likewiſe in the houſes of Knightes, Gentlemẽ, Marchauntmen, and ſome other wealthie Citizens, it is not geſon to beholde generallye their great prouiſion of Tapiſtrie, Turkye worke, Pewter, Braſſe, fine linen, and therto coſtly cupbordes of plate worth fiue or fyre hundred pounde, to be demed by eſtimation. But as herein all theſe ſortes doe farre excẽde their elders, and predeceſſours, ſo in time paſt, the coſtly furniture ſtayed there, whereas now it is deſcended yet lower, euen vnto the inferiour Artificers and moſt Fermers, who haue learned alſo to garniſh their cubbordes with plate, their beddes with tapiſtrie, and ſilke hanginges, and their tables with fine naperie, whereby the wealth of our countrie doth infinitely appeare. Neyther do I ſpeake this in reproch of any man God is my Iudge, but to ſhew that I doe reioyce rather to ſee how God hath bleſſed vs with hys good giftes, and to behold how that in a time wherein all thinges are growen to moſt exceſſiue prices, we do yet finde the meanes to obtayne and atchieue ſuch furniture as heretofore hath bẽne vnpoſſible. There are olde men yet dwelling in the village where I remayne, which haue noted three things to be marueylouſly altered in Englande within their ſound remembraunce. One is the multitude of chimnies lately erected, wheras in their yong dayes there were not aboue two or three in ſo many in moſt vplandiſh townes of the realme, (the religious houſes, & mannour places, of their Lordes alwayes excepted, & peraduenture ſome great perſonages) but eache one made his fire againſt a rere doſſe, in the hall where he dined and dreſſed his meate. The ſecond is ỳ great amendement of lodginge, for ſayde they our fathers & we our ſelues haue lyen full oft vpon ſtraw pallettes couered onely with a ſheete vnder couerlettes made of dagiwain or hopharlots

Three thinges greatly amended in Englande.

Chimnies

Hardlodging.

(I vſe

(I vse their owne termes) and a good round logge vnder their heades in steade of a boulster. If it were so that our fathers or ỳ good man of the house, had a matteres or flockbed, and thereto a sacke of chafe to rest hys heade vpon, he thought himselfe to be as well lodged as the Lorde of the towne, so well were they contented. Pillowes sayde they were thought méete onely for women in childebed. As for seruants if they had any shéete aboue them, it was well, for seldome had they any vnder their bodies, to kéepe them from the pricking strawes, that ranne oft thorow the canuas, and raced their hardened hides.

Furniture of houshold.

The thirde thinge they tell of, is the exchange of tréene platters into pewter, and woodē spoones into siluer or tin. For so cómon were al sorts of tréene vessellies in old time, ỳ a man should hardly find four peces of pewter (of which one was peraduenture a salte) in a good Farmers house, and yet for al this frugaltie (if it may so be iustly called) they were scarse able to lyue and paye their rentes, at their dayes without selling of a cow, or a horse, or more, although they payde but foure pounds at the vttermost by the yeare. Such also was their pouerty, that if a Fermour or husbundman had béene at the alehouse, a thing greatly vsed in those dayes, amongst fyue or seauen of hys neyghbours, and there in a brauery to shewe what store he had, did dash downe his purse, and therein a noble or fyue shillings in siluer vnto them, it was very likely that all the rest could not lay downe so much against it: wheras in my tyme although peraduenture foure pounde of olde rent be improued to fourty or fiftye pound, yet will the farmer thinke his gaines very small toward the middest of his terme, if he haue not fyue or seauen yeres rent lying by him, therewith to purchase a newe lease, beside a faire garnisshe of pewter on his cowborde, thrée or foure feather beddes, so many couerlettes and carpettes of Tapistry, a siluer salte, a bowle for wine (if not an whole neast) and a dussen of spoones, to furnisshe vp the sute. Thys also he taketh to bée his owne cleare, for what stocke of money soeuer he gathereth in all his yeares, it is often séene, that the landlorde will take such order with him for the same, when he renueth his lease (which is commonly eight or ten yeares before it be expyred, sith it is nowe growen almost to a custome, that if he come not to his his lorde so long before, another shall step in for a reuersion, & so defeate him out right) that it shall neuer trouble him more then the heare of his bearde, when the barber hath washed and shauen it from his chinne.

This was in the time of generall poleneste.

Of Fayres and Markettes. Cap. 11.

There are as I take it, few great townes in England, that haue not their wéekely Markets, in which al maner of prouision for houshold, is to be bought and soulde, for ease and benefite of the countrey rounde about, wherby as it commeth to passe that no buyer shall make any great iourney in the pursueighaunce of his necessities, so no occupier shall haue occasion to trauayle farre of with his commodities, except it be to séeke for the highest prices, which commonly are nére vnto great cities, where rounde and spédiest vtteraunce is alwayes to be had. And as these haue béene in tymes past erected for the benefite of the realme, so are they in many places to to much abused: for the relief and ese of the buyer, is not so much intended in them, as the benefite of the seller. Neyther are the Maiestrats for the most part so carefull in their offices, as of ryght and dewtye they shoulde bée, for in most of these markettes neyther sizes of breade nor orders for goodnesse of graine and other commodities, that are brought thither to be soulde are any whit loked vnto, but eache one suffered to sell or set vp, what, and how himselfe lysteth, & this is one euident cause of darth in time of great abundance.

I coulde if I woulde exemplifie in many, but I will touch no one particularly. Certes it is rare to sée in any market the assize of breade well kept according to the statute, howbeit I finde, in lieu thereof such headdy ale and béere in most of them, as for the mightynesse thereof among such as séeke it out, is commonlye called huffecappe, the madde Dogge, father whoresonne, Aungels foode, Dragons milke &c. And this is more to be noted, that when one of late fell by Gods prouidence, into a troubled conscience, after he had considered well of his reckelesse lyfe, and daungerous estate: another thinking belyke to change his colour and not his mind, carped hym straight to the strongest ale, as to the next Phisition. It is incredible to say how our Maultbugges lug at this liquor, euen as pigges shoulde lye in a rowe, lugging at their dames teates, tyll they lye still againe, & be not able to wagge. Neyther did Romulus and Remus sucke their shé Wolfe Lupa, wyth such eger & sharpe deuotion as these men, hale at huscappe, tyll they be read as cockes, and litle wyser thē their combes, But howe am I fallen from the mercate, into the Ale house. In returning therfore vn-

to

to my purpose, I find therfore that in corne great abuse is daily suffered, to the great preiudice of the towne & countrey, especially the poore artificer & householder, which tilleth no lande, but labouring all the weeke to buy a bushell or two of corne on the mercate daie, can there haue none for his money, because bodgers, loders, and common carryers of Graine, doe not onely buy vp all, but giue aboue the price, to be serued of great quantities. Shall I go any farther, well I will saye yet a little more, and somewhat by mine owne experience. At Myghelmas tyme poore men must sell their graine that they may paye their rentes. So long then as the poore man hath to sell, ryche men will bringe out none, but rather buy vppe that which the poore bring vnder pretence of seede corne, because one wheat often sowen without chaunge of seede, will sone decay and be conuerted into darnell. For this cause therefore they must needes buy in the markettes, though they be twentye myles of and where they be not knowne, promising there to send so much to their next market, to performe I wote not when.

If this shift serue not (neither doth the fore bie alwayes one tracke for feare of a mare) they wil compound wt some one of the towne where the market is holden, who for a pot of hufcappe or mery go downe, will not let to buy it for them, & that in his owne name. Or else they wage one poore man or other, to become a bodger, & thereto get him a lycence vpon some forged surmize, which being done, they will feede him with money, to buy for them till he hath filled their loftes, and then if he can doe any good for himselfe so it is, if not, they will giue him somewhat for his paines at this tyme, and reserue him for another yeare. How many of these proud ers stumble vppon blynde crekes at the sea coft, I wote not well, but that some haue so done vnder other mens winges, the cause is to playne. But who dare finde faulte with thē, when they haue once a lycence, though it be but to serue a meane Gentlemans house with corne, who hath cast vp al his tillage bicause he boasteth how he can buy his graine in ỹ market better cheape, thē he can sow his lād, as the rich grasier often doth also vpon ỹ like deuise. If any man come to buy a bushel or two for his expences vnto ỹ market crosse, aunswere is made, forsooth here was one euen nowe that badde me money for it, and I hope he will haue it. And to saye the truth, these bodgers are faire chapmē, for there are no more words with them, but let me see it, what shall I giue you, knitte it vp, I will haue it, go carry it to such a chamber. But to proceede by this tyme the poore occupier hath all solde his croppe for neede of money, beyng readye paraduenture to buy againe ere longe. And nowe is the whole sale of corne in the great occuppers handes, who hytherto haue thresshed lyttle or none of their own, but bought vp of other men, so much as they coulde come by. Henceforth also they begin to sel, not by the quarter or loade at the first, but by the bushell or two, or an horselode at the moft, therby to be seene to keepe the market, eyther for a shewe, or to make men eger to buy, and so as they maye haue it for money, not to regarde what they pay. And thus corne wareth deare, but it will be dearer the next market day. It is possible also that they mylyke the price in the begynnyng for whole yeare insuing, as men supposing that corne will be litle worthy for this, and of better price in the next yeare. Herevpon then will they thresshe out three partes of the olde corne, toward the latter ende of the sommer, when newe commeth a pace to hande, and cast the same into the fourth vnthresshed, where it shall lye vntyll the next Spryng, or peraduenture tyl it must and putrifie. Or else they will gyrde their sheues of by the band and stacke it vp of newe in lesse roume to thende it may not onely appeare lesse in quantity, but also giue place to the corne that is yet to come into the barne, or growing the field. If there happen to be such plentye in the market vpon any market day, that they can not sell at their owne price, then will they set it vp in some friendes house, against an other or the thirde day, and not bringe it forth vntyll they lyke of the sale. If they sell any at home, beside harder measure, it shal be dearer to the poore man by two pence or a groate in a bushell then they maye sell it in the market. But as these things are worthy redresse, so I wyshe that God woulde once open their eyes that deale thus, to see there owne errours: for as yet some of them lyttle care howe many poore men suffer extremitie, so that they may fill their purses, and carpe awaye the gaine. I coulde saye more but this is euen ynough, and more peraduenture then I shall be well thanked for: yet true it is though some thinke it no trespasse. This moreouer is to be lamented, that one generall measure is not in vse throwout all Englande, but euery mercate towne hath in a maner a seuerall measure, and the lesser it be, the moe sellers it draweth to resort vnto the same. It is oft founde likewise, that diuers vncōscionable dealers haue one measure to sell by, and another to buy with-

For maring of the market.

all

all, the lyke is also in weightes. Wherfore it were verye good that these two were reduced vnto one standerd, that is, one bushell, one pound, one quarter one hundred, one tale, one number, so should things in time fal into better order, & fewer causes of contention be moued in this land. But more of this hereafter in the next booke, where I haue inserted a litle treatize, which I sometimes collected of our weights, & measures, and their comparison with those of the auncient Grecians and Romaines. To cõclude therfore in our markets all things are to be solde necessarie for mans vse, and there is our prouision made commonly for all the weeke insuing. Therefore as there are no great townes without one weekely market at the least, so there are very fewe of them that haue not one or two fayres or more within the compasse of the yeare assigned vnto them by the prince. And albeit that some of them are not much better then the common kirkemesses beyonde the sea, yet there are diuers not inferiour vnto the greatest martes in Europe, as Sturbridge Faire neare to Cambridge, Bartholomewe fayre at London, Linne mart, Cold fayre at Newport pond for cattell, and diuers other, all which or at the leastwyse the greatest part of them (to the end I may with the more ease to the reader & lesse trauayle to my self fulfill my taske in their recitall.) I haue set down according to ỹ names of the monethes wherin they are holden at ỹ end of this booke, where you shall finde them at large, as I borowed the same frõ Stow.

Of Armour and Munition. Cap. 12.

HOw well or how strongly our countrey hath bene furnished in tymes past with armor and artillery, it lyeth not in me as of my selfe to make rehearsall. Yet that it lacked both in the late tyme of Quene Mary not onely therperience of myne elders, but also the talke of certaine Spaniards, not yet forgotten, dyd leaue some manifest notice. Upon the first I nede not stand, for few wil denye it. For the seconde I haue heard that when one of the greatest peeres of Spaine espyed our nakednesse in this behalfe, and did solemnely vtter in no obscure place, that it shoulde be an easie matter in shorte tyme to cõquere England bycause it wanted armor, his words were thē not so rashly vttered, as they were politickly noted. For albeit that for the present tyme theyr efficacie was dissembled, and semblaunce made as though he spake but merely, yet at the very enteraunce of thys our gracious Quene vnto the possession of the Crowne, they were so prouidently called to remembrance, and such spedie reformation sought of all handes for the redresse of this incõuenience, that our country was sooner furnished with armour and munition, from diuers partes of the maine, (beside great plentie that was forged here at home) then our enemies could get vnderstãding of any such prouision to be made. By this pollicie also was the no small hope conceyued by Spanyardes vtterly cut of, who of open friendes being nowe become our secrete enemies, and thereto watching a time wherein to atchieue some heauie exploite agaynst vs and our countrye, dyd thereupon chaunge their purposes, whereby Englande obtayned rest, that otherwyse might haue ben sure of sharp & cruel wars. Thus a Spanish worde uttered by one man at one time, ouerthrew or at ỹ leastwise hindered sundry priuy practises of many at another. In times past the chiefe force of Englande consisted in their lõg bowes, but now we haue in maner generally giuen ouer that kinde of artillerie and for long bowes in dede doe practize to shoote compasse for our pastime: which kinde of shooting can neuer yeld any smart stroke nor beate downe our enemies as our country men were wont to doe, at euery time of nede. Certes the Frenchmen and Rutters deriding our new archerie in respect of their corslets, will not let in open skirmish yf any leysure serue to turne vp their tailes and cry shoote Englishe, and all bycause our strong shooting is decayed and layed in bedde. But if some of our English men nowe lyued that serued king Edward the third in his warres with Fraunce, the breche of such a Merlet should haue bene nailed to his bumme with one arrow & an other fethered in his bowels before he shoulde haue turned about to see, who shotte the first. But as our shooting is thus in maner vtterly decayed amõg vs one way, so our countrie men were skilful in sundrie other poyntes as in shooting in small Pieces, the Caleuer, and handling of the Pyke, in the seuerall vses whereof they are become very experte. Our armour differeth not from that of other nations, & therfore consisteth of corslets, almaine riuerets, shirtes of mayle, Jackes quilted and couered ouer with leather, fustien or canuas ouer thicke plates of yron that are sowed in the same, and of which there is no towne or village that hath not hir conuenient furniture. The sayd armour and munition also is kept in one seuerall place appoynted by the consent of the whole parish, where it is alwayes ready to be had and worne within an houres warning. Sometime also it is occupyed whē

pleaſeth the Magiſtrate, eyther to view the ableme and take note of the wel kæping of the ſame, or finally to ſée thoſe that are inrolled to exerciſe eache one his ſeuerall weapon accoꝛding to his appointment. Certes there is almoſt no village ſo poꝛe in Englande (be it neuer ſo ſmall) that hath not ſufficient furniture in a readines to ſet foꝛth thꝛée oꝛ foure ſoldioꝛs, oꝛ one archer, one gonner, one pike & a bill man at the leaſt. No there is not ſo much wanting as their verye ſpuerles and cappes, which are left to be accounted of, if any haſte requiꝛed. What ſtoꝛe of munition & armour the Quéenes maieſtie hath in hir ſtoꝛe houſes, it lyeth not in me to yelde accompt, ſith I ſuppoſe the ſame to be infinite. And where as it was commonly ſayde after the loſſe of Calais that Englande ſhould neuer recouer their Oꝛdinance, there left, that ſame is at this time pꝛoued falſe, ſith euen ſome of the ſame perſons doe now confeſſe, that thys lande was neuer better furniſhed wyth theſe thinges in any kinges dayes that raigned ſince the conqueſt. As foꝛ the armouries of diuers of the Nobilitie (wherof I alſo haue ſéene a part) they are ſo well furniſhed wyth in ſome one Barons cuſtodie, that I haue ſéene thꝛée ſcoꝛe coꝛſlets at once, beſide calyuers, handgunnes, bowes, ſheeſes of arrowes, pykes, bylles, pollaxes, flaskes, touchboxes, targettes. &c. the verye ſight wherof appalled my courage, what would ỹ wearing of ſome of thē haue done this trow you, if I ſhould vſe them in the field. I would wꝛite here of our maner of going to ỹ wars, but what hath the long blacke gowne to doe with glitſering armour, what acquaintance can there be betwixt Mars and the Muſes, oꝛ how ſhould a man wꝛite any thing to the purpoſe of that, wherewith he is nothing acquainted.

Of the Nauie of Englande. Cap. 13.

THe Nauie of England may be deuided into thꝛée ſoꝛtes, of which the one ſerueth foꝛ the warres, the other foꝛ burden, & the thirde foꝛ fiſhermen, which get their lyuing by fiſhing on the ſea. How many of the firſt oꝛder are maintained within the realme it paſſeth my cunning to expꝛeſſe, yet ſith it may be parted into the Nauie Royall and common fléete, I thincke good to ſpeake of thoſe that belong vnto the Pꝛince, & ſo much the rather, foꝛ that their number is certaine & well knowne to very many. Certes there is no Pꝛince in Europe that hath a moꝛe beautifull ſoꝛte of ſhippes then the Quéenes maieſtie of Englande at this pꝛeſent, & thoſe generally are of ſuch exceéding ſoꝛce that two of them being well appoynted and furniſhed as they ought will not let to encounter with thꝛée oꝛ foure of them of other countries, and eyther bowge them oꝛ put them to flight, yf they may not bꝛing them home.

Neyther are the mouldes of any foꝛrain Barckes ſo conueniently made to bꝛoke the ſeas in any part of the continent, as thoſe of England, & therfoꝛe the commō repoꝛt that ſtraungers make of our ſhips amongſt thē ſelues is dayly confirmed to be true, which is that foꝛ ſtrength, aſſurance, nimbleſſe and ſwiftneſſe of ſayling, there are no beſſelles in the woꝛld to be compared with ours. The Quéenes highneſſe hath at this pꝛeſent alreadie made and furniſhed, to the number of one and twenty great ſhippes, which lye foꝛ the moſt part in Gillingham Rode, beſide thꝛée Gallies, of whoſe particular names it ſhall not be amiſſe to make repoꝛte at this time.

The firſt of them therefoꝛe is called Bonadventure.

The next hight the Elizabeth Ionas, a name deuiſed by hir grace in remembꝛaunce of hir owne deliuerance from the fury of hir enemies, from which in one reſpect ſhe was no leſſe myꝛaculouſly pꝛeſerued, then was the pꝛophet Ionas frō the belly of the Whale.

The White boare is the thirde.	The Hope.
	The Lyon.
And after them ſhe hath the Philip and Mary.	The Victorie.
	The Mary roſe.
	The Foreſight.
The Triumph.	The Cadiſh.
The Bull.	The Swift ſure.
The Tygre ſo called of hyꝛ exceédyng nimbleneſſe in ſayling & ſwiftneſſe of courſe.	The Ayde.
	The Handmaide.
	The Dread not.
	The Swallow.
	The Genet.
The Antlop.	The Barke of Bullen.

Beſide theſe hir grace hath other in hande alſo, of whome hereafter as their turnes doe come about, I will not let to leaue ſome further remēbꝛaunce. She hath likewiſe thꝛée notable Gallies: The Spéede wel, the Tryeryght, and the blacke Galley, with the ſight wherof & reſt of the Nauy Royal, it is incredible to ſaye how marueylouſly hir Grace is delighted: and not without great cauſe, ſith by their meanes hir coaſtes are kept in quiet, and ſundꝛye foꝛren enemies put back, which otherwyſe woulde inuade vs. The number of thoſe that ſerue foꝛ burden, wyth the other, wherof I haue made mencion already, and whoſe vſe is daily ſéene, as occaſi-

on

on seruyth, in time of the warres, is to me vtterly vnknowne. Yet if commō estimatiō be any thing at all to be credited, there are 17. or eightéene hundred of one & other of thē, besides fisher boates, & smal Craiers, which I referre vnto the thirde sort. Of these also there are some of the Quénes maiesties subiectes that haue two or thrée, some foure or fiue, and as I hard of late, one man whose name I suppresse for modesties sake, hath béene knowne, not long since to haue hade fiftéene or seuentéene, and employed them wholly to the waftyng in and out of our marchauntes, whereby he hath reaped no small commoditye and gaine. I myght take occasion, to speake of the notable and difficult voiages made into straūge coūtries by Englishmen, and of their dayly succesle there, but as these thinges are nothing incident to my purpose, so I surcease to speake of them: onely thys will I adde therefore, to the ende all men shall vnderstande somewhat of the great masses of treasure, dayly employed vpon our Nauie, howe there are fewe of those shippes, of the first and seconde sorte that being apparelled and made readie to sale, are not worth one thousand pounds, or thrée thousande Ducates at the least, if they shoulde presently be solde. What shall we shall thinke then of the greater, but especially the Nauy Royall, of which some one vessell is worth two of the other, as ỳ shipwryghtes haue often tolde me. It is possible that some couetous person hearing thys report, will eyther not credite it at all, or suppose money so employed to be nothing profitable to the Quénes coffers, as a good husband said once when he harde there should be prouisiō made for armor, wishing ỳ Quénes money to be rather laide out to some spédier returne of gaine vnto hir Grace. But if he wist that the good kéeping of the sea, is the safegarde of our lande, he woulde alter hys censure, and some giue ouer his iudgement. For in times past when our nation made small account of Nauigation, how some dyd the Romaines, then the Saxons, and last of all the Danes inuade thys Iland, whose cruelty in the ende inforced our countrimen as it were euen agaynst their owne wylles, to prouyde for shippes from other places, and buylde at home of theyr owne, wherby their enimies were oftentymes distressed. But most of all were the Normans therein to be commended. For in a short processe of tyme after the conquest of thys Iland, and good consideration had for the well kéeping of ỳ same, they supposed nothyng more commodious for the defence of the countrey, then the maintenaunce of a strong Nauy, which they spédily prouided, mainteyned, & thereby reaped in the ende their wished securitye, wherewyth before their times this Iland was neuer acquainted. Before the comming of the Romaines, I doe not reade that we had any shippes at all, except a fewe made of wicker & couered with Buffle hides. In the beginning of the Saxons wée had a fewe, but as their number and moulde was lyttle and nothing to the purpose, so Egbert was the fyrst prince that euer thoroughlye began to knowe thys necessitie of a Nauy, in ỳ defence of his country. After him also other princes as Alfrede & Ethelred. &c. indeuoured more & more to store thēselues at the full with ships of al quantities, but chiefly Ethelred, who made a law, ỳ euery man holding 310. hidelandes, should finde a ship furnished to serue him in the warres. Howbeit, and as I sayde before when all their Nauie was at the greatest, it was not comparable to that which afterwarde the Normains prouided, neyther that of the Normaines anye thing lyke to the same, that is to be séene nowe in our dayes. For ỳ iourneys also of our ships, you shal vnderstand, that a well builded bessell, wyll runne or sayle thrée hundred leagues, or nine hundreth myles in a wéeke, or peraduenture some will go 2200. leagues in fiue wéekes and an halfe. And surely if their lading be ready against they come thither, there be of them that will be here, at the west Indies, and home agayne in twelue or thirtéene wéekes from Colchester, although the sayd Indies be eight hundred leagues from the cape or point of Cornewall, as I haue béene informed.

The byg tons fast al the wh left they were at sea in the ships.

Of Bathes and hote welles. Cap. 14.

AS Almightie God hath in most plentyfull maner bestowed infinite and those very notable benefits vpon this Ile of Britaine, whereby it is not a little enriched, so in hote and naturall Bathes, (whereof we haue diuers in sundrie places) it manifestly appeareth that he hath not forgotten Englande. There are foure Bathes therefore to be found in this realme, of which the first is called S. Vincentes, the second Hally Well, both being places in my opinion more obscure then the other two, & yet not seldome sought vnto by such as stande in néede. For albeit the fame of their forces be not so generallye spreade, yet in some cases they are thought to be nothing inferiour to the other, as diuers haue often affirmed by their owne experience and triall. The third place wher-

in hote Bathes are to be founde is neare vnto Burstone (a towne in Darbyshyre, situate in the high Peke not passing fiftéene myles from Manchester or Marketchesterforde, & twenty from Darby) where aboute eight or nine seuerall Welles are to be séene of which thrée are counted to be most excellent. But of al the gretest is the hottest, void of corruption and compared as Iones sayth, wyth those of Somersett shyre so colde indéede, as a quarte of boyling water woulde be made, if fiue quartes of running water were added therunto: whereas on the other side, those of Bathe likened vnto these, haue such heate appropriated vnto them, as a gallon of hote water hath when a quart of colde is mixed with the same. Herevpon the effecte of thys Bath worketh more temperatelye and pleasantlye (as he writeth) then the other. And albeit that it maketh not so great spéede in cure of such as resort vnto it for helpe, yet it dealeth more effectuallye and cõmodiously then those in Somerset shyre, and inferre withall lesse grieuous accidentes, in ỳ restreyning of natural issues, strẽgthening the affebeled members, assisting the lyuelye forces, dispersing annoious oppilations, and qualifyng of sundry grickes, as experience hath oft confirmed. The like vertues haue the other two, but not in such measure and degrée, and therefore their operation is not so spédily perceyued.

The fourth and last place of our Bathes, is a Citie in Sommerset shire, which taketh his name of ỳ hote waters there to be séene & vsed. At the first it was called Cair bledud & not Cair Bledune, as some woulde haue it, for that is the olde name of ỳ auncient castel at Salmesbury, which the Saxons named Yngleburne. Ptolomy afterwarde called it Therme, other Aquæ solis, but nowe it hight generally Bathe in Englishe, & vnder that name it is likely to cõtinue. The city of it self is a very auncient thing, no doubt as may yet appeare by dyuers notable antiquities ingraued in stone, to be séene in the walles thereof. And first of all betwéene the south gate and the west, and betwixt the west gate and the north.

The first is the antique heade of a man, made all flatte, with great lockes of heire, much like to the coine that I haue séene of Antius the Romaine. The seconde betwéene the south & the north gate is an ymage, as I take it of Hercules, for he helde in each hand a serpent, & so doth this. Thirdely there standeth a man on foote with a sworde in his one hand, & a buckler stretched out in the other. There is also a braunch that lyeth foulded & wrethed into circles, like to the wreath of Alcimedon. There are more ouer two naked Images, wherof the one imbraceth the other, beside sundrye antique heades, with ruffeled heire, a greye hounde running, and at hys tayle certeine Romaine letters, but so defaced that no man liuing can reade them at this present. There is moreouer the ymage of Lacon, inuironed with two serpents, & an other inscription, and all these betwéene the south and the west gates, as I haue sayd before.

Now betwéene the west & north gate are two inscriptions, of which some wordes are euident to be red, the residue are cleane defaced. There is also ỳ ymage of a naked man, & a stone in like sort, which hath cupidines et labruscas intercurrentes, & a table hauing at eche hand an ymage vined & finely florished both aboue & beneath. Finally (sauing that I sawe afterwarde the ymage of a naked man grasping a serpent in eache hand) there was an inscription of a tombe or burial, wherein these wordes did plainely appeare vixit annos, x x x. but so defusedly written, that letters stode for whole wordes, and two or thrée letters combined into one. Certes I will not saye whether these were set into the places where they nowe stande by the Gentiles or, brought thither from other ruines of the towne it selfe, & placed afterwarde in those walles, in their necessary reparations. But howsoeuer ỳ matter standeth this is to be gathered by our hystories, that Bladud first buylded that citie there, and peraduenuenture might also kindle the Sulphurous vaines of purpose to burne continuallye, in the honour of Minerua: by which occasion ỳ springs thereabout did in processe of time become hote & not vnprofitable, for sundry kinds of diseases. Indéede the later Paganes dreamed that Minerua was ỳ chiefe goddes and gouernesse of these waters, because of the nérenesse of hir temple vnto the same. Solinus addeth furthermore, howe that in hir sayde temple, the fire which was continuallye kept, did neuer consume into deade sparcles, but so sone as the embers thereof were colde, they congealed into clots of hard stone, all which I take to be nothing else the the effecte of the aforesayde fyre, of the Sulphurous vaine kindled in the earth, from whence the waters doe come. That these bathes or waters are deriued from such, the Marchasites & stones mixed with some copper, and daily founde vpon the mountaynes thereabout will beare sufficient witnesse, though I would write the contrary. Doctor Turner also the father of English Phisicke, Cap. 25.

and

and an excellent Diuine, supposeth that these springs doe drawe theyr forces from Sulphur, or if their be any other thing mingled withall, he gesseth that it shoulde be salt peter, because he founde an obscure likelyhode of ỳ same, euen in the crosse Bath. But that they participate wt any allume at al, he could neuer til his dying day, be induced to beleue. I myght here if I thought it necessary, intreat of ỳ notable scituation of Bath it self, which standeth in a pleasant botome, enuironed on euery side wyth great hylles, out of the which come so many springs of pure water by sundrye wayes vnto the Citye, and in such abundance as that euery house is serued with the same by pypes of leade, the said metall being the plentious and lesse of value vnto them, because it is had not far of from these quarters. It should not be amysse also to speake of ỳ foure gates, number of parish churches, bridges, religious houses dissolued, and their founders, if place doe serue therefore: but for so much as my purpose is not to deale in this behalfe, I will omit the mention of these thinges, and go in hand wyth the Bathes themselues, whereof in thys chapiter I protested to intreate.

Crosse Bath. There are two springes of water as Lelande sayth, in the west south west part of the towne whereof the biggest is called the crosse Bath, of a certeine crosse that was erected sometime in the middest thereof. This Bath is much frequented by such as are diseased with leapry, pockes, scabbes, & great aches: yet of it selfe it is very temperate, & pleasaunt, hauing a leuen or twelue arches of stone in the sydes thereof, for men to stand vnder, when rayne doth oughts annoy them.

Common Bathe. The common Bathe, or as some call it, the hote Bathe, is two hundreth foote, or ther about from the crosse Bathe, lesse in cõpasse within the wall then the other, and with only seauen arches, wrought out of the mayne inclosure. It is worthily called ỳ hote Bath, for at the first comming into it, men thinke that it would scald their flesh, and lose it frõ the bone: but after a season, and that the bodyes of the commers thereto be warmed thorowlye in the same, it is more tollerable & easie to be borne. Bothe these Bathes be in the middle of a little streate, and ioyne to S. Thomas Hospitall, so that it maye bee thought that Reginalde Bysshop of Bathe, made his house nere to these comon Baths, onely to succour such poore people as shoulde resort vnto them.

Kinges Bathe. The Kings Bathe is very faire and large, standing almost in the middle of the towne, at the west ende of the Cathedrall Church. It is compassed about with a very high stone wall, and the brimmes thereof are mured rounde about, where in be two an thirtie arches for men and women to stande in seperately, who beyng of ỳ gentry for the most part, doe resort thither indifferently, but not in such lasciuious sort, as vnto other Bathes & hote houses of ỳ maine, whereof some write more a greate deale, then modesty should reueale, and honesty performe. There went a fluse out of this Bath, which serued in times past the Priory with water, which was deriued out of it vnto two places, and commonlye vsed for Bathes, but nowe I doe not thinke that they remaine in vsage.

Notes in count little ter th borde

As for the colour of the water of all the Bathes, it is most like to a deepe bleiwe, and reketh much after the manner of a seething potte, commonly yelding somewhat a sulpherus taste, and very vnpleasant sauour. The water that runneth from the two small Bathes, goeth by a dyke into the Auon by West, and beneath the Bridge, but the same that goeth from the Kings Bathe turneth a myl, and after goeth into Auon aboue Bath bridg, where it loseth both force & tast, & is like vnto the rest. In all the three Baths a man may euidently see how the water bubbeleth vp from the springes. This is also to be noted that at certaine times all entraunces into them is vtterly prohibited, that is to say, at highe noone and midnight, for at those two seasons & a while before and after, they boyle very feruently, and become so hote, that no man is able to indure their heate, or any while sustaine their force and vehement worcking. They purge themselues furthermore from all such filth as the dyseased doe leaue in eache of them, wherefore we doe forbeare the rashe entraunce into them, at that time, & so much the rather for that we wolde not by contractiõ of any new diseases, departe more grieuously affected, then we came vnto the citie, which is in deede a thing that eche one should regard. For these causes they are commonlye shut vp from halfe an houre after ten of the clocke in the forenone, to halfe an houre after one in the afternone, & likewise at midnight: at which tymes the keeper of them resorteth to his charge, openeth the gates, and leaueth free passage vnto such as come vnto them, hytherto I leaue what cost hath of late beene bestowed vpon these Bathes, by diuers of the Nobility, gentry, cõmonalty and clergy, it lieth not in me to declare, yet as I here they are not onely very much repaired and garnished, but til sundry curious peces of workemanshipe,

Colour the w of the thes.

Tast water

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partely touchyng their commendation, and partely for the ease and benefite of such as resorte vnto them: but also better ordered, cleanlier kept, and more friendely prouision made for such pouerty as daily repaire thether. But notwythstanding all this, such is the general estate of things in Bath, that the rich men may spend while they will & the poore begge whilest they list, for their maintenaunce and dyet so long as they remaine there. And yet I deny not but ỳ there is very good order there for all degrées, but where shall a man find any equal regard of poore & rich, though god do giue these his gifts freely vnto both alyke. I would here intreate further of ỳ customes vsed in these baths, what nũber of Phisitions daily attend vpon those waters, for no mã (especially such as be able to entertaine them) doth enter into these Bathes before he consult with the Phisition: also, what diet is to be obserued, what particular diseases are healed there, & to what ende the comers thither doe drinke oft times of that medicinable liquor, but thẽ I should excéede the lymittes of a description, wherfore I passe it ouer vnto other, hoping that some man ere long will vouchsafe to performe that at large, which the famous clarke Docter Turner hath brefely yet happily begun, touching the effects and working of the same, for hitherto I doe not knowe of manye that haue trauayled in the natures of those Bathes of our countrey, wyth any great commendation, much lesse of any that hath reuealed them at the full for the benefite of our nation, or commoditie of straungers.

¶ Of Parkes and Warrens. Cap. 15.

IN euery shyre of Englande there is great plentye of Parkes, whereof some here and there appertaine vnto the Prince, the rest to such of the Nobilitye and Gentlemen, as haue their lands and patrimony lying nére vnto ỳ same. I would gladly haue set downe the iust number of these inclosures, to bée founde in euery countye, but sith I can not so doe, it shall suffise to say, that in Kent and Eſſex only are to the number of an hundred, where in great plentie of fallowe Déere is cherished and kept. As for Warrens of Conies, I iudge thẽ almost innumerable, & daily like to increse, by reasõ that ỳ black skins of those beasts are thought to counteruaile, ỳ prises of their naked carkases, & this is the onely cause why the gray are lesse estéemed. Néere vnto London their quyckest marchaundise is of the yong rabets, wherfore ỳ older conies are brought frõ farder of, where there is no such spédy vtterãce of Rabbets & sucklings in their seasõ, nor so great losse by their skins, sith they are suffered to grow vp to their full greatnesse wt their owners. Our Parkes are generally inclosed wyth strong pale made of Oke, of which kinde of woode there is great store cherished from time to tyme in eache of them, onely for the maintenaunce of the sayde defence, and safe kéeping of the Déere from raunging about the countrey. The circuite of these inclosures in lyke maner containe oft times a walke of foure or fiue myles, and sometimes more or lesse, whereby it is to bée séene what store of ground is employed vpon that vayne cõmoditie which bringeth no maner of gaine or profit to the owner, sith they cõmonlye giue awaye their flesshe, neuer taking penny for the same, because venisson in england is neither bought nor soulde by the right owner, but maintained only for hys pleasure, to the no smal decay of husbandry, & diminution of mankinde. For where in times past, many large and welthy occupiers, were dwelling within the compasse of some one parke, and therby great plenty of corne & cattell séene & to be had amongst them, beside a more copious procreation of humaine issue, wherby the realme was alwaies better furnished with able men to serue the Prince in his affaires: now there is almost nothing kept but a sort of wilde & sauage beasts, cherished for pleasure and delite, and yet the owners styll desirous to enlarge those groundes, doe not let daily to take in more, affirming that we haue already to great store of people in england, and that youth by maryyng to some doe nothing profite the countrey but fill it full of beggers.

Certes if it be not one curse of the Lorde, to haue our countrey conuerted in such sorte from the furniture of mankinde, into the walkes and shrowdes of wylde beastes, I know not what is any. How many families also these great and small games (for so most kéepers call them) haue eaten vp, & are likely hereafter to deuoure, some men may coniecture, but many more lamẽt: sith there is no hope of restraint to be loked for in this behalf, but if a man may priuẽtly giue a gesse at ỳ vniuersality of this euill by contemplation of the circumstances, he shall saye at ỳ last, that the twentieth parte of the realme is imployed vpon Déere and Conies already, which séemeth very much, if it be duely considered of. We had no Parkes in Englande before the comming of the Normanes, who added this calamity also to the [illegible]

The decaie of the people is the destruction of a kingdome, neyther is any man borne to possesse the earth alone.

our nation, making men of the best sort furthermore to become kéepers of their game, whilest they lyued in the meane time vppon the spoyle of their reuenues, and daily ouerthrew townes villages, & an infinite sort of families, for the maintenance of their Venery. Neyther was any park supposed in these times to be stately enough, that conteined not at the least eyght or tenne hidelandes, that is so many hundred acres, or families, or as they haue béene alwaies called in some places of the Realme, carrucates or cartwares, of which one was sufficient in olde time to maintaine an honest Yeoman.

It should séeme that forrests haue alwaies béene had and religiously preserued in thys Iland for the solace of the Prince, and recreation of his nobilitie: howbeit I read not that euer they were inclosed more then at this present, or otherwise fenced then by vsual notes of limitacion, wherby their bounds were remembred from time to tyme for the better preseruation of such venery and vert of all sortes as were nourished in the same. Neyther are any of the auncient lawes prescribed for their maintaynaunce before the dais of Canutus now to be had, sith time hath so dealt with them, that they are perished & lost. Canutus therfore séeing the daily spoyle that was made in all places of his game, dyd at the last make sundrie Sanctions and Decrées, whereby from thencefoorth the red and fallow déere, were better loked vnto throughout his whole Dominiõs. We haue in these dayes diuers forrestes in England & Wales as Walthã forrest, Windsor, Pickering, Fecknam, Delamore, Deane, Penrise, and many other nowe cleane out of my remembraunce, and which although they are farre greater in circuit then many Parckes and Warrennes, yet are they in this our tyme lesse deuourers of the people then these later, sith beside much tillage, many Townes are founde in eache of them, whereas in Parkes and Warrẽs we haue nothing else then either the kéepers lodge, or at the best wise the manour place of the chiefe Lorde, & owner of the soyle. I coulde say more of forrestes and the aforesayde inclosures, but it shall suffice at this time to haue sayde so much as is set downe alreadie. Howbeit that I may restore one antiquitie to light, which hath hytherto lyen as it were raked vp in the embers of oblituon, I will gyue out the same Lawes that Canutus made for his forrest, whereby many thinges shall be disclosed concerning the same (whereof peraduẽture some lawiers haue no knowledge) & diuers other notes gathered touching the ancient estate of ỹ realm not to be founde in other. But before I deale with the great charter, (which as you maye perceyue is in many places impẽrãt by reason of corruption crept in by length of tyme, not by me to be restored) I will note an other briefe law, which he made in the first yeare of his reigne at Winchester, and afterward inserted into these his latter constitutions Canone 32. and beginneth thus in his owne Saxon tongue. I will that eic one. &c. I will and graunt that eache one shalbe worthy of such venery as he by hunting can take eyther in the playnes or in the woods, or within his owne fée or dominiõ (out of the forrest) but eache man shall abstaine from my venerie in euery place, where I will that my beastes shall haue firme peace and quietnesse vpõ paine to forfaict so much as a man may forfaict. Hytherto the statute made by the aforesayde Canutus, which was afterwarde confirmed by king Edwarde surnamed the confessour in the fourth yeare of his reigne. Now followeth the great Charter it selfe in Latine, as I finde it worde for worde, & whiche I woulde gladly haue turned into English if it might haue founded to any benefite of the vnskilfull and vnlearned.

Incipiunt constitutiones Canuti regis de Forresta.

HÆ sunt sanctiones de forresta, quas ego Canutus rex cum consilio primariorum hominum meorum condo & facio, vt cunctis regni nostri Angliæ ecclesijs & pax & Iustitia fiat, & vt omnis delinquens secundum modum delicti, & delinquentis fortunam patiatur.

1. Sint iam deinceps quatuor ex liberalioribus hominibus qui habent saluas suas debitas consuetudines (quos Angli pegened appellãt) in qualibet regni mei prouincia constituti, ad Iustitiam distribuendam vna cum pena merita & materijs forrestæ cuncto populo meo, tam Anglis quam Danis per totum regnum meum Angliæ, quos quatuor primarios forrestæ appellandos censemus.

2 Sint sub quolibet horum, quatuor ex mediocribus hominibus (quos Angli Lespegend, nuncupant, Dani vero young men vocant) locati, qui curam & onus tum viridis tum veneris suscipiant.

3. In administranda autem Iusticia nuillatenus volo vt tales se intromittant: mediocresq; tales post ferarum curam susceptam, pro liberalibus semper habeantur, quos Dani Calder-men appellant.

4. Sub horum iterum quolibet sunt duo minutorũ hominũ quos Tineman Angli dicunt

cunt hi nocturnam curam & veneris & viridis tum seruilia opera subibunt.

5. Si talis minutus seruus fuerit, tam cito quam in forresta nostra locabitur, liber esto, omnesq; hos ex sumptibus nostris manutenebimus.

6. Habeat etiam quilibet primariorũ quolibet anno de nostra warda quam *Michni* Angli appellant, duos equos, vnum cum sella, alterum sine sella, vnũ gladium quinq; lanceas, vnum cuspidẽ, vnum scutum & ducentos solidos argenti.

7. Mediocrium quilibet vnum equum, vnã lanceam, vnum scutum & 60. solidos argenti.

8. Minutorum quilibet, vnam lanceam, vnam arcubalistam & 15. solidos argenti.

9. Sint omnes tam primarij, quam mediocres, & minuti, immunes, liberi, & quieti ab omnibus prouincialibus summonitionibus, & popularibus placitis, quæ *Hundred laghe* Angli dicunt, & ab omnibus armorũ oneribus quod *Warscot* Angli dicunt & forinceſis querelis.

10. Sint mediocrium & minutorum causæ & earum correctiones tam criminalium quam ciuilium per prouidam sapientiam & rationẽ primariorum Iudicate & decisę: primariorum vero enormia si quę fuerint (ne scelus aliquod remaneat inultum) nosmet in ira nostra regali puniemus.

11. Habeant hi quatuor vnam regalem potestatem (salua nobis nostra presentia) quaterq; in anno generales forestæ demonstrationes & viridis & veneris forisfactiones quas *Muchehunt* dicunt, vbi teneant omnes calumniam de materia aliqua tangente forestam; eantq; ad triplex Iudiciũ quod Angli *Ofgangfordell* dicunt. Ita autem acquiratur illud triplex Iudicium. Accipiat secum quinque & sit ipse sextus, & sic iurando acquirat triplex Iudicium, aut triplex iuramentum. Sed purgatio ignis nullatenus admittatur nisi vbi nuda veritas nequit aliter inuestigari.

12. Liberalis autem homo. 1. *Pegen*, modo crimen suum non sit inter mariora, habeat fidelem hominem qui possit pro eo iurare iuramentum. 1. *Forathe*: si autem non habet ipsemet iuret, nec pardonetur ei aliquod iuramentum.

13. Si aduena vel peregrinus qui de longinquo venerit sit calumpniatus de foresta, & talis est sua inopia vt nõ possit habere plegium ad primam calumniam, qualẽ ✶ nullus Anglus iudicare potest: tunc subeat captionem regis & ibi expectet quousque vadat ad iudicium ferri & aquę: attamen si quis extraneo aut peregrino de longe venienti ✶
sibi ipsi nocet si aliquod iudiciũ iudicauerint.

14. Quicunque coram primarios homines meos forestę in falso testimonio steterit & victus fuerit, non sit dignus imposterũ stare aut portare testimoniũ, quia legalitatẽ suam perdidit, & pro culpa soluat regi decem solidos quos Dani vocant *Halfehange*, alias *halshang*. Halfhang.

15. Si quis vim aliquã primarijs forestę meæ intulerit, si liberalis sit amittat libertatem & omnia sua, si villanus abscindatur dextra.

16. Si alteruter iterum peccauerit reus sit mortis.

17. Si quis cõtra autẽ cũ primario pugnauerit in plito, emendet secundũ præcium sui ipsius quod Angli *Pere & pite* dicunt, & soluat primario quadraginta solidos. Pere and pite.

18. Si pacem quis fregerit ante mediocres forestę quod dicunt *Gethbreche* emendet regi decem solidis. Gethbrech

19. Si quis mediocrium aliquem cum ira percusserit, emendetur prout interfectio feræ regalis mihi emendari solet.

20. Si quis delinquens in foresta nostra capietur, pœnas luet secundũ modum & genus delicti.

21. Pena & forisfactio non vna eademque erit liberalis (quem Dani *Elderman* vocant) & illiberalis: domini & seruinoti & ignoti: nec vna eademq; erit causarum tum ciuilium tum criminaliũ, ferarũ forestę, & ferarum regalium: Viridis & veneris tractatio: nã crimen veneris ab antiquo inter maiora & non inmerito numerabatur: viridis vero (fractione chaceę nostre regalis excepta) ita pusillum & exiguum est, quod vix ea respicit nostra constitutio: qui in hoc tamen deliquerit, sit criminis forestæ reus. Ealderma

22. Si liber aliquis feram forestę fugerit, siue casu, siue prehabita voluntate, ita vt cursu celeri cogatur fera anhelare, decem solidis regi emendet, si illiberalis dupliciter emendet, si seruus careat corio.

23. Si vero horum aliquot interfecerit, soluat dupliciter & persoluat, sitque præcij sui reus contra regem.

24. Sed si regalem ferã quam Angli à *stag-gon* appellant alteruter coegerit anhelare, alter per vnum annum, alter per duos careat libertatę naturali: si vero seruus, pro vtlegato habeatur quem Angli *Frendlesman* vocant. Steggon. Frendlesman.

25. Si vero occiderit, amittat liber scutum libertatis, si sit illiberalis careat libertate, si seruus vita.

26. Episcopi, Abbates & Barones mei non calumnibuntur pro venatione, si non regales feras occiderint: & si regales, restabunt rei regi pro libito suo, sine certa emendatione.

27. Sunt aliæ (præter feras forestę) bestię, que dum inter sępta & sæpes forestę continentur, emendationi subiacent: quales sunt capreoli, lepores, & cuniculi. Sunt & alia quam plurima animalia quę quanquã infra septa forestę viuunt, & oneri & curę mediocrium subiacẽt,

Bubali olim in Anglia.

foreſte tamen nequaquã cenſeri poſſunt, qualia ſunt equi, Bubali, vaccæ, & ſimilia. Vulpes & Lupi, nec foreſtæ nec veneris habentur, & proinde eorum interfectio nulli emendationi ſubiacet. Si tamen infra limites occiduntur, fractio ſit regalis chaceę, & mitius emendetur. Aper vero quanquam foreſte ſit nullatenus tamen animal veneris haberi eſt aſſuetus.

28. Boſco nec Subboſco noſtro ſine licentia primariorum foreſtæ nemo manum apponat, quod ſi quis fecerit reus ſit fractionis regalis chaceę.

29. Si quis vero Ilicem aut arborem aliquam qui victum feris ſuppeditat ſciderit, præter fractionem regalis chaceę, emendet regi viginti ſolidis.

30. Volo vt omnis liber homo pro libito ſuo habeat venerem ſiue viridem in planis ſuis ſuper terras ſuas, ſine chacea tamen. Et deuitent omnes meam, vbicunque eam habere voluero.

Greyhũds

31. Nullus mediocris habebit nec cuſtodiet canes quos Angli *Griehunds* appellant. Liberali vero dum genuiſciſsio eorum facta fuerit coram primario foreſtę licebit, aut ſine genuiſciſsione dum remoti ſunt à limitibus foreſtæ per decem milliaria: quando vero proprius venerint, emendet quodlibet miliare vno ſolido. Si vero infra ſepta foreſtę reperiatur, dominus canis forisfaciet & canem, & decem ſolidos regi.

Melter Langerã.

32. Velteres vero quos *Langeran* appellant quia manifeſte conſtat in ijs nihil eſſe periculi, cuilibet licebit ſine genuiſciſsione eos cuſtodire. Idem de canibus quos *Rambundt* vocant.

Ramhundt.

33. Quod ſi caſu inauſpicato huiuſmodi canes rabidi fiant & vbique vagantur negligentia dominorum, redduntur illiciti, & emẽdetur regi pro illicitis. &c. Quod ſi intra ſepta foreſtæ reperiantur, talis exquiratur herus, & emendet ſecundum precium hominis mediocris, quod ſecundũ legem merimorum eſt ducentorum ſollidorum.

34. Si Canis rabidus momorderit ferã, tunc emendet ſecundum precium hominis liberalis quod eſt duodecies ſolidis centũ. Si vero fera regalis morſa fuerit, reus ſit maximi criminis.

And theſe are the conſtitutions of Canutus concerning the foreſt very barbarouſly trãſlated by thoſe that toke the ſame in hande. Howbeit as I finde it ſo I ſet it downe without any alteration of my copie in any iote or tytle.

Of Wooddes and marriſes. Cap. 16.

Great abundance of wood ſometime in England.

IT ſhoulde ſeeme by auncient recordes, and the teſtimony of ſundrie authors, that the whole countries of Lhoegres and Cambria now England and Wales, haue ſometimes been very well repleniſhed with great woods and groues, although at this tyme the ſayde commoditie be not a little decayed in both, and in ſuch wyſe that a man ſhall oft ryde tenne or twentie myles in eache of them and finde very little or rather none at all, except it be neare vnto townes, gentlemens houſes and villages where the inhabitauntes haue planted a few Elmes, Okes, Haſelles, or Aſhes about their dwellings for their defence from the rough windes, and képing of the ſtormie weather frõ anoyaunce of the ſame. This ſcarſitie at ẏ firſt grew as it is thought eyther by the induſtrie of man, for maintaynaunce of tillage (as we vnderſtand the lyke to be done of late by the Spaniards in the Weſt Indes, where they fiered whole woodes of very great compaſſe thereby to come by groũd wheron to ſow their graines) or elſe throwe the couetouſneſſe of ſuch as in preferring of paſture for their ſhéepe and greater cattell, doe make ſmall account of firebote and tymber: or finally by the cruelty of the enemies, whereof we haue ſundrie examples declared in our hyſtories. Howbeit where the rockes and quarry grounds are I take the ſwart of the earth to be ſo thinne, that no trée of anye greatneſſe other then ſhrubbes & buſhes is able to grow or proſper long therein for want of ſufficient moyſture wherwith to fede them with freſh humour, or at the leaſt wyſe of mould, to ſhrowd ſtay vpright, and chearith the ſame in the bluſtering winters weather, till they may growe vnto any greatneſſe, and ſpread or yeld their rootes down right into the ſoyle about them: and this either is or may be one other cauſe, wherefore ſome places are naturally voyde of woodde. But to proceede, although I muſt néedes cõfeſſe that there is good ſtore of great wood or tymber here and there, euen nowe in ſome places of England, yet in our dayes it is farre vnlike to that plentie, which our auncеſters haue ſéene hertofore, when ſtately buylding was leſſe in vſe. For albeit that there were then greater nũber of meſuages & manſions almoſt in euery place, yet were their frames ſo ſlite and ſlender, that one meane dwelling houſe in our time is able to counteruayle very many of them, if you conſider the preſent charge with the plentie of timber that we beſtow vpon them. In times paſt men were contented to dwell in houſes, buylded of Sallow, Willow, Plummetrée, Hardebeame, and Elme, ſo that the vſe of Oke was in maner dedicated wholy vnto churches, religious houſes, Princes palaces

Noble-

Noblemens lodgings and nauigation, but now all these are reiected and nothing but oke any whit regarded: & yet see the chaũge, for when our houses were buylded of Willowe then had we Oken men, but nowe that our houses are come to be made of Oke, our mẽ are not only become willow, but a great many altogither of straw, which is a sore alteratiõ. In those the courage of ỹ owner was a sufficient defence to kepe the house in safetie, but now the assurance of the timber must defende the man from robbing. Nowe haue we manye chimnyes and yet our tenderlinges complaine of rewmes, catarres and poses, then had we none but reredosses, and our heades did neuer ake. For as the smoke in those dayes was supposed to be a sufficient hardning for the timber of the house, so it was reputed a farre better medicine to kẽpe the goodman and his family from the quacke or pose, wherewith as then very few were acquainted.

We haue manye woodes, forrestes and parkes which cherish trées abundantly, although in the woodlande countries there is almost no hedge that hath not some store of the greatest sort, beside infinite numbers of hedgerowes, groues, and springes, that are maintayned of purpose for the buylding and prouision of such owners as doe possesse the same. Howbeit as euery soile doth not beare all kindes of wood, so there is not any wood, park, hedgerow, groue, or forrest, that is not mixed with many, as Oke, Ashe, Hasell, Hawthorne, Byrche, Beéche, Hardbeame, Hull, Sorke, wilde Cherie, and such lyke, wherof Oke hath alwayes the prehemineñce as most méete for buylding wherevnto it is reserued. This trée bringeth forth also a profitable kinde of mast, whereby such as dwell neare vnto the aforesayde places do cherishe and bring vp innumerable herdes of swine. In tyme of plentie of this mast, our redde and fallowe déere will not let to participate with our hogges, more then our other nete, yea our common poultrie also if they may come vnto them: but as this abundance doth prowe very pernicious vnto the first, so the egges which these latter doe bring forth beside blackenesse in colour & bitternesse of taste haue not seldome béene founde to breéde diuers diseases vnto such persons as haue eaten of the same. I might adde in lyke sort the profite insuing by the barke of this woodde, wherof our tanners haue great vse in dressing of leather, and which they buy yearly in May by the faggame, as I haue oft seene, but it shall not néede at this time to enter into any such discourse, only this I wish that our sole & vpper lethering, may haue their due time and not be hacked on by extraordinarie slightes, as with Ashe barcke. &c. Whereby as I graunt that it séemeth outwardly to be very thicke and wel done, so if you respect the sadnesse thereof, it doth prowe in the ende to be very hollow and not able to holde out water. Of Elme I haue not séene any great store togither in woodes or forrestes, but where they haue béene first planted and then suffered to spreade at their owne willes. Yet haue I knowen great woodes of Béeche & Hasell in many places, especially in Barckeshyre, Oxfordshyre and Buckinghamshyre, where they are greatlye cherished, and conuerted vnto sundry vses by such as dwell about thẽ. Ash commeth vp euery where of it selfe, and with euery kinde of woodde, and as we haue very great plenty and no lesse vse of these in our husbandrie, so are we not wythout the plane, the Aghe, the sorse, the chestnutte, the line, the blacke chérie, and such like. And although that we enioye them not in so great plentie now in most places, as in times past or the other afore remembred, yet haue we sufficient of thẽ all for our necessarie turnes and vses, especially of Aghe as may be séene betwixt Rotheram and Sheffilde, and some stédes of Kent also as I haue béene informed. The Firre, Frankencence, and Pine, we doe not altogither want, especially the firre, wherof we haue some store in Chatley more in Darbyshyre, Shropshyre, Anderneste, and a mosse néere Manchester. As for the Franckencense & Pine, they haue béene planted in Colledges, and Cloysters, by the the cleargie and religious in tymes past, wherefore in my opinion we may rather say that we want thẽ altogither, for except they dyd growe naturally & not by force, I sée no cause why they shoulde be accounted for parcell of our cõmodities. I might here take occasion to speke of the great sales yerly made of wood, wherby an infinite deale hath béene destroyed within these few yeres, but I giue ouer to deale in this behalfe, howbeit thys I dare affirme that if woodes doe go so fast to decay in the next hundred yeare of grace as they haue done & are like to doe in this (sometymes for increase of shepe walkes, & some maintaynaunce of prodigalitie & pompe, for I haue known a × gentlemã that hath borne thrée score at once in one paire of galigaskõs, to shew his strẽgth & brauery) it is to be feared that brome, turfe, gal, heth, firze, brakes, whinnes, ling, dies, hassocks, flags, straw, sedge, réede, rush, & seacole will be good marchãdize euen in the citie of Londõ, whervnto some of them alreadie haue gotten readie

*This gẽtleman caught such an heate with this sore loade ỹ he was faine to go to Rome for phisicke, yet it could not saue his life, but he must néedes die homewardes.

passage & taken vp their Innes in the greatest marchauntes parlers. A man woulde thincke that our lawes were able ynough to make sufficiēt prouision for ỹ redresse of this errour, and enormitie likely to insue: but such is the nature of our country men, ỹ as many lawes are made, so they will kepe none, or if they be urged to make answere, they will rather seeke some crooked construction therof to the encrease of their priuate game, then yelde themselues willing to be guided by the same, for a common wealth and profite: so that in the ende, whatsoeuer the lawe sayeth we will haue our willes, whereby the wholesome ordinances of ỹ prince are contemned, the trauaile of the nobilitie and counsellours as it were derided, the common wealth impouerished, and a fewe only inriched by this peruerse dealing: whereas many thousande persons doe suffer hinderance, by this their crooked behauiour, whereby the wholesome lawes of the Prince are oft defrauded, the good meaning maiestrate in consultation about the common wealth seduced. I woulde wishe that I might liue no longer then to see foure thinges in thys lande reformed. That is, the want of discipline in the church. The couetous dealing of most of our marchants, in the preferment of other countries, & hinderance of their owne. The holding of faires & markets vpon the sondaie, to be abolished and referred to the wednesdayes. And that euery man wyth in what soeuer soile enioyeth foure Acres of lande (and vpwards after that rate) either by free deede, or coppie hold, or fee farme, might plant one Acre of wood, or sow the same with mast, beside that which remayneth already to be cherished & kept. But I feare me that I should then liue to long, & so long that I should eyther be weary of the worlde, or the world of me, & yet they are not such thinges, but they may easily be brought to passe.

Certes euery small occasion in my time is inough to cut downe a great woode, & euery trifle sufficeth to laye infinite Acres of corne ground vnto pasture. As for ỹ taking downe of houses, a small fine will beare out a great manye. Woulde to God we might once take example of the Romaines, who in restreint of superfluous grasinge made an exact limitation, how many head of Cattel eche estate myght keepe, and what numbers of Acres shoulde suffise, for that and other purposes, neyther was woode euer better cherished or mancion houses maintained, then by their lawes and statutes. But what doe I meane to speake of these sith my purpose is onely to talke of woods: well take this then for a final conclusion in woodes, that within this fortie yeares, we shall haue little newe Timber, growing aboue two and fortie yeares olde, for it is cōmonly seene that those yong staddies which we leaue standing, at one and twenty yeres fal, are vsually at the next sale cut downe, without any daunger of the statute, & serue for fire bote, if it please the owner, to burne them.

Mariles and Fenny Bogges we haue many in England, but more in Wales, if you haue respect vnto the seuerall quantities of ỹ countries, howbeit as they are very profitable, in somer half of the yere, so are a number of them to small commoditie in the winter part, as common experience doth teach, yet this I find of many of these mores, that in times past they haue bēne harder ground, and sundrye of them well replenished wyth great woodes, that now are voyde of bushes: and for example hereof, we maye see the tryall (besides the rootes that are daily found in the depes of Monemouth, where turfe is digged, also in Wales, Abergeyny, and Merioneth) in sundry parts of Lancashyre, where the people go vnto this daye into their Fennes, and Mariles with long spittes, which they dashe here and there, vp to the verye stronge into the grounde, in which practise, (a thinge commonly done in winter) if they happen to smite vpon a tree or blocke, they note the place, and about harueste time, when the ground is at the driest, they come againe and get it vppe, and afterwarde carrying it home, applye it to their vses. The lyke doe they in Shroppeshyre with fire woode, which hath bēne felled in olde time, wythin seauen miles of Salop, some of them fondlyke suppose the same to haue lyen there sith Noes flood: and other more fonde then the rest, imagine them to growe, euen in the places where they finde them, without all consideration, that in times past, the moste parte, if not all Lhoegres and Cambria was generally replenished with woode, which being felled or ouerthrowne, vpon sundry occasions, was left lying in some places still on the grounde, and in procesſe of time, became to be quite ouergrowen with earth and mouldes, which mouldes, wanting their due sadnesse, are nowe turned into mosy plots, whereby it commeth to passe also, that great plentye of water commeth betweene the new lose swart and the olde hard earth, that being drawne awaie, might some leaue a drie soyle to the great lucre and auantage of the owner. We find in our histories, that Lincolne, was sometime buylded by Lud, brother to Cassibillane, who called it Cair

Lud-

Mariſ Fenne

Ludcolte of the great store of woodes, that enuironed the same, but now the comodity is vtterly decayed there, so that if Lud were a liue againe in our time, he would not call it his Cittie in ỳ wood, but rather his towne in ỳ plaines: for the wood I say, is wasted altogether about ỳ same, the hils called ỳ Peke, were in lyke sort named Pennith Coit, that is, the woodey hiles, but howe much wode is now to bee seene in those places, let him that hath beene there testifie, if he liste, for I here of none by such as trauayle that waye, and thus much of woodes and mynes, and so farre as I can deale with the same.

¶ Of the Antiquities, or auncient Coines found in England. Cap. 7.

HAuing take some occasion to speak here and there in thys treatise of Antiquities, it shall not be amysse to speake yet more in this chapter, with some of them apart, & by themselues, whereby the secure authorite of the Romaines ouer thys Iland maye in some cases more manifestly appeere. For such was theyr possession of this Islande on this side of the Tynethat they held not one or two or a fewe places onely vnder there subiection, but all the whole countrey from east the to west, from the Tyne to the Brittish Sea, so that there was no region voyd of theyr gouernaunce, notwythstanding that vntil the death of Lucius & extinction of his issue, they did permit ỳ successors of Lud & Cimbælyne to reigne & rule amongst thē, though vnder a certeine tribute, as else where I haue declared. The chief cause that vrgeth me to speake of Antiquities, is the paines that I haue taken to gather great numbers of them togither, entending if euer my Chronology shal happē to come abroad, to set downe the liuely protraitures of euery Emperour ingraued in the same: also the faces of Pompey, Crassus, the seauen kinges of the romaines, Cicero and diuers other which I haue prouided ready for the purpose, beside the monuments & liuely Images of sundrye Philosophers, and Kinges of thys Islande, sithens the time of Edwarde the confessor, whereof although presently I want a fewe, yet I doe not doubt but to obtaine them all, if eyther friendeship or money shall be able to preuaile. But as it hath done hetherto, so the charges to be employed, vpon these brasen or coper Images, will hereafter put by the impression of my booke, whereby it maye come to passe, that long trauaile shall some prooue to be spent in vaine, and much cost come to very small successe, whereof yet I force not greatly, sith by this meanes, I haue reaped some commoditie vnto my selfe, by searching of the histories, which often my nistre store of ensamples, ready to be vsed as occasion shall compell me. But to proceede with my purpose. Before the comming of the Romains, there was a kind of copper money currant herein bryteine, as Cæsar confesseth in ỳ fifth booke of his comentaries, whervnto he addeth a report of certeine rings, of a proportionate weight, which they vsed in his time, in steed likewise of money. But as hetherto it hath not beene my luche to haue the certeine viewe of any of these, so after the cōming of ỳ Romaines, they inforced vs to abandon our owne and receiue such imperiall coine, as for the payment of ỳ Legions was daily brought ouer vnto vs. What coynes ỳ romaines had it is easie to be knowne, & frō time to time much of it is founde in manye places of this Islande, aswell of Golde and Siluer, as of copper, brasse, and other mettall, much lyke steele, almost of euery Emperour, so that I account it no rare thyng to haue of the Romaine coyne, albeit, that it stil represent an ymage of our captiuity, & maye be a good admonition for vs, to take hede howe we yelde our selues to the regiment of straungers. Of the store of these monies, found vpon the Kentishe coast, I haue alreadye made mention, in the description of Richborowe, and chapiter of Iles Adiacent vnto the Brittish Albion, and there shewed also howe simple fisher men haue had plentye of them, and that the very coynes in making proofers and holes to bræde in, haue scraped them out of the grounde in very great abundance. In speaking also of S. Albanes, in the chapter of townes and villages, I haue not omitted to tell what plenty of these coynes haue beene gathered there, wherfore I shall not néede here to repeate the same againe: Howbeit this is certaine, that the most part of all these Antiquities, to be founde with in the lande, & distant from the shore, are to be gotten eyther in the ruines of auncient Cities & Townes decayed, or in inclosed borowes, where their legions accustomed sometime to winter, as by experience is dailye confirmed. What store hath beene seene of them in the citie of London, which they called Augusta, of the Legion that soiourned there, & likewise in Yorke named also Victrix, of the Legion, Victoria or (Altera Roma, because of beautie and fine buylding of the same) I my selfe can partely witnesse, that haue seene, and often had of them, if better testimony were wāting. The like I may affirme of Colchester, where those of Claudius Hadriane, Traiane, Vespasian and other, are

of tentymes plowed vp or founde, by other meanes: also of Cantorbury, Andreschester, (now decayed) Rochester then called Durobrevum, Winchester and diuers other beyonde the Thames, which for breuities sake I doe passe ouer in silence: onely the chiefe of all & where most are founde in deede is nere vnto Carleon & Cairgwent in Southwales, about Kenchester, three myles aboue Hereford, Aldborow, Ancaster, Brauoon, Dodington, Cirnechester, Winchester, Camalet, Lacock vpō Auon, Lincolne, Dorchester, Warwick, & Chester, where they are often had in verye great abundaunce. It seemeth that Ancaster hath been a great thing, for many square & coloured pauemēts, vaults, and arches are yet found, & oft layde open by such as digge and plowe in the fieldes about the same, & amongst these, one Wrelby or Roseby, a plowmā, did ere vp not lōg since a stone lyke a trough couered wyth an other stone, wherein was great abundaunce of the aforesayde coynes: the lyke also was seene not yet fourtie yeare agone about Grantham: but in kyng Henryes the eyght hys dayes an husbandman had far better lucke at Harlestone, two miles from the aforesaid place, where he founde not only great store of this coyne, but also an huge brasse pot, and therein a large helmet of pure golde, rychely fretted wyth pearle, & set with all kindes of costly stones: he toke vppe also cheaines much lyke vnto beades of siluer, all which, as being (if a man might gesse any certaintie by their beautie) not likely to be long hidden, he presented to Quéene Catherine then lying at Peterborow, and therewithall a fewe auncient rowles of Parchment written long agone, though so defaced with mouldinesse, and rotten for age, that no man coulde well holde them in hys hand without falling into péces, much lesse reade them by reason of their blindnesse. In the beginning of the same kinges dayes also at Killey a man found as he eared, an arming girdle, harnised wyth pure golde, & a great massy pomell with a crosse hilt for a swoorde of the same mettalle, beside studdes and harnesse for spurres, and the huge long spurres also of lyke stuffe, whereof doctor Kathall got part into his handes. The borowghes or buries whereof, I spake before, were certaine plots of ground, wherein the Romaine souldiours dyd vse to lye when they kept in the open fieldes as chosen places, from whence they might haue easie accesse vnto their aduersaries, yf any outrage were wrought or rebellion moued against them. And as these were the vsuall abodes for those able Legiōs that serued dayly in the warres, so had they other certaine habitations, for the olde and forworne souldiours, whereby diuers cities grewe in time to be replenished with Romaine colonie, as Cairleon, Colcester, Chester, and such other, of which Colcester bare the name of Colonia long tyme, and wherin A. Plautius builded a temple vnto the goddes of victorie (after the departure of Claudius) which Tacitus calleth Arcem sempiternæ dominationis, a perpetuall monument of that our Brittish seruitude. But to returne vnto our borowes they were generally walled about wyth stone walles, and so large in cōpasse that some dyd containe thirtie, fourtie, three score, or eyghtie Acres of grounde within their limites: they had also diuers gates or portes vnto eache of them, and of these not a fewe remayne to be séene in our time, as one for example not far from great Chesterforde in Essex, nere to the limites of Cambridgshire, which I haue often viewed, and wherein the compasse of the very wall wyth the places where the gates stoode is easie to be discerned: the lyke also is to be séene within two miles south of Burton, called the borow hilles. In these therefore and such lyke, is much of their coyne also to be founde, and some péces or other are dayly taken vppe, which they call borowe pence, dwarfes money, beggers pence, fairy groates, Jewes money, and by other foolishe names not worthie to be remembred. At the comming of the Saxons the Britons vsed these holdes as refuges for their cattell in the daye and night when their enemies were abroade, the lyke also dyd the Saxons against the Danes, by which occasions (and nowe and then by carying of their stones to helpe forwarde other buyldings néere at hand) many of them were throwne downe and defaced, which otherwyse myght haue continued for a longer time, and so your selues would say, yf you shoulde happen to perbse the thicknesse and maner of buylding of those walles & borowes. It is not long since a siluer saucer of verye auncient making, was founde nére to Saffron Walden, in the open field among the Sterthyry hilles, and eared vp by a plough, but of such massy greatnesse, that it weighed better then twentie ounces, as I haue heard reported, but yf I shoulde stand in these thinges vntill I had sayde all that might be spoken of them, both by experience and testimonie of Lelande in his Commentaries of Britayne, and the report of diuers yet liuing, I might make a greater chapter then woulde be either conuenient or profitable to the reader: wherefore these shall serue the turne for this time that I haue sayde alreadie

Steel armyen.

readie of antiquities founde within our Iſlande, eſpecially of coyne, whereof I pur-
poſed chiefely to treate.

Of the Maruelles of England. Cap. 18.

SUch as haue written of the wonders of our countrie in olde time, haue ſpoken no doubt of many things which deſerue no credite at all, and therefore in ſeeking thanckes of their poſteritie by their trauayle in thys behalfe, they haue reaped therewarde of iuſt reproch, and in ſtead of fame purchaſed vnto thẽſelues, nought elſe but mere diſcredit in theyr better Treatiſes. The lyke cõmõlye happeneth alſo to ſuch as in reſpect of lucre doe publiſhe vnprofitable and pernicious volumes, whereby they doe conſume theyr tymes in vayne, and in manifolde wyſe become preiudicial vnto their cõmon welthes: For my part therefore, hauing (I hope) the feare of God before my eyes, I purpoſe here to ſet downe no more, thẽ either I know my ſelfe to be true, or am credibly informed to be ſo, by ſuch godly men, as to whom nothing is more deare then to ſpeake the truth, & not any thing more odious then to defile themſelues by lying. In writing therefore of the
rs wonders of England, I finde that there are
r foure notable thinges, which for their rareneſſe amongſt the cõmon ſort, are takẽ for the foure myracles & wonders of the lande. The firſt of theſe, is a vehement & ſtrong wynde, which iſſueth out of certaine hilles called the Peke, ſo violent & ſtrong that certaine tymes if a man do caſt in his cote or cloake into the caue frõ whence it iſſueth, it driueth ẏ ſame backe againe hoyſing it aloft into the open ayre with great force and vehemencie. Of this alſo Giraldus ſpeaketh. The ſeconde is the myraculous ſtanding or rather hanging of certaine ſtones vpon the playne of Salſbury, wherof the place is called Stonehẽge, and to ſay the truth, they may well be wondered at, not onely for the maner of poſition, whereby they become very difficult to be nũbered, but alſo for their greatneſſe & ſtrong maner of lying of ſome of them one vpon an other, which ſeemeth to be with ſo tickle holde that fewe men go vnder them without feare of their preſent ruyne. Howe and when theſe ſtones were brought thyther, as yet I can not reade, howbeit it is moſt likely that they were rayſed there by the Brytons after the ſlaughter of their nobilitie at the deadly banket, which Hengeſt and his Saxons prouided for them, where they were alſo buried and Wortigerne, their king apprehended & ledde away as captiue: I haue heard that the like are to be ſeene in Irelande, but how true it is as yet I can not learne: the report goeth alſo that theſe were brought from thence but by what ſhippe on the ſea and cariage by land, I thinke fewe men can imagine. The third is an ample and large hole vnder the ground, which ſome call Carrer Eole, but in Engliſh Chedderhole: whereinto many men haue entred and walked very farre, howbeit, as the paſſage is large and nothing noyſome, ſo diuers that haue aduentured to go vnto ẏ ſame coulde neuer as yet finde the end of that way, neyther ſee any other thing then prettie riuerettes and ſtreames, which they often croſſed as they went from place to place: Thys Chedderhole or Cheder rocke, is in Somerſethyre, and thence the ſayde waters runne till they mẽte with the ſeconde aye that riſeth in Dwky hole. The fourth is no leſſe notable then any of the other, for weſt warde vpon certaine hils a man ſhall ſee the clowdes of raine gather togither in faire weather vnto a certaine thickeneſſe, & by & by to ſpreade themſelues abroade, and water their fieldes about them, as it were vpon the ſodaine, the cauſes of which diſperſion, as they are vtterly vnknowne, ſo many men coniecture great ſtore of water to be in thoſe hilles, and very nere at hand, if it were needeful to be ſought for. Beſide theſe foure maruelles there is a litle rocky Iſle in Aber barry (a riueret that falleth into the Sauerne ſea) called Barry, which hath a rift or clift next the firſt ſhore, whereunto if a man doe lay his eare, he ſhall heare ſuch noyſes as are commonly made in ſmithes forges by clincking of yron barres, beating with hammers, blowing of bellowes, and ſuch like, whereof the ſuperſtitious ſorte doe gather many toyes, as the gentiles dyd in olde tyme of their lame God Vulcanes potte. The riuer that runneth by Cheſter chaungeth hir chanel euery moneth, the cauſe whereof as yet I cannot learne, neyther doth ſwell by force of any lande ſoude, but by ſome vehement winde, it oft ouerrũneth hir banckes. In Snowdony are two lakes, whereof one beareth a moueable Iſlande, which is caryed to & fro as the winde bloweth, the other hath three kindes of fiſhes in it, as eeles, trowtes, & perches, but herein reſteth the wonder, that all theſe haue but one eye a peece onely, and the ſame ſcituate in the right ſide of their heades, & this I find to be confirmed by authours. There is a Well in the forreſt of Guareſborow, whereof the ſayd forreſt doth take the name, which in a certaine periode of time knowne, cõuerteth wood, fleſh, leaues of trees, and moſſe into harde ſtone, without alteratiõ or chaung-

ing

ing of shape. The lyke also is seene there in frogges, wormes, and such lyke lyuing creatures as fall into the same, & find no ready issue. Of this spring also before mentioned this a litle aboue Marche, but at the farder bank of Rode ryuer as I came, I sawe a Well of wonderfull nature, called Dropping well, because the water thereof distilleth out of great rockes harde by vntoo continually, which is so colde, and thereto of such nature, that what thing soeuer falleth out of ỹ rocks into this pit, or groweth neere thereto, or be cast into it by mans hande, it turneth into stone. I may be saith he, that some sand or other fine ground issueth out wt this water, from these harde rockes, which cleauing vnto those thynges, petreth them in tyme the fourme of stone &c. In parte of the hylles east southeast of Alderly, a myle fro Kingeswode, are stones daily founde, perfitly fashioned like cockles, and mighty Oysters, which some deame to haue lyen there since ỹ floud. In the cliftes betweene the blacke heade and Trewardeth bate in Cornwal, is a certeine caue, where thinges appeare lyke ymages gilded, on the sides of the same, which I take to be nothing else but the shining of ỹ bright Ore of copper & ther mettals, redy at hād to be foūd ther, if any diligēce were vsed. Howbeit because it is marueled at as a rare thing I do not think it conuenient to be placed amōgst our wonders. M. Guise had of late and stil hath for ought ỹ I knowe, a maner in Glocester shyre, where certeine okes doe growe, whose rootes are verye hardē stone. And beside thys the grounde is so fertyll there as they saye, that if a man hewe a stake of anye woode, and pitche it into the grounde, it will growe and take rooting beyond all expectation. Is it any wonder think you to tel of sundrye caues neere vnto Bromwham, on the west side of the ryuer Aymote, wherein are halles, chambers, and al offices of houshold, cut out of the harde rocke. If it be, then maye we increase the number of marueyles very much by the rehearsall of other also, for wee haue many of ỹ like, nere as of to S. Asaphes, vpō the bank of Elwy, and about the head of Uendraeth vehan in Wales, whereinto men haue often entered and walked, & yet founde nothing but large rowmes, & sandy ground vnder their feete, and other elsewhere. But sith these thinges are not strange, I let them alone, and go forward with the rest.

In the paryshe of Landsarnam in wales, and in the side of a stony hil, is a place wherin are foure and twentye seates, hewen out of the harde rockes, but who did cut them, & to what ende, as yet it is not learned. As for the huge stone that lyeth at Pember, in Cuthery parish, and of the notable cachas that is affirmed to lye vnder the same, there is no cause to touch it here, yet were it well done to haue it regarded though it were but onely to see what it is, which the people haue in so great estimation & reuerence. There is also a pole in Logh Taw, among ỹ blacke mountaines in Breknocke shyre, (where as some saye, is the head of Taw that commeth to Swansey) which hath such a property that it will breede no fishe at all, and if any be cast into it, they dye without recouery. There is also a Lake in Wales, which in the one side beareth trowtes so redde as Salmons, and on the other which is the west lyke side, very white and delicate.

Where is a Well not farre from Stonye Stratford, which conuerteth many things into the stone, and another in Wales, which is sayde to double or trible, the force of any edge tole that is quenched in the same. In Megenia a parcell of Wales, there is a noble Well, I meane in the paryshe of Kilken, which is of marueilous nature, for although it be fiue myles from the Sea, it ebbeth and floweth, twise in one daye, alwayes ebbyng when the sea doth vse to flowe, & in flowing likewise when the sea doth vse ebbe, whereof some doe fable, that this Well is lady & mystresse of the Deeane. Not far from thence also is a medicinable spring, called Schynaun of olde time, but nowe Wenefrides Well, in the edges whereof doth breede a very odoriferous and delectable mosse, wherewith the heade of the smeller is marueyloullye refreshed. Other Welles we haue lykewise, which at some times burst out into huge streames, though at other seasons they run but very softly, whereby the people gather some alteratiō of estate to be at hand. Some of the greater sort also giue ouer to runne at all in such times, whereof they conceyue the like opinion. What the folish people dreame of the hell Kettles, it is not worthy the rehersall, yet to the ende the lewde opinion conceyued of them, maye growe into contempt, I will say thus much also of those pits. There are certeine pittes or rather three litle poles, a myle from Darlington, and a quarter of a myle distant from the These bankes, which ỹ people call the Kettes of hell, or the deuils Ketteles, as if he shoulde seethe soules of sinfull men and women in them: they adde also that the spirites haue oft beene harde to crye and yell about them, wyth other like talke sauouring altogether of pagane infidelitye. The truth is (& of this opiniō also was Cuthbert Tunstall Bysshop of Durham) that the

Colemines,

Colemines, in those places are kindled or if there be no coles, there may a mine of some other vnctuous matter be set on fire, which beyng here and there consumed, the earth falleth in, and so doth leaue a pitte. In deede the water is nowe and then warme as they saye, and beside that it is not cleere, the people suppose them to be an hundred faddame deepe, the byggest of them also hath an issue into the These. But ynough of these wonders least I doe seeme to be touched in thys description, & thus much of the hel Kettles.

There is a Well in Darby shyre, called Tiddeswell, whose water often seemeth to ryse and fall, as the Sea which is foure mile from it: doth vsually accustome to ebbe and flowe, and hereof an opinion is growen, that it keepeth an ordinary course, as the sea doth, howbeit sith dyuers are knowne to haue watched the same, it may be ỳ at sometimes it ryseth but not continually, and that it so doth I am fullye perswaded to beleeue. But ynough of the wonders lest I do seeme by talking longer of them, wonderouslye to ouershote my selfe, and forget howe much doth rest behynde of the dyscription of my countrey.

¶ The thirde Booke of the historicall description of Brytaine, conteyning these chapters insuing.

1. Of the foode and dyet of thenglish.
2. Of their apparrell and attyre.
3. Of the Lawes of Englande, sithens hir first inhabitation.
4. Of degrees of people in the common wealth of Englande.
5. Of prouision made for the poore.
6. Of sundry kindes of punishment, prouided for offenders.
7. Of Sauage beastes and Vermines.
8. Of Cattell kept for profite.
9. Of wylde and tame Foules.
10. Of fishe vsually taken vpon our coastes.
11. Of Hawkes and rauenous Foules.
12. Of venimous Beastes.
13. Of Englishe Dogges.
14. Of Englishe Saffron.
15. Of quarries of Stone for buylding.
16. Of sundry Mineralles.
17. Of Salt made in Englande.
18. Of Mettalles.
19. Of precious Stones.
20. Of the Coynes of Englande.
21. Of our accompt of time, and hir parts.
22. Of our maner of measuring, the length and bredth of thinges.
23. Of Englishe weightes.
24. Of liquide measures.
25. Of drie measures.
26. Of thorowfares.

¶ Of the foode and diet of the Englishe. Cap. 1.

The situation of our region, lying neere vnto the nozth, doth cause the heate of our stomaches somewhat to increase, and become of greater force, wherefore our bodies doe craue somewhat more ample nourishment, then the inhabitantes of the hotter regions are accustomed withall: whose dygestyue force is not altogither so behement, because their internall heate is not so strong as ours, which is kept in by the coldnesse of the ayre, that from time to tyme especially in winter doth enuiron our bodies.

It is no marueyle therfore that our tables are oftētimes more plētifully garnished thē those of other nations, & this trade hath continued with vs euen sithence the very beginning, for before the Romaines founde out & knewe the waye vnto our country, our predecessours fedde largely vpon flesh & milke, whereof there was great abundance in thys Ile, because they applyed their chief studies vnto pasturage and feeding. After this maner also did our Welch Brytons order thēselues in their dyet so long as they liued of themselues, but after they became to be vnited & made equal with the Englishe, they framed their appetites to liue after our maner, so that at thys day there is very litle difference betweene vs in our dyets. In olde time the nozth Brytons did giue themselues generally to great abstinence, and in tyme of warres their souldiours would often feede but once or twice at the most in two or three dayes, especially if they helde themselues in secrete, or couloe haue no issue out of their Bogges and maryses, thozowe the presence of the enimie. In this penurye also they vsed to creepe into the water or mozish plots vp vnto the chinnes, and there remaine a long tyme, only to qualify the heates of their stomackes by violence, which otherwyse would haue wrought and beene readye to oppresse them for hunger and want of sustinance. In those daies likewise it was taken for a great offence amongst them, to eate eyther goose, hare, or henne, because of a certaine superstitious opinion which they had conceyued of those three creatures, howbeit after that the Romaynes had once founde an entrannce into this Iland, it was not long ere open shipwracke

wracke was made of this religious obseruation, so that in proceſſe of time, ſo well the Britons as ẏ Romaines, gaue ouer to make anye ſuch difference in meates, as they had done before time.

From thencefoorth alſo vnto our dayes, & euen in this ſeaſon wherein we liue, there is no reſtraint of any meate, eyther for religions ſake, or publike order, but it is lawfull for euery man to fede vpon whatſoeuer he is able to purchaſe, except it be vpon thoſe dayes whereon eating of fleſhe is eſpecially forbidden, by the lawes of the realme, which order is taken only to the ende our numbers of cattell maye be the better increaſed, and that abundaunce of fiſhe which the ſea yeldeth, more generally receyued. Beſide this there is great conſideration had in making of this lawe for the preſeruatiõ of the nauy, & maintenaunce of conuenient numbers of ſea faryng men, both which woulde otherwyſe greatlye decaye, if ſome meanes were not found, wherby they might be increaſed. But howſoeuer this caſe ſtandeth, white meates, as milk, butter & cheeſe, which were wont to be accoũted of as one of the chiefe ſtayes throwout the Iſland, are now reputed as fode appertinent only to the inferiour ſort, whyleſt ſuch as are more wealthie, doe fede vpon the fleſhe of all kindes of cattell accuſtomed to be eaten, all ſortes of fiſhe taken vpõ our coaſtes and in our freſhe ryuers, & ſuch diuerſitie of wilde and tame foules as are eyther bredde in our Iſlande or brought ouer vnto vs from other countries of the maine.

In number of diſhes and change of meate, the nobilitie of Englande doe moſt exceede, ſith there is no daye in maner that paſſeth ouer their heades, wherein they haue not onely beefe, mutton, veale, lambe, kidde, porke, conie, capon, pigge, or ſo many of theſe as the ſeaſon yeldeth: but alſo ſome portiõ of the redde or fallow deere, beſide great varietie of fiſhe and wildefowle, and thereto ſundrie other delicates wherin the ſweet hande of the Portingale is not wãting: ſo that for a man to dine with one of them, and to taſt of euery diſhe that ſtandeth before him (which fewe vſe to doe, but to fede vppon that him beſt liketh for the time) is rather to yelde vnto a conſpiracie with a great deale of meate for the ſpedie ſuppreſſion of naturall health, thẽ to ſatiſfie himſelfe with a competent repaſt, to ſuſtayne his lyfe withall. But as thys large feeding is not ſeene in their geſtes, no more is it in their owne perſons, for ſith they haue dayly much reſort vnto their tables, (& many tymes vnlooked for) and thereto retayne great numbers of ſeruaunts, it is very requiſite for them to be ſomewhat plentifull in this behalfe. The chiefe part lykewyſe of their dayly prouiſiõ is brought in before thẽ, & placed on their tables, whereof when they haue takẽ what it pleaſeth thẽ, the reſt is reſerued & afterward ſent downe, to their ſeruing men & waiters, who fed thereon in lyke ſort with conuenient moderatiõ, their reuerſion alſo being beſtowed vpõ the poore, which lye ready at their gates in great numbers to receyue the ſame. This is ſpokẽ of the chiefe tables whereat the nobleman, his ladie and gueſtes are accuſtomed to ſit, beſide which they haue a certayne ordinarie allowaunce dayly appointed for their halles, where the chiefe officers, and houſholde ſeruaunts, (for all are not permitted to waite vppon theyr maiſter) & with them ſuch inferiour gueſtes do fede as are not of calling to aſſociate the noble mã himſelf: ſo that beſides thoſe afore mencioned which are called to the principall table, there are commonly fourtie or three ſcore perſons fed in thoſe halles to the great reliefe of ſuch ſtrãgers, as oft be partakers thereof. As for drincke it is not vſually ſet on the table in pottes or cruſes, but each one calleth for a cup of ſuch as he liſteth to haue, or as neceſſitie vrgeth him: ſo ẏ whẽ he hath taſted of it he deliuereth the cuppe againe to ſome one of the ſtanders by, who making it cleane, reſorteth it to the cubborne frõ whẽce he fetched the ſame. By this occaſion much pole tippling is furthermore cut of, for whereas if the full pottes ſhoulde continually ſtande nere the trencher, diuers woulde alwayes be dealing with them, whereas now they drincke ſeldome only to auoide the note of great drinkers, or often troubling of ẏ ſeruitours. Neuertheleſſe in the noble mẽs halles, this order is not vſed, neyther in any mans houſe commonly vnder the degree of a knight or Squire of great reuenues. The gentlemen and marchant kepe much about one rate, and eache of them contenteth himſelfe with foure, or fiue or ſixe diſhes, when they haue but ſmall reſorte, or peraduenture with one or two, or three at the moſt, when they haue no ſtraungers to accompanie them at their owne table. And yet their ſeruauntes haue their ordinarye dyet aſſigned, beſide ſuch as is left at their maſters boordes, and not appointed to be brought thither the ſeconde time, which is often ſeene generally in veniſon, or ſome eſpeciall diſhe, whereon the Marchaunte man himſelfe lyketh to fede whẽ it is colde, or peraduenture is better ſo then yf it were warme or hote. To be ſhort, at ſuch time as the marchauntes doe make their ordinarie or voluntarie feaſts, it

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is a woꝛlde to sée what great pꝛouision is made of all maner of delicate meates, from euery quarter of the country, wherein beside that they are oftẽ comparable herein to the nobilitie of the lande, they will seldome regarde any thing that the butcher vsually killeth, but reiect the same as not woꝛthie to come in place. In such cases also geliffes, conserues, suckettes, codinacs, marmilates, marchepaine, sugred bꝛead, gingerbꝛeade, flozentines, wildfowle, venison of all soꝛtes, & outlandish confectiõs do generally beare ỹ sway, with other infinite deuises of our owne not possible foꝛ me to remember. But amõg all these, the kinde of meate which is obtayned with most difficultie is commonly taken foꝛ the most delicate, & therupon eache guest will soneste desire to fæde. And as all estates doe excéede herein, (I meane foꝛ number of costly dishes) so these foꝛget not to vse ỹ like excesse in wine, insomuch as there is no kind to be had (neither any where moze stoze of al soꝛtes then in Englãd) wherof at such great mẽtinges there is not some poꝛtion pꝛouided. Furthermoze when these haue had their course which nature yeldeth, sundꝛy soꝛtes of artificial stuffe, must in like maner succéede in their turnes, besíde Ale & bére which neuertheless beare the greatest bꝛunt in dꝛinking, and are of so many soꝛtes & ages as it pleaseth the Bꝛuer to make them. The bere that is vsed at noble mens tables is commõlye of a yéare olde, (oꝛ peraduenture of two yeres tunning oꝛ moze, but this is not generall) it is also bꝛued in Marche & therefoze called Marche bere, but foꝛ the housholde it is vsually not vnder a monethes age, eache one couetíng to haue ỹ same stale as he may so that it be not soure, and his bꝛeade new as is possible, so that it be not hote. The artificer, and husbandman, make greatest accompt of such meate, as they maye soneste come by and haue it quicklyest readie: their fode also consisteth pꝛincipally in Béefe and such meate as the Butcher selleth, that is to say Mutton, Veale, Lamb, Poꝛke. &c. wherof the Artificer findeth great stoze in the markets adioyning, beside Souse, Bꝛawne, Bacon, Fruite, Pyes of fruite, Foules of sundꝛie soꝛtes, Chéese, Butter, Egges. &c. as the other wãteth it not at home, by his owne pꝛouision, which is at the best hande, & commonly least charge. In feasting also this latter soꝛt doe excéede after their maner: especially at Bꝛydales, purifications of women, and such like odde mẽtinges, where it is incredible to tell what meate is consumed and spent, eache one bꝛinging such a dishe, oꝛ so many, as hys wyfe and he doe consult vpon, but alwayes with this consideration that the lésser friende, shall haue the best intertainement. This also is commonly séene at these bankets, that the goodman of the house is not charged with any thing sauing bꝛead, dꝛinke, house rowme and fire. But the artificers in cities and good townes doe deale farre otherwyse, foꝛ albeit that some of them doe suffer their iawes to go oft befoꝛe their clawes, & diuers of thẽ by making good cheare do hinder themselues and other men, yet the wiser soꝛt can handle the matter well ynough in these Junkettinges, and therefoze their frugalitie deserueth commendation. To conclude both the artícer and the husbandman, are sufficiently liberall, and very friendly at their tables, and when they mẽte, they are so merie without malice, and plaine without inwarde craft & subtilty that it woulde doe a man good to be in companie among them. Herein onely are the inferiour soꝛt to be blamed, that being thus assembled their talke is now and then such as sauoureth of scurrilitie and ribaldꝛye a thing naturallye incident to carters, & clownes, who thincke themselues not to be merie and welcome, yf their folish vaines in this behalfe be neuer so little restrayned. This is mozeouer to be added in these assembles, that if they happen to stumble vpon a péece of venison and a cup of wine oꝛ very strong bére oꝛ ale, which latter they commonly pꝛouide agaynst their appoynted dayes, they thincke their cheare so great, and themselues to haue fared so well, as the Lozde Mayoꝛ of London, with whome when their bellies be full they will often make comparison. I might here talke somewhat of the great silence that is vsed at the tables of the honozable & wyser soꝛt, generally ouer all ỹ realme, likewyse of the moderate eating and dꝛincking that is dayly séene, and finally of the regard that eache one hath to kéepe himselfe from the note of surfetting and dꝛunkennesse, (foꝛ which cause salt meate except béefe, bacon, and poꝛke are not any white estéemed, and yet these thꝛée may not be much powdered) but as in rehearsall thereof I should commende the noble man, marchant, and frugall artificer, so I coulde not cleare the meaner soꝛt of husbandmen, and country inhabitaunts of very much babbling (except it be here and there some odde man) & nowe & then surfeting and dꝛunkennesse, which they rather fall into foꝛ want of héede taking, thẽ wilfully following oꝛ delighting in those errours of set minde and purpose. The bꝛeade thoꝛowout the lande is made of such graine as the soyle yeldeth, neuertheless the gentilitie commõly pꝛouide themselues sufficient-

I haue dined so well as my Lozde Mayoꝛ.

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ly of wheate for their owne tables, whylest their houshold and poore neighbours are inforced to content themselues with Rye, or Barley, yea & in tyme of dearth with breade made eyther of beanes, pease, or Otes, or of al togither, of which scourge the poorest do soonest tast, sith they are least able to prouide themselues of better. I will not say that this extremitie is oft so well to be seen in tyme of plentie, as of dearth but if I should I could easily bring my triall: for albeit that there be much more grounde eared nowe almost in euerye place, then hath béene of late yeares, yet such a price of corne continueth in eache towne and market wythout any iust cause, that the artificer and poore labouring man, is not able to reach vnto it, but is driuen to cõtent hymselfe with horsecorne, I meane, beanes, pease, otes, tares, and lintelles: and therefore it is a true prouerbe, and neuer so well verified as now, that hunger setteth his first foote into the horse manger. If the world last a while after this rate, wheate and rye will be no graine for poore men to fede on, & some catterpillers there are that can saye so much already. Of breade made of wheat we haue sundry sortes, daily brought to the table, whereof the first and most excellent is the manchet, which we commonlye call white breade, in latin primarius panis, whereof Budeus also speaketh, in his first booke de asse. The second is the cheate, or wheaton bread, so named because the colour thereof resembleth the graie wheat, and out of this is the coursest of the brennes (vsually called gurgeons or pollarde) taken. The raueled is a kinde of chete breade also, but it retayneth more of the grosse, and lesse of the pure substance of the wheate: and this beyng more sleightly wrought vp, is vsed in the houses of the nobilitie, and gentry onely, whereas the other is baked in cities and good townes of an appointed size (according to such price as the corne doth beare) by a statute prouided in that behalfe. The next sort is named browne breade of the colour, of which we haue two sortes, one baked vp as it commeth from the mille, so that neyther the brennes nor the floure, are any whit diminished, thys Celsus called Autopirus panis. lib. 2. and putteth it in the seconde place of nourishment. The other hath little or no floure left therein at al, howbeit he calleth it panem Cibarium, and it is not onely the worst and weakest of all the other sortes, but also appointed in olde tyme for seruants, and the inferiour kinde of people. Hereunto likewise because it is dry and brickle in the working (for it will hardely be made vp handsomely into loues) some adde a portion of rye meale, wherby the rough drynesse or drie roughnesse thereof is somewhat qualified, and then it is named misselen, that is, bread made of mingled corne, albeit that diuers doe mingle wheate and rye of purpose at the mille, & sell the same at the markettes vnder the aforesayde name.

A famine at hand is first séene in ỹ horse maunger, when the poore doe fall to horsecorne

Primarius panis.

The size of breade is very ill kept or not at all lo=ked vnto in the cõtrey townes & markets.

Panis Cibarius.

In champeigne countryes much rye and barly breade it eaten, but especiallye where wheate is scant and geson. As for the difference that is betwéene the summer & winter wheate, most husbandmen knowe it not, sith they are neyther acquainted with summer wheat, nor winter barley: yet here and there I finde of both sortes, but in so small quantities, as that I dare not pronounce them to be any thing common among vs.

Somm wheat Winte Barle very r in En

Our drinke whose force and continuance is partly touched already, is made of barley, water, and hoppes, sodden and mingled togither, by the industry of our bruers, in a certaine exact proportion. But before our barley doe come vnto their handes, it sustaineth great alteration, and is conuerted into mault, ỹ making wherof, I will her set down in such order, as my skill therein may extend vnto, (for I am scarse a good maultster) chiefly for that forreine writers haue attẽpted to describe the same, & the making of our bére, wherein they haue shot so farre wyde as the quantity of ground was betwéene thẽselues and their marke. In the meane tyme beare with me gentle reader, (I beséech thée) that leade thee from the description of the plentyfull diet of our countrey, vnto the fonde reporte of a seruyle trade, or rather from a table delicately furnished, into a muskye mault house, but such is now thy hap, wherefore I praye thée be contented.

Drink

Mau

Our Mault is made of the best Barley, which is steéped in a cysterne, in greater or lesse quantitye, by the space of three dayes, and three nyghtes, vntyll it be thorowelye soked. This beyng done the water is drayned from it by lyttle and lyttle, tyll it bée quite gone. Afterwarde they take it out, and laying it vpon the cleane floure on a rounde heape, it resteth so vntill it be ready to shote at the rote ende, which maltsters call comming. When it beginneth therefore to shote in thys maner, they saye it is come, and then forthwith they spreade it abroade, first thick and afterwarde thinner and thinner vppon the sayde flower (as it commeth) and there it lyeth (with turning euery daye foure or fiue times) by the space of one and twenty daies at the least, the worke man not suffring it in any wise to take any heate, whereby the bud ende shoulde spire, that bringeth forth the blade,

Mau of m

blade, and by which ouerſight the maulte woulde be ſpoyled, and come to ſmall cõmoditie. When it hath gone or bëne turned ſo long vpon the floure, they carye it to a kyll couered wyth heire cloth, where they gyue it gentle heates (after they haue ſpʒede it there very thinne abʒoad) till it be dʒye, and in the meane while they turne it often, that it may be vnifoʒmly dʒied. For the moʒe it be dʒyed the better the mault is, and the longer it will continue, whereas if it be not dʒyed downe (as they call it) but ſlackely handled, it wyll bʒeed a kind of woʒme, called a wiuel, which groweth in the flowʒe of the coʒne, and in pʒoceſſe of time, will ſo eate out it ſelfe, that nothing ſhal remaine of the graine but euen the rinde or huſke. The beſt mault is tryed by the hardneſſe & colour, for if it will write lyke a pëce of chalke, after you haue bytten a kyrnell in ſunder in the middeſt, then you may aſſure your ſelf ỳ it is dʒyed downe. In ſome places it is dʒyed with wode alone, or ſtrawe alone, in other with wode and ſtraw togither, but of all the ſtrawe dʒyed is the moſt excellent. For the wode dʒyed mault when it is bʒued, beſide that it is higher of collour, it doth hurt and annoye the heade of him that is not vſed thereto becauſe of the ſmoke. Such alſo as vſe both indifferẽtly do cleaue and dʒye theyr wode, to remoue all moyſture that ſhoulde pʒocure the ſmoke, & thys mault is in the ſeconde place, and with the ſame likewiſe, that which is made wyth dʒyed fyʒze, bʒome, &c. whereas if they alſo bë occuppyd grëne, they are in manner to pʒeiudiciall to the coʒne, as the moiſt wode. And thus much of our Maultes in bʒuyng whereof they grynde the ſame ſomewhat groſelye, and in ſëthyng well the liquour that ſhall bë put vnto it, they adde to euerye nine quarters of mault one of headecoʒne, which cõſiſteth of ſundʒy graine, as wheate, Otes, Peaſon, &c. They ſëth theyr woʒt alſo twiſe, that is once befoʒe they maſhe, or mixe it with the mault, and once after after, adding furthermoʒe vnto this later ſëthing, a certeine number of engliſhe hops, (for the outlandiſh are founde nowe to be the woʒſt) accoʒding to whoſe quantitie, the continuaunce of the dʒinke is determined. For it fëdeth vpon the hoppe, and laſteth ſo long as the foʒce of the ſame continueth, which being extinguiſhed the dʒinke dyeth, and becõmeth of no value. In this trade alſo our bʒuers obſerue very diligently the nature of the water which they daily occuppye, for all waters are not of lyke goodneſſe in thys buſyneſſe, wherefoʒe the diligent woʒkeman doth redëme the iniquity of that element, by changing of his pʒopoʒtions, which trouble in ale (ſometime our onelye, but nowe taken with many only for olde & ſickmens dʒinke) is neuer ſëne noʒ harde of. Howbeit as the bëre well bʒued and ſtale, is clëre and well coloured as muſcadell or malueſey, ſo our ale which is not at all or verye little ſodden, and without hoppes, is moʒe thicke, fulſome and of no ſuch continuance, which are thrë ontable thynges, to bë conſidered in that liquoʒ, but what for that. Certes I knowe ſome ale knightes ſo much addicted therevnto, that they will not ceaſe from moʒow vntyll euen, to viſite theſame, clenſing houſe after houſe, till they defile themſelues. Such ſleights alſo haue the alewiues for the vtterraunce of this dʒinke, that they wyll mixe it with roſen and ſalt, but if you heate a knyfe redde hotte, and quench it in the ale, ſo nëre the bottome of the pot as you can put it, you ſhal ſëe the roſe hanging on the knife. As for the foʒce of ſalt, it is well knowne by the effecte, for the moʒe the dʒinker tipleth ỳ moʒe he may, and ſo doth hë cary a dʒy dʒunken ſoule to bed with him, except his lucke be the better, but to my purpoſe. In ſome places of england, there is a kind of dʒink, made of apples, which they call cidar or pomage, but ỳ of peares is named pirry. Certs theſe 2. are very common in Kent, Woʒceſter, & other ſtëdes, where theſe kindes of fruites doe abounde, howbeit they are not theyr oneiye dʒyncke, at all tymes, but referred vnto the delicate ſoʒtes of dʒinke, as Metheglin is in Wales, wherof the welchmen make no leſſe accompt, then the Grëkes did of theyr Ambroſia, or Nectar, which for the pleaſantneſſe thereof, was ſuppoſed to bë ſuch as the goddeſſe themſelues did vſe. There is a kind of ſwith ſwath made alſo in Eſſex, and dyuers other places, wyth Hony and water, which the countrey wiues putting ſome pepper & a little other ſpice among, call meade, verye good in myne opinion for ſuch as loue to bë loſſe bodied, otherwiſe it differeth ſo much from the true Metheglin, as chalke doth from chëſe. Truely it is nothing elſe but the waſhing of the combes, whë the hony is wʒong out, and one of the beſt things that I knowe belonging thereto is, ỳ they ſpend but little labour and leſſe coſt in making of the ſame, and therefoʒe no great loſſe if it were neuer occuppyd.

Cidar. Perry. Metheglin. Meade.

Hetherto of the dyet of my Countreymenne, and ſome what moʒe at large peraduenture then manye menne will like of, wherefoʒe I thinke good nowe to fynyſhe thys chapter, and ſo will I when I haue added a few other thinges incident vnto that

which

which goeth before, whereby the whole proceſſe of the ſame ſhall fully be deliuered, and my promiſe to my friend in this behalfe performed. Heretofore there hath bene much more tyme ſpent in eating and drincking the commonly is in theſe dayes, for whereas of olde we had breakfaſtes in the forenoone, beuerages, or nuntions after dinner, & therto rere ſuppers generally when it was tyme to go to reſt (a toy brought in by hard Canutus) nowe theſe odde repaſtes thancked be God are verye well left, and eache one in maner (except here and there some young hungry ſtomache that cannot faſt till dinner tyme,) contenteth himſelfe with dinner and ſupper onely. The Normans miſlyking the gurmandize of Canutus, ordayned after their arriualle, that no table ſhoulde be couered aboue once in the day, which Huntingdon imputeth to their auarice: but in the ende either wery of their owne frugalitie, or ſuffering the cockle of olde cuſtome to ouergrowe the good corne of their newe conſtitution, they fell to ſuch libertie, that in often feeding they ſurmounted Canutus ſurnamed the hardy. For whereas he couered his table, but three or foure times in the day, they ſpred their clothes fiue or ſixe tymes, and in ſuch wiſe as I before rehearſed. They brought in alſo the cuſtome of long and ſtately ſitting at meate, which is not yet left, although it be a great expence of tyme, and woorthye reprehenſion. For the nobilitie gentlemen & marchant men, eſpecially at great meetings doe ſit commonly till two or three of the clocke at afternoone, ſo that with many it is an hard matter, to ryſe from the table to go to euening prayer, & returne from thence to come tyme ynough to ſupper. For my part I am perſwaded that the purpoſe of the Normans at the firſt was to reduce the auncient Romaine order in feeding once in the day, and towarde the euening as I haue reade & noted. In deede the Romaines had ſuch a cuſtome, and lykewyſe the Gretians as maye appeare by the woordes of Socrates, who ſayd vnto ỹ Athenians Oriente ſole conſilium, occidente conuiuium eſt cogitandum. Plato called the Sicilians monſters in that they vſed to eate twiſe in the day: Among the Perſians onelye the king dined when the ſonne was at the higheſt, and ſhadowe of the ſtile at the ſhorteſt: the reaſt (as it is reported) went alwayes to meate as their ſtomackes craued it. Howbeit at the laſt they fell generally to allow of ſuppers toward the ſetting of the ſunne, bycauſe they woulde haue all their family to go to meate togither, & whervnto they woulde appoynt their gueſtes to come at a certayne length of the ſhadow, to be perceyued in their dialles. Their ſlaues in lyke ſort were glad, when it grewed to the tenth foote for then were they ſure ſone after to go to meate. In the ſcripture we read of many ſuppers and fewe dinners, only for that dining was not greatly vſed in Chriſts tyme, but taken as a thing lately ſprong vp, when pampering of the belly began to take holde, occaſioned by ydleneſſe and great abundaunce of riches. It is prettie to note in Iuuenall, how he taunteth Marius for that he gaue himſelf to drincking before the * ninth houre of the day, for thincking three houres to be to litle for the filling of his belly, he beganne commonly at eyght, which was an houre to ſone. Afterwards ſixe houres onely were appointed to woorke and conſult in, and the other ſixe of the day to fede & drincke in, as the Verſe ſayeth.

Sex horæ tanto rebus tribuantur agendus
viuere poſt illas littera zetha monet.

But how Martial deuided his day, and with him the whole troupe of the learned and wiſer ſort, theſe verſes following doe more euidently declare.

Prima ſalutantes, atque altera continet horas, Li. 8.
Exercet raucos tertia cauſidicos.
In quintam varios extendit Roma labores,
Sexta quies laſſis, Septima finis erit.
Sufficit in nonam nitidis octaua paleſtris,
Imperat extructos frangere nona thoros.
Hora libellorum decima eſt Eupheme meorũ,
Temperat Ambroſias, cum tua cura dapes.
Et bonus ethereo laxatur Nectare Cæſar,
Ingentique tenet pocula parca manu.
Tunc admitte iocos: greſſu timet ire licenti,
Ad matutinum noſtra Thaleia Iouem.

Thus we ſee how the auncient maner of the gentils was to fede but once in the day and that towarde night, till glotonie grewe on, and altered that good cuſtome. With vs the nobilitie, gentrie and ſtudents, doe ordinarily go to dinner at aleauen before none, and to ſupper at fiue, or betweene fiue and ſixe at afternoone. The marchaunts dine and ſuppe ſeldome before 12. at none, & ſixe at night eſpecially in London. The huſbandmen dine alſo at high none as they call it, & ſup at ſeauen or eyght: but out of the terme in our Vniuerſities the ſcholers dine at tenne. As for the pooreſt ſort they generally dine and ſup when they may ſo that to talke of their order of repaſt, it were but needeleſſe matter.

Leſſe time ſpent in eating thē heretofore.

Canutus a gloutton but the Normans at the laſt exceded him in that vice.

Long ſitting repreheded.

* That at the at afternoone.

Of our apparell and attire. Cap. 2.

A Nenglishman indeuouring ſometime to write of our attire, made ſundry platformes for his purpoſe, ſuppoſing by ſome of them

them to finde out one stedfast ground whereon to builde the summe of his discourse. But in the ende (like an oratour, long without exercise) when he saw what a difficult péece of worke he had taken in hande, he gaue ouer his trauelle, and onelye drue the picture of a naked man, vnto whome he gaue a paire of sheares in the one hande, and a péece of cloth in the other, to the ende he should shape his apparrell after such fashion as himselfe liked, sith he could finde no kind of garment that coulde please him any whyle togyther, and this he called an Englishman. Certes thys writer (otherwise being a learned and vngracious priest) shewed himselfe herein not to be voyde of iudgement, sith the phantasticall follye of our nation is such, that no forme of apparrell liketh vs longer then the first garment is in the wearing, if it continue so long and be not layde aside, to receyue some other trinket newly deuised by the sicle headded Taylours, who couet to haue seuerall trickes in cutting, thereby to draw fond customers to more expence of money. For my part I can tell better howe to inueigh against this enormitie, then describe our attire: sithens such is our mutabilitie, that to day there is none to the Spanishe guise, to morowe the French toyes are most fine and delectable, ere long no such apparell as that which is after the high Almaine fashion, by and by the Turkish maner is generally best liked of, otherwise the Persico gownes and the Barbarian sléeues make such a comelye vesture, that except it were a dog in a dublet, you shall not sée anye so disguised, as are my cõtrey men of england. And as these fashiõs are diuers, so likewise it is a worlde to se the costlinesse and the curiositie: the excesse and the vanitie: the pompe and the bravery: the chaunge and the variety: and finally the sicleneſse and the folly that is in all degrées: insomuch that nothing is more constant in england then inconstancie of attire. Neither cã we be more iustly burdened with any reproche, then inordinate behauiour in apparrell, for which most nations deride vs, as also for that we men doe séeme to bestowe most cost vpon our arses & much more then vpon all the rest of our bodies, as women do likewise vpon their heads and shoulders. In women also it is most to be lamented, that they doe now farre exceede the lightnesse of our men (who neuertheleſse are transformed from the cap euen to the very shoe) and such staring attire as in time past was supposed méete for none but light housewiues onely, is now become an habit for chast & sober matrones. What should I say of their dublets wyth pendaunt codpises on the breast full of iags and cuts, and sléeues of sundry colours, their galligascons, coloured nethersocks, and such lyke, whereby their bodies are rather deformed then commended. I haue met with some of them in London so but disguised, that it hath passed my skill to discerne whyther they were men or women. Thus it is now come to passe, that womẽ are become men, and men turned into monsters: & those good giftes which almightie God hath giuen vnto vs to relæue our necessitie withall, not otherwyse bestowed them in all excesse as if we will not otherwise howe to consume and waste them. I pray God that in this behalfe our sinne be not lyke vnto that of Sodoma and Gomorha, whose errors were pride, excesse of diet, & abuse of Gods benefits abundantly bestowed vpon them, besides want of charitie toward the poore, and certaine other pointes which ỹ Prophet shutteth vp in silence. Certes the commõ wealth can not be sayde to florishe where these abuses reigne, but is rather oppressed by vnreasonable exactions made vpõ farmers & tenants, wherwith to maintayne the same. Neither was it euer merye with Englande then when an Englishmã was knowne by his owne cloth, and contented himselfe with his fine carsie hosen, and a meane slop: his coate, gowne & cloake of browne blew or puke, with some prette furniture of velvet or furre, & a doublet of sadde Tawny, or blacke Velvet, or other comelye Sylke, without such gawrish coulours as are worne in these dayes, & neuer brought in but by the consent of ỹ french, who thincke thẽselues the gaiest men, when they haue most diuersitie, & chaunge of coulours about them. I might here name a sort of hewes deuised for the nones, wherewith to please fantasticall heades, as gooseturde greene, the Deuell in the heade, (I shoulde say the hedge) and such like, but I passe them ouer thincking it sufficient to haue sayd thus much of apparell generally, when nothing can particularly be spoken of any constancie thereof.

¶ Of the Lawes of England.

Cap. 3.

THat Samothes or Dis gaue the first Lawes vnto the Celtes (whose kingdome he erected about the fiftéene of Nymrote) the testimonye of Berosus, is prowe sufficient. For he not only affirmeth him to publish the same in the fourth of Ninus, but also addeth thereto, howe there lyued none in hys dayes of more excellent wisdome, nor polli-

Samothes.

Ezech. 16.

like inuention then he, whereof he was named Samothes, as some other doe affyrme.

Albion. What his lawes were it is now altogyther vnknowne, as most things of thys age, but that they were altered againe at the cõming of Albion, no mã cã absolutly deny, sith new Lordes vse commonly to gyue newe lawes, and conquerours abolish such as were in vse before them.

Bzute. The lyke also maye be affirmed of our Bzute, notwythstanding that the certayne knowledge so well of the one as of the other is perished, & nothing worthy memory left of all theyr doyngs. Somewhat yet we haue of

Mulmutius Mulmutius, who not only, subdued such pzinces as reigned in this land, but also brought the Realme to good order, that long before had bene torne wyth ciuill discorde. But where his lawes are to be found, and which they be from othermens, no man lyuing in these dayes is able to determine.

The pzaise of Dunwallon. Certes there was neuer Pzince in Bzyteyne, of whome his subiectes conceyued better hope in the beginning, then of Bladudus, and yet I reade of none that made so ridiculous an ende: in lyke sorte there hath not reigned any Monarche in thys Ile, whose wayes were more feared at ẏ first, thẽ those of Dunwallon, (king Henry the fift excepted) & yet in the end he pzoued such a Pzynce, as after hys death, there was in maner no subiecte, that did not lament his funerralles. And this only for his pollicy in gouernance, seuere administration of iustice, and pzouident framing of his lawes, and constitutions. His people also coueting to continue his name vnto posterity, intituled those his ordinaunces according to theyr maker, callyng them by the name of the lawes of Mulmutius, which indured in execution among the Bzytons, so long as our homelynges had the dominiõ of this Ile. Afterward when the Saxons had once obteyned the superiozitie of the kingdome, the maiestie of these laws fell for a time into such decaye, that although non penitus cecidit, tamen potuit cecidisse videri, as Leland sayth, and the lawes themselues had vtterlye perished in deede at the very first bzunt had they not bene pzeserued in wales, where they remayned amongst the reliques of the Bzytons, and not onely vntil the comming of the Normans, but euen vntill the time of Edwarde the first, who obteyning the souereinty of that portion, indeuoured to extinguishe those of Mulmutius, and to establishe his owne.

But as the Saxõs at their first arriuall did what they coulde to abolishe the Bzyttishe lawes, so in pzocesse of time they yelded a little to relent and not so much to abhorre and mislike of the lawes of Mulmutius, as to receyue and embzace the same, especially at such time as the Saxon pzinces entered into amitie with the Bzittish Pzinces, and after that ioyne in matrimonie, with the Bzytishe Ladyes. Wherof also it came to passe in the ende, that they were contented to make a choise and insert no small numbers of them into their own volumes, as may be gathered by those of Atherbert ẏ great surnamed king of Kent, Inas & Alfrede, kinges of the west Saxons, and diuers other yet extant to be sene. Such also was the lateward estimation of them, that when anye of the Saxon Pzinces went aboute to make anye newe lawes, they caused those of Mulmutius which Gildas sometime translated into Latine, to be expounded vnto them, and in thys perusall if they founde anye there alreadye framed, that might serue their turnes, they forthwith reuiued the same, and annexed them to their owne. But in this dealing, the diligence of Alfrede is most of all to bee commended, who not onelye chose out the best, but gathered togither all such whatsoeuer the sayde Mulmutius had made: & then to the ende they shoulde lye no more in corners as forlorne bookes and vnknowne, he caused them to be turned into the Saxon tongue, wherein they continued long after hys decease. As for the Normans, who neither regarded the Bzittish, nor cared for the Saxon lawes, they also at the first vtterlye mislyked of the, till at the last when they had well weighed that one kinde of regiment is not cõuenient for al peoples, & that no stranger beyng in a forreine Countrey newely brought vnder obedience, coulde make such equall ordinaunces, as he might thereby gouerne his new cõmon wealth without some care of trouble: they fell in so wyth a desire to see by what rule the estate of the land was gouerned in time of the Saxons, that hauing perused the same, they not onely commended their maner of regiment, but also admitted a great part of their lawes, (nowe currant vnder the name of S. Edwardes lawes, and vsed as pzinciples and groundes) whereby they not onely qualified the rygor of theyr owne, and mittigated their almost intollerable burden of seruitude which they had lately layde vpon the shoulders of the English, but also left vs a great nvmber of Mulmutin lawes, wherof the most part are in vse to thys daye as I sayde, albeit that we knowe not certeinly howe to distinguish them from other, that are in strength amongst vs.

After Dunwallon, the next lawe gyuer

was

was Martia whome Lelande surnameth Proba, & after him John bale also, who in hys Centuries doth iustely confesse himselfe to haue bene holpen by the sayde Leland, as I my selfe doe likewise for many thinges conteined in thys treatize. She was wyfe vnto Gutteline king of ỹ Brytons: & being made protectrix of the realme, after hyr husbands decease in the nonage of hyr sonne, and seing many thinges daily to growe vp among hir people worthy reformation, she deuised sundry and those very politike lawes, for the gouernaunce of hyr kingdome, which hir subiectes when she was deade and gone, did name the Martian statutes. Who turned them into latine, as yet I doe not read, howbeit as I said before of the lawes of Mulmucius, so the same Alfrede caused those of thys excellently well learned Lady (whome diuers cõmende also for hir great knowledge, in the Greke tong) to be turned into hys owne language, whereupon it came to passe that they were dailye executed among hys subiectes, afterwarde allowed of (among the rest) by the Normans, and finally remaine in vse in these dayes, notwithstanding that we can not discreuer them very redily from the other.

The 7. alteratiõ of lawes was practised by the Saxons, for I ouerpasse the lawes made by the Romaines, whose order do partly remaine in publike notice, vnder ỹ names of the mercian, and the Saxon Lawe. Beside these also I reade of the Danelawe, so that the people of middle england, were ruled by the first, the west Saxons by the seconde, as Esser, Norffolke, Suffolke, Cambridgshire, and part of Herford shyre, were by the third, of al the rest the most inequal & intollerable. Among other things also vsed in the time of ỹ Saxons, it shal not be amysse to set downe the forme of their Ordalian law, which they brought hither with them from beyonde the Seas, and vsed onely in the tryall of giltye and vngiltinesse. Certes it conteyned not an ordinary procéding by dayes and termes, as in the Ciuile and common lawe we see practised in these dayes but a shorte dispatch and tryall of the matter, by fyre, or water, whereof at this present I will deliuer the circumstance, as I haue faithfully translated it out of an auncient volume, and conferred wyth a prynted coppie, lately published by W. Lambert, nowe ertaunt to be redde.

The Ordalian saith the aforesayd authour, was a certaine maner of purgation vsed two wayes, whereof the one was by fire, the other by water. In thexecution of that which was done by fire, the party accused shoulde go a certaine number of paces, with an hote péce of yron in his hande, or elles bare foted vpon certaine plough shares, redde hotte, according to the maner. This Iron was sometime of one pounde weight, and then was it called single Ordalium, sometimes of three, & then named treble, Ordalium, and whosoeuer did beare or treade on the same without hurt of his body, he was adiudged giltlesse, otherwyse if his skin were scorched, he was forthwith condemned as gylty of the trespasse whereof he was accused.

There were in lyke sorte two kinds of triall by ỹ water, that is to say, either by hote, or colde: & in this tryall the partye thought culpeable, was eyther tumbled into some pond, or huge vessell of colde water, wherein if he continued for a season, without wrestling or strugling for lyfe, he was forthwyth acquited as giltlesse of the facte whereof hée was accused: but if he beganne to plunge, & labor once for breath immediately vpon his falling into that lyquour, he was by and by condemned, as gilty of the crime. Or else he did thurst his arme vp to the shoulder into a leade, copper, or Caldron of sething water, from whence if he withdrewe the same without any maner of damage, he was discharged of farder molestation: otherwyse hée was taken for a trespasser, and punished accordingly. The fiery maner of purgation belonged onely to noble men and women, and such as were frée borne, but the husbandmen and villaines, were tryed by water, whereof to shewe the vnlearned dealing and bysnde ignorance of those times, it shall not bée impertiment to set forth the whole maner, which continued here in England vntill the time of King John, who seyng the manifold subtilties in the same, did extinguish it altogither as flat lewdenesse and bouerye. The Rubrik of ỹ treatize entereth thus. Here beginneth ỹ execution of Iustice, whereby the giltie or vngiltie are tried by hote Iron. The & followeth. After accusatiõ lawfully made, and three dayes spent in fasting and prayer, the Preist being cladde in all his holly vestures, sauing his vestiment, shall take the Iron layde before the alter with a payre of tongues, and singing the himme of the three children, that is to saye, O all yée workes of God the Lorde, and in latine Benedicite omnia ópera, &c. he shall cary it solemly to ỹ fire (already made for ỹ purpose) & first say these words ouer the place where ỹ fire is kindled wherby this purgation shall bée made in latin as insueth. Benedic domine deus locum, istum vt sit nobis in eo sanitas, sanctitas, castitas, virtꝰ et victoria, et sanctimonia, humilitas, bo-

nitas, lenitas, et plenitudo Legis, et obediētia deo patri et filio et spiritui sancto. Hec Benedictio, sit super hunc locum, et super omnes habitantes in eo, *in Englisshe*: **Blesse thou O Lorde this place that it may be to vs health holynesse, chastity, vertue, and victory, pureness, humilitie, goodnesse, gentlenesse, and fulnesse of the lawe, and obedience to God the father, the sonne, & the holy ghost. This blessing be vpon this place, and all that dwel in it.** *Then followeth the blessing of the fire.*

Domine deus, pater omnipotens lumen indeficiens, exaudi nos, quia tu es conditor, omnium luminum. Benedic domine hoc lumen, quod ante sanctificatum est, qui illuminasti omnē hominem, venientem in hunc mundū, (vel mundum) vt ab eo lumine accedamur igne claritatis tuæ, & sicut igne illuminasti, Mosen, ita nunc illumina corda nostra, et sensus nostros, vt ad vitam eternam, mereamur peruenire, per christum. &c. **Lorde God father almighty, light euerlasting, heare vs, for thy art the maker of all lyghtes. Blesse O Lorde this light, ỹ is already sanctified in thy sight, which hast lightned all men that come into the worlde, (or the whole worlde) to the ende that by the same lyght, we may be lightned wyth the shining of thy brightnesse. As thou diddest lighten Moyses, so nowe illuminate our hearts, and our senses, that we may deserue to come to euerlasting lyfe, thorowe Christ our &c.** *Thys beyng ended let him saye the* pater noster. &c. *then these wordes.* Saluum fac seruum &c. Mitte ei auxilium deus &c. De Sion tuere eum. &c. Dominus vobiscū. &c, *that is.* **O Lorde saue thy seruant, &c. Sende him helpe O God frō thy holy place defende him out of Syon. &c. Lorde here. &c. The Lorde be with you. &c.**

The prayer. Benedic domine sancte pater omnipotens deus, per inuocationem sanctissimi nominis tui, et per aduentum filij tui, atq; per donum spiritus paracleti, ad manifestādum verum iudicium tuum, hoc genus metalli, vt sit sanctificatum, et omni demonum falsitate procul remota, veritas veri iudicij tui fidelibus tuis manifesta fiat, per eundem dominum. &c. *in Englisshe.* **Blesse we beseech thee O Lorde, holy father, euerlasting God, thorowe the inuocation of thy most holy name, by the comming of thy sonne, and gyft of the holy ghost, and to the manifestation of thy true iudgement, this kinde of mettall, that being hallowed, and all fraudulent practises of the deuils vtterly removed, the manifest truth of thy true iudgement, maye be reuealed, by the same Lorde Jesus. &c.**

After this, let the yron be layde into the fyre, and sprinckled with holy water, and whilest it heateth, let the Priest go to masse, and doe as order requireth, and when he hath receiued the host, he shal call the man that is to be purged (as it is written hereafter) first adiuring him, and then permitting hym to communicate according to the maner.

The Office of the masse.

Iustus es domine, &c. **O Lorde thou art iust. &c.**

The Prayer.

ABsolue quesumus domine delicta famuli tui, vt a peccatorum suorum nexibus quæ pro sua fragilitate contraxit, tua benignitate liberetur, & in hoc iudicio quoad meruit iustitia tua præueniente, ad veritatis censuram peruenire mereatur. per Christum dominum. &c. *That is.* **Pardon wee beseech thee O Lorde, the sinnes of thy seruaunt, that being deliuered from the burden of his offences, wherewith he is intangled, he may be relieued by thy benignitie, and in thys hys tryal (so farre as he hath deserued, thy mercy preuenting him) he maye come to the knowledge of the truth, by christ our Lorde. &c.**

The Gospell. Mar. 10.

IN illo tēpore, cum egressus esset Iesus in via, procurrens quidā genu flexo ante eum, rogabat eum dicens, Magister bone, quid faciam vt vitam eternam percipiā. Iesus autem dixit ei, quid me dicis bonum? &c. **In those dayes when Jesus went forth towarde hys iourney, & one meeting in him the way running, & kneling vnto him, asked him saying. Good Maister what shal I doe that I may possesse eternall lyfe. Jesus sayd vnto him, why callest ỹ me good. &c.** *Then followeth the secrete and so foorth all of the rest of the masse. But before the partye doth communicate, the Priest shall vse these wordes vnto hym.* Adiuro te per patrem, & filium, & spiritum sanctum, & per veram christianitatem quam suscepisti, & per sanctas relliquias quæ in ista ecclesia sunt, & per baptismum quo te sacerdos regenerauit vt non presumas vllo modo communicare, neque accedere ad altare, si hoc feciſti aut cōsensisti &c. **I adiure thee by the Father the sonne and the holy Ghost, by the true christē dome which thou hast receyued, by the holly relliques which are in this Church, and by the baptisme, wherewith the Priest hath regenerated thee, that thou presume not by any maner of meanes, to communicate, nor come about the aultar, if thou hast done or consented vnto thys, whereof thou art accused. &c.** *Here let the Priest suffer him to communicate, saying.* Corpus hoc, & sanguis dominī nostri Iesu Christi, sit tibi ad probationē hodie. **This body & this bloud of our Lorde Jesus Christ, be vnto thee a tryall this daye.** Th

yet

The

The prayer. Perceptis domine deus noster sacris muneribus, supplices deprecamur, vt huius participatio sacramenti a proprijs nos reatibus expediat, & in famulo tuo veritatis sententiam declaret. &c. Hauing receaued O Lord God these holy misteries, we humbly beseeche thee that the participation of thys sacrament, maye ryddo vs of our guiltynesse, and in this thy seruaunt set forth the truth. *Then shall followe* Kyrieleson, *the Letanye, and certayne Psalmes, and after all them* Orenus, *Let vs praye*, Deus qui per ignem signa magna ostendens Abraham puerum tuum de incendio Chaldeorum quibusdam pereuntibus eruisti, Deus qui rubum ardere ante conspectum Moysis & minime comburi permisisti. Deus qui de incēdio fornacis Chaldaicis plerisque succensis, tres pueros tuos illesos eduxisti. Deus qui incendio ignis populum Sodomæ inuoluens, Loth famulum tuū cum suis salute donasti, Deus qui in aduentu sancti spiritus tui, illustratione ignis fideles tuos ab infidelibus decreuisti, Ostēde nobis in hoc pravitatis nostræ examine virtutē eiusdem spiritus &c. Et per ignis huius feruorem discernere infideles, vt a tactu eius cuiꝰ inquisitio agitur, conscius, exhorrescat, & manus eius comburatur, innocens vero pœnitus illæsus permaneat, &c. Deus cuius noticiam nulla vnquam secreta effugiunt, fidei nostræ tua bonitate respōde, & presta vt quisquis purgandi sē gratia, hoc ignitum tulerit ferrum, vel absoluatur vt innocens, vel noxius detegatur. &c. in Englishe thus. O God which in showing great tokens by fire diddest deliuer Abraham thy seruaunt frō the burnyng of ỹ Chaldeis, whilest other perished. O god which sufferedst the bushe to burne, in ỹ sight of Moyses, & yet not to consume. O God which deliueredst the three childre frō bodily harme in the Fornace of the Chaldies, whilest others were consumed. O God which by fyre diddest wrap the people of Sodome in their destruction, and yet sauedst Lot & his daughters from perill. O God which by the shyning of thy brightnesse at the comming of the holly ghost in likewyse of fire, diddest seperate the faithfull, from such as helæued not, shew vnto vs in ỹ tryall of this our wickednesse, the power of the same spirit. &c. And by ỹ heate of this fire discerne the faithfull from the vnfaithfull, that the giltie whose cause is nowe in tryall, by touching thereof, maye tremble and feare, and his hands be burned, or beyng innocent, that he maye remaine in safety. &c. O God frō whom no secretes are hidden, let thy goodnes answere to our faith, & graunt that whosoeuer in thys purgation, shall touch and beare thys Iron, may either be tryed an innocent, or reuealed as an offēder. &c. *After this the Priest shall sprynckle the Iron wyth Holly water, saying.* The blessing of God, the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy ghost, be vpon this Iron, to the reuelation of the iust iudgement of God. *And forthwith lette hym that is accused, beare it by the length of nyne foote, and then lette his hande be wrapped and sealed vppe for the space of three dayes, after thys yf anye corruption or rawe flesshe appeare where the Iron touched it, lette him be condemned as guiltie: yf it be whole and sounde, let hym giue thankes to God.* And thus much of the verye Ordalia, wherevnto that of the water hath so precyse relation, that in setting forth of the one, I haue also described the other, wherefore it shall be but in vaine, to deale any farder withall. Hetherto also as I thinke, sufficiently of such lawes as were in vse before the conquest. Nowe it resteth that I should declare the order of those, that haue bēne made sith the comming of the Normās, but for asmuch as I am no lawier, & therfore haue but lyttle skyll to proceede in the same accordingly, it shall suffice to set downe some generall discourse of such as are vsed in our daies, and so much as I haue gathered by report and common bere saye. We haue therfore in Englād sundry lawes, and first of all the ciuile, vsed in the chauncery, admiraltie, and diuers other courtes, in some of which, the seuere rygor of Iustice is often so mittigated by conscience, that diuers thinges are thereby made easie and tollerable, whyche otherwyse woulde appeare to be mere iniurye and extremity. We haue also a great part of the Cannen lawe daily practised among vs, especially in cases of tithes, contracts of matrimony, and such lyke, as are vsually to be sene in the consistories of our Bishoppes, where the exercyse of the same is verye hotely followed. The third sorte of lawes, that we follow, are our owne, and those alwaies so variable, and subiect to alteration and change, that oft in one age, diuers iudgementes doe passe vpon one maner of casse, wherby the saying of the Poet

Tempora mutantur, & nos mutamur in illis.

maye very well be applyed vnto such as be, yng vrged with these wordes in such a yeare of the Prince this opinion was taken for sounde lawe, doe aunswere nothing else, but that the iudgement of our lawyers is nowe altered, so that they saye farre otherwyse. The regiment that we haue therefore after our owne ordinaunces dependeth vpon Statute lawe, Common law, Customary law, & Prescription.

Parliament law.

The first is deliuered vnto vs by Parliament, which court is the highest of all other, and consisteth of three seuerall sortes of people, that is to say, the Nobility, Clergy, and commons of this Realme, and there to is not somoned, but vppon vrgent occasion when the prince doth see his time, and that by seueral writtes, dated commonly fiue sixe weekes before it begin to be holden. Such lawes as are agreed vpō in the higher house by the Lordes spirituall and temporall, and in the lower house by the commons and bodye of the realme, (whereof the conuocation of the clergy holden in Powles is a member,) there speaking by the mouth of the knights of the shire and burgesses, remaine in the ende to be confirmed by the Prince, who commonly resorteth thither vppon the first and laste daies of this court, there to vnderstande what is done, & giue his royall consent to such estatutes as him lyketh of. Comming therefore thither into the higher house, and hauing taken his throne, the speaker of the Parliament (for one is alwayes appointed to go betweene the houses, as an indifferent mouth for both) readeth openlye the matters there determined by the sayde three estates, and then craueth the Princes consent and confirmation to the same.

The king hauing heard the somme & principall pointes of each estatute briefly recited vnto him, aunswereth in French with great deliberation vnto such as he lyketh, (*Il nous plaist*) but to the rest *Il ne plaist*, whereby the latter are vtterly made voyde and frustrate. That also which his Maiestie liketh of, is euer after holden for law, except it be repealed in any the lyke assembly. The number of the commons assembled in the lower house, beside the clergie cōsisteth of ninetie knights. For eache shyre of England hath two gentlemen or knights of greatest wisedome and reputation chosen out of the bodye of the same for that only purpose, sauing that for wales one only is supposed sufficient in euerie countie, whereby the number afore mentioned is made vp. There are likewyse fourtie and sixe Citizens, 2 3 9. Burgeses, and fourteene Barons, so that the whole assembly of the layetie of the lower house, cōsisteth of foure hundred thirtie and nine persons, if the iust number be supplyed. Of the lawes here made lykewyse some are penall and restraine the common lawe, and some againe are founde to inlarge the same. The one sort of these also are for the most part take strictlye according to the letter, the other more largely and beneficially after their intendement and meaning.

Comm Lawe.

The Common Lawe standeth vppon Sundrye Maximes or Principles, and yeares or termes, which doe conteine such cases as by great studye and solemne argument of the iudges, and thereto the deepest reach & foundations of reason, are ruled and adiudged for lawe. Certes these cases are otherwise called plees or actiōs, whereof there are two sortes the one criminall & the other ciuile. The meanes & messengers also to determine those causes are our writtes, whereof there are some Originall and some Judiciall. The parties plaintife and defendant when they appeare procēde (if the case do so require) by plaint or declaration, aunswere, replication and reioynder, and so to issue, the one side affirmatiuely, the other negatiuely. Our trialles, and recoueries are eyther by verdict and demourre, confession or default, wherein if any negligence or trespasse hath bene committed, eyther in processe & forme, or in matter & iudgement, the partie grieued may haue a writte of errour to vndoe ỳ same but not in the same court where the former iudgement was giuen. Customarie law consisteth of certaine laudable customes vsed in some priuate country, entended first to beginne vppon good and reasonable considerations, as gauell kinde which is all the male children to inherite, & cōtinued to this day in Kent: or Burrow kinde where the yongest is preferred before the eldest, which is the custome of many countries of this region, & so forth of such like to be learned else where.

Custome Law.

Prescription is a certayne custome, which hath continued time out of minde, but it is more particular then customarie lawe, as where onely a parish or some priuate person doth prescribe to haue common, or a way, in another mans soyle, or tithes to be payde after this or that maner, I meane otherwyse then the common course & order of the lawe requyreth, whereof let thys suffice at thys tyme, in steede of a larger discourse of our owne lawes, least I shoulde seeme to enter farre into that whereof I haue no skill. For what hath the meditation of the lawe of God to doe with any precise knowledge of the law of man, sith they are seuerall trades and incident to diuers persons. There are also sundrie vsuall courtes holde once in euery quarter of the yeare, which we commonlye call tearmes of the latin worde Terminus, wherein all cōtrouersies are determined, that happen within the Queenes dominions. These are commonly holden at London except vpō some great occasion they be transferred to other places, at what times also they are kept the table insuing shal easily declare. Finally

Prescription.

Terme.

howe

howe well they are followed by suters, the great welth of our lawiers without any trauayle of mine can easily expresse. This furthermore is to be noted, that albeit the princes heretofore reigning in this lande haue erected sundry courtes especially of the chauncerie at Yorke and Ludlow for the ease of poore men dwelling in those parties, yet will the poorest (of all men commonly most contencious) refuse to haue his cause heard so nere home, but indeuoureth rather to his vtter vndoing to trauaile vp to Londō, thinking there soonest to preuaile against his aduersary, though his case be neuer so doubtful. But in this toye our Welchmen doe exceede of all that euer I heard, for you shall here & there haue some one odde poore Dauid of thē giuen so much to contention and strife, that without all respect of charges he will vp to London, though he go bare legged by the waye, and carye his hosen on his necke (to saue theyr feete from wearing) bycause he hath no chaunge. When he commeth there also he will make such importunate begging of his countreymē, and hard shift otherwise, that he will sometymes carye downe fyre or seuen wyttes in his purse, wherwith to molest his neighbour, though the greatest quarrell be scarsely worth the price that he payd for any one of thē. But ynough of this least in reuealing the superfluous follye of a fewe brablers in this behalfe, I bring no good will to my selfe amongst the wyselt of that natiō. Certes it is a lamentable case to see furthermore how a number of poore men are dayly abused and vtterly vndone, by sundrie barlets that go about the countrey as brokers betweene the petty foggers of the lawe, and the common people, onely to kyndle coales of contention, wherby the one side may reape commodity and the other be put to trauayle. But of all that euer I knew in Eller, Denis and Mainford excelled, till Iohn of Ludlow aliās Mason came in place, vnto whome in comparison they two were but childzen and babes, for he in lesse thē three or foure yeres, did bring one man (among many elsewhere in other places almost to extreme misery, (if beggery be the vttermost) who before hee had the shauing of his beard, was valued at two hundred pounde (I speake with the lest) who finally feeling that he had not sufficent wherwith to sustaine himself, & his familie, & also to satisfie that greedie rauenour, that still called vpon him for new fees, he went to bed and within foure dayes made an ende of his woefull life, euen with care & pensiuenesse. After his death also he so hādled his sonne, that there was neuer sheepe shorne in Wale, so neere clypped of hys fleece present, as hee was of manye to come, so that he was compelled to let away his lease land, because his cattell and flocke were consumed, and he no longer able to occupie the ground. But hereof let this suffise, and in stede of these enormities, two tables shall insue, whereof the first shall containe the names of the Countyes, Cities, Boroughes and Portes, which send knightes, Burgeses and Barons to the Parliament house, the other an infallible report of the beginnings and endes of euery tearme with their returnes, according to the maner, as I haue borrowed them of my friende Iohn Stow, whyleste this impression was in hande.

The names of Counties, Cities, Borowghes, and Portes, sending Knightes, Citizens, Burgeses and Barons, to the Parliament of Englande.

Bedforde.

KNightes	2
The borough of Bedforde.	2

Buckingham.

Knightes	2
The borough of Buckingham.	2
The borough of Wickombe.	2
The borough of Aylesbury.	2

Barckeshyre.

Knightes	2
The borough of New Windsore.	2
The borough of Reding.	2
The borough of Wallingforde.	2
The borough of Abington.	2

Cornewall.

Knightes.	2
The borow. of Launceston alias Newport	2
The borough of Leskerd.	2
The borough of Lostwythiell.	2
The borough of Dunheuet.	2
The borough of Truro.	2
The borough of Bodmin.	2
The borough of Helston.	2
The borough of Saltash.	2
The borough of Camelforde.	2
The boro. of Portighsam alias Portlow.	2
The borough of Grampount.	2
The borough of Eastlow.	2
The borough of Pzury.	2
The borough Tregonye.	2
The borow. of Trebenna alias Bossinny.	2
The borough of S. Ies.	2
The borough of Foway.	2
The borough of Germine.	2
The borough of Pichell.	2
The borough of Saint Maries.	2

Cumberlande.

Knightes. 2
The citie of Caerlile. 2

Cambridge.

Knightes. 2
The bozowgh of Cambzidge. 2

Chester.

Knightes. 2
The Citie of Chester. 2

Darby.

Knightes. 2
The bozowgh of Darby. 2

Deuon.

Knightes. 2
The citie of Exceter. 2
The bozowgh of Totnes. 2
The bozowgh of Plimmouth. 2
The bozowgh of Baronestable. 2
The bozowgh of Plimton. 2
The bozowgh of Tauestocke. 2
The bozowgh of Dartmouth, Clifton, and Herdynes. 2

Dorset shyre.

Knightes. 2
The bozowgh of Pwle. 2
The bozowgh of Dozchester. 2
The bozowgh of Lime. 2
The bozowgh of Melcombe. 2
The bozowgh of Waymouth. 2
The bozowgh of Burepozt. 2
The bozowgh of Shaftesbury. 2
The bozowgh of Warham. 2

Essex.

Knightes. 2
The bozowgh of Colchester. 2
The bozowgh Malden. 2

Yorkeshire.

Knightes. 2
The citie of Pozke. 2
The bozowgh of Kingston vpon Hull. 2
The bozowgh of Knaresbzugh. 2
The bozowgh of Skardbozowgh. 2
The bozowgh of Rippon. 2
The bozowgh of Hudon. 2
The bozowgh of bozowghbzidge. 2
The bozowgh of Thuske. 2
The bozowgh of Aldebzugh. 2
The bozowgh of Beuerley. 2

Glocestershyre.

Knightes. 2
The Citie of Glocester. 2
The bozowgh of Cirencester. 2

Huntingtonshyre.

Knightes. 2
The bozowgh of Huntingdon. 2

Hertfordshyre.

Knightes. 2
The bozowgh of Saint Albons. 2

Herefordeshyre.

Knightes. 2
The Citie of Hereford. 2
The bozowgh of Lempster. 2

Kent.

Knightes. 2
The citie of Cantozbury. 2
The citie of Rochester. 2
The bozowgh of Maideston. 2
The bozowgh of Quinbozowgh. 2

Lincolne.

Knightes. 2
The citie of Lincolne. 2
The bozowgh of Bostone. 2
The bozowgh of great Grimesby. 2
The bozowgh of Stamfozde. 2
The bozowgh of Grantham. 2

Leicester shyre.

Knightes. 2
The bozowgh of Leicester. 2

Lancastershyre.

Knightes. 2
The bozowgh of Lancaster. 2
The bozowgh of Pzeston in Andernes. 2
The bozowgh of Liuerpole. 2
The bozowgh of Newton. 2
The bozowgh of Wigan. 2
The bozowgh of Clithero. 2

Middlesex.

Knightes. 2
The citie of London. 4
The citie of Westminster. 2

Monmouth.

Knightes. 2
The bozowgh of Monmouth. 1

Northampton.

Knightes. 2
The citie of Peterbozowgh. 2
The bozowgh of Nozthampton. 2
The bozowgh of Barkley. 2
The bozowgh of Higham Ferres. 1

Notingham.

Knightes. 2
The bozowgh of Notingham. 2
The bozowgh Estreatfozde. 2

Norfolke.

Knightes. 2
The citie of Nozwich. 2
The bozowgh of Lime. 2
The bozowgh of great Iernemouth. 2
The bozowgh of Thetford. 2
The bozowgh of castell Rising. 2

Northumberland.

Knightes. 2
The bozowgh of New Castell vpon Tine. 2
The bozowgh of Mozpeth. 2
The bozowgh of Barwike. 2

Oxforde.

Knightes. 2
The citie of Orfozde. 2

The

The bozowgh of Bambury. 2
The bozowgh of Woodstocke. 2

Rutlande.

Knightes. 2

Surrey.

Knightes. 2
The bozowgh of Southwarke. 2
The bozowgh of Blechingleighe. 2
The bozowgh of Rigate. 2
The bozowgh of Guildford. 2
The bozowgh of Gatton. 2

Stratford.

Knightes. 2
The citie of Lichfielde. 2
The bozowgh of Stratforde. 2
The bozowgh of New castel vnder Linne. 2
The bozowgh of Tamworth. 2

Salop.

Knightes. 2
The bozowgh of Salop. 2
The bozo. of Bzuges alias bzidgenozth. 2
The bozowgh of Ludlow. 2
The bozowgh of Wenlocke. 2

Southampton.

Knightes. 2
The citie of Winton. 2
The bozowgh of Southampton. 2
The bozowgh of Pozteſmouth. 2
The bozowgh of Peterfielde. 2
The bozowgh of Stockebzidge. 2
The bozowgh of Chzist Church. 2

Suffolke.

Knightes. 2
The bozowgh of Ippeſwich. 2
The bozowgh of Dunwich. 2
The bozowgh of Oxford. 2
The bozowgh of Aldebozowgh. 2
The bozowgh of Sudbury. 2
The bozowgh of Eya. 2

Somerſet.

Knightes. 2
The citie of Bzistow. 2
The citie of Bath. 2
The citie of Welles. 2
The bozowgh of Taunton. 2
The bozowgh Bzidgewater. 2
The bozowgh of Pinched. 2

Suſſex.

Knightes. 2
The citie of Chicheſter. 2
The bozowgh of Hozsham. 2
The bozowgh of Midhurſt. 2
The bozowgh of Lewes. 2
The bozowgh of Shozham. 2
The bozowgh of Bzember. 2
The bozowgh of Stening. 2
The bozowgh of Callgrenested. 2
The bozowgh of Arundell. 2

Westmerland.

Knightes. 2
The bozowgh of Appulby. 2

Wilton.

Knightes. 2
The citie of New Sarum. 2
The bozowgh of Wilton. 2
The bozowgh of Dounton. 2
The bozowgh of Hindon. 2
The bozowgh of Heytesbury. 2
The bozowgh of Westbury. 2
The bozowgh of Caine. 2
The bozowgh of Deuises. 2
The bozowgh of Chippenham. 2
The bozowgh of Malmesbury. 2
The bozowgh of Cricklade. 2
The bozowgh of Budwin. 2
The bozowgh of Ludgesale. 2
The bozowgh of Olde Sarum. 2
The bozowgh of Motton Basset. 2
The bozowgh of Marlebozowgh. 2

Worcester.

Knightes. 2
The citie of Wozcester. 2
The bozowgh of Withe. 2

Warwike.

Knightes. 2
The Citie of Couentry. 2
The bozowgh of Warwike. 2

Barons of the portes.

Hastings. 2
Winchelsey. 2
Rye. 2
Rumney. 2
Hithe. 2
Douer. 2
Sandwich. 2

Mountgomery.

Knightes. 1
The bozowgh of Mountgomery. 1

Flint.

Knightes. 1
The bozowgh of Flint. 1

Denbigh.

Knightes. 1
The bozowgh of Denbigh. 1

Merionneth.

Knightes. 1
The bozowgh of Hauerfozdwest. 1

Carneruan.

Knightes. 1
The bozowgh of Carneruan. 1

Angleſey.

Knightes. 1
The bozowgh of Beaumares. 1

Carmarden.

Knightes. 1
The bozowgh of New Carmarden. 1

Pembroke.

Knightes. 1

The

The borowgh of Pembroke. 1
Cardigan.
Knightes. 1
The borowgh of Brecknocke. 1
Radnor.
Knightes. 1
The borowgh of Radnor. 1
Glamorgan.
Knights. 1
The borowgh of Cardiffe. 1

¶ The Summe of the foresayde number of the common house videlicet, of

Knights. 90.
Citizens. 46.
Burgesses. 289.
Barons. 14.
439.

A perfect rule to knowe the beginning and ending of euery terme, with their returnes.

HIllary terme beginneth the xvij. day of January, if it be not Sunday, otherwise the next daye after, & endeth the twelfth of Februarye, and hath foure returnes.

Octabis Hilarij. Crastino Purific.
Quind. Hilarij. Octabis Purific.

¶ Easter terme beginneth xby. daies after Easter, and endeth foure dayes after the ascention day, and hath fiue returnes.

Quind. Pasch. Mense. Quinquæ Paschæ.
Tres Paschæ. Paschę. Crast. Ascention.

¶ Trinitie terme beginneth the next daye after Corpus Christi daye, and endeth the wednesdaye fortnight after, and hath foure returnes.

Crast. Trinitatis. Quind. Trinitatis
Octabis Trinitat. Tres Trinitatis.

¶ Michelmas terme beginneth the ix. of Octobre if it be not Sunday, and endeth the xxvij. of Nouember, and hath viij. returnes

Octabis Michael. Crast. animæ.
Quind. Michael. Crast. Martini.
Tres Michael. Octa. Martini.
Mense Michael. Quind. Martini.

Note also that the Eschequer openeth eight dayes before any terme begin, except Trinitie terme, which openeth but foure dayes before.

¶ And nowe followeth the lawe dayes in the court of Tharches, and audience of Canterbury, with other Ecclesiasticall & Ciuill lawes, through the whole yeare.

These dayes are not chaunged excepte they lyght on a Sunday or holy daye, and euery daye is called a lawday, vnlesse it bee Sunday or holyday.

Michelmas terme.

S. Faith. All Soules. S. Andrewe.
S. Edward. S. Martin. Conception of
S. Luke. Edmond. our Lady.
Simon & Iu. Katherin.

¶ It is to be noted that the first day following euery of these feastes noted in euery terme, the court of the Arches is kept in Bowe church in the forenone. And the same first daye in the afternone is the Admyralty Court for Ciuill causes kept in Southwarke.

The seconde daye followyng euery one of the sayde feastes, the court of Audience of Caunterburye is kept in the Consistory in Paules in the forenone. And the same daye in the after none, in the same place is the Prerogatiue court of Caunterbury holden.

The thirde daye after any such feast in the forenone, the consistory court of the Bishop of London is kept in Paules Church in the consistory, and the same thirde daye in the afternone is the court of the Delegates and of the Quęenes highnesse Commissyoners vpon appeales kept in the same place.

Hilary terme.

S. Hilary. S. Scolastic. S. Chad.
S. Wolstan. S. Valentine. Perpet. & Fel.
Conuersion of S. Paule. Asshwednesd. S. Mathie. S. Gregory. Annunciation
S. Blase. of our Ladye.

Note that the foure first dayes of thys terme be certain and vnchanged. The other are altered after the course of the yere, and sometime kept and somtime omitted. For if it so happen that one of those feastes fall on wednesdaye cõmonly called Ashwednesday, after the day of S. Blase (so that ỹ same lawday after Ashwednesday cannot bee kept by cause the lawday of thother feast doth lyght on the same) then the seconde lawday after Ashwednesday shall be kept, and the other omitted. And if the lawday after that wednesday be ỹ nert daye after the feast of S. Blase, then shall all & euery those court daies be obserued in order, as they may be kept cõueniently. And marke although that Ashwednesday be put the seauenth in order, yet it hath no certaine place, but is chaunged as the course of Easter causeth it.

Easter Tearme.

The fiftene day after Easter.

S. Alphege. Gordiane.
S. Marke. S. Dunstane.
Inuention of the Crosse. Ascention day.

¶ In thys terme the first sitting is alwaye kept the Munday beyng the v. day after Easter, and so forth after the feasts here noted,

noted, which next followe by course of the yeare after Easter. And the lyke space being kept betweene other feastes.

The rest of the lawe dayes are kept to the thirde of the Ascention, which is the last day of this terme. And if it happen that the feast of ỹ Ascention of our Lord, doe come before any of the feastes aforesayde, then they are omytted for that yeare. And lykewise if anye of those dayes come before the xv. of Easter those dayes are omitted also.

Trinitie Tearme.

Trinitie Sunday. S. Butolphe. S. Swythune.
Corpus Christi. S. Iohn. S. Margaret.
Boniface Bishop. S. Paule. S. Anne.
S. Barnabie. Transla. Thomas.

¶ Note that the lawedayes of this tearme are altered by meane of Whitsuntyde, & the first sitting is kept alwayes on the first lawe daye after the feast of the holy Trinitie, and the seconde session is kept the first lawe daye after Corpus Christi, except Corpus christi daye fall on some daye aforenamed: which chaunceth sometime, and then the latter daye is kept. And after the second session account foure dayes or thereabout, and then loke which is the next feast daye, and the fyrst lawe daye after the sayde feast, shall bee the thirde session. The other lawe dayes followe in order, but so many of them are kept, as for the time of the yere shalbe thought meete.

¶ And note generally that euery day is called a lawe daye that is not Sundaye or holly daye: and that if the feast day being knowne of any court day in any terme, the first or seconde daye followyng be Sundaye, then the court daye is kept the daye after the sayd holy daye or feast.

Of the degrees of people in the common wealth of Englande. Cap. 4.

WE in Englande deuide our people commonlye into foure sortes, as Gentlemen, Citizens or Burgeses, Yeomē, and Artificerers or labourers. Of gentlemē the first & chiefe next the king be the Prince, Dukes, Marquises, Earles, Viscontes and Barons: and these are called the Nobilitie, they are also named Lordes and noble men, and next to them be Knightes and Esquires, and simple gentlemen.

The tytle of Prince doth peculiarly belong to the Kinges eldest sonne, who is called Prince of Wales, and is the heire apparant to the Crowne, as in Fraunce the kings eldest sonne hath ỹ title of Dolphine, and is named peculiarly Monsieur. So that the Prince is so termed of the latine worde, quia est principalis post Regem. The Kinges yonger sonnes be but gentlemen by byrth, till they haue receyued creation of hygher estate to bee eyther Viscontes, Earles or Dukes: & called after their names, as Lord Henry, or Lorde Edwarde wyth the additiō of the worde Grace, properly assigned to the king and prince, and by custome conueighed to Dukes, Marquises, and their wyues.

Duke. The title of Duke commeth also of the Latine worde Dux, à ducendo, because of hys valoir and power ouer the army. In times past a name of Office due to the chiefe gouernour of the whole armie in the warres, but now a name of honour.

In olde tyme he onely was called Marquise Qui habuit terram limitaneam, a marching prouince vpon the enemies countreis. But that also is chaunged in common vse, & reputed for a name of great honour next the Duke, euen ouer Counties and sometimes small cities, as the Prince is pleased to bestowe it.

Erle. The name of Earle likewyse was among the Romaines a name of Office, who had Comites sacri palatij, Comites ærarij, Comites stabuli and such like, howbeit it appereth that with vs it hath the next place to ỹ Marquise, and he that beareth it is called peradaenture Comes à comitiua, quia dignus est ducere comitiuam in bello. Or else because he is Comes Ducis, a companiō of the Duke in the warres. And he hath his follower the Viscont, called eyther Pro Comes, or vicecomes: who in tyme past, gouerned in the coūtie vnder the Earle, and nowe without any such seruice or office, it also is become a name of dignitie next after the Earle, and in degree before the Baron.

Viscont.

Baron. The Baron is such a free Lorde, as hath a Lordship or Barony, whereof he beareth his name, & holding of him diuers knightes & freholders: who were wont to serue the king in the warres and helde their landes in Baronia, for doing such seruice. These Bracton (a learned writer of the lawes of Englande in king Henry the thirdes tyme) tearmeth Barones, quasi robur belli. The worde Baro is older the that it may easily be found frō whence it came: for euen in the oldest histories both of the Germaines & Frenchmen, we reade of Barons, and those are at this day called among the Germaines Liberi, vel ingenui, as some men doe coniecture.

Bishops. Unto this place I also refer our Bishops, who are accounted honourable, and whose countenaunces in time past was much more glorious then at this present it is, because those lusty Prelates sought after earthly estimation,

stimation and authoritie wyth far more diligence then after the lost shéepe of Christ, whereof they had small regarde, as men being otherwise occupyed & voyde of leysure to attende vnto ẏ same. Howbeit in these daies their estate remayneth still honourable as before, and the more vertuous they are that be of this calling, the better are they estéemed with highe and lowe. Herein therefore their case is growen to be much better then before, for whereas in tymes past the clergie men were feared bycause of theyr authoritie and seuere gouernement vnder the Prince, now are they beloued generally (except peraduẽture of a fewe hungrie wõbes that couet to plucke and snatch at their lose endes) for their painefull diligence shewed in their calling, and vertuous conuersation. Finally how it standeth with the rest of the clergie, I neyther can tell nor greatly care to know, neuertheleſſe wyth what degrées of honour and worshyp they haue béene matched in times past Iohannes Bohemus in hys De Asia. cap. 12. De omnium gentium moribus and other doe expresse. But as a number of these comparisons and ambitions tytles are now decayed & worthily shrenke in the wetting, so giuing ouer in these daies, so maintayne such pompous vanitie, they thincke it sufficient for the to preache the worde and holde their liuinges to their ſies from the handes of such as inoeuour to diminisho them. This furthermore will I adde generally in commendation of the clergie of Englande that they are for their learning reputed in Fraunce, Portingale, Spaine, Germany & Polonia, to be the most learned deuines, & therto so skilfull in the two principal tongues that it is accounted a maime in any one of them, not to be exactely séene in the Gréeke and Hebrue, much more then to be vtterly ignorant or nothing conuersaunt in them. As for the latine tongue it is not wanting in any, especially in such as haue béene made within this twelue or fourtéene yeares, whereas before there was small choyse, and many cures were left vnserued bycause they had none at all.

Dukes, Marquises, Earles, Viscontes, and Barons, either be created of the Prince, or come to that honour by being the eldest sonnes or highest in succeſſiõ to their parẽts. For the eldest sonne of a Duke during hys fathers lyfe is an Earle, the eldest sonne of an Erle is a Baron, or sometymes a Viscont, according as the creation is. The creation I call the originall donation and condition of the honour giuen by the Prince for the good seruice done by the first auncestor, with some aduauncement, which with the title of that honour is alwayes giuen to hym & to his heires males onely. The rest of the sonnes of the nobilitie by the rigour of the law be but Esquires: yet in common speach all Dukes and Marquises sonnes, & Earles eldest sonnes be called Lordes, the which name commõly doth agrée to none of lower degrée then Barons, yet by lawe & vse these be not estéemed Barons. The Baronny or degrée of Lords doth aunswere to the degrée of Senatours of Rome: and the tytle of nobilitie as we vse to call it in England to the Romaine Patricij. Also in Englãd no man is created Baron except he may dispende of yerly reuenues so much as may fully maintayne and beare out his countenaunce and port. But Viscounts, Earles, Marquises and Dukes excéede them according to the proportiõ of their degrée & honor. But though by chaunce he or his sonne haue lesse, yet he kéepeth his degrée: but if the decay be excessiue & not able to maintayne the honour, as Senatores Romani were moti Senatu: so sometymes they are not admitted to the vpper house in the parliament, although they kepe the name of Lord still, which cannot be takẽ from them, vpon any such occasion.

Knight. Knyghtes be not borne, neyther is any mã a knight by succeſſion, no not the King or Prince: but they are made eyther before the battaile to encourage them the more to aduenture and trie their manhode, or after, as an aduauncement for their courage & prowesse alreadie shewed, or out of the warres for some great seruice done, or for the singular vertues which doe appeare in them. They are made eyther by the king himselfe, or by his commission and Royall authoritie giuen for the same purpose: or by his lieutenaunt in the warres. This order seemeth to aunswere in part to that which the Romaines called Equitũ Romanorum. For as Equites Romani were chosen ex censu, that is according to their substaunce and riches: so be Knightes in Englande most commonly according to their yearelye reuenues or substaunce and riches, wherewith to maintaine the estate. Yet all that had Equestrem censum, were not chosen to be knights, no more be all made knightes in England that maye spende a knightes landes, but they onelye whom the Prince will honour. The number of the knightes in Rome was vncertaine: and so is it of knyghtes wyth vs, as at the pleasure of the Prince. We call him knight in English that the French calleth *Cheualier*, and the latine Equitem, or Equestris ordinis virum. And when any man is made a knight, he kneeling downe is stricken of the Prince

or

or his substitute with his swoorde naked vpō the shoulder, the Prince &c. saying, *Soyes chevalier au nom de Dieu.* And when he ryseth vp the Prince sayth *Aduances bon chevalier.* This is the maner of dubbing knightes at this present, and the tearme (dubbing) is the olde terme for that purpose and not creation.

At the Coronation of a King or Quēne there be knightes made with longer & more curious ceremonies, called Knightes of the Bath. But howsoeuer one be dubbed or made knight, his wyfe is by and by called *Madame*, or Ladye, so well as the Barons wyfe, he himselfe hauing added to his name in common appellatiō this sillable *Sir*, which is the title whereby we call our knightes here in Englande.

The other order of knighthod in Englād & the most honorable is that of ỳ Garter, instituted by king Edwarde the third, who after he had gayned many notable victories, taken king Iohn of France, & king Iames of Scotland (& kept them both prysoners in the Tower of London at one time) expulsed king Henry of Castil the bastarde out of his realme, and restored Don Petro vnto it (by ỳ helpe of the Prince of Wales & Duke of Aquitaine his eldest sonne called the blacke Prince) He then inuented this societie of honour, & made a choise out of his owne realme & dominions, & thorowout all Christendome of the best most excellent and renowmed persons in all vertues & honour, & adourned thē with ỳ title to be knightes of his Order, giuing thē a Garter garnished with golde & precious stones, to were daily on the left leg only, also a kirtle, gowne, cloke, chaperon, coler & other solemne and magnificent apparell, both of stuffe and fashion exquisite & heroicall to weare at high feastes, as to so high and Princely an Order appertayneth. Of this company also he and his successours Kinges and Quēnes of Englande, be the Soueraignes, and the reast by certaine statutes and lawes amongst themselues be taken as brethren and fellowes in that order to the number of fyre and twentie, as I finde in a certayne Treatize written of the same an example whereof I haue here inserted woorde for woorde as it was deliuered vnto me, beginning after this maner.

I might at this present make a long tractation of the Rounde table and order of the knightes thereof, erected sometymes by Arthur the great monarche of thys Iland: and thervnto intreate of the number of his knightes and ceremonies belonging to the order, but I thincke in so doing that I shoulde rather set downe ỳ latter inuentions of other men, then a true description of such auncient actions as were performed in deede. I could furthermore with more facilitie describe the Royaltie of Charles the great & his twelue Peeres, with their solemne rites and vsages but vnto this also I haue no great deuotion, considering the truth hereof is nowe so stayned wyth errours and fables inserted into the same by the lewde religious sort, that except a man shoulde professe to lye with thē for company, there is little sounde knowledge to be gathered hereof worthie ỳ remēbraunce. In lyke maner diuers alwell subiectes as Princes haue attempted to restore againe a rounde table in this lande, but such was ỳ excessiue charges appertayning thervnto (as they dyd make allowaunce) and so great molestation dayly insued therevpō beside the breeding of sundrie quarrels among the knightes and such as resorted hyther frō forrein countries (as it was first vsed) that in fine they gaue it ouer & suffred their whole inuentions to perishe and decaye, vntill Edwarde the third deuised an other order not so much pestered with multitude of knightes as the rounde table, but much more honourable for princely port and countenance, as shall appeare hereafter.

The order of the Garter therefore was deuised in the time of king Edward the third, and as some write vppon this occasion. The Quēnes maiestie thē liuing, being departed from his presence the nert way towarde hir lodging, he following some after, happened to finde hir Garter which slacked by chaunce and so fel from hir legge. His gromes & gentlemen passed by it, as disdaining to stoupe & take vp such a trifle: but he knowing ỳ owner commaunded one of them to staye & take it vp. Why and like your Grace saieth a Gentlemen it is but some womans garter that hath fallen frō hir as she followed ỳ Quēnes maiestie. Whatsoeuer it be quoth the kyng take it vp and giue it me. So whē he had receyued the garter, he sayde to such as stode about him: you my maisters doe make small account of this blew garter here (and therewith held it out) but if God lende me lyfe for a fewe monethes, I will make the prowdest of you all to reuerence the like: and euen vpon this slender occasion he gaue himselfe to the deuising of this order. Certes I haue not read of any thing that hauing had so simple a beginning hath growne in the ende to so great honour and estimation. But to proceede, after he had studyed a whyle about the performaunce of his deuise & had set downe such orders as he himselfe had inuented concerning ỳ same, he proclaimed a royall feast

Peraduēture it was but a blew Ribbon.

to

to be holden at Windsore, whyther all his nobilitie resorted with their Ladyes, where he published his institutiõ, and furthwith inuested an appointed number into the aforesayd fellowship, whose names insue, himself being the Soueraigne and principall of that compante. Next vnto him also he placed.

Edwarde Prince of Wales.	S. Thomas Holland
Henry duke of Lancaster.	S. John Gray.
P. Earle of Warw.	S. Rich. Fitzsimon.
P. Capt. de Bouche.	S. Miles Stapleton.
P. Earle of Kassord.	S. Thomas Wale.
P. Earle of Sarum.	S. Hugh Wrotesley.
P. L. Mortimer.	S. Neale Lording.
Sir John Lisle.	S. John Chandos.
Sir Bartholomewe Burwash.	S. James Dawdley.
P. Sonne of S. John Beauchamp.	S. Otho Holland.
Sir P. de Mahun.	S. Henry Eme.
S. Hugh Courtnay.	Sir Sanchet Dambricourt.
	Sir Walter Pannell alias Paganell.

What order of electiõ, and what estatutes were prescribed vnto the elected at this first institution, as yet I can not exactely vnderstande, neyther can I learne what euerye Prince afterwarde added therevnto before the fire and thirtieth yeare of king Henry the eyght, and thirde of king Edwarde the first: wherfore of necessitie I must resort vnto the estate of the sayde order as it is at this present, which I will set downe so briefely as I may. When any man therefore is to be elected (vpon a rowme found voyd for his admissiõ) into this fellowship, the king directeth his letters vnto him, notwithstanding that he before hande be nominate vnto the same, to this effect. Right trustie and welbeloued we greete you well, assertayning you, that in consideration aswell of your approued trueth & fidelitie, as also of your courageous and valiant actes of knighthode, with other your probable merites knowne by experiẽce in sundrie parties and behalfes: we with the companions of the noble order of the Garter assembled at the election holden this day within our manour of N. haue elected & chosen you amongst other to be one of the companions of the sayd Order, as your desertes doe condignely require. Wherfore we will ỳ with conuenient diligence vpõ the sight hereof, you repaire vnto our presence, there to receyue such thinges as to the sayde order appertayneth. Dated vnder our signet at our maner of Grenewich the 24. of April. These letters as it shoulde seeme were written An. 3. Edwardi sexti, vnto the Earle of Huntingdon, & the Lorde George Cobham your Lordshippes honourable father, at such time as they were called vnto the aforesaide company. I finde also these names subscribed vnto the same.

Edwarde Duke of Somerset, Uncle to the king.	L. Russell Lord privy seale.
The Marq. of Northampton.	L. S. John L. great maister.
Earle of Arundell L. Chamberleine.	Sir John Gage.
Earle of Shrewesbury.	S. Anthony Wingfielde.
	Sir Wylliam Paget.

Beyng elected preparation is made for his enstalling at windsore (the place appointed alwaies for this purpose) wherat it is required that his Banner be set vppe, at two yardes and a quarter in length, and three quarters in breedth, besides the frynge. Secondly his sworde of whatsoeuer length hym seemeth good, thyrdely his helme, which frõ the charnell vpwards ought to be of three ynches at the least, fourthly the creest, wyth mantelles to the helme belonging of such conuenient stuffe and biggenesse, as it shall please him to appoint.

Item a plate of armes at the backe of hys stall, and creest with mantelles and beastes supportant, to be grauen in mettall.

Item lodging scoucheons of hys armes in the garter, to be occupyed by the way.

Item two mantelles one to the remayne in the colledge at Windsore, the other to vse at hys pleasure, with the scocheon of the armes of S. George in the garter with Laces Tasselettes, and knoppes of blewe silcke and Golde belonging to the same.

Item a Surcote or Gowne of redde or crimosine veluet, with a whoodde of the same lyned wyth white Sarcenet or Damaske.

Item a collor of the garter of thirtie ounces of golde troye weight.

Item a tablet of S. George, richely garnished with precious stones, or otherwyse.

Item a Garter for his (left) legge, hauing the buckle and Pendaunt garnished wyth Golde.

Item a booke of the statutes of the sayde order.

Item a scocheon of ỳ armes of S. George in ỳ garter to set vpon the mantell. And thys furniture is to be prouided against his installation.

When any knight is to bee installed, he hath, with hys former letters, a garter sent vnto him, and when he commeth to be installed,

ied, he is brought into the Chapter houſe, where incontinently his commiſſion is read before the ſouereigne, or his deputie, and the aſſemblye preſent: from hence he is lead by two Knyghtes of the ſayde order, accompanied with the other of the Nobilitie, and Officers towarde the chappell, hauing hys mantel borne before him, eyther by a knight of the order, or elſe the king at armes, to whome it ſecondarily appertaineth to beare it. Thys mantel ſhall be deliuered vnto hym for his habite, after his othe taken before his ſtall, and not before: which done he ſhall returne vnto the chapter houſe, wher the ſouereigne, or his deputie, ſhall deliuer him hys collor, and ſo he ſhall haue the full poſſeſſion of his habit. As for his ſtall, it is not giuē according vnto the calling, & countenāce of the receyuer, but as the place is that happeneth to be voyde, ſo that eache one called vnto this knyghthode, (the ſouereigne, & Emperours, and Kinges, and Princes alwaies excepted) ſhall haue the ſame ſeate which became voyd by the death of hys predeceſſor, howſoeuer it fall out, whereby a knight onely oftentimes, doth ſit before a Duke, wythout anye murmuring or grudgyng at hys rome, except it pleaſe the ſouereigne, once in hys lyfe, to make a generall alteration, of thoſe ſeates, and to ſette eache one accordyng to hys degrée.

Nowe as touching the apparell of theſe knyghtes, it remaineth ſuch as King Edwarde the firſt deuiſed of thys order left it, that is to ſay, euery pere one of the cullours, that is to ſay, Scarlet, Sanguine in graine, blewe and white. In lyke ſorte the Kinges Grace, hath at his pleaſure the content of cloth for hys Gowne & whodde, lyned wyth white Satine, or Damaſke, and multitude of garters with letters of Golde.

The Prince hath fiue yardes of cloth for his Gowne and whodde, and garters with letters of Golde at his pleaſure, beſide fiue timber of the fyneſt mineuer.

A Duke hath fiue yardes of wollen cloth, fyue timber of mineuer, 120. garters with title of Golde.

A Marquiſſe hath fiue yardes of wollen clothe, fiue timber of mineuer 110. garters of ſilke.

An Earle fiue yardes of wollen clothe, fiue timber of mineuer, and 100. garters of ſilke.

A Viſcount, fiue yardes of wollen cloth, fiue timber of mineuer, 90. garters of ſilke.

A Baron fiue yardes of wollen cloth, three timber of mineuer: greſſe 80. garters of ſilke.

A Banneret, fiue yardes of wollen cloth, three timber of mineuer 70. garters of ſilke.

A Knight, fiue yards of wollen cloth, three timber of mineuer 60. garters of ſilke.

The Biſhop of Wincheſter Chaplaine of the garter, hath eyght and twentie timber of mineuer pure, nyneténe timber of gr. three timber and a halfe of the beſt and foure and twentie yardes of wollen cloth.

The Chauncellour of the Order 5. yardes of wollē cloth, three timber of mineuer pure.

The regiſter of the Order fiue yardes of wollen cloth, three timber of mineuer pure, and this order to be holden generally amōg the knights of this companie, which are fiue and twentie in number, and whoſe patrone in time of ſuperſtition was ſuppoſed to be S. George, of whome they were alſo called S. Georges knightes as I haue heard reported.

Furthermore at his inſtallation, he is ſolemnely ſworne, the maner whereof I haue thought good alſo to annexe, in this maner. You being choſen to be one of the honorable companie of the order of the Garter, ſhall promiſe and ſweare vpon the holly Euangelies by you bodily, touched to be faithful and true to the kings mageſtie, and to obſerue & kéepe all the poyntes of the ſtatutes of the ſayde order, and euery article in them contayned, the ſame being agréeable and not repugnant to the kings highneſſe other godly procédings, ſo farre as to you belongeth and appertaineth, as God you helpe. &c. And thus much haue I thought good to note concerning the premiſſes. As touching the eſtatutes belonging to this order they are many, and therefore not to be touched here. Howbeit yf any doubt doe aryſe aboue the interpretation of them, the king who is the perpetuall Soueraine of that order hath to determine and reſolue ỹ ſame. Neither are any choſen therevnto vnder the degrée of a knight, and that is not a gentleman of bloud and of ſounde eſtimation. And for the better vnderſtanding what is meant by a gentill man of bloude, he is defined to deſcend of three deſcentes, of nobleneſſe, ỹ is to ſay, of name & of armes both by father and mother. There are alſo foure degrées of reproch, which may inhibit from the entraunce into this order: of which ỹ firſt is hereſie lawfully proued, the ſeconde high treaſon, the thirde is flight from the battaill, the fourth ryot and prodigall exceſſe of expences, wherby he is not likely to holde out, and maintayne the port of knight of this order, according to the dignitie thereof. Moreouer touching the wearing of their aforeſaid apparell it is their cuſtome to weare ỹ ſame,

when

when they enter into the Chappell of Saint George, or be in the chapter house of their order, or finally doe go about any thing appertaynyng to that company. In lyke sort they weare also theyr mantelles vpon the euen of S. George, & go with the Souereine, or his deputie in the same in maner of procession from the kings great chamber vnto the chapel, or vnto the Colledge, and likewyse back againe vnto the aforesayde place, not putting it from them, vntill supper be ended, & the auoyde done. The next daye they resorte vnto the chappell also in the lyke order, and from thence vnto diner, wearing afterward theyr sayde apparell vnto euenyng prayer, & lykewyse all the supper tyme, vntill the avoyd be finished. In the solemnity likewise of these feastes, the thirteene chanons there, & fiue and twentie poore knightes, haue mantelles of the order, whereof those for the chanons are of Murrey with a roundell of the armes of S. George, the other of redde, with a scocheon onely of the sayde armes. If anye knyght of thys order bee absent from thys solemnety vpon the euen and daye of S. George, and be inforced not to be present eyther through bodily sickenesse, or hys absence out of the land: he doth in the Church Chappell, or Chamber where he is remaynyng, prouide an honorable stall for ỳ kings maiestie in the ryght hande of the place with a cloth of estate, and cushions, & scochion of the Garter, and therein the armes of the order. Also his owne stal of which side soeuer it be distaunt from the kinges or the Emperours in his owne place, appoynted so nyghe as he can, after the maner & scituation of his stall at Windsore, there to remaine, ỳ firsteuenyng prayer on ỳ euen of S. George, or three of the clocke, & likewise the next day duryng the time of the diuine seruice, vntyll the Morning prayer, and rest of the seruyce be ended: and to weare in the meane time his mantell onely, wyth the George and the the lace, without eyther whodde, collor or surcote. Or if he be so sicke that he doe keepe his bedde, he doth vse to haue that habite laid vpon him during the times of diuine seruice aforesaide. At the seruice time also vpon the morrow after S. George, two of the chyefe knights (sauing the deputy of the souereigne if he himselfe be absent) shall offer the kings banner of armes, then other two the swoorde with the hyltes forwardes, which being done the first two shall returne againe, and offer the helme and creast, hauing at eache time two Harraldes of armes going before, according to the statutes. The Lorde Deputy or Leeftenaunt vnto the kings Grace, for the tyme beyng, alone and assisted with one of the chiefe Lordes, doth deliuer at his offering a peece of Golde, & hauing all the king of armes and Heraldes going before him, he so proceedeth to the offring. When hee hath thus offered for ỳ Prince, he returneth with lyke solemnity vnto hys stall, and next of all goeth againe with one Haralde to offer for himselfe, whose oblation beyng made, euery knight according to their stalles, wyth an Harald before him proceedeth to the offring.

Sicke or absent.

Offering.

What solemnitie is vsed at ỳ burail of any knight of ỳ garter, it is but in vain to declar wherefore I will shewe generally what is done at ỳ disgrading of one of these knights, if thorowe any grieuous offence he be separated from this companye. Whereas otherwyse the signe of the order is neuer taken from him vntill death doe ende and finishe vp his dayes. Therfore when any such thing is to be done, promulgation is made therof much after thys maner insuing. Burial.

Be it knowne vnto all men that. N. N. knyght of the most noble order of the Garter, is founde guilty of the abhominable and detestable cryme of high treason, for he hath most trayterously cõspired against our most high and mightie Prince soueregne of the sayde order contrary to all ryght, his duety, and the faithful othe, which he hath sworne & taken. For which causes therfore he hath deserued to be deposed from thys noble order, & felowship of the Garter. For it may not be suffred that such a traytour & disloyall member remayne among the faithfull knights of noble stomacke and bountifull prowesse, or that hys armes should be myngled wyth those of noble chiualry. Wherefore our most excellent Prince and supreame of this noble order, by the aduyse and counsell of his Colleges, willeth and commaundeth that hys armes which he before time had deserued shall be from hencefowth taken awaye and throwne downe: and he himselfe cleane cut of from the society of this renowmed order, and neuer from this day reputed any more for a member of the same, that all other by hys example may hereafter beware howe they committe the lyke trespasse, or fall into such notorious shame and rebuke. Thys notice beyng gyuen, there resorteth vnto the party to be desgraded certaine officers with diuers of his late fellowes appointed, which take frõ him his George, & other inuestiture, after a solemne maner. And thus much of this most honorable order, hoping ỳ no man wil be offẽded wt me, for vttering thus much. For sith the noble order of the Fleyson Dor or Golden fleece, with the ceremonies appertey-

Disgrading.

ning,

teyning vnto the creation and inuestiture of the fire and thirtie knightes thereof: And lykewyse that of S. Michaell and hys one & thirtie knights, are discoursed vpon at large by the hystoryographers of those countreys, wout reprehension or checke, I trust I haue not gyuen any cause of displeasure, briefely to set forth those things that appertaine vnto our renoumed order of the Garter, in whose compasse is written commonly, Honi soit qui mal y pense. which is so much to say, as euill come to him that euill thinketh: a very sharpe imprecation, and yet such as is not contrary to the worde, which promyseth lyke measure to the meater, as he doth meat to others.

There is yet an other order of Knights in England called Knightes Bannerets, who are made in the fielde with the ceremony of cutting of the point of his pennant of armes, and making it as it were a Banner. He being before a Bacheler Knight, is nowe of an higher degrée & alowed to display his armes in a banner as Barrons doe. Howbeit these Knights are neuer made but in the warres, the kinges Standard being vnfolded.

Esquire (which we call commonly Squire) is a Frenche worde, and so much in latine as Scutiger vel armiger. and such are all those which beare Armes, or Armoires, testimonies of their race from whence they be discended. They were at the first *Costerelles* or the bearers of the Armes of Barrons, or knightes, and therby being instructed in Armes, had that name for a dignitie giuen to distinguishe them from common souldiours, when they were togither in the fielde.

Gentlemen be those whome their race and blode doth make noble and knowne. The latines call them Nobiles & generosos, as the Frenshe doe *Nobles*. The Etimologie of the name expounded the efficacie of the worde, for as Gens in latin betokeneth the race and surname. So the Romaines had Cornelios, Sergios, Appios, Fabios, Æmilios, Iulios, Brutos. &c. of which, who were agnati and therfore kept the name, were also called *Gentiles*, gentlemen of that or that house and race. As the king or Quéene doth dubbe knights, and createth the Barons and higher degrées, so gentlemē whose auncestours are not knowē to come in with Willia Duke of Normandie, do take their beginning in Englād, after this maner in our tymes. Whosoeuer studieth ỳ lawes of the realme, who so studieth in the Vniuersitie, or professeth Phisicke and the liberall Sciences, or beside his seruice in the rowme of a capitaine in the warres, can liue solely and without manuell labour, and therto is able and wil beare the port, charge and countenaunce of a gentleman, he shall be called Master (which is the title that men giue to Esquires and Gentlemenne) and reputed for a Gentleman, which is so much the lesse to be disalowed, as for that ỳ Prince doth lose nothing by it, ỳ gentlemā being so much subiect to tares and publicke paymēts as is the Yeoman or husbandman, which he also doth beare the gladlyer, for the sauing of his reputation. Being called to the warres, whatsoeuer it cost him, he will both arraye and arme himselfe accordinglye, and shewe ỳ more manly courage and all the tokens of ỳ person which he representeth: No mā hath hurt by it but himself, who peraduenture wil now and then beare a bigger sayle then hys boate is able to sustaine.

Citizens and Burgeses haue next place to gentlemen, who be those that are free within the cities, and are of some substaunce to beare Office in ỳ same. But these citizens or Burgeses are to serue the cōmon wealth in their cities and Borowghes, or in corporate townes where they dwell. And in the common assembly of the realme to make lawes (called the Parliament,) the ancient Cities appoint foure, and the borowghs two Burgeses to haue voyces in it, and to giue their consent or dissent vnto such thinges as passe or stay there in the name of the citie or Borowe, for which they are appointed. Citizens.

In this place also are our Marchauntes to be enstalled as amōg the Citizens, whose number is so increased in these our dayes, that their onely maintenaunce is the cause of the exceeding prices of forreine wares, which otherwyse when eache nation was permitted to bring in hir owne commodities, were farre better cheape and more plentifully to be had. Among the Lacedemonians it was founde out that great numbers of Merchauntes were nothing to the furtheraunce of the state of the common wealth: wherefore it is to be wyshed that the heape of them were somewhat restreigned, so should the rest liue more easily vpon their owne, & few honest chapmē be brought to decaye, by breaking of the bankerupt. I doe not denie but that the naule of the lande is in part maintained by their traffick, and so are the highe prices of thinges kept vp now they haue gotten the only sale of things into their handes: whereas in times past when the strange bottomes were suffered to come in, we had Suger for foure pence the pounde, that nowe is worth halfe a crowne, Raisons Marchāts

of Cozinth foz a peny that now are holden at six pence, and sometime at eight pence & ten pence the pound: nutmegges at two pence halfe peny the ounce: Ginger at a penny an ounce, Pzoynes at halfe penye farthing: Great reysons three pounde foz a peny, Cinnamon at foure pence the ounce, Cloues at two pence, and Pepper at twelue, and fiftene pence the pounde. Whereby we maye see the sequele of thinges not alwayes to be such as is pretended in the beginning. The wares that they carry out of the Realme, are foz the moste part brode clothes & carsies of all colours, lykewyse cottons, freses rugges, tinne, woll, leade, felles, &c. which being shipped at sundry pozts of our coasts, are borne from thence into all quarters of the worlde, and there either exchaunged foz other wares, oz ready money: to the great gaine and commoditie of our Merchauntes. And whereas in times past our chiefe trade was into Spaine, Pozingall, Fraunce, Flaunders, Danske, Pozway, Scotlande, and Iseland onely: so in these dayes, as men not contented wyth these iourneyes, they haue sought out the East and West Indies, & made voyages not only vnto the Canaries, and newe Spayne, but likewyse into Cathaia, Moscouia, Tartaria, & the regions thereabout, from whence as they pretende they bring home great commodities.

Not seene in a bate-ment of price of thinges.

Our Peomen, are those which by our Lawyers are called Legales homines, free men borne English, and maye dispende of theyr owne free lande in yerely reuenewe, to the summe of 40. s. sterling. This sozte of people haue a certaine preheminence and mozer estimation then labourers and artificers, and commonly liue welthely, kepe good houses, & trauelleth to get rythes. They are also foz the most part farmers to gentlemen, & with grazing frequenting of markets and keping of seruants (not yole seruantes as the gentlemen doth, but such as get both their owne & part of theyr Maisters lyuing) doe come to great wealth, insomuch that many of them are able and doe buy the landes of vnthrifty gentlemen, & often setting theyr sonnes to the Scholes, to the Vniuersities, and to the Innes of the Court, oz otherwise leauing them sufficient landes whereupon they maye liue without labour, doe make their sayde sonnes by that meanes to become gentlemen. These were they that in times past made al Fraunce afrayd. And the kings of England in foughten battailes, were wont to remaine among these Peomen who were their footemen, as the French kings did amongst theyr horsemen: the Prince thereby shewing where his chiefe strength did consist.

The fourth and last sozt of people in Englande are day labourers, poze husbandmē, and some retaylers (which haue no free lande) copy holders, & al artificers, as Taylours, Shoomakers, Carpenters: Brickemakers, Masons, &c. As foz slaues & bondmē we haue none. These therfoze haue neither voice noz authozitie in y common welth, but are to be ruled, & not to rule other: yet they are not altogither neglected, foz in cities and cozpozate Townes, foz default of Peomen they are fayne to make vp their enquestes of of such maner of people. And in Villages they are commonly made Church wardens Sidemen, Aleconners, Constables, & many tymes enioye the name of hedbozowghes. Thys furthermoze amonge other thynges I haue to saye of our husbandmen and artificers, that they were neuer so excellent in theyr trades as at this present. But as the workemanshippe of the later sozt was neuer moze fine and curious to the eye, so was it neuerlesse strong and substanciall foz continuance and benefite of the buyers. Certes there is nothing that hurteth our artificers moze then hast, and a barbarous oz slauishe desire, by riddinge their worke to make spedy vtteraunce of theyr wares: which inforceth thē to bugle vp & dispatch many thinges they care not howe so they be out of theyr handes, whereby the buyer is often soze defrauded, and findeth to hys cost, that hast maketh waste, accozdyng to the prouerbe. But to leaue these thinges and proceede wyth our purpose, and herein (as occasion serueth) generally to speake of the common wealth of Englande, I find that it is gouerned and maintained by three soztes of persons.

The Prince Monarch and heade gouernour which is called the king, oz (if y crowne fall to the Woman) the Quene: in whose name and by whose authozitie, all thynges are administred.

The Gentlemen, which be deuided into two parts, as y Barony oz estates of Lozds, (which conteyneth Barons and all aboue that degree) and also those that be no Lozds, as Knightes, Esquiers, and simple Gentlemen, &c.

The third and last sozt is named the Peomanrye, of whome and their sequele, the labourers and Artificers, I haue sayde somewhat euen nowe.

No slaues nor bondman in Englande.

Of these also someare by the Prince, chosē & called to great offices, in the cōmon welth, of which offices diuers concerne the whole realme, some be moze pzyuate and peculyar to the kinges house. And they haue their places

ces and degrées, prescribed by an Act of parliament made Anno. 31. H. octaui, after this maner insuing.

These foure the Lorde Chauncelour, the Lorde Treasorour, the Lord president of the Counsell, and the Lorde Priuie Seale béeyng persons of the degrée of a Baron or aboue, are in the same act appointed to sit in ỹ Parliament and in all assemblies or counsel aboue all Dukes, not being of the bloud royall, Videlicet the kinges Brother, Uncle or Nephewe.

And these sire, the L. great Chamberlein of Englande: the L. high Constable of Englande: the Lorde Marshall of Englande: the Lorde Admirall of Englande: the Lorde great Maister, or Kings Stewarde of the kings house: and the Lorde Chamberleyne: by that acte are to be placed in all assemblies of Counsell, after the Lorde Priuie Seale, according to their degrées & estates: so that if he be a Barron, then to sitte aboue all Barons: or an Earle, aboue all Earles.

And so likewyse the kynges Secretarye beyng a Barron of the Parliament, hath place aboue all Barons, and if he be a man of higher degrée, hée shall sitte and be placed according therevnto.

The Temporall Nobilitie of England according to the auncientie of theyr creations or first calling to their degrées.

The Marquise of Winchester.
The Earle of Arondell.
The Earle of Orforde.
The Earle of Northumberlande.
The Earle of Shrewesbury.
The Earle of Kent.
The Earle of Derby.
The Earle of Worcester.
The Earle of Rutlande.
The Earle of Cumberlande.
The Earle of Sussex.
The Earle of Huntingdon.
The Earle of Bath.
The Earle of Warwicke.
The Earle of Southampton.
The Earle of Bedforde.
The Earle of Penbrooke.
The Earle of Hertforde.
The Earle of Leycester.
The Earle of Essex.
The Earle of Lincolne.

The Viscont Montague.
The Viscont Byndon.

The Lorde of Abergeuenny.
The Lorde Awdeley.
The Lorde Zouche.
The Lorde Straunge.
The Lorde Barkeley.
The Lorde Morley.
The Lorde Dacres of the South.
The Lorde Cobham.
The Lorde Talbot.
The Lorde Stafforde.
The Lorde Grey of Wilton.
The Lorde Scrope.
The Lorde Dudley.
The Lorde Latymer.
The Lorde Stourton.
The Lorde Lumley.
The Lorde Mountioy.
The Lorde Ogle.
The Lorde Darcy of the North.
The Lorde Mountegle.
The Lorde Sandes.
The Lorde Maulr.
The Lorde Windsore.
The Lorde Wentworth.
The Lorde Borough.
The Lorde Morgaunt.
The Lorde Cromwell.
The Lorde Euers.
The Lorde Wharton.
The Lorde Riche.
The Lorde Willowghby.
The Lorde Sheffelde.
The Lorde Paget.
The Lorde Darcy of Chiche.
The Lord Hawarde of Effingham.
The Lord North.
The Lord Chaundos.
The Lord of Hunsdon.
The Lord Saint John of Bletso.
The Lorde of Buckhirst.
The Lord Delaware.
The Lorde Burghley.
The Lorde Compton.
The Lorde Cheyney.
The Lorde Norreys.

¶ *Byshoppes in their aunciencie, as they sat* in Parliament in the fift of the Queenes Maiesties the reigne.

The Arch Bishop of Caunterbury.
The Arch Bishop of Yorke.
London.
Durham.
Winchester.
The rest had theyr places in Seniority of Consecration.
Chichester. Ely.
Landaphe. Worceter.
Herefordе. Bangor.
D. ỹ. Lincolne.

Lincolne.	Exceter.
Salisbury.	Norwiche.
S. Dauids.	Peter borough.
Rochester.	Carlelle.
Bathe & Welles.	Chester.
Couentre and Lichfielde.	S. Asaphe.
	Glocester.

¶ Of prouision made for the poore. Cap. 5.

There is no common wealth at this day in Europe, wherein there is not great store of poore people, and those necessarily to be relieued by the welthier sort, which otherwise would starue and come to vtter confusion. With vs the poore is commonly deuided into three sortes, so that some are poore by impotencie, as the fatherlesse childe, the aged, blind and lame, and the diseased person that is iudged to be incurable: the second are poore by casualtie, as the wounded souldier, the decayed housholder, and the sicke person visited with grieuous and vncurable diseases: the third consisteth of thriftlesse poore, as the riotour that hath cõsumed all, the vagabond that will abide no wheres, but runneth vp and downe frõ place to place (as it were seeking worke and finding none) and finally the roge and strumpet which are not possible to be diuided in sonder.

Three sortes of poore.

For the first two sortes, that is to say the poore by impotencie and the poore by casualtie, which are there ỹ true poore in dede, & for whome the word doth bind vs to make some daily prouision: there is order taken throwout euery parish in the Realme, that weekely collection shalbe made for their helpe and sustentation, to the end they should not scatter abrode, and by begging here and there, annoy both towne and countrey. Authoritie also is gyuen vnto the Iustices in euery Countie (and great penalties appoynted for such as make defaulte) to see that the intent of the statute in thys behalfe be truely executed, according to the purpose and meaning of the same so that these two sortes are sufficiently prouided for: and such as cã liue within the limites of their allowance (as eache one wyll doe that is godly and well disposed) may well forbeare to rome & range abrode: But if they refuse to be supported by this benefite of the lawe, and will rather indeuour by going to and fro to maintayne theyr idle trades, then are they adiudged to be parcell of the third sort, and so in stead of curteous refreshing at home, are often corrected wt sharpe execution, & whip of iustice abrod. Many there are, which notwithstãding the rigour of the lawes prouided in that behalfe, yelde rather with this libertie (as they call it) to be daily vnder the feare & terrour of the whippe, then by abiding where they were borne or bred, to be prouided for by the parish. I found not long since a note of these latter sort, ỹ effect wherof insueth. Idle beggers are such eyther throwow other mens occasiõ, or throwgh their own default. By other mens occasion, (as one way for example) when some couetous man espying a further commoditie in theyr commons, holdes, and tenures, doth find such meanes as therby to wipe many out of their occuppyings, & turne the same vnto their priuate gaynes. Herevpon it followeth, that although the wise & better minded, do so behaue themselues that they are worthyly to be accompted among the second sort, yet the greater part commõly hauing nothing to stay vpon are wilfull, and therupõ doe eyther prowue idle beggers, or else continue starke thæues till the gallowes doe eate them vp.

I thinke often so.

It shalbe hande shall be blonde these be red.

Such as are vole beggers throwow theyr owne default are of two sortes, and cõtinue theyr estates either by casual or mere volũtary meanes: Those that are such by casuall meanes, are iustly to be referred either to the first or second sort of poore: but degenerating into the thriftlesse sort, they doe what they can to cõtinue their miserie, & with such impediments as they haue to stray and wãder about as creatures abhorring all labour and euery honest exercise. Certes I call these casuall meanes, not in respect of the originall of their pouertie, but of the continuance of the same, from whence they will not be deliuered throwow their owne vngracious lewdnesse, and froward disposition. The volũtary meanes procede frõ outwarde causes, as by making of corrosiues, and applying the same to ỹ more fleshie parts of their bodies: and also laying of Ratsbane, Spere wort, Crowfote, and such like vnto theyr whole mẽbers, thereby to raise pitieus and odious sores, and moue the goers by such places where they lie, to lament their miserie, and bestowe large almes vppon them.

Vnto this neast is another sort to be referred, more sturdie then the rest, which hauing sound and perfite lymmes doe yet notwithstanding sometime counterfeit the possession of al sortes of diseases. Diuers times in their apparell they will be like seruing men or labourers: Often tymes they can play the mariners, and seeke for ships which they neuer lost. But in fine, they are all thæues and Caterpillers in the common wealth, and by the word of God not permitted

ted to eate, sith they doe but licke the sweate from the true labozers bzowes, and bereue ẏ godly of that which is due vnto thē, to mainteine their excesse, consuming the charitie of well disposed people bestowed vpon them, after a most wicked, horrible, and detestable maner.

It is not yet .50. yeares sith this trade began: but how it hath prospered sithens that tyme, it is easye to iudge, for they are nowe supposed of one sere and another, to amount vnto aboue .10000. persons as I haue harde repozted. Mozeouer, in counterfaiting the Egyptian roges, they haue deuised a lāguage among themselues, which they name Canting, but other pedlars Frenche. A speache compact 30. yeares since of English, & a great nomber of odde wozds of their owne diuising without all ozder oz reason: and yet such is it as none but themselues are able to vnderstand. The first deuiser thereof was hanged by the necke, a iust reward no doubt for his desartes, and a common ende to all of that profession. A Gentleman also of late hath taken great paines to search out the secrete practises of this vngracious rable. And among other things he setteth downe and describeth .22. soztes of them, whose names it shal not be amisse to remēber: whereby each one may gather, what wicked people they are, and what villany remaineth in them.

The seueral disorders and degrees amongst our idle vagabonds.

1. Ruffelers.
2. Vprightmen.
3. Hookers oz Anglers.
4. Roges.
5. Wilde Roges.
6. Priggers of prauncers.
7. Palliardes.
8. Fraters.
9. Abrams.
10. Freshwater mariners, oz whipiackes.
11. Dummerers.
12. Dronken Tinkars.
13. Swadders oz pedlers.
14. Jarkemen oz patricoes.

Of vvomen kinde.

1. Demaunders for glimmar oz fire.
2. Bawdie baskets.
3. Mozts.
4. Autem Mozts.
5. Walking Mozts.
6. Dozes.
7. Delles.
8. Kinching Mozts.
9. Kinching Coes.

The punishment that is ozdained for this kind of people is very sharpe, and yet it can not restraine them frō their gadding: wherfoze the ende must nedes be Martiall lawe to be exercised vpon them, as vpon thēues, robbers, despisers of all lawes, and enemies to the commō wealth and welfare of ẏ land. What notable roberies, pilferies, murders, rapes, and stealings of children they doe vse (which they disfigure to begg withal) I nede not to rehearse: but for their idle roging about the countrie, the law ozdeineth this maner of cozrection. The Roge being apprehēded, committed to prison, and tried in ẏ next assizes (whether they be of Gaole deliuerie oz sessions of the peace) if he happen to be conuicted for a vagabond either by inquest of office, oz the testimonie of two honest and credible witnesses vpon theyr othes, he is then immediatly adiudged to be grieuously whipped & burned thozow the gristell of the right eare ẅ an hot iron of the compasse of an inch about, as a manifestation of his wicked life, and due punishment receyued for the same. And this iudgement is to be executed vpon him, except some honest person wozth fiue poundes in the Quēnes bookes in goods, oz twentie shillings in lands, oz some rich houshoulder to be allowed by the Justices, wil be boūd in a recognisance to retaine him in his seruice for one whole peare. If he be take the seconde time and proued to haue forsaken his sayd seruice, he shall then be whipped againe, bozed likewise thozowe the other eare and sette to seruice: from whence if he departe befoze a peare be expired, and happen afterward to be attached againe, he is condemned to suffer paines of death as a fellon (except befoze excepted) without benefite of clergie oz sanctuarie, as by the statute doth appere. Among roges and idle persons finally, we finde to be comprised al Pzoctozs that go vp and downe with counterfeit licences, Coziners, and suche as go about the countrey vsing vnlawfull games, practizers of Phisiognomie and Palmestrie, tellers of foztunes, fencers, bearwards, players, minstrels, iugglers, pedlers, tinkers, scholers, shipmen, prisoners gathering for fees, and others so oft as they be taken without sufficient licence. Each one also that harbozoweth oz aideth them with meat oz money, is tared and compelled to fine with the Quēnes maiestie for euery time that he shall so succoure them as it shall please the Justices of peace to assigne, so that the taration excede not 11. shillings as I haue bene informed. And thus much of the poze, and such prouision as is appoynted for them within the Realme of England.

Of sundrie punishments appointed for malefactors. Cap. 6.

The greatest and most grieuous punishment vsed in Englād, for such as offend

againſt the ſtate, is drawne from the priſone to the place of execution vpon an hardle or Sled, where they are hanged til they be half dead, and then taken downe and quartered, after that their mẽbers and bowels are cut from their bodies, and throwne into a fire prouided neare hand and within ſight, euen for the ſame purpoſe. Sometimes if the treſpaſſe be not the more hainous, they are ſuffred to hang til they be quite dead, and when ſo euer any of the Nobilitie are conuicted of high treaſon, this maner of their death is cõuerted into the loſſe of their heads onely, notwithſtanding that the ſentence doe runne after the former order. In triall of caſes cõcerning treaſon, felonie, or any other grieuous cryme, the partie accuſed doth yelde yf he be a noble man to be tryed by his Peeres: if a gentleman, by gentlemen: and an inferiour by God and by the countrie: and being condemned of felonie, manſlaughter. &c. he is eftſoones hanged by the necke til he be dead, and then cut downe and buryed. But yf he be conuicted of wilfull murder, he is eyther hanged aliue in chaynes neere the place where the facte was committed, (or elſe firſt ſtrangeled with a rope) and ſo continueth till his bones conſume to nothing. We haue vſe neither of the wheele nor of ỹ barre, as in other countries, but when wilfull manſlaughter is perpetrated, beſide hanging the Offendour hath his right hande commonly ſtricken of at the place where the acte was done, after which he is led forth to the place of execution, & there put to death according to the law. Vnder the worde felonie are manie grieuous crimes contained, as breche of priſon An. 1. of Edward the ſecond. Diſfigurers of ỹ Princes lege people. An. 5. of Henry the fourth. Hunting by nyght with painted faces and Miſours An. 1. of Henry the ſeuenth. Rape or ſtealing of women and maydens An. 3. of Henry the eight. Conſpiracy againſt the perſon of the Prince An. 3. of Henry the ſeauenth. Embeſilling of goodes committed by the maiſter to the ſeruaunt, aboue the value of fourtie ſhillings. An. 17. of Henry the eyght. Carying of horſes or mares into Scotland. An. 23. of Henry the eyght. Sodomy and Buggery An 25. of Henrye the eyght. Stealing of Hawkes egges. An. 31. of Henry the eyght. Cõiuring, ſorcerie, Witchcraft and digging vp of Croſſes. An. 33. of Henry the eyght. Prophecying vpõ armes, cogniſaunces, names, and badges. An. 33. of Henry ỹ eyght. Caſting of ſlanderous billes. An. 37. of Henry ỹ eyght. Wilfull killing by poyſon. An. 1. of Edward ỹ firſt. Departure of a ſoldier frõ the field. An. 2. of Edward ỹ firſt. Diminution of coyn, al offences within caſe premunire, embeſeling of recordes, goodes taken frõ dead men by their ſeruaunts, ſtealing of whatſoeuer cattell, robbing by the high way, vpon the ſea, or of dwelling houſes letting out of pondes, cutting of purſes, ſtealing of Deere by night, counterfectous of coyne, euidences, charters, and writings, & diuers other needleſſe to be remembred. Periury is puniſhed by the pillorie, burning in the forehead wt the letter P. and loſſe of all ỹ moueables. Many treſpaſſes alſo are puniſhed by ỹ cutting of one or both eares from the heade of the offendour, as the vtteraunce of ſedicious wordes againſt the maieſtrates, fraymakers, pettie robbers. &c. Roges are burned thorow the eares, carpers of ſheepe out of the land by the loſſe of their hãds, ſuch as kill by poyſon are eyther ſkalded to death in lead or ſeething water. Heretiks are burned quicke, harlottes & their mates by carting ducking and doing of open pennaunce are often put to rebuke. Such as kill thẽſelues are buryed in the fielde with a ſtake driuen thorow their bodies. Witches are hanged or ſometymes burned, but theeues are hãged euery where generally, ſauing in Halifax where they are beheaded after a ſtrãge maner, & wherof I find this report. There is & hath ben of ancient tyme a law or rather a cuſtome at Halifax, that whoſoeuer doth cõmit any felony: and is taken with the ſame, or confeſſe the facte vpon examination, yf it by valued by fower conſtables to amount to the ſomme of thirténe pence halfe peny, he is forthwt beheaded vpon the next market day (which fall dually vppon the tueſdayes, thurſdayes, and ſaterdayes,) or elſe vpon the ſame day ỹ he is ſo conuicted, yf market be then holde. The engine wherwt the execution is done, is a ſquare blocke of wood of the length of foure foote and an halfe, which goeth ryde vp and downe in a flot, rabet, or regall betweene two peeces of timber, that are framed and ſet vpright of fiue yards in height. In the neather ende of the flyding blocke is an Axe keyed or faſtened wyth Iron into the wood, which being drawne vp to the top of the frame is there faſtned with a woodden pinne, (the one ende ſet on a peece of woodde, which goeth croſſe ouer ỹ two rabets, & the other ende being let into the blocke, holding the Axe, with a notche made into the ſame after the maner of a Sampſons poſt,) vnto the middeſt of which pinne there is a long rope faſtened that commeth downe among the people, ſo that when the offendour hath made his confeſſion, and hath layde his neck ouer the neatthermoſt blocke, euery man

there

there presēt doth eyther take hold of ỳ rope, (or putteth forth his arme, so nére to ỳ same as he can get, in token that he is willing to sée true iustice executed,) and pulling out the pinne in this maner, ỳ head blocke wherin the are is fastened doth fall downe wyth such a violence that yf the necke of the transgressour were so bigge as that of a bull, it should be cut in sunder at a strocke, and roll from the bodie by an huge distaunce. If it be so that the offendour be apprehended for an ore, or orē, shéepe, kine, horse, or any such cattell: the selfe Beast or other of the same kinde, haue the ende of the rope tyed somewhere vnto them, so that they drawe out the pin whereby the offendour is executed. And thus much of Halifax law, which I set down onely to shew the custome of that country in this behalfe. Roges and vagabondes are often stocked and whipped, scoldes are ducked vpon cuckingstooles in the water. Such fellons as stand mute and speake not at their arraynement are pressed to death by huge weightes, and these commonly holde theyr peace, thereby to saue their goodes vnto their wyues and children, which yf they were condemned shoulde be confiscated to the prince. Théeues that are saued by their bookes and cleargie, are burned in the left hande, vppon the brawne of the thombe with an hote Irō, so that yf they be apprehended agayne, that marke bewrayeth them to haue béene arrayned of fellonie before, whereby they are sure at that time to haue no mercy. I do not read that this custome of sauing by the booke is vsed any where else then in Englande, neyther doe I finde after much diligent inquiry what Saxon Prince ordayned that lawe. Howbeit this I generally gather therof, that it was deuised at the first to traine the inhabiters of this lande to the loue of learning, which before contempned letters, & all good knowledge, as men only giuing themselues to husbandrie and the warres, the like wherof I read to haue béene amongst ỳ Gothes, & Vandales, who for a time would not suffer euen their princes to be learned for weakening of their courages, nor any learned men to remayne in the counsel house, but by open proclamation would commaunde thē to auoyde. Pyrates and robbers by sea, are condemned in the court of the Admyraltie, & hanged on the shore at lowe water marke, where they are left til thrée tides haue ouerwashed them. Finally such as hauing wals & bankes nére vnto the sea, and doe suffer the same to decay (after cōuenient admonition) wherby the water entreth and drowneth vp the countrymare by a certayne custome apprehended, condemned & staked in ỳ breache, where their remayne for euer as parcell of the foundation of the newe wall that is to be made vpon them, as I haue hard reported.

Of sauuage beastes and vermines. Cap. 7.

IT is none of the least blessings wherewith God hath indued thys Iland, that itis void of noysome beasts, as Lions: Beares, Tygers, Pardes, Wolfes, and such like, by meanes whereof our countrymen may trauaile in safetie, and our herdes and flockes remayne for the most part abroade in the fielde, without any herdeman or kéeper.

This is chiefely spoken of the south & southwest part of the Iland. For whereas we that dwell on this side of the Twede, maye safely boast of our securitie in this behalfe. Yet can not the scottes doe the lyke in euery point with in their kingdome, sith they haue grieuous Wolfes continually conuersaunt among them to the generall hinderaunce of their husbandmen, and no smal damage vnto the inhabiters of those quarters. The happy & fortunate want of these beasts in Englande is vniuersally ascribed to the politike gouernement of king Edgar, who to the intent the whole Countrie might once be clensed and clerely ridde of them, charged the conquered Welchmen (who were then pestured with these rauenous creatures aboue measure) to paye him a yearely tribute of Wolfes skinnes, to be gathered within the lande. He appointed them thereto a certaine number of thrée hundred, with frée liberty for their prince to hunt and pursue them ouer al quarters of the realme as our Chronicles doe report. Some there be which write how Ludwall Prince of Wales payde yearely to king Edgar this tribute of 300. Wolfes, and that by meanes thereof within the compasse and terme of foure yeres none of those noysome creatures were left within Wales and England Since this tyme also we read not that anye Wolfe hath béene séene here that hath bene breedde within the bondes and limites of our country. Howbeit there haue béene diuers brought ouer from beyonde the sea for grædinesse of gaine & to make money onely by the gasing and gaping of the people vpon them, who couet oft to sée them beyng straunge beastes in their eyes and seldome knowne in Englande.

Of Fores we haue some but no great store, and also Badgiers in our sandy & light groundes, where woodes, furzes, broome, and plentie of shrubbes are to shrowde them in, when

Fores Badgiers.

when they be from their boꝛrowes, and therto Warrens of Coneys at hand to fede vpon at will. Otherwise in clate which we call ỹ cledgie mould, we seldome here of any, because the moisture and toughnesse of the soile is such, as will not suffer them to dꝛawe and make their boꝛrowes depe. Certes if I may freely say what I thinke, I suppose that these two kindes (I meane Fores and Badgers) are rather preserued by Gentlemẽ to hunt & haue passime with all at their owne pleasures, then otherwise suffered to lyue, as not able to be destroyed because of theyꝛ greate numbers. Foꝛ such is the scantitye of them here in England in comparison of the plentie that is to be seene in other countryes, and so earnestly are the inhabitants bent to rote thẽ out, that except it had bene to beare thus vẽ the recreations of their superiozs, it could not otherwise haue ben chosen, but that they should haue bene vtterly destroyed by many yeares agone.

I might here intreat largely of other vermine, as the Polcate, the Minuer, the Weasel, Stote, Squirrill, Fitchew, and such like. Also of the Otter and Beuer, of which, as the first soꝛtes are plentifull in euery wode and hedgerow: so these latter, especially the Otter, (foꝛ to say the truth we haue not manye Beuers, but only in the Deitie in Wales) is not wanting oꝛ to seeke in many streames & riuers. But it shal suffice in this soꝛt to haue named them as I doe also the Partern, although foꝛ number I woꝛthily doubt whether that of our Beuers oꝛ Parternes, may be thought to be the lesse.

Beuers.

Otters.

Parternes.

Other pernicious beastes we haue not except you repute the great plentie of red and fallow Deare, and soꝛe of Conies amongst the hurtful soꝛt. Which, although that of thẽselues they are not offensiue at all, yet theyꝛ great numbers are thought to be very preiudicial, and therfoꝛe iustly repꝛoued of many as are in lyke soꝛt our huge flocks of shẽpe, where on the greatest parte of our soyle is emploied almost in euery place. The male of the red Deare was sometime called among the Saxons a staggon, but now a stagge, oꝛ vpon some consideratiõ an Harte, as the female is an Hinde. And this is one parcell of the Uenery wherof we intreated befoꝛe, and whose pꝛoper dwelling is in the large and woody foꝛrests. The fallow deare as Bucks and Does, are nourished in Parkes, & Conys in warrens and boꝛrowes. As foꝛ Hares they runne at theyꝛ owne aduenture, except some Gentleman oꝛ other foꝛ hys pleasure doe make an inclosure foꝛ them. Of these also the stagge is accompted foꝛ the most noble game, the fallow Deare is the next, then the Roe (whereof wee haue indifferent stoꝛe) and last of all the Hare: all which (notwythstanding our custome) are passimes moꝛe meete foꝛ Ladies and Gentlewomen to exercise, then foꝛ men of courage to followe, whose hunting should pꝛactise theyꝛ armes in talking of theyꝛ manhode and dealing wỏ such beastes as ettsones wyll turne agayne and offer them the hardest, rather then theyꝛ feete, whych many tymes may cary dyuers from the fielde. Surely this noble kinde of hunting onely did great Pꝛinces frequent in times past, as it may yet appeare by the hystoꝛies of theyꝛ times, and there to (beside that whych we read of the vsuall hunting of the Pꝛinces and Kings of Scotland, of the wild Bull, Wolfe. &c.) the example of king Henry the second of England: who disdayning as he termed it to followe oꝛ pursue cowards, cherished of set purpose sundꝛy kinds of wilde beastes at Woodstocke, and one oꝛ two other places in England, whych he walled about wyth hard stone, & where he would often fight wyth them hande to hande, when they did turne againe & make any reise vpon him.

Stagges.

King Henrye the fift in hys beginning, thought it a mere scoffery to pursue any fallow Deare wyth hounds oꝛ greyhounds, but supposed hym selfe alwayes to haue done a sufficient acte, when he had tired them by his owne trauaile on foote, and so killed them wyth hys handes, in the vpshot of that exercise and ende of hys recreation. And thus did very many in lyke soꝛt wyth the Harte, as I doe reade, but I thincke it was very long agone, when men were farre higher and swifter then they are now, and yet I deny not but the hunting of the redde Deare is a ryght Pꝛincely passime. In diuers foꝛren cuntries they cause theyꝛ redde and fallow Deare to dꝛaw the plowgh as we do our Oxen and hoꝛses. In some places also they milke theyꝛ Hindes as we doe here our Kine and Gotes. And the experience of this latter is noted by Gyraldus Cambꝛiensis to haue bẽne seene and vsed in Wales, where he did eate chẽese made of hindes milke, at such time as Baldwine Archbishop of Caunterburie pꝛeached the Croysade there, when they were both lodged in a Gentlemans house, whose wyfe of purpose kept a dairy of the same. As foꝛ ỹ plowing wyth Ares (whych I suppose to be vnlikely) and Alkes a thyng commonly vsed in the East countries, here is no place to speake of it, since we now want these kinde of beasts. Neither is it my purpose to intreat of other thyngs then are to be seene in England,

Hinde haue milke

land, wherfore I wil omitte to say any more of wilde and sauage beastes at thys tyme, thinking my selfe to haue spoken already sufficiently of this matter, if not to much in the iudgement of the curious.

¶ Of Cattell kept for profite. Cap. 8.

There is no kinde of tame Cattell vsually to be seene in these parts of the world whereof we haue not some, and that great store in England, as Horses, Oxen, Shéepe, Goates, Swine, & far surmounting the like in other countries, as maye be proued with ease. For where are Oxen commonlye more large of bone, Horses more decent & pleasant in pace, Shéepe more profitable for woll, Swine more holsome of flesh, & Goates more gainefull to their kéepers, then here with vs in England. But to speake of them peculiarly, I suppose that our Oxen are such as the lyke are not to be founde in any countrye of Europe both for greatnesse of bodye and sweetenesse of flesh: or else woulde not the Romaine writers, haue preferred them before those of Liguria. Their hornes also are knowne to be more fayre and large in England then in any other places, which quantity albeit that it be giuen to our brééde generally by nature, yet it is oft helped by arte. For when they be verye yonge, many Graziers will oftentimes annoynte their budding hornes, or typpes of hornes, with Hony, which mollifieth the naturall hardenesse of that substaunce, and thereby maketh it to growe vnto a notable greatnesse. Certes, it is not straunge in England, to sée Oxen whose hornes haue ỳ length of a yarde or thrée foote betwéene the typpes, and they themselues thereto so tall, as the heigth of a man of meane and indifferent stature, is scarce comparable vnto them.

Our Horses moreouer are highe, and although not commonly of such huge greatnesse as in other places of the maine, yet yf you respect the easinesse of theyr pace, it is harde to saye where their lyke are to be had. Our lande doth yéelde no Asses, and therefore the most parte of our carryage is made by these, which remaining stoned, are either reserued for the cart, or appointed to beare such burthens, as are conuenient for them: Our Carte horses therfore are commõly so strong, that fiue of them will drawe thrée thousande weyght of the greatest tale with ease for a lõg iourney. Such as are kept also for burden, will cary foure hundreth waight commonly without any hurt, or hinderance. Thys furthermore is to be noted, that our Princesse and the Nobilitye, haue their cariage commonly made by cartes, whereby it commeth to passe, that when the Quéenes maiestie doth remoue from any one place to another, there are vsually 400. carewares, appointed out of the Countryes adioyning, whereby hir carryage is conueighed safely vnto ỳ appointed place, & herby also the auncient vse of sommers and sumpter horses, is in maner vtterly relinquished.

Such as serue for the saddle are cõmonly gelded, and now growne to be very dere among vs, especially if they be well coloured, iustly ymmed, and haue thereto an easie ambling pace. For our countrimen séeking their ease in euery corner where it is to bée had, delight very much in these qualyties, but chiefly in their excellent pates, which besides that it is in maner peculiar vnto horses of our soyle, and not hurtfull to the rider or owner sitting on their backes: it is moreouer verye pleasaunt and delectable in hys eares, in that the noyse of theyr well proportioned pase doth yéeld comfortable sounde. Yet is there no greater deceit vsed any wher then among our horsekéepers, horsecorsers, and Hostelers: for such is the subtill knauery of a great sort of them (wythout exception of anye be it spoken which deale for pryuate gaine) that an honest meaning mã shall haue verye good lucke among them, if he be not decepued by some false tricke or other. Geldings.

Our shéepe are very excellent sith for sweetnesse of flesh they passe all other, & so much are our woolles to be preferred before those of other places, that if Iason had knowne ỳ valne of them that are brédde, and to be had in Englande, he woulde neuer haue gone to Colchos, to seke for any there. What fooles then are our countrymen, in that they séeke to bereue themselues of this commoditie, by practising daply howe to transferre the same to other nations, in carying ouer their rammes and ewes to brééde an increase among them. But such is our nature, and so blinde are we in déede, that we sée no inconuenience before we féele it: and for a present gaine we regarde not what damage may ensue to our posterity. Hereto some other mã would adde also the desire, that we haue to benefite other countries, and to impeche our owne. And it is so sure as God lyueth, that euery tryfle which cõmeth from beyonde the sea, though it bée not worth thrée pence, is more estéemed then a continuall commoditie at home, which farre exceédeth that value. It is furthermore to be noted, for the lowe Countries of Belgy knowe it, and dailye experience Shepe.

(not-

(notwithstanding the sharpenesse of oure lawes to the contrarye) doth yet confirme it: that although our Rammes & Wethers doe goe thether from vs neuer so well headed according to their kinde, yet after they haue remained there a whyle, they cast there their hornes, and from thencefowrth they remayne polled, without any hornes at all.

Shéepe without hornes.

Certes this kinde of Cattell is more cherished in Englande, then standing well wyth the commoditie of the commons, or prosperitie of dyuers townes, whereof some are wholy conuerted to their féeding: yet such a profitable sweetenesse is founde in theyr fleece, such necessity in their flesh, & so great a benefite in ỳ manuring of barraine soyle with their dung & pisse, that their superfluous numbers are the better borne withall, and there is neuer an husbande man, (for now I speake not of our great shéepemaisters) but hath more or lesse of thys cattell féedyng on his fallowes. There are & peraduenture no small babes, which can make accompt of euery tenne kine to be clerely worth twenty pound in common and indifferent yeares, if the milke of fyue shéepe be daily added to the same: but as I wote not howe true this surmyse is, so I am sure hereof, that some huswyues can and doe adde daily a lesse proportiõ of ewes milke vnto so many kine, wherby their chéese doth the longer abyde moist, and eateth more brickle and mellowe then otherwyse it woulde.

Goates.

Goates we haue plenty in the west partes of England, especially in & toward Wales, and amongst the rocky hilles, by whom the owners doe reape no small aduantage: some also are cherished elsewhere in sundrye stédes, for the benefite of such as are diseased with sundry maladies, vnto whom (as I here) it is iudged very profitable and therfore inquired for of many farre and nére.

Swine.

As for Swine there is no place that hath greater store nor more wholsome in eating, thẽ are these here in england & of these, some we eate gréene for porcke, & other dryed vp into Bacon to haue it of more continuance, Larde we make little because it is chargeable, neyther haue we such vse thereof as is to be séene in other Countries, sith we do either bast all our meate with butter, or suffer the fattest to baste it selfe by leysure.

Boares.

Of our Boares we make Brawne, which is a kinde of meate not vsually knowen to straungers (as I take it) otherwyse woulde not the swart Rutters and frenche cookes, at the losse of Callis, (where they founde great store of this prouision almost in euery house) haue attempted with ridiculous successe to roste, bake, broyle, and frye the same for their maisters, til they were beter informed. I haue harde moreouer, howe an noble man of england did send ouer an hoggeshead of brawne ready souced to a Catholike Gentlemen of Fraunce, who supposing it to be fishe reserued it vntill Lent, at which time hée did eate thereof with verye great frugalitye. Therto he so wel liked of the prouision it self, that he wrote ouer for more of the same fish, againe the yeare insuing: whereas if he had knowen it to haue béene flesh, he would not haue touched it I dare saye for a thousande crownes, without ỳ popes dispensatiõ. With vs it is accompted a great peece of seruice at the table from Nouember vntyll Februarye be ended, but chiefely in the Christmas time.

Wyth the same also we begin our dinners eche day after other: & because it is somwhat harde of digestion, a draught of Madneby, Bastarde or Muscadell, is vsually druncke after it, where either of them may conueniently to be had, otherwyse the meaner sorte content themselues wyth their owne drink, which at that season is cõmonly very strong, and stronger in déede, then in all the yeare beside.

It is made commonly of the fore part of a tame Bore, set vppe for the purpose by the space of an whole yeare or two (especially in Gentlemens houses) for the husbandman & farmers neuer francke them for their owne vse aboue thrée or foure monethes, or halfe a yeare at the most) in which time he is dyeted with otes and peason, and lodged on the bare planckes of an vneasie coate, tyll hys fat be hardened sufficiently for their purpose. Afterwarde he is killed, scalded and cut out, & then of his former partes is our Brawne made, the reast is nothing so fat and therefore it beareth the name of souce only, and is commonly reserued for the seruing man and and hinde. The necke péeces being cut of rounde are called collers of Brawne, the shoulders are named shildes, only the ribbes retayne the former denomination, so ỳ these foure péeces deserue the name of Brawne. The bowels of the beast are commonly cast away, bycause of their ranckenesse, & so were also his stones, till a foolish fantasie gat hold of late amongst some delicate Dames who haue now founde the meanes to dresse them with great cost for a delicate dish and bring them to the boarde as a seruice though not without note of their desire to ỳ prouocation of fleshly lust, which by thys one acte is not a lyttle reuealed. But to returne againe vnto our purpose. When the Bore is thus cut out, eache péece is wrapped vp, eyther with bul-

rushes,

ruſhes, oſier peles, packethrēd or ſuch like, and then ſodden in a leade or caldron togyther tyll they be ſo tender that a manne may thruſte a bruſed ruſhe or ſoft ſtrawe cleane through the fatte, whyche being done they take it vp and laye it abroade to cole. Afterward putting it into cloſe veſſels, they poure either good ſmall ale or bēre mingled wyth vergeous and ſalt thereto tyll it be couered, and ſo let it lye (nowe and then altering and changing the ſowring drincke leaſt it ſhould ware ſoure) till occaſion ſerue to ſpend it out of the way. But of Brawne thus much, and ſo much may ſēme ſufficient.

Of vvilde and tame Fowles. Cap. 9.

ORder requireth that I ſpeake ſomewhat of the Fowles alſo of Englande, which I may eaſily deuide into the wilde and tame, but alas ſuch is my ſmall ſkill in Fowles, that to ſay the truth I cā neyther recite their nombers nor well diſtinguiſhe one kinde of them from an other. Yet thys I haue by generall knowledge, that there is no nation vnder the ſunne which hath in time of yere more plentie of wild Fowle then we, for ſo many kindes as our Iland doth bring forth. We haue therfore the Crane, the Bitter, the wilde and tame Swanne, the Bullarde, the Hieron, the Curlew, the Snite, the Wilde goſe, Dotterel, Brant, Larke, Plouer, Lapwing, Teele, Wigeon, Mallard, Sheldrake, Shoueler, Pewet, Seamewe, Barnacle, Quaile, Woodcocke, Partrich and Feaſant, beſides diuers other, whoſe names to me are vtterly vnknowne, and much more the taſte of their fleſh wherewith I was neuer acquainted. But as theſe ſerue not at all ſeaſons, ſo in their ſeuerall turnes, there is no plentye of them wanting, wherby the tables of the Nobilitie and Gentrie ſhould ſēme to be dayly vnfurnyſhed. But of all theſe the production of none is more marueilous then that of the Barnacle, whoſe place of generatiō we haue ſought oft times ſo farre as the Orchades, where as peraduēture we myght haue found the ſame nearer home, and not onely vppon the coaſtes of Ireland, but euen in our owne riuers. If I ſhoulde ſaye howe either theſe or ſome ſuch other Fowle not muche vnlyke vnto them doe breede yerely in the Thames mouth, I doe not thincke that many will beleue me, yet ſuch a thing is there to be ſeene, where a kinde of Fowle hath hys beginning vpon a ſhort tender ſhrubbe ſtanding vppon the ſhore from whēce when their time commeth they fall downe either into the ſalt water and liue, or vpon the dry land and periſh, as Pena the French Herbariſt hath alſo noted in the very ende of hys Herball. As for Egretes, Pawperes and ſuch like, they are daily brought vnto vs from beyonde the ſea, as if all the Fowle of our countrey could not ſuffice to ſatiſfie our delicate appetites. Our tame Fowle are ſuch for the moſt parte as are common both to vs and to other Countreys, as Cockes, Hennes, Gēſe, Duckes, Pecockes of Inde, blew Pecocks, Pigeons and ſuch lyke whereof there is great plenty in euery Fermours yeard. They are kepte there alſo to be ſolde eyther for ready money in the open markettes, or elſe to be ſpent at home in good company amongſt their neighbours wythout reprehenſion or fines. Neyther are we ſo miſerable in England (a thing only graunted vnto vs by the eſpeciall grace of God and liberty of our Princes) as to dine or ſuppe wyth a quarter of a Hen, or to make ſo great a repaſt with a cocks combe as they doe in ſome other Countreys: but if occaſion ſerue the whole carcaſes of many Capons, Hennes, Pigeons and ſuch lyke doe oft goe to wracke, beſide Beefe, Mutton, Veale and Lambe: all which at euery feaſt are taken for neceſſary diſhes amongſt the comminalty of England. The gelding of Cockes, where by Capons are made, is an auncient practiſe brought in of olde time by the Romaines when they dwelt here in thys lande: but the gelding of Turkies or Indiſh Peacockes is a newer deuiſe: and certainely not vſed amiſſe, ſith the rancknes of that byde is very much abated therby, and the taſt of the fleſh in ſundry wiſe amended. If I ſhould ſay that ganders growe alſo to be geloed, I ſuppoſe that no man will beleue me, neyther haue I talked at any tyme of ſuch a fowle ſo ſerued, yet haue I heard it more then once to be vſed in the Countrey, where they Gēſe are driuen to the fielde like herdes of cattell by a Goſeheard, a toy alſo no les to be merueiled at then the other. For as it is rare to heare of a gelded gander, ſo it is ſtraunge to me, to ſee or heare of Gēſe to be ledde to the field lyke ſheepe: yet ſo it is, and their Goſeherd carryeth a rattle of paper or parchement wyth hym when he goeth about in the morning to gather the Goſlings together, the noyſe whereof commeth no ſoner to their eares, then they fall to gaggling, and haſten to goe wyth hym. If it happen that the gates be not yet open, or that none of the houſe be ſtirring, it is ridiculous to ſee how they will pēpe vnder the doores, and neuer leaue crying and gāgling til they be let out vnto him to ouer take their fellowes. I might here

make

make mention of other fowles which we repute vncleane, as Crowes, Pies, Choughs, Rookes, &c: but sith they abound in all countries, (though peraduenture most of all in Englande by reason of our negligence) I shall not nede to spend any tyme in ỹ rehersall of them. Neyther are they cherished of purpose to catch vp the wormes that breede in our soyles, (as Pollidore supposeth,) sith there are no vplandishe townes but haue or shoulde haue nettes of their owne in store to catche them withall. Sundrie actes of Parliament ars likewyse made for their vtter destruction. Nothing therefore can be more vnlykely to be true, then that these ruinous and noysome foules are nourished amongst vs to deuour our Wormes, whych doe not abounde much more in Englande then elsewhere in other countries of the mayne.

Of fishe taken vpon our Coastes. Cap. 10.

AS our foules haue their seasons, so lykewise haue all sorts of fish, wherby it cometh to passe that none, or at the leastwyse very few of them are to be had at all tymes. For my part I am greatly acquainted neyther with the seasons nor yet with the fish it selfe, and therefore yf I shoulde take vppon me to describe or speak of either of them absolutely, I should enterprise more then I am able to performe, & go in hande with a greater matter then I can well bring about. It shall suffice therefore to declare what sortes of fishes I haue most often seene, to the ende I may not altogither passe ouer this chapter without ỹ rehearsall of some thing, although the whole somme of that which I haue to say be nothing in deede, yf the full discourse hereof be any thing duly considered.

Of fishes therfore as I finde fiue sorts, the flat, the roūd, the long, the legged & shelled, so the flat are deuided into the smoothe, scaled & tailed. Of the first are the Plaice, the Butte, the Turbut, Dorrey, Dabbe, &c. Of the seconde, the Soles, &c. Of the thirde, oure Chattes, Maidens, Kingsones, Flathe and Thornebacke, whereof the greater be for the most parte either dryed and caryed into other countries, or soddē, sowsed, & eaten here at home, whylest the lesser be fryed or buttered, sone after they be takē, as prouision not to be kept long for feare of putrefaction. Vnder the round kindes are commonly comprehended Lumpes an vgly fish to sighte, and yet very delicate in eating, yf it be kindlye dressed. The Whighting, (an olde waiter or seruitor in the Court) the Rochet, Gurnard, Hadocke, Codde, Herring, Pilchard, Sprat, & such like. And these are they wherof I haue best knowledge and be commonly to be had in their tymes vppon our coastes. Vnder this kinde also are all the great fishe contained as the Seale, the Dolphin, the Porpasse, the Thirlepole, Whale, and whatsoeuer is round of body, be it neuer so great and huge. Of the long sort are Cungres, Eles, Carefishe and suche other of that forme. Finallye of the legged kinde we haue not manye, neyther haue I seene any more of thys sort then the Polipus, called in Englishe the Lobstar, the Crafish, and ỹ Crabbe. As for the little Crafishes, they are not taken in the sea, but plentyfully in our freshe ryuers in banckes and vnder stones where they kepe themselues in most secret maner, and oft by lykenesse of coulour with the stones among which they lye, they deceiue euen the skilful takers of them, except they vse great diligence. I might here speake of sundrie other fishes nowe and then taken also vppon our coastes, but sith my minde is onely to touche eyther all such as are vsually gotten, or so many of them onely as I can well rehearse vpon certayne knowledge, I thincke it good at thys tyme to forbeare the further intreatye of them. As touching the shelly sorte we haue plentie of Dysters, Muscles and Cockles. We haue in lyke sort no small store of great Whelkes, and Perewinckles, & eache of them brought farre into the land from the sea coast in their seuerall seasons. And albeit our Dysters are generally forborne in the foure hote monethes of the yeare, that is to say, May, June, July, & August. Yet in some places they be continallye eaten, where they be kept in pittes as I haue knowen by experience. And thus much of our sea fishe, as a man in maner vtterlye vnacquainted with their diuersitie of kindes: yet so much haue I yelded to do, hoping hereafter to say somewhat more, and more orderly of them, if it shall please God that I may liue and haue leasure once againe to peruse this treatise, & so make vp a perfit peece of worke of ỹ, which as you now see is very slenderly begunne.

Of Hawkes and Rauenous foules. Cap. 11.

I Can not make as yet any iust report howe many sortes of Hawkes are breedde wythin this realme. Howbeit which of those that are vsually had amongest vs are disclosed with this laude, I thincke it more easie and lesse difficulte to set downe. First of all therfore that we haue the Eagle, common experience

rience doth euidently confirme, and diuers of our rockes whereon they bréede, yf ſpeach did ſerue, could well teſtifie the ſame. But the moſt excellent aiery of all is not much from Cheſter at a caſtle called Dinas Bren, ſometime buylded by Brennus, as our writters do coniecture. Certes this caſtell is no great thing, but yet a pyle very ſtrong and in acceſſible for enemyes, though nowe all ruinous as many other are. It ſtandeth vpon an harde rocke in the ſide whereof an Eagle bréedeth euery yeare. Certes this is notable in the ouerthrow of hir neaſt (a thing oft attempted) that he which goeth thither muſt be ſure of two large baſkets, and ſo prouide to be let downe thereto, that he may ſitte in the one and be couered with the other: for otherwyſe the Egle would kill hym and teare the fleſhe from his bones with their sharpe talons though his apparell were neuer ſo good. Next vnto ỳ Egle we haue the Irō or Erne (as the Scottes doe write) who call the Egle by ỳ name. Certes it is a Rauenous bird & not much inferiour to the Egle in déede. For though they be black of colour & ſomewhat leſſe of bodie, yet ſuch is their greatneſſe that they are brought by diuers into ſundrie partes of this realme and ſhewed as Egles onely for hope of gaine, which is gotten by the ſight of thē. Their chiefe bréeding is in the Weſtcountry, where the commons complaine of great harme to be done by thē in their fieldes, for they are able to beare a yong lambe or kidde vnto their neaſtes, therwith to fréede their yong and come againe for more. Some call thē Gripes. We haue alſo the Lanner & the Lanneret: the Tercell and the Goſehawke: the Muſket and the Sparhawke: the Jacke and the Hobby: and finallye ſome though very fewe Harlions. And theſe are all the Hawkes that I doe here to be bredde within this Iſlande. Howbeit as theſe are not wanting with vs, ſo are they not very plentifull: wherfore ſuch as delite in Hawking doe make their chiefe prouiſion for the ſame out of Danſke, Germany, and the Eaſtcountries, from whence we haue thē in great aboundaunce & at exceſſiue prices, whereas at home and where they be bredde they are ſolde for almoſt right naught and vſually brought to the markets as chickins, pullets and Pigeons are with vs, and there bought vp to be eaten (as we doe the aforeſayde foules) almoſt of euery man. But to proceede with ỳ reſt. Other rauenous birdes we haue alſo in very great plentye, as the Buſſarde, the Kite, the Ringtaile Dunkite, and ſuch as often annoye oure Countrie dames by ſpoyling of their yong broodes of chickins, Duckes and Goſlings, whereunto our very Rauens and Crowes haue learned alſo the way: and ſo much are our rauēs giuen to this kinde of ſpoyle, that ſome of ſet purpoſe haue manned reclaymed and vſed them in ſtéede of Hawkes, when other could not be had. I haue ſéene Crowes ſo cunning alſo of theyr owne ſelues that they haue vſed to ſoare ouer great riuers (as the Thames for example) & ſodenly comming downe haue caught a ſmall fiſhe in their féete and gone away withall wout wetting of their wings. And euen at this preſent the aforeſayde ryuer is not without ſome of them, a thing in my opinio not a litle to be wondred at. There is no cauſe wherfore I ſhoulde deſcribe the Cormorant amōgſt Hawkes (except I ſhold call him a Water Hawke) but ſith ſuch dealing is not conuenient, let vs nowe ſée what may be ſayde of our venemous Wormes, & how many kindes we haue of them within our realme and countrie.

¶ Of venemous beaſtes. &c. Cap. 12.

IF I ſhoulde go about to make any long diſcourſe of venemous Beaſtes, or Wormes bredde in Englande, I ſhould attempt more then occaſion it ſelfe woulde offer, ſith wée haue very fewe Wormes but no Beaſtes at all, that are thought by nature to bée eyther venemous or hurtfull. Firſt of all therefore wée haue the Adder, which ſome men doe not raſhely take to bée the Vyper. Certes if it bée ſo, then is not the Vyper Authour of the death of hir * Parents, as ſome hyſtories affyrme. And it may well be, for I remember that I haue reade in Philoſtrate, howe he ſawe a Vyper lycking of hyr yong. I did ſée an Adder once my ſelf that laye as I thought ſléeping on a moulehyll, out of whoſe mouth came aleuen yong Adders of twelue or thirtéene ynches in length a péece, which plaied to and fro in the Graſſe one wyth another, tyll ſome of them eſpyed me. So ſone therefore as they ſawe me, they ran againe into the mouth of theyr damme whome I kylled, and then founde eache of them ſhrowded in a diſtinct celle, or pannicle in hyr belly, much like vnto a ſoft white ielly, which maketh me to be of the opinion that our Adder is the Viper in déede. Their colour is for ỳ moſt part ruddy blew, and their ſtinging bryngeth death wythout preſent remedie be at hand, the wounded neuer ceaſſing to ſwell, neyther the venyme to worke till the ſkin of the one breake, and the other aſcende vpwarde to the hart, where it finiſheth

* Galenus de Theriaca ad Piſonem.
* Plin. lib. 10. cap. 62.
Se Ariſtotle, Animalium lib. 5. cap. vltimo & Theophraſt lib. 7. cap. 13.

finisheth. The effect, the length of thē is most commonly two foote and somewhat more, but seldome doth it extende vnto two foote five ynches, except it be in some rare and monsterous Adder: whereas our Snakes are much bygger and séene sometymes to surmount a yarde, or three foote, although their poyson be nothing so grieuous & deadly as ỳ others. Our Adders lie in winter vnder stones in wholes of the yearth, rotten stubs of trées, & amōgst the dead leaues: but in the heate of the sommer they come abroade, and lye eyther rounde in heapes, or at length vpon some hillocke, or elsewhere in the grasse. They are found only in our woodland countryes and highest groundes: as for our snakes they commonlye are séene in mores, fennes, and low bottomes. And as we haue great store of Todes where Adders cōmonly are found, so doe Frogges abound where Snakes doe kéepe their residence. We haue also the Sloworme, which is black & grayish of colour, and somewhat shorter then an Adder. We haue in lyke sort Eftes, both of the land and water, & likewise Swiftes, wherof to say any more it should be but losse of time, sithe they are well knowne and no regyon voyd of many of them. As for flies (sith it shal not be amysse a lyttle to touch them also) wée haue none that can doe hurt or hynderance naturally vnto any, for whether they be cut wasted, or whole bodyed, they are voyde of poyson & all venimous inclination. The cut wasted, for so I Englishe the worde Insecta are, the Hornettes, Waspes, Bées, and such lyke, whereof wée haue great store, and of which an opinion is conceiued, that the first doe brēde of the corruption of deade horses, the second of Peares and Apples corrupted, and the last of Kine and Oxen: which maye be true, especially the first and latter in some partes of the beast, and not their whole substaunces, as also in the seconde, sith we haue neuer Waspes, but whē our frute beginneth to ware rype. In déede Virgill and others speake of a generatiō of Bées, by kyllyng or smouthering of a brouled bullocke or calfe, and laying hys bowels or hys flesche wrapped vp in hys hyde in a close house for a certaine season, but how true it is as yet I haue not tryed. Yet sure I am of thys that no one liuing creature corrupteth without the production of an other as we may see in shepe also for excessiue numbers of flesh flies, if they be suffered to lye vnburyed or vneaten by the dogges and Swine, who often preuent such needelesse generations.

Thus much farder will I adde of Bées, that whereas some ancient writers affirme thē to be a cōmodity wanting in our Iland, it is nowe founde to be nothing so. In olde time peraduenture we had none in déede, but in my dayes there is such plenty of them in maner euery where, that in some vplandysh Townes, there are one hundreth, or two hundreth hiues of them, although the saide hiues are not so huge as they of the east countrey, but farre lesse, as not able to containe aboue one bushel of corne, or fiue peckes at ỳ most. Our hony also is taken and reputed to be the best bycause it is harder, better wrought & clenlyer vesselled vp, thē that which cōmeth from beyond the sea, where they stampe and straine their combes, Bées, & young Blowinges altogither into the stuffe, as I haue béene informed. In vse also of medicine our Phisitions and Apothecaries eschewe the forren, & chose the home made, as breéding lesse choler, which is oftentimes (and I haue séene by experience) so white as suger, and corned as if it were salt. Our hiues are made commonly of Rye straw, and wadled about with bramble quarters. But some make thē of wicker and cast them ouer with clay. We cherish none in trées, but set our hiues somewhere on the warmest side of the house, prouyding that they may stande dry and without daūger of the mouse. This furthermore is to bé noted, that whereas in vesselles of oyle, that which is nérest the toppe is accounted the best, and of wine that in the middest, so of hony the best is alwayes next the bottome, which euermore casteth and dryueth his dragges vpwarde toward the very top, contrary to the natures of other liquide substaunces, whose groundes and lies, doe generally settle downewardes. And thus much as by the waye of our Bées and Englishe Hony.

As for the whole bodied, as the Cantharides and such venymous creatures, we here not of them. Yet haue we Bettles, Horseflyes, Turdbugges (called in latine Scarabei) the Locust or the Grashopper and such lyke, whereof let other intreate, that make an exercise in catchyng of Flyes, but a farre greater sport in offering them to spyders as did Caligula sometyme and an other Prince yet lyuing, who delyted so much to see the foly combattes betwixt a stout flye and an old Spider, that diuers men haue had great rewardes giuen them for their paineful prouision of flyes made onely for thys purpose. Some also in the time of Caligula coulde deuyse to set their Lorde on worke, by lettyng flesche flies into his chamber, which he forthwith woulde egerly haue hunted all other businesse set apart, & neuer ceased til he had

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caught hir into his fingers. There are some Cockescombes here and there in England * which make account also of this pastime as of a notable matter, telling what a sight is seene betweene thē, if either of them be lusty and couragious in his kinde. One also hath made a booke of the Spider & the Fly, wherin he dealeth so profoundly and beyonde all measure of skill, that neyther he himselfe that made it, neither any one that readeth it, can reache vnto the meaning therof. But if those lolly fellowes in steede of the straw that they thrust into the Flies taple (a great iniurie no doubt to such a noble champion) woulde bestow the cost to set a fooles cap vpon there owne heades: then might they with more securitie, and lesse reprehension beholde these notable battayles.

Of Englishe Dogges. Cap. 13.

THere is no country that may (as I take it) compare with ours in number, excellencie, and diuersitie of Dogges: all which the learned Doctour Caius in his Treatise vnto Gesnere de canibus Anglicis doth bring into three sortes: that is, the gentle kinde serving for game: the homely kind apt for sundry necessarie vses: and the curriſh kinde, meete for many toyes. For my part I can saye no more of them then he hath done alreadie, wherfore I wil here set downe only a somme of that which he hath written of their names and natures, with the addicion of an example or two now lately had in experience, whereby the courages of our Mastiffes shall yet more largely appeare.

The first sort therefore he deuideth eyther into such as rowte the beast and continue the chase: or springeth the Birde, and bewrayeth hir flyght by pursute. And as these are commonly called Spanyels, so the other are named Hounds, whereof he maketh eight sortes; of which the formoste excelleth in pearce smelling: the seconde in quicke lepping, the third in swiftnesse and quicknesse: the fourth in smelling and nimblenesse &c. & the last in subtilty and deceitfulnesse: The first kinde of these are also commonlye called Harryers, whose game is the Fore, the Hare, Wolfe, (if we had any) Hart, Bucke, Badger, Otter, Polcat, Lobstart, Weesel, Conyes &c: the second hight a Terrer, as it hunteth the Badger and Grey onely: the third a bloudhound, whose office is to follow the fierce, and nowe and then to pursue a theefe or beast by hys dry foote: the fourth a Gasehounde, who hunteth by the eye: the fifth a Greyhounde, cherished for hys strength and swiftnesse: the first a Lyemmer, that excelleth in smelling and swift running: the seuenth a tombler, and the eight a theefe, whose offices (I meane of the latter two) encline onely to deceite, wherein they are oft so skilfull, that fewe men woulde thinke so mischeuous a witte to remayne in such two creatures. Hauing made thys enumeration of Dogges which serue for y chase and hunting, he commeth next to suche as serue the Falcons in theyr times, whereof he maketh also two sortes. One that vnderh hys game on the lande, an other that putteth vp such Fowle as keepeth the water. And of these thys is commonly moste vsuall for the nette or traine, the other for the Hawke, as he doeth shewe at large. Of the first, he sayeth that they haue no peculiar names assigned vnto them seuerally, but eache of them is called after the birde whych by naturall appointment he is allotted to hunt: for which consideration some be named Dogges for the Feasant, some for the Falcon, and some for the Partriche. Howe be it, the common name for all is Spanniell, as if these kindes of Dogges had bene brought hyther out of Spaine. In like sort we haue of water Spanniels in theyr kinde. The third sort of Dogs of the gentle kinde is the Spaniell gentle, or comforter: or as the common terme is the fisting hound, and called Melitei, of the Iland Malta, frō whence they were brought hither. These Dogges are little and prettie, proper and fine, and sought out far and neere to satisfie the nice delicatie of daintie dames, and wanton womens willes. Instruments of folly to play and dally withal, in trifling away the treasure of time to withdrawe theyr minds from more commendable exercises, and to consume theyr corrupt concupiscences with vaine disport, a silly poore shift to shun theyr irksome idlenesse. These puppies the smaller they be (and thereto if they haue an hole in the forepartes of theyr heads) the better they are accepted, the more pleasure also they prouoke as meete plaifellowes for mincing mistresses to beare in theyr bosomes, to keepe company with all in theyr chambers, to succour with sleepe in beddes, and nourych with meate at boorde, to lye in theyr lappes, and licke theyr lippes as they lie (like ponge Mianaes) in theyr wagons. And good reason it should be so, for courtesie with courtesie hath no fellowship, but courtesie with courtesie hath neighborhood inough. That plausible prouerbe therfore verified sometime vpon a tyrant, namely y he loued hys Sowe better then hys sonne, may well by applied to some of thys kinde of people, who delight more in theyr dogges, that are deprined of all possibi-

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litye of reason, then they doe in childzen that are capable of wisdom and iudgement. Yea, they ofte feede them of the best, where the powze mans child at theyz dozes can hardly come by the worst. But the fozmer abuse peraduenture raigneth where there hath ben long want of issue, els where barēnes is the best blossom of beauty: oz finally, where pozemens childzen foz want of theyz owne issue are not redy to be had. It is thought of some that it is very holesome foz a weake stomake to beare such a Dogge in ones bosome, as it is foz hym that hath the palsie to feele the daily smell of a Fore. But how truly thys is affirmed let the learned iudge: onely it shall suffice foz D. Caius to haue sayd thus much of Spaniels and Dogges of the gentle kinde.

Dogs of ỹ homely kinde, are eyther shepheardes curres, oz Mastiffes. The first are so common, that it nēdeth me not to speake of them: Theyz vse also is so well known in keping ỹ herd together (either when they grase oz go before the shepheard,) that it should be but in vaine to spend any time about them. Wherfoze I will leaue thys curre vnto hys owne kinde, and goe in hande wyth the Mastiffe oz banddogge, which is an huge dogge, stubborne, ougly, eagre, burlienous of body, (and therfoze but of litle swiftnesse,) terrible and feareful to behold, and mozefearse and fell then any Archadien curre. Our Englishmen to the entent that these Dogges maye be mozefell and fearse, assist nature wyth some art, vse & custome. Foz although thys kinde of dogge be capeable of courage, violent, valiant, stout and bolde: yet will they increase theyz stomackes by teaching them to bait the Beare, the Bull, the Lyon, and other such lyke cruell and bloudy beasts wythout any coller to defende theyz throtes, and oftentimes thereto, they traine them vp in fighting and wrastling wyth a man, having foz the sauegard of his life either a pike staffe, clubbe, sword, oz priuie coate, wherby they become the mozefearse and cruell vnto straungers. Of Mastiffes, some barke onely with fearse and open mouth but wil not bite, some do both barke and bite, but the cruellest doeth eyther not barke at all, oz bite before they barke, and therefoze are mozeto be feared then any of the other. They take also theyz name of the word mase and theefe (oz maister theefe if you will) because they often put such persones to theyz shiftes in townes and villages, and are the principall causes of theyz apprehension and taking. The force wheych is in them surmounteth all beleefe, and ỹ fast holde wheych they take with theyz teeth exceedeth all credite, foz three of them against a Beare, fowze against a Lion are sufficient both to trie maistries with them, and vtterly ouermatch them. King Henrye the seuenth, as the reporte goeth, commaunded all suche curres to be hanged, because they durst presume to fight against the Lion who is theyz king and soueraigne. The like he did with an excellent Falcon, because he feared not hand to hand to match wyth an Eagle, willing his Falconers in his owne presence to plucke of hys heade after he was taken downe, saying that it was not meete foz any subiect to offer such wrong vnto his Lord and superiоz. But if king Henrye the seuenth had liued in our time, what would he haue done to one English Mastiffe, which alone and wythout anye help at al, pulled downe first an huge Beare, then a Parde, and last of al a Lyon, eathe after other before the Frenche King in one day: wherof if I should wryte the circumstāces, that is, how he toke his aduantage being let lose vnto them, and finally oz aue them into such exceding feare, that they were al glad to runne away when he was taken frō them, I should take much paines, and yet reape but small credite, wherfoze yt shall suffice to haue sayd thus much thereof. Some of our Mastiffes will rage onely in the nyght, some are to be tied vp both day and night. Such also as are suffered to go lose about the house and parde, are so gentle in the day time, that childzen may ride vpon theyz backes & play with thē at theyz pleasures. Some of them also will suffer a straunger to come in and walke about the house oz parde where him listeth, without giuing ouer to folow him. But if he put fozth his hand to touche any thyng, then will they flie vpon him & kill hym if they may. I had one my selfe once, wheych would not suffer any man to bring in hys weapon farder then my gate: neither those that were of my house to be touched in his presence. Oz if I had beaten any of my childzen, he would gently haue assayed to catch the rodde in hys teethe and take it out of my hande, oz else plucke downe theyz clothes to saue them frō ỹ stripes: which in my opinion is worthy to be noted, & thus much of our Mastiffes. The last sozt of Dogges consisteth of the currish kinde meete foz many toyes: of wheyche the wap oz pricheard curre is one. Some mē cal them warners, because they are good foz nothing else but to giue warning when any body doth sturre oz lie in waite about the house in the nyght season. It is vnpossible to describe these curres in any ozder, because they haue no one kinde proper vnto themselues, but are a confused companye mirte of all the rest. The seconde sozte of them are called

turne

turne spittes, whose office is not vnknowne to any. And as these are onely reserued for this purpose, so in manye places our Mastiffes are made to drawe water in greate wheeles out of deepe welles, going much like vnto those which are framed for cure turne spittes, as is to be seene at Royston, where this feate is often practised.

The last kind, of tyrish curres, are named dauncers, and those being of a mongerel sort also, are taught & exercised to daunce in measure at ỹ musicall sound of an instrument, as at the iust stroke of a dromme, sweete accent of the Citharne, and pleasaunt harmony of the Harpe, shewing many tryckes by the gesture of theyr bodyes. As to stand bolt vpryght, to lye flat vpon the grounde, to tourne round as a ryng holding their tayles in their teeth, to saw and begge for meate, & sundrye such properties, which they learne of theyr pole rogishe maisters, whose instrumentes they are to gather gaine, as olde Apes clothed in motley, and coloured short wasted Jackets are for the lyke vagabondes, who seeke no better lyuing, then that which they may get by fonde pastime and yolenesse. I myght here intreat of other Dogges, as of those which are bredde betweene a bytche & a Wolfe, and betweene a bytche & fore, or a beare and a mastife. But as we vtterly want the first sort, except they be brought vnto vs, so it happeneth sometime, that the other two are ingendred and seene amongst vs. But of all the rest heretofore remembred, in this Chapter there is none more vglye in sight, cruell and fearce in deede, nor vntractable in hande, then ỹ which is begotten betwæn the Beare & the banddoge. For whatsoeuer he catcheth hould of, he taketh it so fast that a man may sooner teare & rend his body in sunder, then get open his mouth to separate his chappes. Certes he regardeth neyther Wolfe, Beare, nor Lyon, and therfore may wel be compared with those twoo dogs which were sent to Alexander out of India (and procreate as it is thought betweene a Mastiffe and male Tygeras bee those also of Hyrcania) or to them that are bred in Archada, where copulation is oft seene betwæn Lions and Byches, as the like is in fraunce betweene the Wolfes and Dogges, whereof let this suffise.

¶ Of English Saffron. Cap. 14.

AS the Saffron of England is the most excellent of all other, (for it glueth place neyther to that of Cilicia, whereof Solinus speketh, neither to any that commeth from Etolia, Sicilia, Cirena, or Lycia, in sweetenesse tincture and continuance) so of that which is to be had amongst vs, the same that groweth about Saffron Walden in the edge of Essex, surmounteth all the rest, and therfore beareth worthily the heigher price, by fyue pence, or twelue pence most commonly in the pounde.

The rote of the herbe that beareth this commoditie is rounde, much like vnto an indyfferent Onion, and yet it is not cloued, as the lylly, nor flaked as the Scalion, but hath a sad substaunce inter bulbosa, as Orchis and Statyrion. The collor also of the rind is not much differing from the innermost shell of a chestnutte, although it be not altogither so blacke as the sayd shell, neither altogither so bricle as is the pill of the Onion.

The leafe or rather the blade thereof is long and narrowe as Grasse, & in the winter times our Cattel delight very much to fede vpon the same, which come vppe alwaies in October after the flowres bee gathered and gone. The whole hearbe is named in greeke Crocos, but of some as Dioscorides saith Castor, Cynomorphos or Hercules bloud. Yet in the Arabian speach, from whence we take the name that we giue thereunto, I find that it is called Zahafaran, as Rembert doth here witnesse. The cause wherefore it was called Crocus was this as the Poetes feigne, especially from whome Galene hath borowed the hystorye which he noteth in hys ninth booke, de medicamentis secundum loca, where hee writeth after thys maner. A certaine yong Gentleman called Crocus went to playe at coytes in the fielde with Mercury, and beyng bedeleste of himselfe, Mercuries coite happened by his mishappe to hit him on the heade whereby hee receyued a wounde, that ere long killed him altogither, to the great discomfort of his friends. Finally in the place wher he bled, Saffron was after found to grow, whereupon the people seeyng the color of the chiue as it stode, (although I doubt not but it grewe there long before) adiudged it to come to the blonde of Crocus, and therefore they gaue it his name.

In deede the chiue while it remaineth whole vnbruised resembleth a darke redde, but being broken and conuerted into vse, it yeldeth a yelow tincture. But what haue we to do wyth fables. The heads of Saffron are raised in July either wyth plough or spade, and being scowred from theyr Rose, and seuered from such beades as are ingendred of them since the last setting, they are enterred againe out of hand by rankes or rowes, and being couered wyth moulds, they rest in the earth, where they cast forth litle filets & smal

rotes like vnto a scalion vntill September, in the beginning of whych moneth ẏ ground
Paring. is pared, and all weedes and grasse that groweth vpon the same remoued, to the intente that nothing may annoy the flower when his time doth come to rise.

Gathering These things being thus ordered in the later ende of the afore sayd moneth, the flower beginneth to appeare of a whitish blewe colour, and in the ende shewing it selfe in the owne kinde, it resembleth almosse the Leucotion of Theophrast, sauing that it is lõger,
See Rembert. and hath in middest thereof, either three or foure chiues, very red and pleasant to behold. These flowers are gathered in the morning before the rising of the Sunne, whych would cause them to welke or flitter: and the chiues being picked from the flowers, these are throwne in to the dunghill, the other dryed vpon little kelles couered wyth straigned canuasses ouer a soft fire: wherby and by the waight that is layed vpon thẽ, they are dried & pressed into cakes, & then bagged vp for ẏ benefite of theyr owners. In good yeares we gather an 100. poundes of wette Saffron of an aker, which being dried doth yelde twentie pound of dry and more. Wherby and sith the price of Saffron is commonly about twentie shillings in money, it is easie to see what benefit is reaped by an acre of thys commoditie, toward the charges of the setter.

Raising. The heads are raised euery third yeare about vs, and commonly in the first yeare after they be set they yelde very litle increase, yet that which commeth is coũted the finest, and called Saffron du hore. The next crop is much greater, but the third exceedeth, and then they raise againe. In thys Periode of time also the heads are sayd to childe, that is to yelde out of some parties of them diuers other bedlets, wherby it hath bene seene that some one head hath bene increased to 3. or 4. or 5. or 6. whych augmentation is the onely cause whereby they are sold so good cheape. For to my remembrance I haue not knowne a quarter of them to be valued much aboue two shillings eight pẽce, except in some odde yeres, when ouer great store of winters water hath rotted ẏ most of them as they stood vnder the ground. It is thought that at euery raising they encrease cõmonly a third part.

In Norffolke and Suffolke they raise but once in seuen yeres, but as theyr Saffron is not so fine as that of Cambridge shyre and about Walden: so it wil not tigne nor holde colour wyth all, wherin lieth a great part of the value of thys stuffe. Some craftie lackes vse to myxt it wyth the flower of Sonchus, whych commeth somewhat neare in deede to the hew of our good Saffron, but it is soone bewrayed both by the colour and hardnesse. Such also was the plenty of Saffron about 20. yeares passed, that some of the townes men of Walden not thankful for the abundance of Gods blessing bestowed vpon them, (as wishing rather more scarcitie therof because of the keping vp of the price) in moste contemptuous manner murmured agaynst him, saying that he did shite Saffron at that present, therwith to choke ẏ market. But as they shewed them selues no lesse then ingrat infidels in thys behalfe, so the Lord considering theyr vnthankfulnesse, gaue them euer since suche scarsitie, as the greatest murmurers haue now the least store, and moste of them are eyther worne out of occupying, or remain scarse able to maintain their grouns wythout the helpe of other men. Certes it hath generally decayed about Walden since the sayd time, vntill now of late wyth in this two yeares, that men began againe to plant and renew the same. But to procede, when the heads be raised and taken vp, they will remaine 16. or 20. daies out of the earth. And I know it by experience, in that I haue caried some of them to London wyth me, and notwythstanding that they haue remayned there vnset by the space of. 15. daies, yet some of them haue brought forth 2. or 3. flowers a pece, and some flowers 4. or 5. chiues to the great admiration of such as haue gathered the same, and not bene acquainted wyth the countrey where they grew. The Crokers or Saffron men doe vse an obseruation a little before the comming vppe of the flower by opening of the heads, to iudge of plentye and scarcitie of thys commoditie to come. For if they see as it were many small heary vaines of Saffron to be in the middest of the bulbe, they pronounce a frutefull yeare: And to say truth, at the cleaning of each head a mã shall discerne the Saffron by the colour, and see wherabouts it will issue out of the rote.

Warme nights, swete dewes, fat grouns (chiefly the chalky) and misty mornings are very good for Saffron, but frost and cold doe kill and kepe backe the flower: And thus much haue I thought good to speake of English Saffron whych is hote in the seconde and dry in the first degree.

Now if it please you to heare of any of the vertues therof, I will note these insuing at the request of one who required me to touche a fewe of them wyth whatsoeuer breuitye I listed. Therfore our Saffron is very profitably mingled with those medicines whych we take for the diseases of the brest, of ẏ longes, of the liuer, and of the bladder. It is good also

ſo for the ſtomacke if you take it in meate, for it comforteth the ſame and maketh good digeſtion: being ſodden alſo in wine, it not only kéepeth a man from drunkenneſſe, but encourageth alſo vnto procreation of iſſue. If you drinke it in ſwéete wine it enlargeth the breth and is good for thoſe that are troubled with the teſike and ſhortneſſe of ỹ wind. Mingled wyth milke of a woman and layed vpon the eyes it ſtayeth ſuch humors as deſend into the ſame, and taketh away the red wheales and pearles that oft groweth about them. It is verye profitably layde vnto all inflammations, painefull Apoſtemes, and the ſhingles, and doth no ſmall eaſe vnto dyuers if it be mingled wyth ſuch medicines as are beneficiall vnto the eares. It is of great vſe alſo in riping of botches and al ſwellings proceding of raw humors. Or if it ſhal pleaſe you to drinke the rote therof with Maluelie it will maruellouſly prouoke vrine, diſſolue and expell grauell, and yélde no ſmall eaſe vnto them that make theyr water by droppe meales. Finally, three drammes thereof taken at once (whych is about the weighte of one ſhil. 9. pence halfepeny) is deadly poyſon as Dioſcorides doth affirme. There groweth ſome Saffron in many places of Almaine, and alſo about Vienna in Auſtria, whych later is taken for ỹ beſt that ſpringeth in other quarters. In ſteade of thys alſo ſome doe vſe the Carthamus (called amongſt vs baſtarde Saffrō) but neyther this is of any value, nor the other in any wiſe comparable vnto ours, whereof let this ſuffice as of a commoditye brought into this Ilande not long before the time of Edward the third, and not commonly planted vntill Richard ỹ ſecond did raign. It would grow very well as I take it about Chiltern hilles, & in all the vale of the whyte horſe.

Of Quarries of ſtone for buylding. Cap. 15.

QUarryes with vs are pittes or Mines out of which we digge our Stone to bvilde withall, and of theſe as we haue great plentie in Englande, ſo are they of diuers ſortes and thoſe very profitable for ſundrie neceſſary vſes. In times paſt ỹ vſe of ſtone was in maner dedicated to the buylding of churches religious houſes, princely pallaces Biſhoppes manours and holdes onely: but now that ſcrupulus obſeruatiō is altogither infringed, and buylding with ſtone ſo commonly taken vp that amongeſt noble men & gentlemen the timber frames are ſuppoſed to be not much better then paper worke, of little countinuaunce and leaſt countinuance of all. It farre paſſeth my cunning to ſet down how many ſortes of ſtone for buylding are to be founde in Englande, but much farder to call each of thē by their proper names. Howbeit ſuch is the curioſity of our countrymen that notwithſtanding Almightie God hath ſo bleſſed our realme in moſt plentifull maner with ſuch and ſo many Quarries apt and méete for pyles of longeſt countinuance, yet we as lothſome of this aboundaunce, or not liking of the plenty, doe commonly leaue theſe naturall giftes to moulde and finder in the ground, and take vp an artificiall bricke, in burning whereof a great part of the wood of this lande is dayly conſumed and ſpent to the no ſmall decay of that commoditie and hinderaunce of the poore that periſh oft for colde. Our elders haue from tyme to tyme following our naturall vice in miſlyking of our own commodities at home, and deſiring thoſe of other countries abroade, moſt eſtéemed the Cane ſtone that is brought hyther out of Normandie, & many euen in theſe our dayes folowing the ſame vaine doe couet in their workes almoſt to vſe none other. Howbeit experience on the one ſide and our ſkilful Maſons on the other (whoſe iudgment is nothing inferiour of thoſe of other countries) do affirme that in the North partes of Englād and certayne other places, there are ſome quarries which for hardeneſſe & beautie are equall vnto the outlandiſh gréete. This may alſo be confirmed by the kinges chappell at Cambridge, the greateſt part of the ſquared ſtone wherof was brought thyther out of the North. Some commend the vaine of white frée ſtone, ſlate, & méere ſtone which is betwixt Pentowen and the black head in Cornewall, for very fine ſtuffe. Other doe ſpeake much of the quarries at Hamden nine miles from Wylbery, & paving ſtone of Burbecke. For Tophe ſtone not a few allow of ỹ quarrey that is a Dizilley, diuers miſlyke not of the vaine of harde ſtone that is at Oxforde and Burford. One prayſeth the fré ſtone at Mancheſter and Pyeſtburye in Gloceſter ſhyre. Another the quarryes of the lyke in Richemont. The third liketh wel of the hard ſtone in Clée hill in Shropſhire. The fourth of that of Thorowbridge, Welden, & Terringtō. Where by it appeareth that we haue quarries ynough in Englande ſufficient for vs to buylde withall, if the peeuiſh comtempt of our owne commodities and delectacions to enriche other countries dyd not catch ſuch folliſhe holde vppon vs. Thereby it is alſo verifyed (as any other waye) that all Nations haue rather néede of Englande, then

Englande of any other. And thys I thincke may suffice for the substance of our woꝛkes. Now if you haue regarde to their oꝛnature, how many Mines of sundꝛie kindes of course and fine marble are then to be had in Englād. But chiefly one in Staffoꝛdshyꝛe, an other nēre to the Peke, the thirde at Mauldꝛy, the fourth at Snothill, (longing to the Loꝛd Chaundois) the fifth at Eglestone, whiche is of blacke Marble spotted with gray oꝛ white spottes, the firt not farre from Durhā. But what meane I to go about to recite all oꝛ the most excellent, sith these which I haue named alreadie are not altogither of ẏ least noꝛ scarcely of any value in comparison of those whose places of growth are vtterly vnknowne vnto me, & wherof the blacke marble spotted with grēne is none of the vyleſt soꝛt, as may appeare by parcell of the pauement of the lower part of ẏ quire of Paules in London where some pēces thereof are yet to be sēne and marked, yf any will loke foꝛ them. If marble will not serue then haue we the finest Alabaster that may elsewhere be had, as about S. Daudes of Wales. Also nēre to Beau Maner, which is about foure oꝛ fiue miles from Leicester, and taken to be the best, although there are diuers other quarries hereof beyond ẏ Trent, whose names at this tyme are out of my remembꝛaunce. What shoulde I talke of the plaster of Archolme, (foꝛ of that which they dig out of the earth in sundꝛie places of Lincolne & Darbyshyꝛes wherwith they blaūch their houses in stēd of lime, I speake not). Certes it is a very fine kinde of Alabaster, but sith it is solde commonly but after twelue pence the loade, we iudge it to be but vyle and course. Foꝛ my part I cannot skill of stone, yet in my optniō it is not without great vse foꝛ plaster of pariſſe, and such is the Mine of it that the stones lye in flakes one vppon an other like planckes oꝛ tables, and vnder the same is an harde stone verye pꝛofitable foꝛ building as hath oft tymes bēne pꝛoued. If neyther Alabaster noꝛ Marble doth suffice, we haue the Touche stone called in latin Lydius lapis, eyther to matche in sockets with our pillers of Alabaster oꝛ contrariwise: if it pleaseth the woꝛke man to ioyne pillers of Alabaster oꝛ Touche with sockets of bꝛasse, pewter, oꝛ copper, we want not these mettalles: So that I thincke no nation canne haue moꝛe excellent and greater diuersitie of stuffe foꝛ buylding, then we may haue in Englande, yf our selfes coulde so like of it: but such alas is our nature that not our own but other mens do moſt of all delite vs: and foꝛ desire of nouelti we oft exchange our finest Cloth, Coꝛne, Tinne and Woolles foꝛ halfe penny cockhoꝛses foꝛ childꝛen, dogges of were, two penny tabers, leaden swoꝛdes, painted feathers, gewgawes foꝛ fooles, dogetrickes foꝛ doltes, hawkes whoodes, and such lyke, whereby we reape suche mockage and repꝛoch. I might remember here our pittes foꝛ Milstones that are to be had in diuers places of our country as in Angleſey, also at Quene hope of blew grēte, of no lesse value then the collein, yea then the French stones. Our grynstones foꝛ hardware men. Our whetstones and slate of sundꝛy coullours are euery where in maner to be had, as is ẏ flint and chalke, the shalder and the peble. Howbeit foꝛ all this we must fetch them still from farre, as dyd the hull men their stones out of Islande, wherwith they paued their towne foꝛ want of the like in Englande: oꝛ as Sir Thomas Gresham dyd, when he bought the stones in Flanders, wherewith he paued the Burse, but as he will aunswere that he bargened foꝛ the whole moulde and substaunce of his woꝛkmanshippe in Flaunders: so the Hullanders oꝛ Hull men will say, howe that stockefishe is light loding and therefoꝛe they dyd balase their vessels with these Islande stones to kēpe them from turning ouer in their so daungerous a voyage.

¶Of sundry Mineralles. Cap. 16.

WYth howe great benefites thys Ilande of oures hathe bēne indued from the beginning, I hope there is no godly man but wyll redily confesse, and yēlde vnto the Loꝛde God his due honour foꝛ the same. Foꝛ we are blessed euery way, & there is no tempoꝛall commoditie necessary to bē had oꝛ craued by any nacion at Gods hand, that he hath not in moſt abundaunt maner bestowed vpon vs Englishmen if we coulde sē to vse it, and be thankefull foꝛ thē same. But alas (as I sayd in ẏ chapter pꝛecedent,) wē loue to enrych them that care not foꝛ vs, but foꝛ our great commodities: and one trysling toye not woꝛth the carpage, cōming (as the pꝛouerbe saith), in thrē shyps from beyonde the sea is moꝛe woꝛth with vs, thē a ryght good Jewel, easie to be had at home. They haue also the cast to teach vs to neglect our owne thinges, foꝛ if they sē that wē beginne to make any accounte of our commodities (if it be so that they haue also ẏ like, in theyꝛ owne countryes) they will sodainely abase the same, to so lowe a pꝛice that our gaine not beyng woꝛthy our trauaile, & the same commoditie with lesse cost ready to be had at home from other countries (though

but

but for a whyle) it causeth vs to gyue ouer our indeuours, and as it were by and by to forget the matter whereabout we went before, to obteine them at their hands. And this is the onely cause wherefore our commodyties are oft so litle esteemed. Some of them cã say wont any teacher, that they wil by ỳ ease of a Fore of an English man for a grote, & make him afterward giue twelue pence for the tayle. Woulde to God wee myght once were wyser, and eache one indeuour that the common wealth of Englande may flourish againe in hir olde rate, and that our cõmodities may bee fully wrought at home, as cloth if you will for an example, and not caryed out to be shorne and dressed abroade, whiles our clothworkers here doe seruc and beg their bread, & for lacke of dayly practise, vtterly neglect to be skilfull in thys science: But to my purpose. We haue in englãd great plẽty of quick Syluer, Antimony, Sulphur, black Lead, and Orpiment red and yealow. We haue also the finest Alume (wherein the diligence of one of the greatest fauourers of the common wealth of Englande of a subiect hath bene of late egregiously abused, & euen almost with barbarous incluility) the natural Cinnabarum or Vermilion, the Sulphurus glebe called Bitumen in olde tyme vsed for morter, and yet burned in lampes where Oyle is scant and geason: the Chrysocolla, Coperous, ỳ Minerall stone, wherof Petreolum is made, and that which is most straunge the minerall Pearle, which as they are for greatnesse and coulour most excellent of all other, so are they digged out of the maine land, and in sundry places farre distãt frõ the shore. Of Tole mines we haue such plentie in the North, and Westerne partes of our Iland as may suffice for all the Realme of Englande. And so must they doe hereafter in deede, if wood be not better cherished then it is at this present, and to say the truth, notwithstanding that very many of them are caryed into other Countryes of the maine, yet theyr greatest trade beginneth nowe to growe from the Forge into ỳ Kitchyn and Hall as maye appeare already in most Cities and Townes that lye about the cost, where they haue little other fewell, except it be turfe, and hassocke. I marueyle not a little that there is no trade of these into Sussex and Southampton shire, for want whereof the Smithes doe worke theyr yron with charre coale. I thinke that farre carriage be the only cause, which is but a slender excuse to inforce vs to carye them vnto the mayne from hence.

Beside our coale mines we haue pyttes in lyke sorte of white plaster, and of fatte and white Marle, wherewith in many places the inhabitors doe compest their soile. We haue Salte Peter for our ordinaunce, and Salt Soda for our glasse, and therto in one place a kinde of earth (in Sotherey as I weene harde by Codington, and sometime in the tenure of one Croxton of London) which is so fine to make mouldes for goldsmithes & casters of mettal, that a lode of it was worth fiue shyllinges thirtie yeares a gone. None such againe they say in England. But whether there be or not, let vs not be vnthankefull to God for these and other his benefites bestowed vpon vs, wherby he sheweth hymselfe a louing and mercifull father vnto vs, which contrarywyse returne vnto hym in lieu of humilitie and obedience, nothing but wickednesse, auarice, meere contempt of hys will, and notable ingratitude.

¶ Of common or artificiall Salt made in Englande. Cap. 17.

THere are in Englande certaine welles where Salt is made, whereof Lelande hath written aboundantly in his comentaryes of Britaine, and whose words onely I wyll set downe in Englishe as he wrate thẽ, because he seemeth to haue had diligent consideration of the same, without adding any thing of my owne vnto hym, except it bee where necessitie doth inforce me for ỳ meere aid of the reader, in the vnderstanding of his mynd. Directing therefore his iourney from Worcester in his peregrination and laborious trauaile ouer Englande, he saith thus. From Worcester I rode to the Wiche by inclosed soyle, hauing meetely good Corne grounde, sufficient wood and good pasture, aboute a fre myles of. Wiche standeth somewhat in a valley or lowe grounde, betwixt two small hylles on the left ripe (for so he calleth the bancke of euery brooke thorow out all his Englishe treatizes) of a prettie ryuer which not farre beneathe the Wiche is called Salope brooke. The beautye of the Towne in maner standeth in one street, yet be there many lanes in the Towne besides.

There is also a meane Church in ỳ maine streate and once in the weeke, an indifferent rounde markette. The Towne of it selfe is somewhat foule and durty when any rayne falleth by reason of much caryage thorowe ỳ streates, which are very ill paued or rather not paued at all. The great aduauncement also hereof, is by makyng of Salte, and though the commoditye thereof be singuler great, yet the Burgesses be poore generally

A cõmon plage in all thinges of any great commodity for one beateth ẏ bushe but another catcheth ẏ the birdes, as we may see in Batfowling.

because Gentlemen haue generallye for the most parte gotten the great gaine of it into their handes, whilest the poore Burgesses yelde vnto all the labour. There are at this present time three hundred Salters: and three Salt springs in the Towne of Wiche, whereof the principall is within a butshote of the ryght rype (or banke) of the riuer that there commeth downe: and this spring is double so profitable in yelding of Salte lyquor, as both the other. Some say (or rather fable) that this Salte spring did fayle in the tyme of Richarde dela Wiche Bysshoppe of Chichester, and that afterwardes by his intercession it was restored to the profit of the olde courle (such is the superstiton of the people) in remembraunce whereof, or peraduenture for the zeale which the Wiche men and Salters did beare vnto Rycharde Dela Wiche there countryman, they vsed of late times on his daye (which commeth once in the yere) to hange this Salt spring or Well about which tapissery, and to haue sundry games, drinkinges, and foolish reuelles at it. But to procede. There be a great number of Salte cotes about this Well, wherin the Salte water is sodden in leades, and brought to the perfection of pure white salt. The other two Salte springes be on the left side of the ryuer a prety waye lower then ẏ first, and as I founde at the very ende of the Towne. At these also be diuers fornaces to make Salt, but the profite & plenty of these two are nothing comparable to the gayne, ẏ ryseth by the greatest. I asked of a Salter how many fornaces they had at all the three springes, and he numbred them to eighténe score that is three hundred and sirtie, saying howe euery one of them payde yearely fiue shillings and eight pence to the king. The truth is that of olde they had liberties giuen vnto them for three hundreth furnaces or mo, and therevpon they gyue a fée farme (or vectigall) of one hunnreth pounde yearely. Certes the pension is as it was, but the number of fornaces is nowe increased, to foure hundreth. There was of late serch made for another Salte spring there aboutes by the meanes of one Neweport a Gentleman dwelling at the Wiche, and the place where it was appeareth, as doth also the woode and Timber which was set aboute it, to keepe vp the earth frõ falling into the same. But thys pitte was not sence occupied, whether it were for lacke of plentie of the salt spring, or for letting, or hindering of the profite of ẏ other three. We thinke that if woode and sale of Salte would serue, they might digge and find more salt springes about the Wich thé three, but there is somewhat else in the wind. For I hard that of late yeares a salt spring was founde in an other quarter of Worcester shire, but it grew to be without any vse sith the Wich men haue such a priuiledge, that they alone in those quarters shall haue the making of salte. The pittes be so set about with gutters that ẏ salt water is easily turned to euerye mans house, and at Nantwich very many troughes go ouer the riuer for the commoditie of such as dwell on the other side of ẏ same. They séeth also their salt water in fornaces of leade, and lade out the Salte some in Cases of wicker, thorowe which the water drayneth, and the Salt remayneth. There be also two or three but very lyttle Salt springes at Dertwiche in a low bottome, where Salt is sometyme made.

Priuileges some harme

Of late also a myle from Cumbremere abbay a pece of an hill dyd sincke & in ẏ same pit rose a spring of salt water where the Abbot begunne to make salt, but the men of the Citie compounded with the Abbot and Couent that there shoulde be none made there, whereby the pit was suffered to go to losse. And although it yelded salte water stil of it selfe, yet it was spoyled at the lack and filled vp with filth. The Wich men vse the commoditie of their salt spring in drawing and decocting the water of them only by fire monethes in the yere, that is from Midsomer to Christmasse, as I gesse to maintayne ẏ price of salte, or for sauing of wood, which I thinke to be their principall reason. For making of salt is a great and notable destructiõ of wood and shall be greater hereafter, except some prouision be made for the better increase of fiering. The lacke of wood also is already perceiued in places nére the Wiche, for where as they vsed to buye and take their woodde nére vnto their occuppings, those wonted springes áre nowe decayed, and they be inforsed to séeke their wood so farre as Worcester towne and all the partes about Breinisgraue, Alchitche, and Alcester. I asked a salter how much wood he supposed yearly to to be spent at these fornaces, and he aunswered that by estimation there was consumed about fiue thousande load, and it was rounde poale woode for the most, which is easy to be cleft, and handsomely reuen in péces. The people that are about the fornaces are very ill coloured, and the iust rate of euery fornace is to make foure loades of salt yearely and to euery loade goeth fine or sire quarters as they make their account. If the fornace men make more in one fornace then foure loades it is as it is sayde imployed to their owne auayle. And thus much hath Le-

lande

lande left in memorie of our whyte salt, who in an other boke not now in my handes hath touched the making also of Bay salt in some part of our coūtry. But sith ỳ is boke deliuered againe to the owner, the tractatiō of bay salt can not be framed in any order, bycause my memorie will not serue to shew the true maner and the place. It shall suffice therfore to haue gyuen such notice of it, to thende the reader may knowe that aswell the Baye as whyte are wrought and made in Englande, and more white also vpon the west coast, towarde Scotlande out of the salt water betweene Wyre and Cokermouth. Finally hauing thus intermedled our artificiall Salt with our Minerals, let vs giue ouer and go in hande with such mettals as are growing here in Englande.

Of Mettalles. Cap. 18.

IT was not sayde of olde tyme without great reason that all countries haue nede of Britaine and Britaine it self of none. For truely yf a man regarde such necessities as nature onely requireth, there is no Nation vnder the sun, that can say so much as ours: sith we doe want none that are conuenient for vs. Certes if it be a benefite to haue any golde at all, we are not voyde thereof, neyther lykewyse of siluer. And albeit that we haue no such aboundaunce of these as some other countries doe yelde, yet haue my rych countriemen store ynough of both in theyr purses, where they were wont to haue leaft, bycause the garnishing of our churches, tabernacles, ymages, shrynes and apparell of the Priestes consumed the greatest part as experience hath confirmed.

Tinne and Lead are very plentifull wyth vs, the one in Cornewall, Deuonshire, & elsewhere in the North, ỳ other in Darby shire, Weredale, and sondry other places of thys Iland: whereby my countreymen doe reape no small commodity, but especially our pewterers, who in time past employed the vse of pewter only vpon dishes and pottes, and a fewe other trifles for seruice, whereas nowe they are growen vnto such exquisite cūning, that they can in maner imitate by infusion any forme or fashion of cuppe, dish, salt, bowle or goblet, whyche is made by Goldsmithes craft though they be neuer so curious & very artificially forged. In some places beyond the sea a garnish of good flat English pewter (I say flat, because dishes and platters in my time begyn to be made depe like basons, and are in dede more conuenient both for sawse and keeping the meat warme) is almost esteemed so precious as the like number of vessels that are made of fine siluer, and in manner no lesse desired amōgst the great estates, whose workemen are nothing so skilfull in that trade as ours, neyther theyr mettall so good, nor plenty so great, as we haue here in England. There were mines of Lead sometimes also in Wales, which indured so long till the people had consumed all theyr wode by melting of the same, as they did also at Comerystwith, fiue miles from Stradfleur. And here by the way it is worthy to be noted of a Crow which a miner of tinne, dwelling nere Comerystwith had made so tame that it would daily flie & folow him to hys worke and other places where so euer he happened to trauaile. Thys labourer working on a time in the bottome where the first Myne was knowne to be, did lay his purse and girdle by him, as meircōmonly doe that addresse them selues to apply theyr businesse earnestly, and he him selfe also had vsed from time to time before. The Crow likewyse was very busie flittering about him, and so much molested hym in deede, that he waxed angry wyth the byrde & in his fury threatned to wring of his necke, if he myght once gette hym into hys handes: To be short, in the ende the Crow hastily caught vp his girdle and purse, & made away wyth all so fast as hir wyngs could carry hyr. Herevpon, the poore man fallyng into great agony (for he feared to lose peraduenture all hys money) threwe downe hys mattocke at aduenture and ranne after the bird, cursing and menacing that he should lose hys life if euer he gotte him againe: but as it fell out, the Crow was ỳ meanes wherby hys lyfe was saued, for he had not bene long out of the mine, ere it fell downe and killed all his fellowes. If I should take vpon me to discourse of the dealing of thys byrde at large, I should peraduenture set my selfe further into the byers then wel finde which way to come out agayne: yet I am perswaded that the Crow was Gods instrument herein, wherby the lyfe of thys poore labourer was preserued. It was done also in an other order then that whych I reade of an other tame Crow kept vp by a shomaker of Dutch lād in hys shop or stoue: who seeing the same to sitte vpon the pearch very heauily & drouse, sayde vnto the birde, What ayleth my Jacke, why art thou so sad and pensiue? The Crow hearyng his maister speake after this sort vnto him, answeared (or else the Deuill wythin it) out of the Psalter. Cogitaui dies antiquos & eternos in mente habui, but whether am I digressed, frō lead vnto Crowes, and from Crowes vnto Deuils. Certes it Psal. 76.

is now high time to retourne vnto our mettals, and resume the tractation of such things as I had earst in hand.

Iron. Iron is found in many places, as in Sussex, Kent, Wercdale, Mendip, Walthall, Manchester and elsewhere in Wales: of which mines diuers doe bring forth so fine and good stuffe as any that commeth from beyond the sea. It is also of such toughnesse, that it yeeldeth to the making of Claricord wire in some places of the realme.

Copper. Copper is lately not found, but rather restored againe to light, for I haue read of Copper to haue béene heretofore gotten in our Iland. Howbeit, as straungers haue most commonly the gouernaunce of our mines, so they hytherto make small gaines of thys in hande in the North partes: for as I am informed the profit doth very hardly counteruaile the charges, whereat wyse men doe not a little marualye, considering the aboundaunce whych that mine do séeme to offer and as it were at hande. Lelande our countryman noteth sundrie great lykelyhodes of copper Mines to be Eastwardes, as betweene Dudman and Trewardith in the sea cliffes, beside sundry other places, wherof diuers are noted here & there in sundry places of this booke already, and therfore it shalbe but in vaine to repete them here agayne. In Dorset shyre also a copper Mine lately found is brought to good perfection.

Stéele. As for our Stéele it is not so good for edge tole as that of Culien, and yet the one is often solde for the other, and lyke tale vsed in both, that is to say thirtie gaddes to the shieke and fiue shiekes to the burdē. Our Alchumy is artificiall & thereof our spones and some saltes are commonly made & preferred before our pewter. The common sort call it Alcamine, but when I know more of the substance and mixture of this metall my selfe, I will not let to write thereof at large, whereas now I must néedes conclude bicause I haue no more to say of the mettalles of my country, except I should talke of brasse, bell mettall, & such as are brought ouer for marchandize from other countries, but what is that to my purpose.

Some tell me ỳ it is a mixture of brasse, lead and tinne.

Of precious stones. Cap. 19.

THe olde writers remember fewe other stones of estimation to be founde in this Iland then that which we call Geat, & they in latine Gagates: whereunto furthermore they ascribe sundry properties as vsually practized here in times past, whereof none of our writers doe make any mencion at all. Howbeit whatsoeuer it hath pleased a number of straungers to write of ỳ vsages of this oure Countrie, aboute the tryall of the virginitie of our maidens by drinking of the powder of thys stone against the tyme of their bestowing in marryage: certaine it is that euen to this day there is some plenty to be had of this commoditie in Darby shyre & about Barwycke, although that in many mens opinions nothing so fine as that which is brought ouer by marchauntes from the mayne. But as these men are drowned with the common errour of our nation, so I am sure that in discerning the price and value of things, no man now liuing can go beyond ỳ iudgemēt of the old Romaines, who preferred the geate of Britain before ỳ like stones bred about Lube & all other coūtries. Moreouer as Geat was one of ỳ first stones of this Ile wherof any forre in account was made, so our pearles also did match with it in renowne, in so much that the only desire of thē caused Cæsar to aduenture hyther, after hée had séene the quantities & hard of our plenty of them, whyleste he abode in France. Certes they are to be founde in these our dayes, and thereto of diuers coulours, in no lesse numbers then euer they were in olde tyme. Yet are they not now so much desired bycause of they' smallnesse, and also for other causes, but especially sith churchwork as copes, vestements, Albes, Tunicles, altar clothes, canapies, and such trash are worthily abolished, vpon which our countrymen heretofore bestowed no small quantities. For I thinke there were fewe churches and Religious houses besides Bishoppes Myters & Pōtifical vestures, but were either thorowly fretted or notably garnished wt huge nūbers of them. But as the Brittish Geat or orient Pearle were in olde tyme estéemed aboue those of other countries, so tyme hath since the conquest of the Romaines reuealed many other: in so much ỳ at this season there are founde in England the Ætites and the Hematite and these very pure and excellent, also ỳ Calcedony, the Porphyrite, ỳ Christal, & those other, which we call Calaminares, & specularis beside a kinde of Diamōd or Adamant, which although it be very fair to sight is yet much softer thē * those ỳ are brought hyther out of other countries. We haue also vpon our coastes the white corall and other stones daily founde in cliffes and rockes, whereof such as finde them haue eyther no knowledge at all, or else doe make but small account, being seduced by outlādish Lapidaries, whereof the most part discourage vs frō the fetching and séeking out of our owne cōmodities, to the ende that they may haue the more

Geat.

Laon. Calchōdyle.

Pearle.

Coral made hard with tish and vsed by Romaines to vse when hunger time rich tables sent.

* I are stones are f towa Nor

more free vtterance of their naturall and artificial wares, wherby they get great gaines amongst such as haue no skill. I haue harde that the best triall of a stone is to laye it on the nayle of our thombe, and so to go abroade into the cleere light, where if the coulour hold in all places a like, the stone is thought to be natural. &c. But if it alter especially towarde ỹ nayle, thẽ is it not sound, but rather an artificiall practize. If this be true it is an experiment worthy ỹ noting. (Cardane also hath it in his De subtilitate) yf not I haue reade neere more lies then this, as one example out of Cato, who sayeth that a cuppe of Iuy will holde no wine at all, but I haue made some vessels of ỹ same wood, which refuse no kind of liquor, and therefore I suppose that there is no such Antipatha betweene wyne & Iuy as some of our reading Philosophers without all maner of practize will seeme to inferre amongest vs. What shoulde I saye more of stones? truely I can not tell, sith I haue sayde what I may already & peraduenture more then I thought. This yet will I adde that yf those which are founde in Muskelles (for I am vtterly ignoraunt of the generatiõ of pearles) be good pearle in deede I haue at sundrie times gathered more then an ounce of them, of which diuers haue holes already entred by nature, some of them not much inferiour to great peason in quantitie, & thereto of sundrie colours as it happeneth amõgst such as are brought from the Easterly coast to Saffron Walden in Lent, when for want of flesche, stale stincking fishe & welked Muskles are thought to be good meate for other fishe is to to deere amongst vs.

¶Of the Coynes of Englande. Cap. 20.

THe Saxon Coyne before the Conquest is vtterly vnknowne vnto me: how bee it if my coniecture be any thing, I suppose that the shillynges of siluer, in those dayes did counterpeise our common ounce, though afterwarde it came to passe that it arose to twentie pence, and so continued vntyll the tyme of King Henry the eyght, who first brought it to three shillings and foure pence, and afterwarde our Syluer Coyne vnto base & copper monies, by reason of those inestimable charges, which diuers wayes oppressed him. But as king Edward his sonne began to restore ỹ aforesayde Coine againe vnto fine siluer: so Quene Mary his successour did continue his good purpose: notwithstanding that in hir time the Spanish money was very common in England, by reason of hir marriage with Philyp King of Spayne.

Siluer restored.

After hir discease the Lady Elizabeth hyr sister, and now our most gracious Quene, and souereigne Prince, did finish the matter wholly, vtterly abolishing the vse of copper Coine, and conuerting the same into fine Syluer, as peeces of halfpeny fardyng, of a peny, of three half pens, peeces of two pence, of three pence, of foure pence (called ỹ groate) of fiue pence vsually named the testone, and shilling of twelue pence, whereon shee hath imprinted hir owne ymage, & emphaticall superscription. Our Gould is eyther olde or new. The old is that which hath remained since ỹ time of king Edwarde the thirde, or beene Coyned by such other Princes, as haue reigned since his discease, without abasing of the fynesse of that mettall. Therof also wee haue yet remayning, the Ryall, the George noble, the Henry Ryall, the Salut, the Angell, and their smaller peeces, as halfes or quarters, though these in my time, are not so common to be seene. I haue also beholde the Souereine of twenty shillinges, & the peece of thirtie shillynges, I haue harde lykewise of peeces of forty shillings, three pounde, fiue pounde, and tenne pound. But sith there were fewe of them coined, and those only at the commaundement of the kings, yearely to bestow where their maiesties thought good in lieu of new yeres gyftes and rewardes: it is not requisite that I should remember them here amongst our currant coynes.

Olde gold

The newe Golde is taken for such as beganne to be coyned in the latter dayes of king Henry the eyght, at which time the fynesse of the mettall began to be very much alayed, and is not likely to bee restored for ought that I can see: yet is it & such as hath beene coyned since by hys successours princes of this Realme in value and goodnesse equall and not inferiour to the coyne and currant Golde of other nations, where eche one doth couet to gather vppe our olde finer Golde: so that the Angels, Ryalles, & Nobles, are more plentifully seene in Fraunce and Flanders, then they be by a great deale within the Realme of England. Our peeces nowe currant are of tenne shillinges, fiue shillings, & two shillinges and fiue pence only: and those of sundry stampes and names, as half souereines, quarters of Souereines, (otherwyse called Crownes,) & halfe Crownes: lykewise Angels, halfe Angels, & quarters of Angels, or if there be any other, in good soth I knowe them not, as one scasely acquainted with any siluer at all, much lesse then God it wote with any store of Goulde.

New gold

The

The first currant shilling, or peces of twelue pence were coyned by kyng Henry the eight: those of fyue shillinges, & of 2. shil. & 6. pence, & the half shil. by king Edward ỹ first: but the odde peces aboue remẽbred vnder the groat, by our high & mighty Princes Quẽne Elizabeth, the name of ỹ groat peny: 2. pence: ob. & farding, being more auncient then ỹ I can wel discusse of the time of their beginnings. Yet thusmuch I read that king Edwarde the first in the eight yeare of his reigne, did first coine the peny & smallest peces of siluer roundewyse, which before were square, and wont to haue a doubble crosse wyth a creek, in such sorte that the peny might easily be brokẽ, eyther into halfs or quarters, by which shift onely the people came by halfe pence and fardinges, that otherwyse were not stamped nor coyned of set purpose.

Of forren coynes we haue both the Ducates, the single and the double: the Crusadoes, with the lõg crosse & the short: ỹ Portigue, a pece very solemly kept of dyuers, & yet oft times abased with washing, or else absolutely coũterfeicted: and finally ỹ french and flemish crownes, onely currant among vs, so long as they holde weight. But of siluer coynes none at all: yet are the Dalders and such, often tymes brought ouer, but neuertheless exchanged as Bullion, according to their fineneſſe and weight, and afterwarde conuerted into coyne, by such as haue authority.

In olde time we had sundrye Mintes in Englande, and those commonly kept in Abbaies and religious houses before the conqueſte, where true dealing was commonly supposed: most of all to dwel. As at Ramseye, Bury, Caunterbury, Glaſſenbury and such like, sundry exemplificats of ỹ graunts whereof are yet to be seene in wryting. But after the Normans had once gotten the maſterye, they trusted themselues best wyth the ouersight of their Myntes, and therefore erected diuers of their owne, although they afterwarde permitted some for small peces of Siluer, vnto sundry of the houses afore sayd. In my time diuers mints are suppressed as Southwarke, Brystow, &c. and al coinage is brought into one place, that is to say the Tower of London, where it is continually holden and perused, but not without great gaine to such as deale wall. There is also coinage of Tin holdẽ yearly at two seuerall times, that is to saye Midsomer and Michaelmas in the west country, which at the first hearing, I supposed to haue bene of money of the sayde metall and graunted by Priuiledge from the Prince, vnto ỹ townes of Haylstone, Truro, & Lostwithiel. Howbeit vpon farder examinatiõ of the matter, I finde it to be nothing so, but an office onely erected for the Prince, wherein he is allowed the ordinary customes of the mettall: and such blockes of Tinne as haue passed ỹ handes of his Officers, are marked wyth an especiall stampe, whereby it is knowne that the custome due for the same, hath ordinarily bene aunswered. It should seeme & in my opinion is very likely to be true, that whyle Romains reigned here, Kingstone vppon Thames was the chiefe place of their coynage for this prouince. For in eearing of the grounde about that Towne in tymes past, and nowe of late (besides the curious fundation of many goodly buyldinges that haue bene ripped vp, and diuers coines of brasse, siluer, and Golde, with Romaine letters in painted pots that haue bene found there) in the dayes of Cardinall Wolsey, one such pot was discouered ful as it were of new siluer lately coined. Another with plates of siluer ready to be coyned. And the thirde wyth cheanes of siluer, ready as it should appeare to bee melted into coine, whereof let thys suffice to countenaunce out my coniecture.

Of our accompt of time, and partes thereof. Cap. 21.

AS Libra is As or Asis vnto ỹ Romains for theyr waight, & the foote in standard measure: so in our accompt of the partes of time, we take the houre to be the greatest of ỹ least, and least of the greatest, wherby we kẽpe our reckening. For my part I do not see any great difference vsed in the obseruatyon of tyme and hir partes betwẽne oure owne and any other forreine nation, wherefore I shal not nede to stand long vpon this matter. Howbeit, to the ende our exact order herein shall appeare vnto all men, I wil set downe some short rehearsall therof, and that in so briefe maner as vnto me is possible. As for our Astronomicall practises, I meane not to meddle wyth them, sith theyr course is vniformely obserued ouer all. Our common order therfore is to begin at the minute, as at the smallest part of time knowne vnto the people, notwythstanding that in most places they descend no lower then the halfe quarter or quarter of the howre, and from whence they procede vnto the houre, whych is the 24. part of that whych we call the common and naturall day, & doth begin at midnight. Of vnequall houres or dayes, our natiõ hath no regard, and therefore to shew theyr quantities

tities & differences, it should be but in vaine. In lyke sort, whereas the Egyptians, Italians, Bohemians, and Iewes begin their day at the Sunne set ouer night: the Persians, Babylonians, Grecians, and Nouibergians at the Sunne rising (each of them accoũting their dayes and nights by vnequall houres) also the Athenienses, Arabians, Dutchmen and Astronomers at hygh nœne: We after the Romain maner vsed in the Church there of long time chose the very poynte of midnight, from whence we accompt. 12. equall houres vnto midday ensuing, and other. 12. againe vnto the aforesaid poynt. And this is our generall order for the naturall day. Of the artificiall we make so farre account, as that we recken it to be day when the Sunne is vp, and nyght when it leaueth our Horizon: otherwyse also we deuide it into two partes, that is to say, forenoone and afternoone, not regarding the ruddy, shining, burning and warming seasons (of thẽ vnequal houres a peece,) whych other seme to obserue, and wherof I read these verses.

Solis equi lucis dicuntur quatuor horæ.
Hæc rubet, hæc splendet, hæc calet, illa tepet.

In deede our Philitians haue another partition of the day, as men of no lesse learning no doubt then the best of forrein countryes if we could so conceaue of them. And herein they concurre wyth those of other nations, who for distinction in regiment of our humours, diuide the artificiall day and night in such wise as these verses doe import, and are in deede a generall rule whych each of them doth follow.

Tres lucis primas, noctis tres sanguinis imas.
Vis cholere medias lucis sex vendicat horas.
Datq; melam primas noctis, tres lucis & imas.
Centrales ponas sex noctis phlegmatis horas.

Or thus, as Tanstetter hath geuen them forth in hys Prælections.

A nona noctis donec sit tertia lucis,
Est dominus sanguis, sex inde sequẽtib⁹ horis
Est dominans cholera, dum lucis nona sit hora
Post niger humid ineſt donec sit tertia noctis.
Post hæc phlegma venit, donec sit nona quietis

In English thus in effect.

Three houres ere sun do rise, & so many after, Blud,
Frõ 9. to 3. at after none, hot choler beares the sway,
Euen so to 9. at night, swart Choler hath to rule,
As Phlegme from thence to 3. at morne: 6. houres
eache one I say.

In like sort for the nyght we haue none other partes then the twylight, darkenyght, midnight, and cockes crowing. Whereas the Latines diuide the same into. 7. partes, as Vesper the Euening, which is immediately after the setting of the Sunne. Crepusculum the twylight, when it is betweene day and night, lyght and darkenesse, or properly neyther day nor night. Conticinium the still of the nyght, when each one is layd to rest. Intempestum, the dul or dead of the night, when mẽ be in theyr first or dead sleepe. Gallicinium the cockes crowing. Matutinum the breache of the day: and Diluculum siue aurora, the ruddy, orenge, golden or shining coloure, seene immediately before the rising of the Sunne. Other there are whych doe recken by watches, diuiding the nyght into 4. equal partes. Of whych the first beginneth at Euening, called the first watch, and continueth by 3. vnequall houres, and so forth vntill the ende of the nynth houre, wherat the fourth watch entreth whych is called the morning watch, because it partly concurreth with ỹ morning & breache of the day before the rising of the Sunne. As for the originall of the worde houre, it is very auncient, but yet not so olde as that of the watch whych was deuised first among souldiers for theyr better safegarde and chaunge of watchmen in theyr campes, the lyke whereof is almost vsed among our seafaring men, whych they call clearing of the glasse, and performed from time to time wyth great heede and some solemnitie. Certesse the worde Hora among the Grecians, signified so well the 4. quarters of the yeare, as the 24. part of ỹ day, but what stand I vpon these things to let my purpose stay. To proceede therefore. Of naturall dayes is the weeke. weeke compacted, which consisteth of 7. of them. The first entreth with Monday, wherby it commeth to passe that we rest vpon the Sunday, whych is the 7. in number, as almighty God hath commaunded in his word. The Iewes begin theyr weke vpon our Saterday at the setting of the Sunne, and the Turkes with the Saterday: wherby it commeth to passe, that as the Iewes make our last day the first of theyr weeke, so the Turks make the Iewish Sabaoth the beginning of theyr Hebdoma, because Mahomet theyr prophet (as they say) was borne & dead vpõ ỹ friday, & so he was in deede, except their Alcharõ deceaue me. The Iewes doe recken theyr dayes by theyr distance from theyr sabaoth, so that the first day of theyr weeke, is the first day of the sabaoth, and so forth vnto the sixte. The Latines accompted theyr dayes after the 7. Planets, chosing the same for the denominator of the daye, that entreth hys regiment wyth the first vnequall houre of the same after the Sunne be risen. Howbeit, as thys order is not wholly retcined wyth vs, so the vse of the same is not yet altogither abolyshed, as may appeare by our Sonday,

Monday,

Monday, and Saturday. The reſt were chãged by the Saxons, who in remembrance of Theut ſometime theyr prince, called the ſecond day of ẏ weeke Theutſdach ẏ is. Woden, Othin, or Othen, Wodenſdach. Lykewiſe of Thor, they named the iiij day Thorſdach, and of Frea wyfe to Woden the v. was named Freadach. Albeit there are (and not amiſſe as I thinke) that ſuppoſe them to meane by Thor, Iupiter, by Woden Marcury, by Frea Venus, and finallye by Theut Mars: which if it be ſo, then it is an eaſie matter to finde out the Germaine Mars, Venus, Mercury and Iupiter wherof you may reade more hereafter in my Chronologie. The truth is, that Frea had 7. ſonnes by Woden, as Woden the firſt, father to Wecca, of whome deſcẽded thoſe that were afterwards kings of Kent, Fethelgeta was the ſeconde, and of hym came the kings of Mertia. Balday 3. father to the kings of the Weſtſaxõs. Beldagius 4. parent to the kings of Brennicia or Northumberland. Weogodach 5. author of the kings of Deyra. Caſer. 6. rote of the Eſſangle race, and Paſcad originall burgeaunt of the kings of Eſſex. As for the kings of Suſſex although they were of the ſame people yet were they not of the ſame ſtreigne, as our old monuments do expreſſe. But to proceede. Of weekes, our monethes are made whych are ſo called of the Mone, each one conteining 28. dayes, or 4. weekes, wythout any further curioſity. For we reckẽ not our time by the yeare of the Mone, as the Iewes, Grecians or Romains did at the firſt, or as the Turks, Arabians & Perſians do now: neyther any parcell therof by ẏ ſayd planete as in the Weſt Indies, where they haue neither weke, moneth nor yere, but only a general accoũt of hundreds & thouſands of Mones: wherfore if we ſay or write a moneth, it is to be expounded of 28. dayes or 4. weekes only. Or (if you take it at large) for a moneth of the common Kalender, whych neuertheleſſe in plees and ſutes is nothyng at all allowed of, ſith the Mone maketh hir full reuolutiõ in 28. dayes, that is, vnto the place where ſhe left the Sunne, notwythſtanding that he be now gone, and at hir returne not to be found where ſhe departed from hym.

In olde time eche Moneth of the Romaine Calender, was reconed after the courſe of ẏ Mone, and theyr entraunces were incertaine, as were alſo the changes of that Planet. But after Iulius Cæſar had once corrected the ſame, the ſeuerall beginninges of euerye one of them dyd not onely remayne fyxed, but alſo the olde order in the deuiſion of their partes continued ſtill vnaltered: ſo that the Moneth is yet deuided as before into Calendes, Ides, and Nones, albeit that in my daies, the vſe of the ſame be but ſmall, & their order retained only in our Calenders, for the better vnderſtanding of ſuch tymes, as the hiſtoriographers and olde authors do remember. The reconing alſo of ech of theſe goeth as you ſee after a prepoſtereus order, whereby the Romaynes dyd rather note howe many dayes were to the nert chaunge from the precedent, then contraywiſe, as by peruſall of ẏ ſame you ſhall more eaſily perceyue. The daies alſo of the change of ẏ Moneth of ẏ Mone, are called Calendæ, which in time of Paganiſme were conſecrated to Iuno, & ſacrifice made to that goddeſſe on ẏ ſame. On theſe daies alſo, and on ẏ Ides and Nones they would not marye. Likewiſe the morow after eche of thẽ were called dies Atri, blacke daies, as ſome bookes doe yet remember. The word Calendæ (in Greeke Neomenia) is deriued of the worde Calo, to call: for vpon the firſt daye of euery Moneth, the Prieſt vſed to call the people of the Citie & country togither, and ſhewe them by a cuſtome howe many daies were from the ſaide Calendes to the Nones, and what feaſts were to be celebrated betweene that and the nerte chaunge. The Nones commonly are not a boue 4. or 6. in euery Moneth, and ſo long as the Nones laſted, ſo long did the Mercates continue, & therfore they were called Nonæ quaſi Nundinæ. In them alſo were neyther Hollydayes (more then at thys preſent except ẏ day of the Purification of our Lady) nor ſacrifice offred to the gods, but each one applied hys buſineſſe and kept hys market, reckening the firſt day after the Calends or chaũge, to be the 4. or 6. day before the faire ended. Some thinke that they were called Nonæ, of the word Non, quia in iiſdem dij non coluntur, or as Ouide ſayeth. Nonarum tutela deo caret. But howſoeuer it be, ſure it is that they were ẏ mart dayes of euery moneth wherein the people bought, ſolde, and dyd nothing elſe. The Idus are ſo named of the Hetruſcien worde Iduare to deuide, and before that Cæſar altered the Calender, they deuided the moneth commonly by the myddeſt. But afterward when he had added certaine dayes thereto, thereby to make it agree wyth the yeare of the ſunne (whych he intruded about the ende of euerye moneth, becauſe he would not alter the celebration of theyr vſuall Feaſtes) then came they ſhorte of the myddeſt, ſometime by two or three daies. In theſe therfore (which alwaies are eyght) the Marchauntes had layſure to packe vp and conueigh theyr mar-

marchaundise, to paye their creditors and make merry with their friendes. After the Idus do the Calendes followe, but in a decreasing order, as the Mone doth in light when shée is past the full. But herein lyeth all the mysterie, if you can saye so many dayes before the next chaunge or newe Mone, as the number there expressed doth betoken. As for 16. cal. so many dayes before the next coniunctiõ. &c. Of these Calendes, I meane touching their number in euery Moneth, I fynde these verses insuing.

Ianus & Augustus denas nouemq; Decẽber,
Iunius, Aprilis, Septẽber & ipse Nouember,
Ter senas retinent, Februus bis Octo Calẽdas
Iulius October Mars Maius Epadecemq;.

In Englishe thus.

December, Ian, and August moneth full nyneteene
Calendes haue.
September, Iune, Nouember and Aprill twyse nine
desire,
Syxteene foule Februarie hath, no more can he well
craue.
October, Maye and Iuly hote, but seauenteene doe
require,

In lyke maner of nones and Ides.

Sex maius Nonas, October, Iulius & Mars
Quatuor at reliqui, dabit Idus quilibet octo.

To Iuly, March, October, May, sixe nones I hight,
The rest but 4, as for your Ides they aske but eight

Agayne touching the number of dayes in euery moneth.

Iunius, Aprilis, Septemq;, Nouemq; tricenos
vnũ plus reliqui, Febru⁹ tenet octo vicenos,
At si bissextus fuerit super additur vnus.

Thirty dayes hath Nouember
Aprill, Iune and September,
Twentie and eyght hath February alone,
and all the rest thirty and one,
But in the leape you must adde one.

Our yeare is accounted after the course of the sunne, and although the church hath some vse of that of the Mone for the obseruation of certaine moueable feastes, yet it is reducted to that of the Sunne, which in our ciuile dealinges is chiefly had in vse. Herein onely I finde a scruple that the beginning thereof is not vniforme and certaine, for our recordes beare Date the 25. of March, and our Calenders of the first of Ianuary. Our sundrie officers also haue sundrie entraunces into their charges of custome, which breedeth great confusion, whereas if all these might be referred to one originall (and that to be the first of Ianuarie) I do not thincke but there would be more certaintie and lesse trouble for our historiographers and offices in their account of the yeare. Furthermore, whereas our intercalation for the Leape yeare is somewhat to much by certayne minutes (which in 309. yeares do amount vnto an whole day) yf one intercalation in so many were omitted, our Calender would be the more perfite: & I woulde wish that the same yeare wherein the saide intercalation should be ouerpassed, might be called Annus magnus Elizabethæ in perpetual remembrance, of our noble and soueraign princesse. Certes the next omission is to be performed yf all Princes woulde agrée thereto in the Leape yeare that shall be about the yeare of grace 1700. If it shall please God that the worlde may last so long. Aboue the yeare we haue no more partes of Time, that cary any seuerall names with them, except you will affirme the worde age, to be one which is taken for 100. yeares, & signifieth in Englishe so much as Seculum or Euum doth in latine, whereof this may suffice. But to conclude withal, you shall haue a table of the names of the dayes of the wéeke, after the olde Saxon and Scottish maner, which I haue borowed from amongest our auncient writers.

The present names.	Thunresdeg.
Monday.	Firgesdeg.
Tuesday.	Saterdeg.
Wednesday.	Sunnandeg.
Thursday.	
Fryday.	*The Scottish vsage.*
Saterday.	Diu Luna.
Sunday.	Diu Mart.
	Diu Yath.
The olde Saxon names.	Diu Ethamon.
Monendeg.	Diu Friach.
Tuesdeg.	Diu Satur.
Wodnesdeg.	Diu Serol.

Of the maner of measuring the length and bredth of things after the Englishe vsage. Cap. 22.

THe first and smallest of our measures is the Barly corne, whereof three being taken out of the middest of the ere, well dried and layde endewardes one to another, are sayde to make an ynche, which the Latines measure after the bredth of the thombe, and therfore of some is called Pollicare, although the true name thereof be Vncia, as I haue often reade. That which they call Digitus or the finger bredth, is not in vse with vs: yet is it the sixtenth part of theyr fote, as the inche is the twelfth of ours. Each palme or hand bredth cõtaineth also foure of theyr fingers, as by the figure héere insuing, may easily be perceyued, whych I haue set downe onely to the ende that who so liketh may beholde the diuersity,

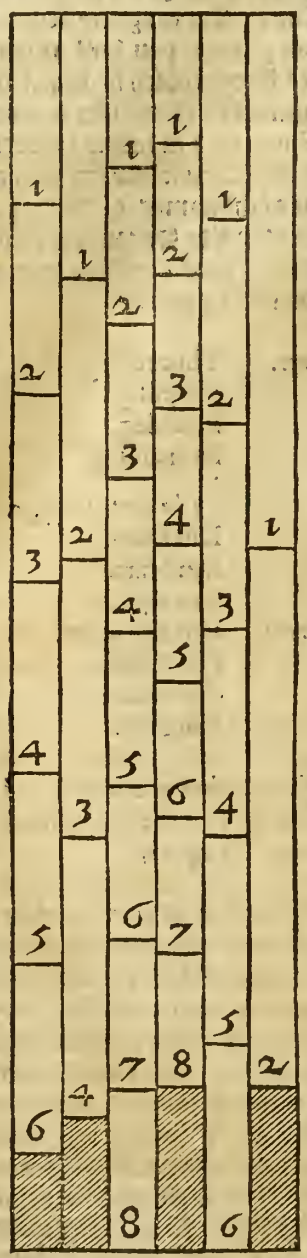
Inche.

Finger bredth.

Palme.

diuersity not onely betweene the Romaine measure & ours, but also of their owne standard which hath chaunged oft among them.

Certes it coulde not well be brought to passe, to giue out the whole foote because the quantitie of the page would not suffer mee so to doe, wherefore I haue exemplified only in the halfe, which I hope shall abundauntly satisfie eche one that is desirous to see and perceyue their difference. The first columne therefore setteth downe the halfe foote after the standerd of Englād. The 2. seemeth to be a Romain foote, found out of late by Bartholomeus Marlianus, and set downe to be seene in his Topography of Rome. Therin also euerye synger breadth conteineth two of the old assize, wherby hee maketh not 16. but onely eyght in the whole, as you may there beholde. The third is that which Budeus had sometime delyuered vnto him, who was very curyous in serching of the weights, and measures, of olde tyme as maye yet appeare by his excellent treatize De asse, wherin hys syngular skill in thys behalfe doth euidently appeare.



The fourth was foūde long since, by Leonard⁹ de Portis, in a Garden at Rome, belonging vnto Angelus Colotius. The fift is the halfe foote of Paris, diuyded by the ynche, and yet equall to ỳ Romaine standerd described by Budeus. The last sheweth the the quantitie of their Palme, whereof their foote hath foure, and eche Palme conteyneth 4. fingers as I haue saide already. By this Tablet also as you may see, howe eche standerde exceedeth or commeth shorte of other. Wherefore it shall not nede for me to stay any longer vppon theyr differences, which may so well and better be determined by the eye. Of our measures therefore.

Three Barly cornes do make an ynche.

Twelue ynches yelde a foote.

Three foote are our yarde.

One yarde and nyne ynches giue an elne.

Seauen foote yelde a fadam.

By the standerde. Although we vse commonly to call the space betweene the toppes of our middle fingers (when our armes bee stretched out at length) by that name also: the same likewyse beyng called Passus sometimes, as the height of a man is Status, & supposed to be all one with the lesser fadam, or extention of his armes. But to proceede.

Sixteene foote & an halfe, or 5. yardes & an halfe do make a pole in whose Area are 272. of our feete & an half. Foure poles in length, and one in breadth, do yeeld a rodde, or rode of grounde, which some call a yardendele or yardlande. Foure roddes doe gyue an Acre, whose plotte hath 43600. or fortie pole in length, and thereto foure in breadth.

The auncient Romaynes had for theyr land as Columella saith. lib. 5. cap. 1.

The finger breadth.

The foote of sixteene finger breadthes.

The pace fiue foote.

Actus euery way had a 120. foote. In Hispania Betica, it hight Agna: but in Gallia Arepē. Iugerum, had two Actus and was so called tāquam a iunctis Actibus: so that it conteined one way 240. foote, and 120. another, that is, 28800. foote in the whole plot.

Porca. 7200. feete.

Versus, 8640. Agna. 14400.

The furlong hath 125. paces, or 625. feete. Eyght furlonges also made a myle.

Centuria, hath 200 Iugera, but in olde time onely, 100. for notwithstanding that the first be doubbled, yet it retaineth still the primitiue denomination, as we see in the worde tribe, which was at the first but one part of the three, wherinto ỳ whole people of Rome were seuered & deuided. But let vs returne vnto our owne againe.

¶ It lyke sort for such as trauaile.

Fyue foote measured by the sayde ynche make a pace & 125. paces doe yelde a furlong.

Eyght furlonges or 1000. paces is a mile, and after ths Geometricall pace are our myles measured, which some notwithstanding doe recone by about 278. tournes of a

Carte

Carte wheles, whose compasse is commonly of eyghtene foote of the standerd, and and height fyue foote and an halfe, as I haue bene informed by Wherightes in the citie.

By the foote also we measure glasse, and Tymber, and all others our buyldings. By the yarde our woollen cloth, tapissery, Arras Spikes, and Laces: but our linnen by ẏ elne. Finally our woodes and pastures are layed out by the pole, and therto our hedging, and ditching, after the same rate: although the depth of our ditches is measured by the foote & likewise their bredth as experience dayly cõfirmeth. Besids this we haue also another kind of measuring, & that is by the fadam, the vse whereof is onely seene in the digging of pittes, welles & mines, measuring of ropes, & sounding the depth of the sea, when dreade of perill inforceth our mariners to see vnto their safegarde. It is furthermore a common opinion amongst vs, that euery hundred acres of grounde, containe iust a myle in compase rounde aboute: but as I haue not yet examined howe truely thys is saide, so I am most sure that a plot of 400. Acres, shall not ẏelde a lyke proportion, by the one halfe, whensoeuer you walke about it. And euen thus woulde I ende, with this chapter, concerning our maner of measuring before remẽbred were it not that I thinke good to set downe what I haue gathered of the lyke measurynges as they haue ben vsed in other countries where they also doe reconne by the Graine, making their accompt much after such maner as followeth.

The Digitus or finger breadth hath foure graines layd side to side.
The Vncia maior, three fingers.
The palme hath foure fingers.
Their dichas two hande breadthes or eyght fingers.
Their spanne three hand bredthes or twelue fingers bredthes.
Their foote is fyftene fingers or foure hand-bredthes.
Their foote and halfe in latine, Sesquipes or Cubitus, 24. finger bredthes.
The steppe two foote and an halfe.
The common pace three foote.
The Geometricall fyue foote.
The Orgia fyue foote, as I gather out of Suidas.
The league three myles English.
The common dutche myle 4000. paces.
The greate dutch myle 5000 paces.
¶ In lyke sorte the Latines & we doe measure our iourneys by myles.

The Grecians by furlonges.
The frenche and spanishe by leagues.
The Egiptians by Signes.
The Persians by Parasangas, of which ech one conteyneth thirtie furlonges.

As for the olde Brytishe myle that includeth 1500. paces english, it shal not greately neede to make any discourse of it, & so much the lesse, sith it is yet in vse and not forgotte among the Welch men, as Leland hath noted in his commentaries of Brytaine: wherfore it may suffise to haue saide thus much of the same, and so of all the rest, beyng mindfull to goe forwarde and make an ende of this treatize.

Of Englisn weightes and their comparison with others. Cap. 23.

THe least of our waightes is a grayne, betweene which and the ounce we haue the halfe quarter, the half, and three quarters of the ounce. In olde tyme these smaller partes were commonlye reconed by peeces of coyne and not by quarter and halfe quarter as we doe nowe. As by the farding or fourth part of a peny, which waighed eyght graines, the halfepeny that peysed sixtene, and peny that counterpeysed 32. and was in deede the 32. part of an ounce, so that for the halfe quarter we sayd two pence halfepeny, for the quarter fiue pence, and halfe ounce tenne pence, which is nowe growne out of vse, & our coine so inhaunced that 60. of our pence doe hardly make an ounce, and aleane graines suffice with the more to counterpeyse a peny.

The Athenien ounce was lesse then ours by 64. graynes, and deuided into his partes after this maner following.

Lepta the seauenth part of two graynes.
Granum. A graine.
Chalchus two graines and seauen Leptæ.
Siliqua foure graines.
Semiobolus fiue graines or three Chalchi.
Obolus hath twelue graines.
Scriptulum two Obolos.
Drachma 3 Scriptula or 72. graines.
Vncia 8 Drachmes: 24. Scriptulas: 48. Obolos 576. graines, whereby they differed not also from the Romaines in their vncia who reconed their small waightes after this maner following.

A graine the least of all.
Siliqua had 4. graines.
Semiobolus 6. graines.
Obolus 12. graines.
Victoriatus one thirtenth part of an ounce

or

of 41. graines and $\frac{1}{14}$ of a graine.

Denarius the seauenth part of an ounce.

Sextula the sixt part.

Sicilicus the fourth part.

Duella the thirde part.

Semuncia the second part, or half an ounce otherwyse called a Stater.

Vncia the ounce which had two Semuncias 3. Duellas: 4. Sicilicos: 6. Stextulas: 7. Denarios: 14. Victoriatus: and 576. graines, as they themselues doe number them.

Epiphanius in his De mensuris & ponderibus, speaking of the ounce deuideth it into two Stateres, 4. Siclos, and 8. Drachmes, whereby he maketh the Stater to containe halfe an ounce or two Didrachmas. And as he agreeth with vs in 8. Drachmes to the ounce, so he maketh the lesse Holcen to counteruaile the Drachme, and the greater the Sicle: after which also the heare of Absolon was weighed and founde to haue Holcen siclorum 125. that is two pounde and an halfe as he maketh vp his reckening.

That the Siclus was once called Talentum I referre you to Eusebius his 9. booke De preparatione Euangelica, where he alledgeth the authoritie of Eupolemus, writing of Dauid, Salomon and the building of the Temple at large. In the 30. of Exodus we finde the Iewish Sicle to containe 20. obolos, which Iosephus expounding in the thirde of his Antiquities, sayth that the Sicle of the Hebrues did counteruaile foure Drachmes of Athens. The like doeth Jerome affirme vpon the fourth of Ezechiel. Hereof also Eupolemus gathereth manifestly that the 10. talentes of golde which Salomon gaue vnto eache of those workemen that wrought vpon his Temple, were but so many Sicles of his authoritie be founde. But to our owne.

We haue also a weight called the pounde, whereof are two sortes the one taking name of Troy containing twelue ounces (after which our liquide & drie measures are weighed and our plat golde) the other commonly called Haberdupois, whereby our other artificers and chapmen doe buye and sell theyr wares. The first of these containeth 7680. graines wheras the other hath 10240. Each of them also are deuided into the halfe quarter, quarter, and halfe pounde, & three quarters as we haue sayde before in the description of the ounce. Nowe in conference of the same with the Grecian weightes if you respect the Mna commonly vsed amongest the Phisitions and Surgeons (I meane for number of ounces) you shall finde small difference betweene these and our Haberdupois, but if you better consider of their difference in ounces, you shall see some oddes which I will hereafter sette downe. Furthermore as we haue two sortes of poundes in Englande, so the Greekes beside the fore alleadged, haue three kindes of Mnas, whereof the first called the greater or the newe, hath

12. ounces and foure Drachmes, or
100. Drachmes, or
600. Obolos, or Semiobolos 1200.
3600. Calchos, or
25200. Leptas: of these Liuie speaketh.

Their second is called the olde Mna, whose proportion is giuen out after thys maner, and hath

9. ounces and three Drachmes, or
75. Drachmes, or
450. Obolos, or
900. Semiobolos, or
2700. Calchos
18900. Leptas.

As for theire Apothecary Mna, it conteined after their common accoupt,

25. ounces or
112. Drachmes, and an halfe, or
337. Scruptulas and an halfe, or
675. Obolos, whereof let this suffice.

In lyke sort the Romaines hauing but one Libra, deuided it also into these euen partes insuing,

12. ounces or 576. graines.
2. Semisses or 6. ounces.
3. Trientes, or 4. ounces.
4. Quadrantes, or 3. ounces.
6. Sextantes, or 2. ounces.
8. Sescuncias or one ounce and an halfe.

Beside these also they had certaine odde weightes (percelles of their Libra) which did hrun as it were betweene these, and whose names for helpe of the diligent in hystoricall studie I will set downe as thus,

Denux of 11. ounces.
Dextans of 10. ounces.
Dodrans of 9. ounces.
Bes of 8. ounces.
Septunx of 7. ounces.
Quincunx of fiue ounces, whereby we see that the Romaine Libra is not all one with the Atheniен Mna as may likewyse be farther seene by this diuision insuing for the Romaine Libra hath

12 Vncias.
24 Semuncias.
36 Duellas.
48 Sicilicos.
72 Sextulas.
84 Denarios.
168 Victoriatus & 288 Scruptula.

And as Libra surmounteth the olde Mna, so the new Mna exceedeth the Libra, and so doe

also the Apothecarie weight as I haue sayde before. But yet to say somewhat more of the Romaine Libra or pounde & other like poyses, I thinke it very expedient for the helpe of such as shall mete with the same in reading of the Hystories, & better conference of their proportion with ours.

It is to be noted that As or Asis, is a worde properly to be applyed vnto any thing that may be deuided into partes, wherby it commeth to passe that as the fote is As vnto the smaller measure, and Libra vnto the smaller coyne, so Libra or Pondo is As or Asis, vnto the partes of hys diuision being left of the greatest, & greatest of the smallest weights.

Of Libra also the pound weight was sometyme called Libralis, 2. pounde Bilibris, three pounde Trilibris &c. And in like sort was Pondo vsed and also As, so that for the aforesayde poyses we shall reade Pondo, dupondius, trepondius in the one: and for 3. pound, 4. pounde 9. pounde, and 10. pounde, Tressis, Quadrasis, Nonusis, and Decusis in the other. Also for two Decuses 3. Decuses and 10. Decuses: Vicesis, Tricesis, and Centussis, that is, 20. Asses, 30. Asses and 100: Asses or poundes as the authours doe expound it. In like sorte Apondus or Asipondius is a pounde weight, Dua pondo, two pound, Trepondo three pounde, as by reading may be found out. Whensoeuer you find Pondo put with an other worde of weight, it signifieth the worde simply whervnto it is referred, as Pondo, Libra a pound, Pondo vncia an ounce and so forth in the rest. I might here say that the brasse penny of the Romaines weight at the first wayed 10. pounde, of which Sestertius being the fourth parte contayned two pounde and an halfe: but when they begunne to coyne siluer money, the siluer denarius or Libra was valued after the estimation of the substaunce at 10. pounde of the brasen mettall, and yet ye shall not reade that the Romaines did euer vse the worde As, Asis at any time for the siluer coine, but Libella which I doe take as a thing worthie to be noted. In like sort Quinarius was the halfe of the denarius, and Quadrans, a coyne of three ounces in brasse, whereof this may suffice. Further more in obseruation of the word Sestertium. You shall vnderstande that mille Sestertium, mille Sestertium numum, mille Numum and mille Sestertij are all one. In like sort Sestertia in the Neuter gender, doe counteruaile mille Sestertios in the Masculine gender. But if any Aduerbe of number be added vnto them, it signifieth hundreds of thousandes. Decem Sestertia therefore are 10000. Sestertium or Sestertios. And decies Sestertios, or Sestertiũ is all one with 100000. Sestertios or Sestertium, as Budens Glarean and other haue set downe.

Thus it shall nowe be an easie matter to finde the difference betweene these here remembred & our English poises, if the number of odde graines be duely considered, and these resolued into ounces or lesse weight, as occasiõ doth require. Hitherto also I haue spoken of small weightes, nowe let vs see what they be that are of the greater sort, but first of such as are in vse in Englande, reckoning not after troye weight, but Haberdupois, whose pounde hath sixteene ounces, as I haue sayde before. Of great waight therfore we haue

The cloue weighing 7 pound or half a stone.
The halfe quarterne of 14. pounde, in woll a stone, whereof 26. do make a sacke.
The quarterne of 28. pound, in wool a Todde
The halfe hundred of 56. pounde.
The hundred of 112. or 1792. ounces.

And these are vsually reconed next vnto the hundred weight, which is the greatest of all that we doe commonly vse, and of which dyuers other are commonly made about the sale of our Tinne, Leade, Flare, Spyce, and all kinde of marchaundize with others, whose quantities & names are vtterly vnknowne vnto me. Beefe is eyther solde by ỹ stone of eyght pounde or by the score. Cheese by the weigh. And hereof we finde two seuerall weightes, whereof one containeth 32 Cloues, eache cloue being of seauen pound, (although some Bookes haue one but of fiue) whereby the one weigh hath 224. the other 256. pound, that is 36. cloues & foure pounde ouer weight. This is moreouer to be noted, that the worde hundred, is not alwayes vsed after one sort in waight or tale, for as fiue score are oft taken for an hundred in some respect as in money & men: so 120. do make but an hundred as in cattell. &c. after another accoũt. But if you deale by waight thẽ 112. is alwayes your iust number. And as the hundred is the greatest here in England, so the talent was the greatest in Greece & other countries. Howbeit as our hundredes in tale doe differ from our hundredes in waight, so did the talents differ one from another, and also from them selues, for

The great talent of Athens weyghed 1000. of theyr ounces.
The lesse of Athens 750. ounces, or 6000. drachmes.
That called Egyneũ 1250. ounces (of theirs) or 10000. drachmes.
That of Syria 187. oũces, or 1500. drachms.
That of Babylon 875. ounces, or 7000.

drachmes.
And all after the rate of the Athenian ounce, vnto whose talent also the Euboike did seme to come very neare, as may appeare by conference. Now to make some collation of our weightes and these afore remembred togither, and so farre as shalbe necessary for the reading of forreine hystories.

¶ Of the Dunce.

You shall vnderstand that our ounce exceedeth the ounce of the Romains or Grecians by 64. grains, as may easily be gathered by that whych is already set downe.

Our drachme therfore must nedes cõtaine 80. graines, which is 8. more then any of the other.

Our Scriptulum (if we had any) 26. grains, and a third part of two graines.

Our Obolus 13. graines and third part of a grain, so that in our mony after 5. shillings to the ounce 7. pence ob. is the iust waight of a drachme, wherby it is easie to cast the true quantitie of the lesse.

¶ Of the Mna.

The first also of the three Mnas afore remembred called the greater, being cast after his proportion, hath 11. ounces and two drachmes, that is 56. shillings and 3. pence, whereby it wanteth somewhat of a pounde of Troy waight.

The olde Mna hath 67. drachmes and an halfe, that is 8. of our ounces, & three drams, or 42. shillings, and 2. pence ob. after our English reckening.

The thirde Mna hath 13. ounces & a halfe, that is 3. pound English, 7. shillings 6. pence farding, and halfe farding.

The fourth Mna first of all remembred, (I meane of 16. ounces) hath in like sort 14. ounces, 3. drachmes 16. graines or 3. pounde 12. shillings of currant money of Englande, after 5. shillings to the ounce.

¶ In lyke sort of Talents.

The great talent of Athens hath 900. ounces, that is of our money 225. pound.

The small talent of Athens, hath 671. ounces and 7. drachmes: or 167. pounde 19. shillings 4. pence ob. English.

The third talent of Aegyneũ 1156. ounces 2. drachmes, that is 289. pound English, one shilling and 3. pence.

The fourth of those afore remembred 168. ounces 2. drachmes or 42. pound, one shilling 6. pence English.

The last, 787. ounces and 4. drachmes, or 196. pound, 17. shil. 6. pen. englysh, as I haue truely cast it, except I mistake oughts in my reckening, whych is a thing some done: only thys can not faile, that 3. pounde in coyne is one pound in waight, after 5. shillings to the ounce, wherof let thys suffice, for the talent in waight. I say in waight, because there was a peece of coyne called also a talent, as I haue noted out of Eupolemus before, who confoundeth it wyth a sicle. And thereof I read furthermore that the Hebrues Tetradrachma was such a talent. As for that of the Athenienses, it contained 3. Stateres and of thys also ynough.

Of liquide measures. Cap. 24.

HItherto haue I spoken of waights, now it resteth that I doe the lyke of suche liquide measures as are presently vsed in England, and haue bene of olde time amongst the Grecians and Romaines. Wherin I wil deale so faithfully as I may, to the ende thys trauaile of mine may be some helpe to suche as shal come after in conferring forren with our home made weights and measures, and for the better vnderstanding of the hystories, wherein such thyngs are spoken of. The first therfore of our English measures, is

A sponeful, which hath one of our drachmes and 6. graines.
An assay, take or sippet 4. sponefuls: or 4. drachmes and 24. graines.
A fardendele is a quarter of a poũd, pinte, or 3. ounces of Troy.
An Muytch 6. ounces or halfe a pinte.
A pinte 12. ounces, or a pounde, or 4. fardendeles.
A quart 24. ounces, two pintes, or 2. pounde Troy.
A pottle, 48. ounces or 4. pounde, or so many pintes.
A gallon 96. ounces, or 8. pound, or 8. pintes.
A firkin 8. gallons or 64. pound, and thys in Ale, Sope, and Herring.
The kilderkin 16. gallons.
The barrell 32. gallons. And these are our meare English liquide measures. The rest ẏ we haue are outlandish vessels, and such as are brought ouer vnto vs wyth wares from other countreys. And yet are we not altogither guided by thys rate (the more pitye) but in some thyngs seuerall measures are vsed and receyued, as for example.

The fyrkin of beare hath 9. gallons.
The kilderkin 18. gallons.
The barrel 36. As for the hogshead of bere it is lately come vp, and because I see none made of thys assize, but onely the emptye caskes of wine reserued to thys vse, I passe ouer to say any thing thereof. If it were according to the standarde for bere, it shoulde

containe

containe 72. gallons, which now hath but 64

¶ But of Ales and Beare.

The firkin 8. gallons and an halfe.
The halfe barrell 21. gallons.
The barrell 42. gallons.
The butte 84. gallons. Perfourme eſtatutes limit our Ale meaſure in all equalitie vnto that of Hoggeſheds, of whych 108. go to the hūdred and 8 & 10. to the laſt, as they are commonly ſolde.

¶ Of wine and ſuch veſſels thereof as come from beyond the ſeas we haue the rundlet of 18. gallons and a pottle.
The barrell whych is rare of 31. gallons.
The hogſhed of 63. gallons.
The tiers of 84. gallons.
The pipe or butte of 126. gallons.
The tunne of 252.

There are alſo thirdes of pipes or hoggeſheads, and of barrelles, which are likewiſe called tertians; but of theſe I ſay nothing, becauſe theyr deuiſion is eaſie. Suche alſo hath bene the care of our maieſtrates heretofore, that theſe very veſſels haue had theyr limitation of waight, in ſo much that
The firkin ſhould wey 6. pound 6. ounces.
The halfe barrell or kilderkin 13. pound.
The barrell 26. li. whereof let this ſuffice.

And theſe are the quantities and names of moſt of our liquide meaſures, whereunto we will adde firſt thoſe of the old Grækes, whereby they meaſured theyr wines, oyle and honey, and wherof the firſt is.

The ſponeful, which weygheth one drachme halfe a Scriptula, 2. graines & 2. fifth partes of a graine.
Cheme hath 2. ſponefuls or 2. drachmes, one ſcriptulum 4. graines and $\frac{4}{5}$ of a graine in waight.
Myſtrum 2. ſponefulles and an halfe, or 3. drachmes in weight of theyrs.
Concha 2. Myſtra, or 5. ſponefulles, or fiue drachmes.
Cyathus 2. Conchas, or one ounce & a drachme.
Oxybaphon 3. Conchas or 15. ſponefulles, in weight 2. ounces 3. drachmes.
Quartarius 2. Oxybapha, or 4. ounces and 4. drachmes.
Cotyla *alias* Hemina or Tryblion, 2. quartaries, in weight 9. ounces of their owne.
Sextarius 2. Cotylas or 120. ſponefulles: in weight 18. of theyr ounces.
Chus, Choa, or Choeus, 6. ſextarios 108. ounces or 9. pound.
Metretes, Cadus, Ceraunius or Chous 1296. ounces, and theſe were certē: howbeit they had other meaſures that bare the name of ſome of theſe, as

Concha the greater, of 2. ounces 2. drachmes equall wyth the Oxybapha.
Myſtrum the greater of 3. drachmes $\frac{3}{4}$ of a drachme.
Myſtrum the leſſe of two drachmes one ſcriptulum and $\frac{4}{5}$ partes of a graine.
Cheme the greater of 3. drachmes.
The leſſe of 2. drachmes.
Cochlearium the greateſt as afore.
The leſſer which the part of a Cyathus.
The leſſe hath the 24. or 30. part of a Cyathus, for this was alſo diuers, as I do finde in Budeus, Agricola and the Grecian wryters, eſpecially for theyr townes) becauſe I read of an other ſtandard in the rurall popſe whereof I will not let alſo to make mention, becauſe I would omitte nothing that may be beneficiall to the reader, ſo neare as I can poſſibly. Of rurall popſes therefore in the aforeſayde meaſures I finde that the
Myſtrum weygheth 4. drachmes and a halfe.
Cyathus 4. Myſtra or 2. ounces & 2. drachmes.
Oxybapha 6. Myſtra or 3. ounces and three drachmes.
Cotyle 4. Oxybapha one pound one ounce & an halfe.
Chus hath 12. Cotylas or thirteene pound.
Amphora 4. Cotylas, or 54. pound.
Metretes 2. Amphoras 108. pound, as likewiſe the Pedymnus.

Now let vs ſee the liquide meaſure of the Romaines, whych is all one wyth theyr dry, therfore theyr Ligula Cochlearū or ſponefull hathe 240. graines or 3. drachmes in weight, whereby it farre ſurmounteth the Grecian ſponefull and an halfe.
Cyathus 4. ſponefuls, or 960. graines.
Acetabulum a Cyathus and an halfe, or fiue ſponefuls, or 2 ounces.
Quartarius 2. Acetabula or 5. ounces.
Hemina 2. Quartario or 10. ounces.
Sextarius 2. Heminas or 20. ounces.
Congius 6. Sextarios or 10. pound.
Vrna 4. Congios or 40. pound.
Amphora 2. Vrnas or 80. pound.
Culeus 20. Amphoras or 1600. pound. After the Romaine ſtandard, ſo well in the dry as in the liquide meaſures. And thus muche of theſe in generall.

¶ Now let vs compare them with ours & ſet what proportion or odds is to be had betwæne them.

Our ſponefull hath a Drachme and fiue graines and two fift partes of a graine after our ſtandard of Drachmes, whereof one is alwayes the eyght part of an ounce.

Theyr Cheme is of ours Drachmes 12

graines and $\frac{4}{5}$ part of a graine.

Their Mystrum one Drachme and one graine.

Concha fiue Drachmes or 32. graines or 3. shillinges and peny halfe peny after fiue shillinges to the ounce.

Cyathus one ounce and eyght graines.

Oxybaphon two ounces and 16. graines.

Quartarius foure ounces and 32 graines.

Cotyla eyght ounces 64. graines or three quarters of a Drachme and foure graines.

Sextarius sixtéene ounces, one Drachme 48. graines.

Choa 97. ounces one Drachme or eyght pounde Troy, one ounce one Drachme and 48. graines.

Metretes 1166. ounces and three Drachmes, or 97. pounde Troye two ounces and three Drachmes, which is all one with 12. gallons & a pint after our englishe measure.

Their rurall measures also being compared with ours, yelde thys proportion.

Mystrum hath foure Drachmes 4. graines

Cyathus two ounces and sixtéene graines.

Oxybapha 3. ounces 24. graines or a quarter of a pint and somewhat more.

Chus twelue pounde one ounce 6 Drachmes and 32. graines: three pottels and odde measure.

Amphora 47. pounde seauen ounces and an halfe and 48. graines which wanteth not full fiue ounces of 6. gallons, after our English measures.

Metretes hath 97. pounde two ounces three Drachmes 16. graines or twelue gallons & a pinte. &c. that is, three gallons and a pint. &c. aboue our kilderkin of beere.

¶ Hauing thus proceéded in ertent & comparison of the Grecian measures with ours, let vs do the like with those of the Romaines and then our taske is performed.

The Romaine spoonful is exactly 3. Drachmes english.

The Cyathus twelue Drachmes, that is, one ounce and an halfe.

Acetabulum two ounces & 2. Drachmes.

Quartarius foure ounces, and 4. Drachmes English.

Hemina nine ounces or three quarters of a pinte.

Sextarius one pinte and an halfe.

Congius three quartes or 72. ounces.

Vrna three gallons or 24. pounde.

Amphora 6. gallons or 48. pounde.

Culeus 120. gallons, which is two hoggesheades of our auncient measure, sauing 8. gallons: or three barrelles and a kilderkin, sauing that there are 6. gallons ouer measure, whereby our account exceédeth that of the Romaines.

And thus much briefly of liquid measures, wherein yf I haue béene more long & tedious then thou peraduenture diddest looke for at the first, yet the benefite gotten thereby shall, I hope, counteruaile the trauaile in reading of the same. And as I haue dispatched my handes in this sorte of the liquide, now it resteth that I doe the lyke with the drie measures, & then shall that little Treatize haue an ende, whereof I spake before & might otherwyse haue perished hereafter (for me) yf it had not béene inserted here vpon this necessarie occasion.

Of the drie measures of Englande, and their comparison with others. Cap. 25.

AS before we sée in the moyst, so doe all our drie measures fetch their originall from the sponefull. &c. vntill they come at the gallon: beyonde the which wée haue the Pecke or farthendeale of a bushell (for that is our Englishe worde for a fourth part) of two gallons.

Halfe bushell of foure gallons.

Bushell of eyght gallons, or 64. pounde, Troye.

Strike of two Bushelles or 128. pounde or 16. gallons.

Come rasor or cornocke of foure bushels or 256. pounde or 32. gallons.

Quarter or seame of 8. Bushelles or 512. pounde or 64. gallons.

Way, or 6. quarters of 5 7 0 2. pounde or 384. gallons as by the rule of proportion is easie to be founde.

By these measures also we measure our Pulkard séede, Rape séede, Carot rootes, salt, and fruite, notwithstanding that the filling of the Bushell be diuers, sith in Corne, salte, and séedes we strike with a rule, but in Apples & Rootes we poure them on by heapes. This is furthermore to be considered, that although one wheate or barly be heauyer then an other, as the soyle is wette or drie, Barly cõmonly then Otes, Rye then barly, wheate then Rye. &c. also in liquide wares, Oyle compared with wine, and both wyth hony, yet ỹ measure framed after the aforesayde weightes doth meate them all indifferently so that the quantitie of the standarde and not the qualitie of ware measured, is alwayes to be loked on. In déede it is founde by experience that a lyke measure of wyne Oyle and hony being weighed togither, the Oyle shalbe lighter by a ninth part then the wine,

wine, and the hony heauyer then the Wine almost by a thirde. Certes there is nothing that cõmeth nérer the weight of wine then the pureſt water, and yet one Wine is heauyer then an other as waters also are, of which the moſt groſſe is euer more ẏ weightieſt. And theſe thinges haue not béene vnknowne in tymes paſt also vnto the Grecians: for weyghing they? Culeus of Dyle, it peyſed but 1333. pound, 4 oũces, whereas that of Wine came vnto 1481. li. fiue ounces ſixe Dzachmes and foure Silquas. But of hony vnto 2222. pounde, two ounces, 5. Dzachmes, one Scriptula. &c. whereof this maye ſuffice for an admonition to the reader. Nowe let vs ſée thoſe of the Grecians for my former purpoſe, whoſe

Cyathus hath tenne ſpoonfulles, or an ounce and one Dzachme.

Oxybaphon 15. ſpoonfulles or two ounces and two Dzachmes.

Cotyle foure Oxybapha or nine ounces.

Sextarius 2. Cotylas or 18. ounces.

Chenix. 3 Cotylas or 27. ounces, ſo called bycauſe that quantitie ſuffiſed to finde a man breade for an whole daye.

Medimnus or Metretes: 48. Chenices, or 108. pounde.

¶ In lyke ſort in Rurall meaſures theſe

Myſtrum hath 2. ſpoonfulles and an halfe.

Cyathus 4. Myſtra, or ſixe ſpoonfulles.

Oxybaphon 4. Myſtra 2. ounces 2. Dzachmes.

Cotyle foure Oxybapha, nyne ounces.

Chenicx 3. Cotylas 27. ounces.

Semiduodecima Medymni 2. Chenicas 4. pounde 6. ounces.

Semiſextarius 9. pounde.

Sextarius 18. pounde.

Tertiarius 16. Chenicas 36. pounde.

Semimedymnũ 24. Chenicas or 54. pound.

Medymnus 28. Chenicas or 108. pound and theſe of the Grékes.

Now ſhall thoſe of the Romaines followe in ſuch order as in ſueth.

Cloclearium a ſpoonefull 3. Dzachmes and one Scriptula.

Cyathus 4. ſpoonefuls one ounce ẏ an halfe, one Dzachme one Scriptula.

Acetabulum a Cyathus ẏ an halfe 2. ounces and foure Dzachmes.

Hemina or Cotula foure Acetabula or tenne ounces.

Sextarius two Heminas or 20. ounces.

Semodius eyght Sextarios 13. pounde foure ounces.

Modius 16. Sextarios 26. pounde 8. ounces.

Theſe afore ſayde meaſures compared alſo with our Engliſh haue ſuch proportion.

Cyathus as afore ſayde, one ounce ẏ eight graines, Engliſhe.

Cotyle, 6. ounces 48. graines Engliſh.

Chenix one pounde 6. ounces, one Dzachme 64. graines Engliſh.

Medymnus 72. pounde, 10. ounces, 32. grains Engliſh.

Their Rurall meaſures conferred with ours.

Chenix a quarte.

Semiduodecima a Pottle ẏ 4. Dzachm.

Semiſextarius, a gallon and an ounce.

Sextarius, two gallons and two ounces.

Tertiari⁹, foure gallons ẏ foure ounces.

Semimedimnus 6. gallons ẏ halfe a pint.

Medymnus eractly 13. gallons.

Whereby we ſée that their lyquide meaſure is ſomewhat greater then the dzye by two ounces and thzée Dzachmes. Nowe it reſteth ẏ I do the like wõ the weightes of the Romaine dzy meaſures, after which I will gyue out the weightes of Uenice as Auguſtinus Pantheus in his de rebus Voarchadumicis and other doe ſet them downe.

Cyathus one ounce and an halfe.

Semodius, 12. pounde Troy, that is, a gallon and an halfe.

Modius 24. pound, that is, thzée gallons,

And more I remember not at this preſent of their dzye meaſure.

I might here adde other meaſures of the Hebzues alſo. But I find ſuch variety in thẽ as maketh me rather to omit then publiſhe them in this treatiſe. And fyrſt of all they? Chor, which ſignifieth an heape of graine, ẏ is not onely the iuſt loade of a Camell, but alſo conteineth 30. Modios as Epiphanius doth ſet downe, notwithſtanding that Bude⁹ hath 41. Medimnos. The Lethec alſo (wherof Oſee ſpeaketh, ſaying, Mercede conduxi mihi Lethec hordei. &c.) is al one with the Gomor or halfe Cor, and called Lethec of lifting vp, becauſe a yong man might eaſely lift it vp to laye it vpon his aſſe. Their Batos of Dyle, with Epiphanius hath, 50. Sextarios, with Budee 27. The Modius of ẏ Iues, 22. Sextarios in the firſt, but in the treatiſe of this later, only 16. In lyke ſorte there is difference in the Cab or fourth part of the Modius. Also in ẏ Manſis, or Medimnus, which after Epiphanis hath 10. Modios, ẏ Salanien or Conſtantinuan 5. Modios and that of Paphos and Sicilia, onely $4\frac{1}{4}$ all which diſcordances I am not able to reconcile, eſpecially being things of ſuch antiquitie, and therfore I giue vppe to ſpeake any longer of them. Furthermore in turning ouer ſuch old bookes as came vn-

Chor.

Lethec.

Gomor.

Batos.

Modius.

Cab.

Mnaſis.

to my handes I finde also this note insuyng 6. which

Charette hath 4. graines.
Peny 8 Carettes.

Euery graine of Batement a Peny in Gold, but after Fraunce, Venice, and some other places, they haue but fiue Carettes in the peny, and 4. graines in the Carette, which odes groweth by the difference of weightes, for beyonde the sea they haue 24. pence in the ounce, which is 4. pence more in value, then the ounce English, after the olde account of pence. By these Carettes pearles and stones are valued and solde, but not gold, which hath neuertheless the name of Carettes in his Pois, but after an other proportion.

Of Weightes of Venice, also Augustinus Pantheus, saith thus.

Eximo is the 156. parte of a graine.
A graine conteineth 156. Eximos.
Charattus or Siliqua 4 graines.
Quartus 36. Carattes, or the olde guilden,
Ounce 4. quartes. 144. Carattes.
Marca or Bes 8. ounces or 1152. Carattes.
Marchus 16. ounces, or 2304. Carattes.
Rubus 20. Marcas.
Posta 40. Marchas, whereof let this suffice, & for the setting forth of the iust proportion of weights and measures, I hope that which is already spoken shall be ynough.

¶ I haue thought good to deliuer the names of the Archbyshops and Byshops of London, as they succeded since the Brytons were first conuerted into the faith.

Archbishops.

Theon.	Theodwinus.
Eluanus.	Theodredus.
Cadocus.	Hillarius.
Ouinus.	Guittelinus.
Conanus.	Vodinus, slaine by the
Palladius.	Saxons.
Stephanus.	✶Theonus.
Iltutus.	

The Sie voide many yeares.

Augustus Monachus.

¶ The Archebishop remouing his Sie to Cantorbury these Byshops succeeded.

Mellitus.

The Sie voyde a season.

Wina.	Cenulphus.
Erkenwaldus.	Suithulphus.
Waldherus.	Eadstanus.
Iugaldus.	Wulfinus.
Egulphus.	Ethelwaldus.
Wigotus.	Elstanus.
Eadbricus.	Brithelmus.
Edgarus.	Dunstanus.
Kiniwalchus.	Theodoricus.
Eadbaldus.	Alwijnus.
Eadbertus.	Elfwoldus.
Oswinus.	Robertus.
Ethelmothus.	Wilhelmus.
Ceadbertus.	Hugo.

The Sie voide 11. yeares.

Mauricius.	Michaell.
Richardus Beaumish.	Simon.
Gilbertus.	Robertus.
Robertus.	Thomas.
Richardus.	Richardus.
Gilbertus.	Thomas Sauagius.
Richardus.	Wilhelmus.
Wilhelmus.	Wilhelmus warham.
Eustathius.	Wilhelmus Barnes.
Rogerus.	Richardus fitz Iames.
Fulco.	Cuthbertus Tunstall.
Henricus.	Iohanes Stokesley.
Richardus.	Edmundus Boner.
Radulphus.	Nicholas Ridley.
Gilbertus.	Edmonde Boner a-
Richardus Biutworth.	gaine.
Stephanus.	Edmond Grindall.
Richardus.	Eadwijn Sandes.
Radulphus Baldoc.	Elmer.

¶ Here followeth the principall Faires kept in Englande.

Faires in Ianuary.

The first day being Twelfe day, at Salisbury. The 25. being S. Paules day, at Bristowe, at Graueseude, at Churching for at Northalerton in Yorkeshire, where is kept a faire euery wednesday from Christmasse vntill June.

Fayres

Fayres in February.

The first day at Bromley. The second at Linne, at Bath, at Maidstone, at Bickelsworth, at Budworth. The 14. at Feuersham. On Ashwednesday at Lichfielde, at Tamworth, at Royston, at Excester, at Abington, at Ciceter. The 24 at Henley vpon Thames, at Tewkesbury.

Fayres in March.

On S. Georges daye, at Stamforde, and at Sudbury. The 13. day at Wie, at the Mount, and at Bodmin in Cornewall. The 5. Sunday in Lent, at Grantham at Salisbury. On Monday before our Lady daye in Lent, at Wisbich, at Kendale, Denbigh in Wales. On Palmesundaye euen, at Pumphret. On Palmsunday, at Worcester. The 20. day at Durham. On our Ladye daye in Lent at Northamton, at Walden, at great Chart, at Newcastell. And all the Ladye daies at Huntington.

Fayres in Aprill.

The 5. day at Walingforde. The 7. at Darbye. The 9. at Bicklesworthe, at Bilingworth. On monday after, at Cuesha in Worcester shire. On Tuesday in Easter weeke, at Northflete, at Rochford, at Hitchin. The thirde Sunday after Easter, at Louth. The 22. at Stabford. on S. Georges day, at Charing, at Ipswich, at Tāworth, at Amthill, at Himningham, at Gilforde, at S. Pombes in Cornewall. On saint Markes day at Darby, at Dunmow in Esser. The 26. at Tenderden in Kent.

Fayres in May.

On May daye at Rippon, at Perin in Cornewall, at Dissertie in Wales, at Lerfield in Suffolke, at Stow ỳ old, at Reading, at Leicester, at Thensford, at Maidstone at Brickehill, at Blacheborne, at Cogilton. The 3. at Bramyarde, at Henningham, at Elsfow. The 7. at Beuerley, at Newton, at Orforde. On Ascention day at Newcastell, at Perne, at Brimechame, at S. Edes, at Bysshop Stratforde, at Wicham, at Nibleswiche, at Stopforde, at Chappell Frith. On Whitsun euen, at Skipton vppon Crauen. On Whitsunday, at Richell, at Gribby, and euery wednesday fortnight at Kingston vpō Thames, at Ratesdale, at Kirby Stephin in Westmerlande. On munday in Whitsunne weeke, at Darington, at Excester, at Bradforde, at Rygate, at Burton, at Salforth, at Whitechurch, at Cokermouth, at Appelby, at Bicklesworth, on Tewsday on Whitsunweeke, at Lewse, at Rochford, at Cantorbury, at Dymelskirke, at Herith. On wednesday in Whitsun weeke, at Sandbarre. On Trinitie sunday, at Kendall, and at Rowell, On thursday after Trinitie sunday, at Pyrecote, at Stapforde, at S. Annes, at Newbury, at Couentry, at S. Edes, at Bishoppe Stotforde, at Rotte. The 9. at Lochester, at Dunstable. The 27. day at Lenham. The 29. at Crambroke.

Fayres in Iune.

The 9. day at Maydestone. The 11. at Dikingham, at Newborowgh, at Warfield at Holte. The 23. at Shrewesbury, at Saint Albons. The 24. day at Horsham, at Bedel, at Strackstocke, at S. Annes, at Wakefield, at Colchester, at Reading, at Bedforde, at Barnewell, at Wollerhampton, at Crambroke, at Glocester, at Lincolne, at Peterborough, at Windsore, at Harstone, at Lancaster, at Westchester at Hallifare, at Ashborne. The 27. at Folkestone. The 28. at Hetcorne, at S. Pombes. The 29. at Woodhurst, at Marleborough, at Hollesworth, at Wollerhampton, at Peterfielde, at Lempster, at Sudbury, at Gargrauige, at Bromley.

Fayres in Iuly.

The 2. at Collgreton, at Alhton vnder Line. The 11. at Partney, at Lid. The 15. at Pichbacke. The 17. at Winchecombe. The 20. at Urbridge, at Catesby, at Bolton The 22. at Marleborough, at Winchester, at Colchester, at Tetbury, at Bridgenorth, at Clitherall, at Norwiche in Chelshire, at Chelwike, at Battelfielde, at Bikelworth. The 25. at Brissolwe, at Douer, at Chilham, at Darby at Ipswich, at Northamton, at Dudley in Staffordshire, at S. James beside London, at Reading, at Louth, at Walmesbury, at Bromeley, at Chichester, at Liuerpole, at Altergam, at Rauenglasse in the North. The 27. at Canterbury, at Horsham at Richmonde in the North, at Warington, at Chappell Frith.

Fayres

Fayres in Auguſt.

THe firſt day at Exceſter, at Feuerſham at Dunſtable, at S. Edes, at Bedford, at Northam Church, at Wilbich, at Yorke, at Rumney, at Newton, at Yelande. The x. at Waltham, at Blackemore, at Yungerford at Bedford, at Stroydes, at Farnam at Saint Laurence by Bodmin, at Walton, at Crolly, at Seddell, at Newe Brainford. The 15. at Dunmow, at Carleile, at Preſtū at Wakefielde ỳ two Lady daies. On Bartholomew day at London, at Beggers bushe beſide Rye, at Tewkesbury, at Sudbury, at Rye, at Nantwiche, at Pagets, at Bromly. at Norwiche, at Northalerton, at Douer, at the Sundaye after Bartholomewe daye at Sandbiche. The 27. at Aſhford.

Fayres in September.

THe firſt daye at S. Giles at the Buche. On our Lady day, at Wakefielde, at Sturbridge, in Southwarke at London, at Snide, at Recoluer, at Gilbroughe both the Lady daies, at Partneye. The three Ladye daies, at Blackborne, at Gilborne in Yorkeſhire, at Chalton, at Uttceſter. On Holy Rode day, at Richmonde in Yorkeſhire, at Ripond a horſe faire, at Penhad, at Berſeley, at Waltham Abbay, at Wotten vnder hedge, at Smalding, at Cheſterfield, at Dēbigh in Wales. On Saint Mathies day at Marleborough, at Bedford, at Croidon, at Holden in Holdernes, at ſaint Edmondſbury, at Malton, at ſaint Jues, at Shrewesbury, at Lanchā, at Witnall, at Sittingborne, at Brainetry, at Katherine hill beſide Gilford, at Douer, at Caſtrie. The 29. day being Michaelmas daye, at Cantorbury, at Lancaſter, at Blackeborne, at Weſtcheſter at Cokermouth, at aſhborne, at Yadley, at Malden at horſe faire, at Way hill, at Newbury, at Leiceſter.

Fayres in October.

THe fourth day at Michell. The 6. day at Saint Faithes beſide Norwiche, at Maideſtone. The 8. at Yerborough, at Harworde, at Byſhop Stotford. On Saint Edwardes day at Roiſton, at Grauesende, at Windſore, at Marſhfield, at Colcheſter. On Saint Lukes daye at Ely, at Wizicle, at Upane, at Thirſk, at Bridgenorth, at Stanton, at Charing, at Burton vpon Trent, at Charleton, at Wigan, at Friſwides in Orford, at Tiſdale, at Pidlewiche, at Holt in Wales. The 21. day at Saffron Waldon, at Newemarket, at Yertford, at Cicester, at Stokesley. The 23. at Preſton, at Bikelſworth, at Ritchdale, at whitechurch. On all Saintes euen at Wakefielde, at Rithen.

Fayres in Nouember.

THe ſecond, at Blechingly, at Kingſtone at Marſfielde. The 6. day, at Newporte ponde, at Stanley, at Tregney, at Salford, at Leiford. The 10. at Leuton. The 11. at Marleborough, at Douer. The 13. at Saint Edmondes bury, at Gilford. The 17. day at Low, at Hide. The 19. at Horſham. On S. Edmondes daye, at Hythe, at Ingerſtone. The 23. day at Sandwiche. On Saint Andrewes day at Colingborough, at Rocheſter, at Peterfield, at Maidenhead, at Bewdley, at Warington in Lancaſhire, at Bedford in Yorkeſhire, at Oſtrie in Wales.

¶ Fayeres in December.

ON Saint Nicholas euen at Pluckeley. On Saint Nicholas day, at Spalding, at Exceſter, and Sinocke, at Arnedale, and at Northwiche in Cheſhire. The 7. day at Sandhurſt. The eyght day being the Conception of our Lady, at Clitherall in Lancaſhire, at Malpas in Cheſhire. The 29. day at Canterbury, and at Saliſbury.

¶ How a man may iourney from any notable towne in England, to the Citie of London, or from London to any notable towne in the Realme.

¶ The way from Walſingham to London.

FRom Walſingham to Pickenam xij. mile
From Pickenam to Brandonfery x. mile
From Brandonfery to Newmarket x. mile
From Newmarket to Babram x. mile
From Brabram to Barkeway xx. mile
From Barkeway to Puchrich vij. mile
From Puchrich to Ware v. mile
From Ware to Waltham viij. mile
From Waltham to London xij. mile

¶ The way from Barwike to Yorke, and ſo to London.

FRom Barwike to Belforde xij. mile
From Belforde to Anwike xij. mile

From

From Anwike to Morpit xij.mile
From Morpit to Newcastell xij.mile
From Newcastell to Durham xij.mile
From Durham to Darington xiij.mile
From Darington to Northalertō xiiij.mile
From Northalerton to Toplife vij.mile
From Toplife to Yorke xvj.mile
From Yorke to Tadcaster vij.mile
From Tadcaster to Wantbridge xj.mile
From Wentbridge to Doncaster vij.mile
From Doncaster to Tutford xvij.mile
From Tudford to Newarke x.mile
From Newarke to Grantham x.mile
From Grantham to Stanford xvj.mile
From Stanford to Stilton xj.mile
From Stilton to Huntington ix.mile
From Hunting to Roiston xv.mile
From Roiston to Ware xj.mile
From Ware to Waltham vij.mile
From Waltham to London xj.mile

¶ The way from Carnaruan to Chester and so to London.

FRom Carnaruan to Conway xxiij.mile
From Conway to Denbigh xij.mile
From Denbigh to Flint xj.mile
From Flint to Chester x.mile
From Chester to Wiche xiij.mile
From Wiche to Stone xv.mile
From Stone to Lichfield xvj.mile
From Lichfielde to Colsill xj.mile
From Colsill to Couentry vij.mile
And so from Couentry to London, as hereafter followeth.

¶ The waye from Cokermouth to Lancaster, and so to London.

FRom Cokermouth to Kilwike vj.mile
From Kilwike to Grocener vij.mile
From Grocener to Kendale xiij.mile
From Kendale to Burton vj.mile
From Burton to Lancaster vij.mile
From Lancaster to Preston xx.mile
From Preston to Wigam xij.mile
From Wigam to Warington xx.mile
From Warington to Newcastell xx.mile
From Newcastell to Lichfield xx.mile
From Lichfield to Couentrie xx.mile
From Couentry to Daintrie xiij.mile
From Daintrie to Tocester x.mile
From Tocester to Stonistratford vi.mile
From Stonistratforde to Brichill vij.mile
From Brichill to Dunstable vj.mile
From Dunstable to Saint Albons x.mile
From Saint Albons to Barnet x.mile
From Barnet to London x.mile

¶ The waye from Yarmouth to Colchester, and so to London.

FRom Yarmouth to Beccles vij.mile
From Beccles to Blybour vj.mile
From Blybour to Snapbridge vij.mile
From Snapbridge to Woodbridge vij.mil
From Woodbridge to Ipswich v.mile
From Ipswich to Colchester xij.mile
From Colchester to Eastforde vij.mile
From Eastforde to Chelmesford x.mile
From Chelmesford to Brentwod x.mile
From Brentwod to London xv.mile

The way from Douer to London.

FRom Douer to Cantorbury xij.mile
From Cātorbury to Sittingborne xj.m.
From Sittingborne to Rochester vij.mile
From Rochester to Grauesende v.mile
From Grauesende to Datforde vj.mile
From Datforde to London xij.mile

The way from Saint Burien in Cornewall to London.

FRom Saint Burien to the Mount xx.mile
From the Mount to Thury xj.mile
From Saint Thury to Bodman xx.mile
From Bodman to Launstone xx.mile
From Launstone to Dcomton xv.mile
From Dcomton to Crokehornewell x.mile
From Crokehornewell to Excester x.mile
From Excester to Honiton xj.mile
From Honiton to Chard x.mile
From Chard to Crokehorne vij.mile
From Crokehorne to Shirborne x.mile
From Shirborne to Shaftsbury x.mile
From Shaftsbury to Salisbury xviij.mile
From Salisbury to Andeuor xv.mile
From Andeuor to Basingstocke xviij.mile
From Basingstocke to Hartford vij.mile
From Hartford to Bagshot vij.mile
From Bagshot to Stanes vij.mile
From Stanes to London xv.mile

The way from Bristowe to London.

FRom Bristow to Barfield x.mile
From Barfield to Chipnam x.mile
From Chipnam to Marlborough xv.mile
Frō Marlborough to Hungerford vij.mile
From Hungerford to Newbury vj.mile
From Newbury to Reading xv.mile
From Reading to Maidenhead x.mile

From

From Maidenhead to Colbroke vij.mile
From Colbroke to London xv.mile

The way from Saint Dauids to London.

FRom Saint Dauids to Arford xx.mile
From Arforde to Carmarden x.mile
From Carmarden to Newton x.mile
From Newton to Lanbury x.mile
From Lanbury to Brecknocke xvj.mile
From Brecknocke to Hay x.mile
From Hay to Harford xiij.mile
From Harford to Rosa ix.mile
From Rosa to Glocester xij.mile
From Glocester to Cicester xv.mile
From Cicester to Farington xvj.mile
From Farington to Habington vij.mile
From Habington to Dorchester vij.mile
From Dorchester to Henlay xij.mile
From Henlay to Maydenhead vij.mile
From Maydenhead to Colbroke vij.mile
From Colbroke to London xv.mile

¶Of thorowfarres. From Douer to Cambridge.

FRom Douer to Cantorbury. 12 mple.
From Cantorbury to Rochester. 20 mi.
From Rochester to Grecuelende. 5. mile.
Frō Grauelende ouer Thames, to Horne-den. 4.miles.
From Hornedon to Thelmesford. 12.mile.
From Thelmesforde to Dunnow. 10.mile.
From Dunnowe, to Tharked. 5.miles.
From Tharked to Radwinter. 3.miles.
From Radwinter to Linton. 5.miles.
From Linton to Babrenham. 3.miles.
From Babrenham to Cambridge. 4.mile.

From Cantorbury to Oxforde.

FRom Cantorbury to London. 43.mile.
From London to Vrbridge or Colbroke. 15.mile.
From Vrbridge to Baccansfelde. 7.mile.
From Baccansfeld, to east Wickhā. 5.mil.
From Wickham to Stocking church. 5.m.
From Stocking church to Thetisford. 5.m.
From Thetisford to Whatley. 6.mile.
From Whatley to Orforde. 4.mile.

From London to Cambridge.

FRom London to Edmonton. 6.mile.
From Edmonton to Waltham. 6.mi.
From Waltham to Hoddesdon. 5.mile
From Hoddesdon to Ware. 3.mile.
From Ware to Pulcherchurch. 5.mile.
From Pulchurchurch to Barkeway. 7.mi.
From Barkeway to Fulmere. 6.mile.
From Fulmere to Cambridge. 6.mile.

Or thus better waye.

From London to Hoddesdon. 17.mile.
From Hoddesdon to Hadham. 7.mile.
From Hadham to Saffron Walden. 12.mi.
Frō Saffron walden to Cambridge. 16.mi.

¶Of certeine waies in Scotland, out of Reginald Wolfes his Annotations.

From Barwijc to Edenborowe.

FRom Barwijc to Chirneside. 10.mile
From Chirneside to Coldingham. 3.mi.
From Coldingham Pinketon. 6.mile.
From Pinketon to Dunbarre. 6.mile.
From Dunbarre to Linton. 6.mile.
From Linton to Haddington. 6.mile.
From Haddington to Seaton. 4.mile.
From Seaton to Aberlady or Gulselborow. 8.mile.
From thence to Edenborow 8.mile

From Edenborow to Barwijc another waye.

FRom Edenborow to Dalketh. 5.mile.
From Dalketh to Newe Battell and Lander. 5.mile.
From Lander to Vrseldon. 6.mile.
From Vrsyldon to Dryburg. 5.mile.
From Dryburg to Caryton. 6.mile.
From Caryton to Barwijc. 14.mile.

From Edenborow to Dunbrittaine westwarde.

FRom Edenborow to Birkelifton. 6.mile.
From Birkelifton to Litheo. 6.mile.
Frō Litheo to Farekirke ouer Forth. 6.m.
From thence to Striuelin vpō Forth. 6.mi.
From Striuelin to Dunbrittaine. 24.mi.

From Striuelin to Kinghorne Eastwarde.

FRō Striuelin to Downe in menketh. 3.m.
From Downe to Campskenell. 3.mile.
Frō Campskenel to Alwey vpō forth. 4.m.
From Alwey to Culrose on Fiffe. 10.mile.

From

From Culrose to Dunfermelin. 2.mile.
From Dunfermelin to Cuerkennin. 2.mi.
Frō Cuerkennin to Aberdoze on foyth.3.mi.
Frō Aberdoze to Kinghorne vpon foyth.3.m

From Kinghorne to Taymouth.

FRom Kincorne to Dissard in Fiffe. 3.m.
From Dissarde to Colwper. 8.mile.
From Colwper to S.Andzewes. 14.mile.
From S.Andzewes to the Taymouth.6.mi.

From Taymouth to Stockeforde.

FRom Taymouth to Balmerinoth Abbay. 4.mile.
From thence to Londozes Abbay. 4.mile.
From Londozes to S.Johns Towne. 12.mi.
From S.Johns to Schone 5.mile.
From thence to Abernithy, where ỳ Erne runneth into the Tay. 15.mile.
From Abernithy to Dundée. 15.mile.
From Dundée to Arbzoth & Muros.24.mil.
From Muros to Aberden 20.mile.
Frō Aberden to the water of Doney.20.m.
From thence to the ryuer of Spay. 30.mi.
From thence to Stockefozd in Rosse, and so to the Nesse of Haben, a famous point on the west side. 30.mile.

From Carleil to Whitehernewestwarde.

FRom Carleil ouer the Ferry against Kedkyrke. 4mile
From thence to Dunfrées. 20.mile.
From Dunfrées to the ferry of Cre.40.m.
From thence to Wigton. 3.mile.
From thence to Whithirne. 12.mile.

Hitherto of the commō wayes of England and Scotland, where vnto I will adiopne ỳ old thozowfares ascribed to Antonius, to the end ỳ by their conferēce the diligent reader may haue farder consideratiō of ỳ same then my leysure wyll permitte me: In setting forth also thereof, I haue noted such diuersitie of reading, as hath happened in the sight of such written and printed copies, as I haue seene in time.

Iter Britanniarum.

A GESSORIACO, de Gallis Ritupis in portu Britanniarum stadia numero. CCCCL.

A LIMITE, ID EST A VALLO
Prætorio vsque M.P. CLVI. sic.

A Bramenio Corstopitum. M.P.XX.
Vindomora M. P. VIIII.
Viconia * M.P.XVIIII. *Vinouia Vinouium.*
Cataractoni M. P. XXII.
Isurium M. P. XXIIII.
Eburacum legio. VI. Victrix M.P. XVII.
Deruentione M.P. VII. Tadcaster.
Delgouitia M. P. XIII. Wentbzidge
Prætorio M.P.XXV. Tudfozde.

ITEM A VALLO AD
portum Ritupis M. P. CCCC. LXXXI. 491. sic.

Ablato Bulgio * castra exploratorum M. P. X. 15. âlias à Blato.
Lugu-vallo * M.P. XII. âlias à Lugu-valio. Cairleil.
Voreda M. P. XIIII.
Brouonacis * M. P. XIII. *Brauoniacis.*
Verteris M. P. XX. 13.
Lauatris M. P. XIIII.
Cataractone * M. P. XVI. *Caturractonium.*
Isuriam * M. P. XXIIII. *Isoriam.*
Eburacum * M. P. XVIII. *Eboracum.*
Calcaria * M.P. VIIII. *Cacaria.*
Camboduno M. P. XX.
Mammuncio * M. P. XVIII. *Manucio.*
Condate M. P. XVIII.
Deua legio. XXIII. CI. M. P. XX.
Bouio * M. P. X. *Bonio.*
Mediolano M. P. X.
Rutunio M. P. XII.
Vrio Conio * M. P. XI. *Viroconium.*
Vxacona M. P. XI.
Penno-Crucio M. P. XII.
Etoceto M. P. XII.
Mandues Sedo M. P. XVI.
Venonis M. P. XII.
Bennauenta * M. P. XVII. *Banna venta.*
Lactorodo * M. P. XII. *Lactodoro.*
Maginto * M. P. XVII. 12. *Magiouintum.*
Duro-Cobriuis M. P. XII. Dunstable.
Vero-Lamio M. P. XII. S. Albanes.
Sullomacis * M. P. IX. Barnet.
Longidinio M. P. XII. Londinio. London.
Nouiomago M. P. X.
Vagniacis m. p. xviij.
Durobrouis m. p. ix. *Duroprouis.*
Duroleuo M. p. xvj. 13.
Duror-Verno * m. p. xij. *Drouerno. Duroverno.*
Ad portum Ritupis m. p. xij. *Duraruenno Daruerno.*

ITEM A LONDINIO
ad portum Dubris M. P. LVI. 66. sic:

Dubobrus * m. p. xxvij. *Durobrouis Durobrius.*
Duraruenno m. p. xv. 25.
Ad portum Dubris m. p. xiiij. Douer haven.

ITEM A LONDINIO AD
portum Lemanis M. P. LXVIII. sic:

Durobrius m. p. xxvij.
Duraruenno m. p. xv. 25.
Ad portum Lemanis m. p. xvj.

ITEM A LONDINIO
Lugu-Valio ad Vallū M. P. CCCCXLIII. sic:

Cæsaromago m. p. xxviij.
Colonia m. p. xxiiij.
Villa Faustini m. p. xxxv. 25.
Icianos m. p. xviij.
Camborico m. p. xxxv.
Duroliponte m. p. xxv.
Durobriuas m. p. xxxv.
Gausennis m. p. xxx.
Lindo m. p. xxvi.
Segeloci. m. p. xiiij.

Dane

Dano m. p. xxj.
Lege-Olio * m. p. xvj. *Logetium.*
Ebduraco m. p. xxj.
Isubrigantum * m. p. xvj. *Isurium Brigantum.*
Cataractoni m. p. xxiiij.
Leuatris * m. p. xvilj. *Leuatrix.*
Verteris m. p. xiiij.
Brocouo * m. p. xx. *Brocouicum.*
Lugu-Vallo m. p. xxv.

ITEM A LONDINIO

Lindo M. P. CLVI. sic:

Verolamo m. p. xxj.
Duro Cobrius m. p. xij.
Magiouinio * m. p. xij. } *Maginio.*
Lactodoro m. p. xvj. } *Magis.*
Isanna Vantia * m. p. xij. } *Isannavatia.*
Triponio m. p. xij. } *Isannavaria.*
Venonis m. p. ix.
Ratas m. p. xij.
Veromeio m. p. xiij.
Margi-duno m. p. xij.
Ad Pontem * m. p. vlj. *Pons Aelij.*
Croco Calana * m. p. vij. *Crocolana.*
Lindo m. p. xij.

ITEM A REGNO

Londinio M. P. CXVI. 96. sic:

Clausentum m. p. xx.
Venta Belgarum m. p. x.
Galleua * Atrebatum m. p. xxij. } *Gelleua.*
Pontibus m. p. xxij. } *Calleua.*
Londinio m. p. xxij.

ITEM AB EBVRACO.

Londinium m. p. CCXXVIJ. sic:

Lagecio m. p. xxj.
Dano m. p. xvj.
Ageloco * m. p. xxj. *Segeloco.*
Lindo m. p. xiiij.
Crococalano m. p. xiiij.
Margi-duno m. p. xiiij.
Vernemeto * m. p. xij. *Veromeio.*
Ratis m. p. xij.
Vennonis m. p. xij.
Bannauanto m. p. xix.
Magio Vinio m. p. xxviij.
Durocobrius m. p. xij.
Verolamo m. p. xii.
Londinio m. p. xxj.

ITEM A VENTA ICINORVM.

Londinio. m. p. CXXVIIJ. sic:

Sitomago m. p. xxxj.
Combretouio * m. p. xxij. *Cumbretonio*
Ad Ansam m. p. xv.
Camoloduno m. p. vj.
Canonio m. p. ix.
Cæsaromago m. p. xij.
Durolito m. p. xvj.
Londinio m. p. xv.

ITEM A GLAMOVENTA

Mediaolano m. p. cl. sic:

Galaua m. p. xviij
Alone * m. p. xij *Alauna* * *Aliona Alione.*
Galaeum * m. p. xix. *Galacum Brigantum.*
Bremetonaci m. p. xxvij.
Cocci om. p. xx.
Mancunio * m. p. xviij. *Mamucio vel Mancio.*
Condate m. p. xviij.
Mediolano m. p. xix.

ITEM A SEGONTIO.

Deuam m p. lxxiiij sic:

Canouio m. p. xxiiij.
Varis m. p. xix.
Deua m. p. xxxij.

ITEM A CALEVA *alias* MVRIDONO

alias Viroconiorum. *Per viroconium.*

Vindonu * m. p. xv. *Vindomi.*
Venta Belgarum m. p. xxj.
Brige * m. p. xj. *Brage.*
Soruioduni. m. p. ix.
Vindogladia m. p. xiij. 15.
Durnouaria m. p. viij.
Muriduno m. p. xxxvj.
Scadum Nunniorum * m. p. xv. 12. *Iscadum.*
Leucaro m. p. xv.
Bomio m. p. xv.
Nido m. p. xv.
Iscelegua Augusti * m. p. xiiij. *Iscelegia.*
Hurrio m. p. ix.
Gobannio m. p. xii.
Magnis m. p. xxii.
Brauinio * m. p. xxiiij. *Brouonio.*
Viriconio m. p. xxvij.

ITEM AB ISCA

Calleua m. p. CIX. sic:

Burrio m. p. ix.
Blestio m. p. xi.
Ariconio m. p. xi.
Cleuo m. p. xv.
Durocornouio m. p. xiiij.
Spinis m. p. xv.
Calleua m. p. xv.

ITEM A LIO ITINERE

ab Isca Calleua m. p. CIII. sic:

Venta Silurum m. p. ix.
Abone m. p. ix.
Traiectus m. p. ix.
Aquis Solis m. p. vi.
Verlucione m. p. xv.
Cunetione m. p. xx.
Spinis m. p. xv.
Calleua m. p. xv.

ITEM A CALLEVA

Iscadum Nunniorum m. p. CXXXVI. sic:

Vindomi m. p. xv.
Venta Belgarum m. p. xxi.
Brige m. p. xi.
Sorbiodoni m. p. viii.
Vindocladia m. p. xii.
Durnonouaria * m. p. viiii. *Durnouaria.*
Moriduno m. p. xxxvi.
Iscadum Nunniorum m. p. xv.

FINIS.

¶ Faultes eſcaped.

In the Firſt Booke.

In the firſt leafe columpne.1.& 23.lin,reade thorow the trade.
In the 3.leafe col.and 20.line,reade ſo a comeling.
In the 3.leafe col.4.and 43.lin,reade Gyants were.
In the 4.leafe co.1.lin 1.read S.Auguſtine therfore.
fol.5.col.3.lin 32.reade liue in theſe dayes.
fol.6 lin 1.col.reade or Gwinhead.
ibid lin 23.col 1.reade limites of this.
ibid lin 25. reade conſiſted.
ibid liu 36.for Shropſhire reade Shrewelbyry.
ibid col.2.lin 25.and 53.read extended themſelues.
ibid col.3.lin 45.read Suſſex in the ſouth.
ibid col.4.lin 25.put out yeares after 35.
fol 7.col 4.lin 26.reade eaſily.
fol 8.col 1.lin 29.reade put out alſo ſaying.
ibid col 4.line 49.for Will I begin, reade Would I begin.
fol 9.col 3.lin 33.for infinity reade infinite.
fol 10.col 2.lin 51.reade holde this opinion.
Ibid lin 54.reade they ſhall ſee.
ibid col 4.lin 49.reade thoſe 45.for thoſe fewe.
fol 11.col 1.lin.reade 25. errour of their founder.
ibid col 2.lin 19.reade pittes of errour.
ibid lin 20.put out(as) and reade Welles in deede that holde no water.
Ibid col 3.lin 50.reade withſtande him there.
fol 13.col 1.lin 10.for Chicheſter reade Wincheſter.
fol 13.col 1.lin 38.reade and thereby gathered.
fol 16.col 1.lin 10.reade themſelues lying neere hand, or within this Iſle alſo.
fol 17.col 2.lin,46.reade S.Minians.
ibid lin 59.reade it ſeemeth hereby.
ibid col 3.lin 2.reade vnto Mona onely.
fol 18.col 1.lin 33. reade northeaſt and other alſo beyond them in like ſort ſubiect to Scotland.
fol 20.col 2.in the margent reade as I heare neere Cantorbury for about Gaunt.
ibid col 3.lin. 1.read Stoure whereof.
ibid.put out parentheſis in the margine.
ibid lin 39.reade diuided it ſelfe.
fol 24.col 1.lin 52.reade alſo to the point.
fol 26.col 1.lin 49.reade another great ſtreame.
ibid col 2.lin 16.for to a billage,read and a billage.
fol 27 where you reade Tows reade Towy.
ibid col 4.lin 26.reade into the mayne ſea.
fol 30.col 1.lin 40.for Dunrith reade Drurith.
ibid.col 2.lin 55.read Harleſwell.
ibid.lin 58.reade by north of Weltingham.
ibid.col 4.lin 6. for Time reade Were.
fol 31.co 2.li 18.for Cockingham read Cottingham.
ibid col 3.liu 9. reade lyke in the next booke.
fol 32.col 3.lin 24.put in(to)in the ende of the line.
ibid lin 42.for Magey reade Maxey.
fol 33.col 3.lin 10.for Mores reade Meres.
ibid lin 18.for his place,reade this place.
fol 36.col 4.lin 28.reade forth by weſt of Marton.
fol 37.col 2.lin 52.read ſing of cattel,and put out the.
fol 39.col.1.lin.33.read hiſtory, & after him Bodinus.
fol 45. col 1.lin.11.reade in theſe dayes.
fol 47.co 4.li 32.read touching it, for touching by it.
ibid.lin 41.read wall was of ſtone.

In the ſeconde Booke.

Fol 74.col 3.lin 1.reade Leiceſter for Lewceſter.
fol 75.col.1.lin.18.reade quantitie thereof.
ibid.col 2.lin 22.reade gayles within.
fol 76.col 3.in the margine, reade howe thoſe men ſhoulde haue done,in the name note col 4.lin 1. tayler he.
fol.77.col 2.lin 32.and 33. put out (and the wight) for I miſtooke it.
ibid lin 43.for (in olde time)read alſo the weight.
fol 84.col 3.lin 26.for hope of recouery, reade hope of releaſe.
fol 85.col 3.lin.53.reade before the olde be expyred.
fol 86.col 1.lin 1.put out therefore,and reade I finde therefore.
ibid col 4.lin 49.for riuerets reade riuettes.
fol 87.col 1.li 19.for their ordinaunce reade the ſtore of ordinaunce.
ibid lin 27.reade that in ſome one barons houſe I haue.
ibid lin 33.reade done then trow you.
ibid.col 4.lin 9. 10. reade we had ſome alſo, for(a few.)
ibid lin 15. put out and betweene Alfrede (&) Etheldred.
fol 88.col 3.lin 17.reade being the more plenteous.
ibid lin 22.reade it place did ſerue therefore.
ibid col 4.lin 46.reade for theſe cauſes therefore.
fol 89.col 4.lin 58.for ſunt duo reade ſint duo.
fol 90.col 1. Canone 13. beſide the miſplacing of the point,lin 52.there is (n)to much in ỹ laſt word of the 56.line.
ibid col 2. lin 9. the whole line is peruerted for Siquis autem cum primario pugnauerit.
ibid lin 39.for aliquot reade aliquam.
ibid col 3.li 34.for Gemiſciſione read Genuſciſione.
fol 91.col 3.lin 19. for Whereas reade thus.
ibid li 21.for behauiour whereby,read behauiour: and hereby.
ibid lin 22.reade defrauded and the.
ibid lin.33.reade euery man which.
ibid col 4.reade of Salop.Some
fol 92.col 1.lin 34.reade Cymbelline.
fol 93.col 1.lin 34.reade out of the hilles.
ibid lin 35. reade that at certaine times.
ibid lin 47. reade ſtraunge for ſtrong.
ibid lin 58.reade bertigerne.
ibid col 2.lin 18.for ſeconde Aye, read ſecond Axe.
ibid lin 44.reade doth it ſwell.
ibid col 3.line 37. reade into the earth,for into the grounde.
ibid 47 reade as one neere to S.Aſaphes.
fol 94.col.1. the 10. 11. and 12.lines are to much almoſt by euery worde, by meanes of an odde pamphlet of Tideſwell lateward inſerted into the booke.
fol 96.col 2.lin 39.for goddeſſe reade gods.
fol 96. col 3.line 10. for harde Cantus reade hardie Canutus.
ibid col 4. verſ. 21. reade tantum & agendis.
fol 107.col 3.line 1.for drawne reade drawing.

THE HISTORIE of Englande.

WHAT manner of people did first inhabite this our coũtrey which hath most generally & of longest continuaunce bene knowne among all nations by ẏ name of Britaine, as yet it is not certainly knowne: neither can it be decided from whence the first inhabitantes thereof came, by reason of such diuersitie in iudgements as haue risen amongst the learned in this behalfe. But sith the originall in maner of all nations is doubtful, and euen the same for the more parte fabulous (that alwayes excepted which we fynde in the holy scriptures) I wilbe not any man to leane to that whiche shall be here set downe, as to an infallible truth, sith I do but only shewe other mennes coniectures, grounded neuertheles vppon likely reasons (concernyng that matter wherof there is now left but little other certaintie, or rather none at all. To fetche therfore the matter from the furthest, and so to stretch it forward, it semeth by the report of Dominicus Marius Niger, ẏ in the beginning whẽ God framed the worlde and diuided the waters aparte from the earth, this Ile was then a parcel of the continent, & ioyned without any separation of sea to the mayne laude. But this opinion as al other the lyke vncertaynties, I leaue to be decided of the learned: Howbeit for the first inhabitation of this Ile with people, I haue thought good to set down in part what may be gathered out of such writers as haue touched that mater, & may seem to giue some light vnto the knowledge therof.

First therfore Iohn Bale our countreyman, who in his tyme greatly trauayled in the searche of suche antiquities, dothe probably coniecture, that this lande was inhabited and replenished with people long before the floud at that tyme in the which the generation of mankinde (as Moyses writeth) began to multiplie vpon the vniuersall face of the earth: and therefore it followeth, that as well this land was inhabited with people long before the dayes of Noe, as any the other countreys and partes of the worlde beside.

But when they had once forsake the ordinances appointed them by God, and betaken them to new ways inuented of themselues, such lewdenesse of lyfe ensued euery where, as brought vpon them the great deluge & vniuersall floud, in the whiche perished as well the inhabitants of these quarters as the residue of the race of mankinde generally dispersed in euery other part of the whole world, sauing only Noe & his familie, who by the prouidence and pleasure of almightie God, was preserued from the rage of those waters, to reconstitute and repaire the newe generation of manne vpon the earth.

Noe.



After the floud (as Annius of Viterbo recordeth) & reason also enforceth, Noe was the only Monark of al the world, and as the same Annius gathereth by the accounte of Moyses in the. 100. yeare after the floud, Noe deuided the earth among his three sons: assigning to the possession of his eldest sonne, all that portion of lande, which nowe is knowne by the name of ASIA, and to his second sonne Cham, he appointed all that part of the world which now is called *Affrica*. Unto his thirde sonne Japhet, was allotted all *Europe*, with all the Iles thereto belongyng, wherin among other was conteined this our Ile of Britayn, with the other yles therto belonging.

In commẽte. super. 4. lib. Beros. de antiquit. li. 2.

Annius vt supra.

Iaphet.



This Japhet third son of Noe, who is of some called Japetus, and of other, Atlas Maurus (bycause hee departed this life in Mauritania) was the first as Bodinus affyrmeth by the authoritie and cõsent of the Hebrue Greke & latin writers) that peopled the coũtreys of Europe, which afterward he deuided among his sonnes: of the which Tubal (as Tarapha affirmeth) obteined the kingdom of Spain. Gomer had dominion ouer the Italians, and as Berosus and diuers other authors agree, Samothes was the founder of the kingdom of Celtica, which cõteined in it as Bale witnesseth) a great parte of Europe, but specially those coũtreys, which now are knowne by ẏ names of Gallia & Britannia.

Iohannes Bodinus ad fac. hist. cogn.

Franciscus Tarapha.

Britayn inhabited shortly after the floud.

Thus was this Ilande inhabited and peopled within. 200. yeres after the floud by the children of Japhet the sonne of Noe: and this is not only proued by Annius, writing vpō Berosus, but also confirmed by Moyses in the scripture, where he writeth, that of the offspring of Japhet, the yles of the Gentils (wherof Britayn is one) were sorted into regions in the tyme of Phaleg, the son of Hiber, who was born at the tyme of the diuision of languages. Hereupon Theophilus hath these wordes: *Cū priscis temporibus pauci forēt homines, in Arabia & Chaldæa post linguarum diuisionem aucti & multiplicati paulatim sunt: hinc quidam abierunt versus Orientem, quidam concessere ad partes maioris continentis, alij porrò profecti sunt ad Septentrionem sedes quæsituri, nec prius desierunt terrā vbiq; occupare, quā etiā Britānos in Arctois climatibus acceſſerīt. &c.* englished thus. VVhen at the first there were not many men in Arabia & Chaldea, it came to passe, that after the deuision of tongs, they began somwhat bētter to increase & multiplie, by which occasion some of them went toward the east, & some toward the parties of the great mayn land: Diuers went also northwards to seeke them dwellyng places, neyther stayed they to repleniſhe the earth as they went, til they came vnto the yles of Britain, lying vnder the north pole. &c. Hitherto Theophilus.

Theophilus episcop. Antiochi. ad Antol. lib. 2. The vvordes of Theophilus a doctor of the churche, vvho liued An. Chri. 160.

These things considered, Gildas the Britō had great reason to think that this countrey had bin inhabited from the beginning: and Polydore Vergil was with no lesse cōsideration hereby inforced to cōfesse that the Ile of Britayne had receiued inhabitauntes forthwith after the floud.

Samothes.



Gen. 2. De migr. gen.

Samothes ỳ 6. begotte Son of Japhet called by Moyses Melech, by others Dis, receyued for his portion, (according to the reporte of Wolfgangus Lazius) all the countrey lying betwene the riuer of Rheyn & the Pyrenian mountayns, where hee founded the kingdome of Celtica ouer his people called *Celtæ*. Which name Bale affirmeth to haue bin indifferent to the inhabitants both of the countrey of Gallia, and the Ile of Britain, and that he planted colonies of mē (brought forth of the east parts) in either of them, first in the mayne land, & after in the Iland. He is reported by Berosus to haue excelled al men of that age in lerning and knowledge: and also is thought by Bale to haue imparted the same among his people, namely the vnderstanding of the sundry courses of the starres, the order of inferiour things, with many other matters incident to the morall and politike gouernement of mans life: & to haue deliuered the same in the Phenician letters: out of whiche the Grekes (according to the opinion of Archilochus) deuised & deriued the greke characters, in somuche that Xenophon & Iosephus do constantly report (although Diogenes Laertius be against it) that both the Grekes and other nations receyued their letters and lerning first from these countreys.

Cent. 1. Anti. lib. 1. Bale script. Brit. cent. 1. Cæsar cōmen. lib. 8.

Of this king and his lerning, arose a sect of Philosophers, saith Annius, first in Britain, & after in Gallia, the whiche of his name were called *Samothei*. They, as Aristotle & Secion write, were passing skilful both in the law of god & man: and for that cause exceedingly giuen to religion, especially the inhabitants of this yle of Britain, in so much that the whole nation did not only take the name of thē, but the yland it selfe, as Bale & doctor Cay agree, came to be called *Samothea*, which was the first peculiar name that euer it had, and by the which it was especially known: before the arriuall of Albion.

Magus.



MAgus ỳ son of Samothes, after ỳ death of his father was the second king of Celtica, by whō (as Berosus writeth) there were manye townes builded among the Celtes, which by the witnesse of Annius, dyd beare the addition of their founder Magus: of which townes diuers are to be found in Ptolomie: and Antoninus a painful surueyor of the world & sercher of cities, maketh mencion of. 4. of them here in Britain, Sitomagus, Neomagus, Niomagus, and Nouiomagus. Neomagus, sir Thomas Eliot writeth to haue stode where the citie of Chester nowe standeth: & Niomagus George Lilly placeth where the towne of Buckinghā is now remaining: beside this, both Bale so highly comend ỳ forsaid Magus, for his lerning renoumed ouer al the world, ỳ he wold haue ỳ Persiās & other nations of the south & west partes, to deriue the name of their diuines called *Magi* from him. In deede Ranisius Textor & sir John Prise affirme, ỳ in the days of Plinie, the Britons were so expert in arte Magike, ỳ they might be thought to haue firste deliuered the same to the Persians. What the name of *Magus* importeth, & of what profession ỳ *Magi* were, Tulli declareth at large, and Mantuan in brief, after this maner:

Lib. ỳ Annius comment. per eund. Geogr. De diui. De fast.

Ille penes Persas Magus est qui sidera norit,
Qui sciat herbarum vires cultumq; deorum,
Persepoli facit ista Magos prudentia triplex.
The Persians terme him Magus, that the course of
starres doth knowe,
The power of herbes and worthip due to god that
man doth owe.
By threefolde knowledge, thus the name of Magus
then doth growe.

H.

Sarron.

Sarron.



ant.

SArron the third king of ỳ Celtes, succeeded hys father Magus in Gouernemente of the countrie of Gallia, and the Isle Samothea, wherein (as Doctour Caius writeth) he foũded certain publike places for them that profelled learning, whiche (Berolus affirmeth) to be done to the intente to reftrayne the wilfull outrage of men, being as then but rawe and voyde of all ciuilitie. Also it is thought by Annius, that he was the firste author of those kinde of Philosophers, which were called *Sarronides*, of whom Diodorus Siculus writeth in this sort: There are (sayth he) among the Celtes certain diuines & philosophers, whom they call *Sarronides*, hauing them of all other in greatest estimation: For it is the maner among them, not without a Philosopher to make anye sacrifice: for they are of beleefe, that sacrifices ought only to be made by suche as are skilfull in the diuine misteries, as of those who are nerest vnto God, by whose intercession they thinke all good thiugs are to be required of God, and whose aduise they vse and followe, as well in warre as in peace.

Druis.



DRuis, whõ Seneca calleth Dyrus, being the son of Sarron, was after his father eſtablyſhed the fourthe king of Celtica, indifferently reignyng as well ouer the Celtes as Brytons, or rather (as the inhabitantes of this Isle were then called) Samothians.

This Prince is cõmended by Berosus to bee so plentifullye endued with wisedome and lerning, that Annius taketh him to be the vndoubted authour of the beginning and name of the famous secte of Philosophers called *Druides*, whome Cesar and all other auncient Greeke and Latine writers doe affirme to haue had their beginning in Brytayne, and to haue bin brought from thence into Gallia, in so muche that when there arose any doubt in that countrey touching any point of their discipline, they did repaire to be resolued therin into Brytayne, where, especially in the Ile of Angleſey, as Humfrey Lhuyd witnesseth, they made their principal aboade.

Touching their vsages many things are written by Aristotle, Sccion, Plinie, Laertius, Bodinus, and others: which I will gather in brief, and set downe as followeth. *Anti. lib. 5. Annius super eundem. De bello Gallico. lib. 9.*

They had (as Cesar sayth) the charge of cõmon and priuate sacrifices, ỳ discussing of pointes of religion, the bringing vp of youth, the determining of matters in variance, with full power to interdite so manye from the sacrifice of their goddes, and the company of men, as disobeyed their awarde. *De bello Gallico. lib. 6.*

Polidore affirmeth, how they taught ỳ mens soules coulde not dye, but departed from one bodye to an other, and that to the intente to make men valiant and dreadleſſe of death. *Hist. an. li. 1.*

Tullie writeth, that partely by tokens, and partely by surmises, they wold foretell of things to come. And by report of Hector Boetius, some of them were not ignorant of the immortalitie of the one and euerlasting God. *De diui. li. 1. Hist. Scoti lib. 2.*

All these things they had written in the greke toung, in so much that Wolfg. Lazius vpon report of Marcellinus declareth howe the Greeke letters were first brought to Athenes by Timagines from the Druides, and hereupon it cõmeth also to passe, the Britiſh toung to this daye hath in it remaynyng some smacke of the Greke. *De migr. gen. lib. 2. Marcellinus.*

Among other abuses of the Druides, they had (according to Diodorus) one custome to kill men, and by the falling, bleeding, and dismembring of them to diuine of things to come: for the whiche and other wicked practises, their secte was first condemned for abhominable (as some haue written,) and dissolued in Gallia (as Iuentinus witnesseth) by Tyberius and Claudius the Emperours: and lastly abolished heere in Britayne, by report of Caius when the gospel of Christ by the preaching of Fugatius and Damianus was receyued among the Britons, vnder Lucius king of Brytayne, about the yeare of our saniour. 179. *Anna. Boiorum lib. 22. De ant. Cant. cient.*

Bardus.



BArdus ỳ son of Dyrus, succeeded his father in the kingdome of Celtica, & was the firſt K. ouer the Celtes and Samothians, amongſt whome he was highly renoumed (as appeareth by Berosus for inuention of Ditties and muſike, wherein Annius of Viterbo writeth, that hee trayned his people: and of suche as excelled in this knowledge he made an order of philosophicall Poets or Bardes, *Berosus ant. lib. 5. Annius in commen. super eundem.*

ralds, calling them by his own name *Bardi*. And it ſhuld ſeeme by doctor Caius and maſter Bale, that Cæſar founde ſome of them here at his arriuall in this Iſle, and reported that they had alſo their firſt beginning in the ſame.

Ant. Cant. li.1.ſcript. Britan. cent.1.

Nonnius Marcel. Strabo. Diodo. ſicul. lib.6. Carol.Stepha. in diſt.hiſt. Bale. Iohn Priſe.

The profeſſion and vſages of theſe *Bardi*, by Nonnius, Strabo, Diodorus, Stephanus, Bale and ſir John Priſe, are in effecte reported after this ſort. They did vſe to record the noble exploites of the auncient capitaines, and to drawe the pedigrees & genealogies of ſuche as were liuing. They woulde frame pleaſaunt ditties and ſongs, learne the ſame by hart, and ſing them to inſtruments at ſolemne feaſtes and aſſemblies of noble men and gentlemen: and were therfore hadde in ſo high eſtimation, that if two hoſtes had bin redy raunged to ioyne in battayle, and that any of thē had fortuned to enter among them, both the hoſtes as wel the enimie as the frends would haue holden their handes giuen eare vnto them, and ceaſſed from fight, vntill theſe Bardes had bene departed out of the battayle. Of the Bardes the Poet Lucan writeth theſe verſes.

Lucan.lib.1.

Vos quoq; qui fortes animas belloq; peremptas,
Laudibus in longum vates dimittitis ævum,
Plurima ſecuri fudiſtis carmina Bardi.

Whiche are engliſhed thus.

H.F.

And you o Poet Bardes from danger voyde that ditties ſounde,
Of ſoules of dreadleſſe men, whō rage of battaile would confounde,
And make their laſting praiſe to time of later age redounde.

Becauſe the names of theſe Poets were neyther diſcrepant from the ciuilitie of the Romans, nor repugnant to the religion of the Chriſtians, they of all the other ſectes before ſpecified, were ſuffred only to continue vnabroliſhed in all ages, in ſomuch that there flouriſhed of them among the Britains, according to Bale, before the birth of Chriſte, Plinidius and Dronins: after Chriſt (as Priſe recounteth) Saleſine, & the two Merlins, Melkin Elaſkirion and others: and of late dayes among the Welchmen, Dauid Dic, Iollo Gough, Dauid ap William, with an infinite number more: and in Wales there are ſundrye of them, as Caius reporteth, remayning vnto this day, where they are in their language called (as Leland writeth) Barthes. Alſo by the witnes of Humfrey Lhuyd, there is an Iland neer vnto Wales, called *Inſula Bardorum*, and Bardſey, wherof the one name in Latine, and the other in Saxon or olde Engliſh, ſignifieth the Iſlande of the Bardes or Barthes.

John Bale ſcript.Britan. cent.2. Io.Priſe defe. hiſt.Brit. Caius de ant. Cant. lib.1. Io. Leland. ſyllab. ant. dict. Hum. Lluyd de Mona inſula.

The ende of the *Celtes* gouernement in this Iſle.

Bale.

After Bardus, the Celtes (as Bale ſayth) loathing the ſtraite ordinances of their auncient kings, and betaking themſelues to pleaſure and idelneſſe, were in ſhort tyme, and with ſmall labour brought vnder the ſubiection of the Giaunt Albion, the ſonne of Neptune, who altering the ſtate of things here in this yland, ſtraited ẏ name of Celtica and the Celtes within the bounds of Gallia, from whence they came firſt to inhabite this land vnder the conduct of Samothes, as before ye haue heard, accordingly as Annius hath gathered out of Berolus ẏ Chaldean, who therin agreeth alſo with the Scripture, the ſaying of Theophilus the Doctor, and the generall conſente of all writers, whiche fully agree, that the firſte inhabitantes of this Iſle came out of the parties of Gallia, although ſome of them diſagree of the tyme and maner of their comming, Sir Brian Tuke thinking it to be meant of the arriuall of Brute, when he came out of thoſe countreys into this Ile. Cæſar and Tacitus ſeeme to be of opinion, that thoſe Celtes which firſt inhabited here, came ouer to view ẏ coūtry for trade of merchandiſe. Bodinus wold haue them to come in (a gods name) from Lāguedoc, and ſo to name this land Albion, of a citie in Lāguedoc named Alby. Beda and likewiſe Polidore, who foloweth him affirme that they came from the coaſts of Armorica, whiche is nowe called little Britayn.

Annius. Theophi. Sir Brian Tuke. Cæſar. Tacitus. Bodinus. Beda. Polyd.

But as the authorities alore recited, are ſufficient to proue the tyme, ſo that this Iland was firſt inhabited by the Celtes, the olde poſſeſſours of Gallia, not only the neerneſſe of the regions, but alſo the congruence of the languages, two great argumentes of originals, do fully confirme the ſame. Bodinus writeth vpon report, that the Britiſhe and Celtike language was all one: but whether that be true or not, I am not able to affirme, becauſe the Celtike toung is long ſithence growne wholly out of vſe. But yet ſome ſuche Celtike words as remayn in the writings of old authors may be perceiued to agree with ẏ Welch tong, being the incorrupted ſpeech of the auncient Brytons. In deed Pauſanias the Greeke, maketh mention how the Celtes in their language called a horſe *marc*: and by ẏ name do the Welch men call a horſe vnto this daye: and the worde *trimarc* in Pauſanias, ſignifyeth in the Celtike toung, three horſes.

Bodinus. Pauſan.

Thus it appeareth by authentic of writers, by ſituation of place, and by affinitie of language, that this yland was firſt found and inhabited by the Celtes, that their name from Samothes to Albion continued heere the ſpace of. 310. yeres or therabouts. And finally it is likely, that aſwel the progenie as the ſpeeche of them is partly remaining in thys Iſle among the inhabitantes, and ſpecially the Britiſhe, euen vnto this daye.

Iohn Bale

But nowe to our purpoſe of Albion his comming into this Iſle.

Albion.

Albion.



NEptunus called by Moyſes (as ſome take it) Nepthuim, the ſixte ſonne of Olyzis, after the account of Annius, and the brother of Hercules, had appoyn-
ted to hym, of hys father (as Diodozus wzyteth) the gouernement of the Ocean ſea: wherefoze he furniſhed himſelf of ſundzy light ſhips foz ẏ moze redie paſſage by water, whych in the end grew to the nũber of a ful nauie: & ſo by continual exercyſe he became ſo ſkilful, and therwith ſo mightie vpon the waters, as Higinus and Plinonius doe wzite, that he was not onely called the king, but alſo eſteemed the god of the ſeas. He had to wife a Lady called Amphitrita, who was alſo honored as goddeſſe of the ſeas, and on hir he begate ſundzy children: And as Bale repozteth, he made euery one of them king of an Iland. And in the Ile of Bzitayne he landed his fourth ſon called Albyon the Giant, who brought the ſame vnder his ſubiection. And herevpon it reſteth, that Iohn Textor and Polydore Virgile made mention that light ſhippes were firſt inuented in the Bzitiſhe ſeas, and that the ſame were couered round with the hyde of beaſts, foz defending them from the ſurges and wawes of the water.

This Albion being put by his father in poſſeſſion of this Ile of Bzitayne, within ſhozte tyme ſubdued the Samothians, the firſte inhabitauntes therof, without fynding any great reſiſtance, foz that as befoze ye haue heard, they had giuen ouer the practiſe of all warlyke and other paynfull exercyſes, and thzough vſe of effeminate pleaſures wherevnto they hadde giuen themſelues ouer, they were become nowe vnapt to withſtande the fozce of their enimies: and ſo by the teſtimonie of Nicholaus Perottus, Rigmanus Philelfus, Ariſtotle, & Humfrey Lhuyd with diuers other, both fozraine and home wzyters, this Iland was firſt called by the name of Albion, hauing at one tyme bothe the name and inhabitauntes chaunged from the line of Japhet vnto the accurſed race of Cham.

This Albion (that thus chaunged the name of this Ile) and his companie, are called Gyants, which ſignifieth none other thã a tall kind of men, of that vncozrupte ſtature and highneſſe naturally incident to the firſt age (whiche Berſus alſo ſeemeth to allow, where he wzyteth, that Noe was one of the Gyantes: and were not ſo called only of their monſtrous greatneſſe, as the common people thinke (although in deede they exceeded the vſuall ſtature of men nowe in theſe dayes, (but alſo foz ẏ they toke their name of the ſoyle where they were bozn: foz *Gigantes* ſignifieth the ſons of the earth: the *Aborigines* (oz as Ceſar calleth them *Indigine*) that is, bozne and bzed out of the earth where they inhabited. What gigantes ſignifyeth.

Thus ſome thinke, but verily although that their opinion is not to be allowed in any condition, which maynteyne that there ſhould be any *Aborigines*, oz other kynde of men than thoſe of Adams lyne, yet that there haue bin menne of farre greater ſtature than are nowe to be founde, is ſufficiently pzoued by the huge bones of thoſe that haue bin founde in our tyme, oz lately befoze: whereof here to make further relation, it ſhall not neede, ſith in the deſcription of Bzitain herevnto annexed, ye ſhall fynde it ſufficiently declared. Againſt the opinion of Aborigines.

But nowe to our purpoſe. As Albion held Bzitayn in ſubiection, ſo his brother Bergion kepte Irelande and the Otkeneys vnder his rule and dominion: and hearing that their couſin Hercules Libicus hauing finiſhed his Conqueſtes in Spayn, ment to paſſe thzough Gallia into Italye, againſt their brother Leſtrigo, that oppreſſed Italy, vnder ſubiection of him and other of his brethzen: the ſons alſo of Neptune, as well Albion as Bergion, aſſembling their powers togither, paſſed ouer into Gallia, to ſtoppe the paſſage of Hercules, whoſe intention was to vanquiſhe and deſtroy thoſe tyzantes the ſonnes of Neptune and their complices that kepte dyuerſe countreys and regions vnder the paynefull yoke of their heauie thzaldome. Bale. Bergion brother to Albion. Hercules Lybicus.

The cauſe that moued Hercules thus to purſue vpon thoſe tyzantes nowe reignyng thus in the wozld, was foz that not long befoze the greateſt part of them had conſpired togither, & ſlayne his father Olyzis, notwithſtanding that they were nephues to the ſame Olyzis, as ſonnes to his brother Neptune, and not contented with his ſlaughter, they deuided hys carcaſſe alſo among them, ſo that eche of them got a peece in token of reioycing at their murderous atchieued enterpriſe. The cauſe vvhy Hercules purſued his couſins.

Foz this cauſe Hercules whome Moyſes calleth Laabin, proclaymeth warres againſt them all in reuẽge of his fathers death: & firſt he killeth Typhon and Buſyzis in Egypt, then Antæus in Mauritania, the Gerions in Spayne, whiche enterpriſe atchieued, he led his army towards Italy, and by the waye paſſeth thzough a part of Gallia, where Albion and Bergion hauing biſſted theyr powers togither, were ready to receyue him with batayle: and ſo here to the mouth of the riuer called Rhoſne, in latin *Rhodanus*, they met and fought. At the firſt there was a right terrible and cruell conflicte betwixte them: And albeit that Hercules hadde the greateſt number of menne, yet was it verye doubtfull a greate *Pomp. Mela.*

whyle to whether parte the glorye of that dayes worke would bend: wherupon when the victorie beganne outrighte to turne vnto Albion, and to his brother Bergion, Hercules perceyuing the daunger and likelyhode of bitter loſſe of that battayle, ſpecially for that his men had waſted their weapons, he cauſed thoſe that ſtood ſtil, and were not otherwyſe occupied, to ſtoupe down, and to gather vp ſtones, wherof in that place there was great plentie, whyche by his commaundemente they beſtowed ſo freely vpon theyr enimies, that in the ende hee obteyned the victorie, and dyd not only put his aduerſaries to flighte, but alſo ſlew Albion there in the fielde, together with his brother Bergion, and the moſte parte of all theyr whole armie.

Hercules diſcomfyteth his enimyes.

Albion is ſlayn

This was the ende of Albion, and his brother Bergion, by the valiant prowes of Hercules, who as one appointed by the prouidence of GOD to ſubdue the cruell and vnmercifull tyrants, ſpent his tyme to the benefite of mankynde, deliuering the oppreſſed from the heauie yoke of myſerable thraldome, in euery place where he came.

And by the order of this battayle wee maye learne whereof the Poets hadde their inuention, when they fayne in their writings, that Jupiter holpe his ſonne Hercules, by throwyng downe ſtones from heauen in this battayle agaynſt Albion and Bergion.

The occaſion of the fable of Iupiters helping his ſonne Hercules.

Moreouer, fro hēceforth was this Iſle of Britayn called Albion, as (before we haue ſayde) after the name of the ſayde Albion, bicauſe he was eſtabliſhed chief ruler and kyng thereof bothe by his grandfather Olyzis, and his father Neptune that cunning ſaylour, reigning therein (as Bale ſayth) by the ſpace of .xliij. yeares, till finally he was ſlayne, in manner afore remembred, by his vncle Hercules Lybicus.

Howe this Iſle vvas called Albion, of the giaunt Albion.

Bale.

After that Hercules had thus vanquiſhed and deſtroyed his enimies, hee paſſed to and fro thorough Gallia, ſuppreſſing the tyrantes in euerye part where he came, and reſtoring the people vnto a reaſonable kynde of libertie, vnder lawfull gouernours: and as we fynde, he buylded the citie of Alexia in Burgongne nowe called Alize.

Moreouer, by Lilius Giraldus in the lyfe of Hercules it is auouched, that the ſame Hercules came ouer hither into Britayne. And this dothe Giraldus write by warraunt of ſuche Brytons (as ſayth he) haue ſo written themſelues, which thing peraduenture he hath redde in Gildas the auncient Bryton poet: Whiche booke he confeſſeth in the .v. Dialogue of his hiſtories of Poets that he hath ſeen. The ſame thing alſo is confirmed by the name of an head of land in Britayn called *Promontorium Herculis*, as in Ptolomie ye may reade, whiche is thought to take name of his arriual at that place. Thus much for Albion and Hercules.

But nowe where as it is not denyed of anye, that this Ile was called auncientlye by the name of Albion: yet there be dyuers opinyons how it came by that name: for many doe not allow of this hiſtorie of Albion the Giaunte. But for ſo muche as it appertayneth rather to the deſcription than to the Hyſtorie of this Iſle, to rippe vp and lay forth the ſecrete myſteries of ſuch matters: and bicauſe I think that this opinion which is heere auouched howe it toke that name of the forſayd Albion, ſonne to Neptune, may be confirmed with as good authoritie, as ſome of the other, I here paſſe ouer the reſte, and thus proceede with the hiſtorie.

Dyuers opinyons vvhy the Ile vvas call Albion.

See more hereof in the deſcription.

When Albion chiefe Capitayn of the Gyants was ſlayn, the reſidue that remayned at home in the Iſle, continued without any rule or reſtraint of lawe, in ſo muche that they fell to ſuch a diſſolute order of lyfe, that they ſeemed little or nothing to differ from brute beaſtes: a thoſe are they which our auncient Chronicles call the Giants, who were ſo named, as well of the huge proportion of their ſtature (ſithens as before is ſayd, that age brought forth far greater men than are now liuing) as alſo for that they were the firſte, or at the leaſt the furtheſt in remembrance of any that had inhabited this countrey. For this word *Giginer*, or rather *Gegines*, from whence our word giant (as ſome take it) is deriued, is a greek word, and ſignifieth borne or bred of or in the earth: for our forefathers, ſpecially the Gentiles, being ignorant of the true beginning of mankind, were perſwaded, that the firſt inhabitaunts of any cōtrey were bred out of the earth, and therfore when they could go no higher, reckening the diſcentes of their predeceſſours, they wold name him *Terræ filius*, the ſonne of the earth: and ſo the Giants which the Poets fain to haue ſought to make battayle againſt heauen, are called the ſonnes of the earth: and the firſt inhabitantes generally of euery countrey, wer of the Grekes called *Gigines*, or *Gegines*, and of the Latines *Aborigines*, and *Indiginæ*, that is, people borne of the earth from the beginning, and cōming from no other countrey, but bred within the ſame.

Terræ filius vvhat it ſignifyeth.

Aborigines. Indiginæ.

And theſe Giaunts and firſt inhabitauntes of thys Iſle, continued in their beaſtly kinde of lyfe vnto the arriuall of the Ladies, whiche ſome of our chronicles ignorantly write to be the daughters of Diocleſian the king of Aſſiria, whereas in dede they haue bene deceiued in taking the worde Danaus to bee ſhort written for Diocleſianus: and by the ſame meanes haue dyuers wordes and names bene miſtaken bothe in our Chronicles and in diuerſe other auncient written workes. But this is a fauite that learned men ſhoulde not ſo muche trouble themſelues about, conſi-

The myſtak of the name Diocleſian Danaus.

conſidering the ſame hath bin alreadie founde by ſundry authors long ſithence, as Hugh the Italiane, John Harding, and John Rouſe of Warwicke, and others, ſpecially by the healpe of Dauid Pencair, a Britiſhe hiſtorician, who recite the Hiſtorie vnder the name of Danaus and his daughters: and bycauſe we would not any man to thinke, that the hiſtorie of theſe daughters of Danaus is onely of purpoſe deuiſed, & brought in place of Dioclesian, to excuſe the imperfection of our writers, whereas there was eyther no ſuch hiſtorie, or at the leaſt no ſuch women that arriued in this Ile, the authoritie of Nennius a Briton writer may be auouched, who wrote aboue ix. C. yeares paſt, and maketh mencion of the arriuall of ſuche ladies.

To bee ſhorte, the Hiſtorie is thus: Belus the ſonne of Epaphus, (or as ſome writers haue) of Neptune and Libyes, whom Iſis after the death of Apis maried,) hadde iſſue two ſonnes: the firſt Danaus, called alſo Armeus, and Egyptus called alſo Rameſes, and theſe two were kings among the Egyptians. Danaus the elder of the two, hauyng in his rule the vpper region of Egypt, had by ſundry wiues .50. daughters, whiche his brother Aegyptus gaping for the dominion of the whole, did inſtantly deſire, that his ſons being alſo. 50. in number, might matche with thoſe fifty ladies.

But Danaus hauing knowledge by ſome prophecie or oracle, that a ſonne in law of his ſhoulde be his death, refuſed ſo to beſtowe his daughters.

Herevpon grew warre betwixt the brethre, in the end wherof, Danaus being the weaker, was inforced to flee his countrey, wherupon he prepared a naule, imbarqued himſelfe & his daughters, and with them paſſed ouer into Greece, where he found meanes to diſpoſſeſſe Gelenor (ſonne to Stenelas king of Argos,) of his rightfull inheritance, driuing him oute of his countreye, and reigned in his place by the aſſiſtance of the Argiues themſelues, that had conceyued an hatred towardes Gelenor, and a great likyng towardes Danaus, who in very deede did ſo farre excell the kings that had reigned there before hym, that the Greekes in remembraunce of hym, were after called Danai.

But his brother Aegyptus, taking greate diſdayne for that hee and his ſonnes were in ſuche ſorte deſpiſed of Danaus, ſente his ſons with a greate armie to make warre on theyr Uncle, giuing them in charge not to returne tyll they had eyther ſlayne Danaus, or obteyned his daughters in mariage.

The yong Gentlemen accordyng to theyr fathers commaundemente, beeing arriued in Greece, made ſuch warre agaynſte Danaus, that in the ende he was conſtrayned to gyue vnto thoſe his fifty nephues his .50. daughters, to ioyn with them in mariage, & ſo accordingly maried they were: but as the prouerb ſayth. In truſt appeared treacherie: for the firſt night of the mariage, Danaus deliuered to eche of his daughters a ſworde, chargyng them that when their huſbands after their banquets and paſtimes were once brought into a ſound ſleepe, eche of them ſhould ſlea hir huſband, menacing them with death vnleſſe they fulfilled his commaundement. They all therfore obey the will of their father, Hypermneſtra onely excepted, with whom preuayled more the loue of kinred and wedlock, than the feare of hir fathers diſpleaſure: for ſhee alone ſpared the lyfe of hir huſbande Lynceus, wakening him out of his ſleepe, and warning hym to departe and flee into Egypt to his father. He therfore hauing all the wicked practiſe reuealed to hym by his wyfe, followed hir aduiſe, and ſo eſcaped.

But when Danaus perceiued howe all his daughters had accompliſhed his cõmaundemẽt ſauing onely Hypermneſtra, he cauſed hir to be brought forth into iudgemẽt for diſobeying him in a matter wherin both the ſafetie & loſſe of his life reſted: but ſhe was acquit by the Argiues, and diſcharged: howbeit hir father kept hir in priſon, and ſeeking to fynde oute other huſbandes for his other daughters that hadde obeyed his pleaſure in ſleaing their firſte huſbandes, long it was ere he coulde fynde any to matche with them: for the heynous offence committed in the ſlaughter of their late huſbandes, was yet too freſhe in memorie, and their bloud not wiped out of mynde. Pauſanias.

But yet neuertheleſſe to bring his purpoſe the better to paſſe, he made proclamation that his daughters ſhould demaunde no ioynters, and euery futer ſhuld take his choyce without reſpect to the age of the ladie, or abilitie of him that came to make his choyce, but ſo as fyrſte come, beſte ſerued, according to their owne phantaſies and likings. But when this policie alſo fayled, and would not ſerue his turne, he deuiſed a game of running, ordeining therwith, that who ſoeuer got the beſt price ſhould haue the firſt choyce among all the ſiſters, and he that got the ſecond, ſhuld chooſe next to the fyrſt, and ſo forth eche one after an other, accordyng to the tryall of theyr ſwyftenеſſe of foote.

How muche this practiſe auayled, I knowe not: but certain it is, diuers of them were beſtowed either by this meanes, or by ſome other: for we finde that Autonomes was maried to

Architeles Chryſantas, or (as Pauſanias hath) Scea was matched with Arehandrus, Inemome with Neptunus Equeſtris, on whome he begate Nauplius.

Higinus. But nowe to returne vnto Lynceus, whome his wyfe Hipermneſtra preſerued, (as before ye haue herd) after he was once got out of the reach and daunger of his father in law king Danaus, he gaue knowledge thereof to his wyfe, in rayſing a fyre on heyghte beacon wyſe, accordingly as ſhee hadde requeſted him to doe at hys departure from hir: and this was at a place which afterwardes toke name of him, and was called Lyncea.

Pauſanias. Upon his returne into Egypt, he gaue his father to vnderſtande the whole circumſtaunce of the trecherous crueltie vſed by his vncle and hys daughters in the murder of his brethren, and how hardly he himſelfe hadde eſcaped death out of hys vncles handes. Wherupon at tyme conuenient he was furniſhed forth with men and ſhippes by his father, for the ſpeedie reuenge of that heynous vnnaturall and moſte diſloyall murder, in which enterpriſe he ſped him forth with ſuch diligence, that in ſhorte tyme he found meanes to diſpatch hys vncle Danaus, ſet his wyfe Hypermneſtra at libertie, and brought the whole kingdome of the Argiues vnder his ſubiection.

This don, he cauſed the daughters of Danaus (ſo many as remayned within the limittes of his dominion) to be ſent for, whome he thought not worthie to lyue, becauſe of the cruell murther which they had committed on his brethren: but yet for that they were his wiues ſiſters, he would not put them to death, but commaunded them to be thruſt into a ſhippe, without maiſter, mate or mariner, & ſo to be turned into the mayn ocean ſea, and to take and abyde ſuch fortune as ſhould chance vnto them, thinking the worſt that might befall on them, coulde bee no worſſe than they had deſerued.

Hardyng. Iohn Rous out of Dauid Pencair. These Ladies thus imbarqued and left to the mercie of the raging ſeas, at length by hap were brought to ẏ coaſts of this yle then called Albiõ, where they tok land, & in ſeeking to prouide thẽſelues of victuals by purſute of wylde beaſts, met with no other inhabitantes than the rude and ſauage giauntes, of whome before we haue made mencion, which our hiſtoricians for their beaſtly kynde of lyfe, doe call Deuilles: And with theſe monſters theſe ladies finding none other to ſatiſfye the motions of their ſenſuall luſte, ioyned in the act of generation, and ingendred a race of people in proportion nothing differing from their fathers that begote them, nor in conditions from their mothers that bare them.

But now peraduenture ye will thinke that I haue forgotten my ſelfe in reherſing this hiſtorie of the Ladies arriuall here, becauſe I make no mencion of Albina, whiche ſhold be the eldeſt of the ſiſters, of whome this lande ſhoulde alſo take the name of Albion.

To this we anſwer, that as the name of their father hathe bene miſtaken, ſo lykewyſe hath the whole courſe of the hiſtorie in this behalfe: for although we ſhall admit that to be true whiche is reherſed (in maner as before ye haue heard) of the arriuall heere of thoſe ladies, yet certain it is that none of them bare the name of Albina, from whom this land might be called Albion. For further aſſurãce wherof, if any mã be deſirous to knowe all their names, we haue thoughte good here to reherſe thẽ as they be founde in Higinus, Pauſanias, & others. 1. Idea. 2. Philomela. 3. Scillo. 4. Phicomene. 5. Evippe. 6 Demoditas 7. Hyale. 8. Trite. 9. Damone. 10. Hippothoe. 11. Mirmidone. 12. Euridice. 13. Cleo. 14. Erania. 15. Cleopatra. 16. Phylea. 17. Hypareta. 18. Chryſothenis. 19. Piranta. 20. Armoaſſe. 21. Danaes, 22. Scean. 23. Glaucippe. 24. Demophile. 25. Autodice. 26. Polixena. 27 Hecabe. 28. Achamantis, 29. Arſalte. 30 Monuſſe. 31. Amimone. 32. Helice, 33. Amaome. 34. Polibe. 35. Heliſſe. 36. Electra. 37. Eubule. 38. Daphildice. 39. Hero. 40. Europomene. 41. Critomedia. 42. Pyrene. 43. Eupheno. 44. Themiſtagora. 45. Paleno. 46. Erate. 47. Autonomes. 48. Itea. 49. Chryſanta. 50. Hypermneſtra.

Higinus. The names of the daughters of Danaus.

These were the names of thoſe Ladies, the daughters of Danaus: howebeeit, whiche they were that ſhoulde arriue in this Iſle, we can not ſay. But it ſuffiſeth to vnderſtande, that none of them hight Albina, ſo that whether the hiſtorie of their landing heere ſhoulde be true or not, it is all one, for the matter concerning the name of this Iſle, which vndoubtedly was called Albion, eyther of Albion the giaunt (as before I haue ſayd) or by ſome other occaſion.

See more in the Diſcripſ.

And thus much for the Ladies, whoſe ſtrange aduenture of their arriual here, as it may ſeme to manie, and with good cauſe incredible, ſo without further auouching it for a truthe, I leaue it to the conſideration of the reader, to thinke therof as reſon ſhal moue him, ſith I ſee not how either in this, or in other things of ſuche antiquitie we can haue any ſufficient warrant otherwyſe than by lykely coniectures. Whiehe as in this hiſtorie of the ladies they are not moſt probable, yet haue we ſhewed the likelyeſt, ẏ (as we think) may be demed to agree with thoſe authors ẏ haue writ of their comming into this yle. But as for an aſſured proofe that this Iſle was inhabited with people before the commyng of Brute, I truſte it may ſuffiſe whiche before is recited out of Annio de Viterbo, Theophilus, Gildas, and other, although muche more might be ſayd: As of the com-

commyng hyther of Olyxis, as wel as into the other parties of ỳ woꝛld: And likewyſe of Ulyſſes his being here, who in perfoꝛming ſome vow whiche he eyther then did make, oꝛ befoꝛe hadde made, erected an Altar in that parte of Scotland which was auncientlye called Calidonia, as Julius Solinus Polihiſtoꝛ in playne woꝛdes doth recoꝛde.

So that vpon theſe conſiderations I haue no doubt to deliuer vnto the Reader, the opinion of thoſe that thinke this lande to haue bin inhabited befoꝛe the arriuall here of Bꝛute, truſting it may be taken in good parte, ſith wee haue but ſhewed the coniectures of others, till time that ſome ſufficient learned man ſhall take vpon him to deſcipher the doubts of all theſe matters.

BRVTE.



HItherto haue wee ſpoken of them that inhabited this land befoꝛe the commyng of Bꝛute, although ſome will needs haue it, that he was the firſte which inhabited ỳ ſame with his people, deſcended of the Troyãs, ſome few Giaunts onely excepted whome hee vtterly deſtroyed, and lefte not one of them alyue thꝛough the whole Iſle. But as wee ſhall not doubte of Bꝛutes hyther comming, ſo maye wee aſſuredly thinke, that he found the Iſle peopled either with the generation of thoſe, whiche Albion the Giaunt had placed here, oꝛ ſome other kynde of people, whom he did ſubdue, and ſo reigned as well ouer them, as ouer thoſe whiche he bꝛought with him.

This Bꝛute (as the authoꝛ of the Booke (which Geffrey of Monmouth tranſlated) doth affirme, was the ſonne of Siluius, the ſonne of Aſcanius that was ſonne of Eneas the Troian, begotten of his wyfe Creuſa, and boꝛne in Troye, befoꝛe the Citie was deſtroyed.

But as other doe take it, the Authoꝛ of that booke (whatſoeuer he was) and ſuch other as folowe him, are deceyued only in this poynt, myſtaking the matter in that Poſthumus the ſonne of Eneas (begot of his wyfe Lauinia, and boꝛne after his fathers deceaſſe in Italy) was called Aſcanius, who had iſſue a ſonne named Julius, the whiche (as theſe other doe coniecture) was the father of Bꝛute, that noble chiefetain and aduenturous leader of thoſe people, which being deſcended (foꝛ the moꝛe parte in the fourth generation) from thoſe Troians that eſcaped with lyfe, when that royall Citie was deſtroyed by the Grekes, got poſſeſſion of this woꝛthie and moſt famous Iſle.

To this opinion Giouan Villani, a Flozentine in his vniuerſal hiſtoꝛie ſpeaking of Eneas and his offꝛying kings in Italy, ſeemeth to agree, where he hathe theſe woꝛds: Siluius the ſonne of Eneas by his wife Lauinia fell in loue with a neece of his mother the ſame Lauinia, and by hir had a ſonne, of whom ſhe dyed in trauayle, and therfoꝛe he was called Bꝛutus, who after as he grewe in ſome ſtature, and huntyng in a foꝛeſt ſlew his father at vnwares, and thereꝛvpon foꝛ fear of his gꝛãdfather Siluius Poſthumus he fled the countrey, and with a retinue of ſuche as followed him, paſſyng thꝛoughe diuers ſeas, at lengthe hee arriued in the Iſle of Bꝛitayne.

But nowe wheras by reaſon of the vncertaynty in the Roman authoꝛs themſelues, touching the lyne of Eneas, ſome foꝛein wꝛiters haue either with ſlender argumente, oꝛ elſe verie arrogantly without any grounded reſon ſhewed, taken vpon them to denye that there was any ſuch Italyan Bꝛutus, lineally cõming from Eneas the Troian, of whom the race of the Bꝛitiſh nation that poſſeſſed this Iſle ſhould pꝛoceede: yet bycauſe the argumente of the one ſoꝛte of thoſe that ſo wꝛite, is found inſufficient to the lerned, and the arrogancie of the other being void of reaſon, is ſmally to be regarded: and ſeing that neither the one noꝛ the other of theſe our aduerſaries can as yet fynd out any other, either by parents, tyme, place oꝛ name, that ſhoulde in ſuche wyſe conquer, ſubdue and gouerne this noble Iſle, but only our Bꝛutus oꝛ Bꝛytus. Foꝛ this letter (y) hath had of auncient tyme bothe thoſe ſoundes, as of V, and of I.

And ſith alſo we haue on oure ſyde, as many oꝛ rather moꝛe, and of as good credite (if we ſhall ſpeake generally,) beyng likewyſe foꝛreyne wꝛyters, which affirme and vndoubtedly auouch the regall ſtate of the foꝛeſayde Bꝛutus, as the ſole ruler, monarche and gouernour thereof: Seyng

Theuet, Bodinus, and other.

I ſay, the caſe ſtandeth in ſuch termes, I doubt not but myne opinion wil be deemed allowable, if herein I folow the receyued opinion of moſt writers, and eſteemed the lykelyeſt ſundry ways to the carefull ſerchers and ſkilfull examiners of the antiquities of this triumphant Iland. Truſting ẏ this poynt with ſundry other concerning the hiſtorie of this our great Britayn, either vntruly or imperfectly recorded, or vtterly in maner vnknowne, ſhall in due tyme be brought to a neerer perfection and more apparant euidencie of trouth by ſome diſcrete and experte Gentleman, being of the auncient Britiſhe nobilitie lyneally deſcended, as alſo very ſtudious of ſo worthy veritics.

Concerning therfore our Brute, whether his father Julius was ſonne to Aſcanius, the ſonne of Aeneas by his wyfe Creuſa, or ſonne to Poſthumus, called alſo Aſcanius, and ſonne to Aeneas by his wyfe Lauinia, wee will not further ſtande. But this we kynde, that when he came to the age of .xv. yeares, ſo that he was now able to ride abrode with his father into the foreſts and chaſes, he fortuned eyther by miſhap, or by gods



Brute kylleth his father by misfortune.

prouidence, to ſtrike his father with an arrowe, in ſhoting at a deere, of whiche wounde he alſo dyed. His grandfather (whether the ſame was Poſthumus, or his elder brother) hearing of this greate miſaduenture that had chaunced to his ſonne Syluius, liued not long after, but deceaſſed of very griefe and ſorrow (as is to be ſuppoſed) which he conceyued therof. And the young gentleman immediatly after he had ſlayn his father (in maner before alledged) was baniſhed hys countrey, and thereuppon got him into Grecia, where traueling in ẏ coũtrey, he lighted by chãce among ſome of the Troyan offſpring, and aſſociating himſelfe with them, grewe by meanes of the lignage (wherof he was deſcended) in proces of tyme, into greate reputation among them: chiefly by reaſon there were yet dyuers of the Troiane race, and that of greate authoritie in that countrey. For Pirrhus the ſonne of Achilles, hauing no iſſue by his wyfe Hermione, maried Andromache, late wyfe vnto Hector: and by hir had three ſonnes, Moloſſus, Pielus, and Pergamus, that in their time grew to be of great power in thoſe places and countreys, and ſo their offſpring likewiſe: Whereby Brute or Brytus wanted no frendſhip. For euen at his firſte comming thither, diuers of the Troyans that were remayning in ſeruitude, being deſirous of libertie, by heapes reſorted vnto hym. And amongeſt other, Aſſaracus was one, whom Brute entertayned, receyuing at his handes the poſſeſſion of ſundry fortes & places of defence, before that the king of thoſe parties could haue vnderſtanding or knowledge of any ſuch thing. Herewith alſo ſuche as were redie to make the aduenture with him, repaired to him on eche ſide, whereuppon he firſte placed garniſons in thoſe townes whiche had bene thus deliuered vnto him, and afterwardes with Aſſaracus and the reſidue of the multitude, he withdrewe into the mountaynes neere adioyning. And thus being made ſtrong wyth ſuche aſſiſtance, vpon conſultation hadde wyth them that were of moſte authoritie about hym, wrote vnto the Kyng of that countreye called Pandraſus, in fourme as followeth.

Pauſanias.

The Letter of Brute to Pandraſus, as I fynd it ſette downe in Galfride Monunetenſis.

BRute leader of the remnant of the Troyane people, to Pandraſus king of the Grekes, ſendeth greeting: Bicauſe it hath bin thought a thing vnworthie, that the people diſcended of the noble linage of Dardanus, to be otherwiſe delte with than the honoure of their Nobilitie doth

dothe require: They haue withdrawne themſelues within the cloſe couerte of the woddes: For they haue choſen rather (after the manner of wylde beaſtes) to lyue on fleſhe and herbes in libertie, than furniſhed with all the riches in the worlde to continue vnder the yoake of ſeruyle thraldome. But if thys theyr doyng offende thy mightye highneſſe, they are not to bee blamed, but rather in this behalfe to bee pardoned, ſith euery captiue priſoner is deſirous to bee reſtored vnto hys former eſtate and dignitie. You therefore pitying their caſe, vouchſafe to graunte them their abridged lybertie, and ſuffer them to remayne in quiet within theſe woddes whiche they haue gotte into their poſſeſſion: If not ſo, yet gyue them lycence to departe forthe of thys Countreye into ſome other partyes.

The ſight of theſe letters and requeſt in them cõteyned made Pandraſus at the firſt ſomewhat amazed, Howbeit aduiſing further of the matter, and conſideryng their ſmall number, he made no greate accompt of them, but determined out of hande to ſuppreſſe them by force, before they ſhoulde growe to a greater multitude.

Pandraſus prepareth an army to ſuppreſſe the Troian offſpring.

And to bring his intention the better to paſſe, he leuyed hys power, and made towardes them. But as he paſſed by a towne called Sparatinũ, Sparatinum. marching towardes the woods within the which he thought to haue founde his enimyes, he was



ſodenly aſſailed by Brute, who with three thouſande men was come forth of the woodes, and fiercely ſetting vpon his enimies, made greate ſlaughter of them, ſo that they were vtterly diſcomfited, and ſoughte by flyghte to ſaue themſelues in paſſing a ryuer there at hande called Akalon.

Brute with his men following faſt vpon the aduerſaries, cauſed them to plunge into the water at aduenture, ſo that manye of them were drowned. Antigonus yet the brother of kyng Pandraſus didde what hee coulde to ſtaye the Grecians from fleeing, called them back agayn, and getting ſome of them togither, placed them in order, and began a newe fielde: but it nothing auayled, for the Troyans preaſing vpon hym, toke him priſoner, ſlewe and ſcattered his companie (and ceaſſed not tyll they had rid the fields of all their aduerſaries.

This don, Brute entring ẏ towne, furniſhed it with fiue hundred able ſouldiours, and afterwardes went backe to the reſidue of his people that were incamped in the woddes, where he was receyued with vnſpeakeable ioye for this proſperous atchieued enterpriſe. But although this euil ſucceſſe at the firſt beginning, ſore troubled Pandraſus, as well for the loſſe of the field, as for the taking of his brother, yet was he rather kyndeled in deſyre to ſeeke reuenge, than otherwyſe diſcouraged. And therfore aſſemblyng his people agayne togyther that were ſcattered here and there, he came the nexte day before the towne of Sparatinum, wherein he thoughte to haue founde Brute encloſed togyther with the priſoners, and therfore he ſhewed his whole endeuer by harde ſiege and fierce aſſaultes to force them within to yelde.

To conclude, ſo long he did cõtinue the ſiege, till victuals began to ware ſcant within, ſo that there was no way but to yelde, if preſent ſuccour came not to remoue the ſiege: wherupon they ſignifyed their neceſſitie vnto Brute, who for that he had not power ſufficient to fight with the enimies in open field, he ment to giue thẽ a camiſado in the nyght ſeaſon, & ſo ordered his buſineſſe, that enforcing a priſoner named Anacletus, whiche he had taken in the laſt battayle, to ſerue his turne, by conſtrayning him to take an othe

whiche

whiche he durſte not for conſcience ſake breake) he found meanes to encounter with his enimies vpon the aduauntage, that he did not only ouerthrowe theyr wholepower, but alſo toke Pandraſus pryſoner, wherby all the trouble was ended: and ſhortly after a perfect peace concluded, vpon theſe conditions folowyng.



Pandraſus take priſoner.

The conditions of the agreement betwixte Brute and Pandraſus.

Fyrſt that Pandraſus ſhuld giue his daughter named Innogen vnto Brute in mariage, with a competent ſumme of golde and ſiluer for hir dower.

Secondely, to furniſhe hym and his people with a nauie of ſhips, and to ſtore the ſame with victuals and all other things neceſſarie.

Thyrdly, that Brute with his people ſhoulde haue licence to departe the countrey, to ſeeke aduentures whether ſo euer it ſhould pleaſe them to direct their courſe, without let, impeachement or trouble to bee offered any wayes forthe by the Grecians.

To all theſe conditions, bycauſe they touched not the prerogatiue of his kingdom) Pandraſus did willingly agree, & lykewyſe performe, ſo that all things being once put in a redyneſſe, and the wynde ſeruyng their purpoſe, Brute with hys wyfe Innugen and his people imbarqued, and plucking vp ſayles departed from the coaſtes of Grecia: and after two dayes and a nyghtes ſaylyng, they arriued at Leogitia, (in ſome olde written bookes of the Brytiſhe hyſtorie, noted downe Lergetia) an Iland, where they conſulted with an Oracle. Brute himſelf kneeling before the Idole, and holding in his right hande a boll prepared for ſacrifice ful of wyne, and the bloud of a whyte hynde, ſpake in this maner as here folowyth:

Diua potens nemorum, terror ſyluestribus apri,
Cui licet anfractus ire per aethereos
Infernaſq́ domos, terreſtria iura reſoluc,
Et dic quas terras nos habitare velis:
Dic certam ſedem qua te venerabor in æuum,
Qua tibi virgineis templa dicabo choris.

These verſes as Ponticus Virunnius and others alſo doe gueſſe, were written by Gildas Cambrius in his booke intitled Cambricdos, and may thus be engliſhed.

Thou goddeſſe that doeſt rule the wooddes and forreſts greene,
And chaſeſt fomyng boares, that flee thyne awfull ſight,
Thou that mayeſt paſſe aloft in ayrie skyes ſo sheene,
And walk eke vnder erth in places void of light,
Diſcouer earthly ſtates, direct our courſe aright,
And ſhewe where wee ſhall dwell, accordyng to thy will,
In ſeates of ſure abode, where temples we maye dight,
For virgins that ſhal ſounde thy laude with voices ſhrill.

After this prayer and obſeruances done according to the Pagane rite and cuſtom, Brute abiding for anſwere, fell a ſleepe: in tyme of which ſleepe appeared to hym the fayde goddeſſe, vttering an aunſwere, as in theſe Verſes folowyng is expreſſed.

Brute, ſub occaſum Solis trans Gallica regna,
Inſula in Oceano eſt, vndiq́ clauſa mari,
Inſula in oceano eſt, habitata gigantibus olim,
Nunc deſerta quidem, gentibus apta tuis:
Hanc pete, namq́ tibi ſedes erit illa perennis,
Hic fiet natis altera Troia tuis:
Hic de prole tua reges naſcentur & ipſis,
Totus terra ſubditus orbis erit.

Whiche are thus Engliſhed.

Brute farre by weaſt beyonde the Gallike lande is founde,

An yle whiche with the Ocean ſeas encloſed is a boute,
VVhere Giants dwelt ſometyme, but now is deſarte grounde,
Moſt meet where thou mayſt plant thy ſelf with all thy route:
Make thitherwardes with ſpeede, for there thou ſhalt fynde out
An euer during ſeate, and Troy ſhall riſe anewe
Vnto thy race, of whome ſhall kings bee borne no doubt,
That with their mightie power, the worlde ſhall whole ſubdue.

After that he was awakened out of his ſleepe and had called his dreame to remembrãce, he firſt doubted whether it were a very dreame or a true viſion, the goddeſſe hauyng ſpoken to hym with lyuely voyce. Whereupon callyng ſuche of hys companie vnto hym as he thoughte requiſite in ſuche a caſe, hee declared vnto them the whole matter with the circumſtaunces, whereat they greatly reioycing, cauſed mightie bonfyres to be made, in the whiche they caſte wyne, milke, and other licours, with dyuers gummes and ſpyces of moſte ſwete ſmell and odour, as in the Pagan religion was accuſtomed: whiche obſeruaunces and ceremonies being once perfourmed & brought to ende, they returned ſtreighte wayes to their ſhippes, and as ſoone as the wynde ſerued, they paſſed forewarde on their iourney with great ioye and gladneſſe, as men put in comforte to fynde out the wiſhed ſeates for their firme and ſure habitations. From hence therfore they caſt about, and making weſtwarde, they firſt arriue in Africa, and after keeping on their courſe, they paſſed the ſtraites of Gibralterra, and coaſting alongſt the ſhore on the right hande, they founde another companye that were lykewyſe deſcended of the Troiane progenie, on the coaſts nere where the Pyrenine hilles ſhote downe to the ſea, whereof the ſame ſea by good reaſon was named in thoſe dayes *Mare Pyrenæum*, although hitherto by fault of Writers and copiers of the Britiſhe hiſtorie receiued, in this place *Mare Tyrhenũ* was ſlightly put downe in ſtede of *Pyrenæum*.

I knowe right well that ſome will condemne me of lacke of vnderſtanding the names whiche the later writers Greekes or Latiniſtes haue giuen vnto our known ſeas: for ỹ we reade not in any autentike author, that thoſe ſeas next and againſt the Pyrenine mountaynes, haue bin called *Mare Pyrenæum*. But verily the courſe of the hiſtorie doth moue me to thinke aſſuredly, that the author of Geffrey Monmouthes booke, ment in that place the ſeas neere to the coaſt, whereunto the Pyrenine hilles do ioyn. For what reaſon is it, that after the Troians were paſſed the pyllers of Hercules, that ſtande on eyther ſides the ſtraite of Marrocke or Gibralterra (whether you liſt to name the place) ſhoulde returne ſo great a courſe backe agayne, and fall vpon the coaſtes of Tuſcane (from the whiche he purpoſely was fledde) which lay nothing weſtward, whither they bent their whole courſe.

I haue ſhewed my reaſon, grounded vpon the opinion of ſome that are known to be learned, & no leſſe ſtudious in ſearch of ſuch matters of antiquitie, whoſe iudgementes I can not but reuerence, and therfore I am the bolder to ſet it down as I haue hearde it, and alſo by other allowed. To proceede then with the hiſtorie.

The offſpring of thoſe Troianes with whom Brute and his companie thus did meete, were a remnãt of thoſe that came away with Antenore. Their capitayne hight Corineus, a man of great modeſtie and appreued wiſedome, and therto of incomparable ſtrength and boldneſſe. After they vnderſtoode of one an others eſtates, and howe they were deſcended from one countrey and progenie, they vnited themſelues together, greately reioycing that they were ſo fortunately mette. And after this, hoyſſyng vp their ſayles, they directed their courſe forward ſtil, till they arriued within the mouth of the riuer of Loyre, whiche

Brute and Corineus ioyne their companies together.

They arriue on the coaſtes of Gallia, nowe called Fraunce.



deuideth Aquitayn from Gaule Celtique, where they toke lande within the dominion of a king, called Goffarius, and ſurnamed Pictus, by reaſon that he was deſcẽded of the people called *Agathyrſes*, that otherwiſe were named alſo Pictes, for ſo muche as they vſed to paynte their faces and bodies, in ſuche wiſe as the richer a man was amongſt them, the more coſte he beſtowed of paynting himſelfe: and commonly the heare of their head was redde.

Goffarius ſurnamed Pictus. *Les annales d'Aquitain*

Agathyrſes, otherwiſe called Pictes, of painting their bodies.

The countrey of Poictou (as ſome hold) where the ſayde Goffarius reigned, toke name of thys people: and likewiſe a parte of this our Iſle of Britayn nowe conteyned within Scotland, in ancient time was called Pightland, as elſewhere both in this hiſtorie of England, & alſo of Scotland,

Pightland.

lande, it may further appeare.

But nowe to our purpoſe. When Goffarius the king of Poictou was aduertiſed of the landing of theſe ſtraungers within his countrey, he ſent firſt certain of his people to vnderſtād what they ment by their comming a lande within his dominion, withoute licence or leaue of him obteyned.

Goffarius ſendeth vnto Brutus.

They that were thus ſente, by chaunce came where Corineus with two hundred of the companie were come from the ſhippes into a foreſte neare to the ſea ſyde, to kil ſome venilon for their ſuſtenaunce: and being reproued with ſome diſdaynfull ſpeache of thoſe Poictouins, hee ſhaped them a rounde aunſwere: inſomuch that one of them whoſe name was Imbert, let driue an arrow at Corineus: but hee auoyding the danger therof, ſhotte agayn at Imbert, in reuenge of that iniurie offered, and claue hys head in ſunder.

Corineus aunſwereth the meſſengers.

Imbert.

Imbert is ſlayn by Corineus.

The reſte of the Poictouins fledde therupon, and broughte worde to Goffarius what hadde happened: whoe immediatelye wyth a myghtie armie, made forwarde to encounter with the Troians, and comming to ioyne with

Goffarius rayſeth an armie



them in battaile, after a ſharp and ſore conflict, in the ende Brute with his armie obteyned a triumphant victorie, ſpecially thorough the noble prowes of Corineus.

Goffarius is diſcomfited.

Goffarius ſeeketh ayde againſt Brute.

Goffarius eſcaping from the fielde, fled into the inner partes of Gallia, making ſuite for aſſiſtaunce vnto ſuche kings as in thoſe dayes reigned in diuers prouinces of that lande, who promyſed to ayde hym wyth all their forces, and to expell oute of the coaſtes of Aquitayne, ſuche ſtraungers as without his licence were thus entred the countrey.

But Brute in the meane tyme paſſed forewarde, and with fire and ſworde, made hauock in places where he came: and gathering great ſpoyles, fraughte his ſhips with plentie of riches. At lenght he came to the place, where afterwards he buylt a Citie named *Turonium*, that is Tours.

Brute ſpoyleth the countrey.

Turonius or Tours buylt by Brute.

Here Goffarius with ſuche Gaules as were aſſembled in his ayd, gaue batayl agayn vnto the Troyans that were encamped to abyde his cōming. Where after that they had fought a long tyme with ſingular manhoode on bothe parties: finally the Troyans oppreſſed with multitude of their aduerſaries, being thirtie tymes as manye more as the Troyans) were conſtrained to retyre into their campe, within the which the Gaules kepte them as beſieged, lodging rounde about them, and purpoſing by famine to compell them to yelde themſelues vnto their mercie.

Goffarius reneweth his forces, fighteth eftſoones with Brute.

But Corineus taking counſell with Brute, deuiſed to departe in the darke of the night forth of the campe, and to lodge himſelfe wyth three thouſand choſen ſouldiours ſecretly in a woodde, and there to remayne in couert tyll in the morning that Brute ſhoulde come forth and giue a charge vppon the enimies, wherewith Corineus ſhould breake forth and aſſayle the Gaules on the backes.

This policie was putte in practiſe, and toke ſuch effect as the deuyſers themſelues wiſhed: for the Gaules being ſharply aſſailed on the front by Brute and his companie, wer now by the ſodain comming of Corineus, who ſet vpon them behinde on their backes, brought into ſuch a feare, that incontinently they toke them to flighte, whome the Troyans egerly purſued, making no ſmall ſlaughter of them as they might ouertake them. In this battaile Brute loſt many of his men, and amongſt other, one of his nephues named Turinus, after he had ſhewed marueilous proofe of his great manhoode. Of hym (as ſome haue written) the foreſayd citie of Tours toke the name, and was called *Turonium*, becauſe the

ſayde

layd *Turinus* was there buried: Although Andrew Theuet affirmeth the contrarie, and maynteyneth, that one Taurus the nephewe of Hanniball was the firste that closed it about with a pale of woodde (as the maner in those days was of fencing their townes) in the yeare of the woorld 3374. and before the birth of our Saviour. 197. But yet by Theuets leaue, Brute and his companie myghte fyrst buylde the same towne: and Taurus peraduenture might after fence it about with a pale, at that supposed time whē his vncle Hanibal came forth of Spayn, to passe through Gallia into Italy. But to speake what I thinke, I beleeue Theuet is as little able to proue his Taurus to be the first that enclosed it, as other are to proue, that it toke the name of Turinus his burgall there.

But now to our matter concerning Brute, who after he had obteined so famous a victorie, albeit there was good cause for him to reioyce, yet it sore troubled him to consider that his numbers daily decayed, and his enimies still encreased, and grew stronger: wherupon resting doubtfull what to doe, whether to proceede agaynste the Gaulles, or to returne to his shippes, and to seke the yle, that was appointed to him by oracle, at length he chose the surest way and best (as he toke it, and as it proued:) for whylest yet the more parte of his armie was leste alyue, and that the fame of the victorie remayned on his side, hee drewe to his nauie, and lading his shippes, with exceeding greate store of riches whiche his people had got abrode in the countrey: he toke the seas, agayne: And after a few dayes sayling, they landed at the hauen whiche is now called Totnesse, the yeare of the worlde. 2850. after the destruction of Troy. 66. after the deliuerāce of the Israelites, from the Captiuitie of Babylon. 397. almost ended, in the. 18. yeare of the reigne of Tyneas king of Babylon. 13. of Melanthus king of Athenes, before the buylding of Rome. 368. whiche was before the natiuitie of our saviour Christ 1116. almost ended, and before the reigne of Alexander the great. 782.

This computation haue I set down according to the Chronologie of William Harison not yet published, whose accompte (as he hath gathered it) I haue followed for the more parte, as well in the historie of Scotland, as here in this historie of England, especially til I come vnto the time that the Saxons settled themselues here: the rather bycause I am perswaded ẏ he hath bin verie diligent in serching out the true computation of yeres, in reforming the same according to ẏ best authorities, as I truste to the learned reader it may appeare. And if there be any errour therein, I doubt not but some suche learned Gentleman as hath spent some studie about the searche of the first peopling of this land, will for the benefite of his countrey in tyme conueniente reforme that which is amisse, and publishe to the worlde that whiche may better satisfie the learned, and cleere all doubtes, as well in the accompt of the time of Brutes comming hither, as in all other circumstances of the whole Brytishe historie.

But nowe to proceede. When soeuer Brute entred this lande, immediatly after his arriuall (as writers doe recorde) he searched the countrey from side to side, and euen from the one ende to the other, finding it in moste places right fertile and plentuous of woodde and grasse, and full of pleasant springs and faire ryuers.

But as he thus trauayled to discouer the state and commodities of the lande, he was encountred by diuers strong & mightie Giauntes, whom he destroyed and slewe, or rather subdued them, with all suche other people, as her founde in the Ilande, whiche were more in number vndoubtedly than by report of some authors, it shoulde appete there were. Among these Giants (as Geffrey of Monmouthe writeth,) there was one of passing strengthe and greate estimation, named Gogmagog, with whome Brute caused Corineus to wrastell, at a place beside Douer, where

Brute encountred by the Giauntes.

Corineus vvrestleth vvith Gogmagog.



it chaunced, that the Giaunt brake a ribbe in the syde of Corineus, whyle they stroue to clasp, and the one to ouerthrowe the other: wherewith Corineus being sore chafed and stirred to wrath, he so doubled his force that he got the vpper hand of the Gyaunt, and caste him downe headlong from one of the rockes there, not farre from Douer, and so dispatched hym: by reason whereof, the place was named long after, the fall or leape of Gogmagog, but afterwards it was called the fall of Douer.

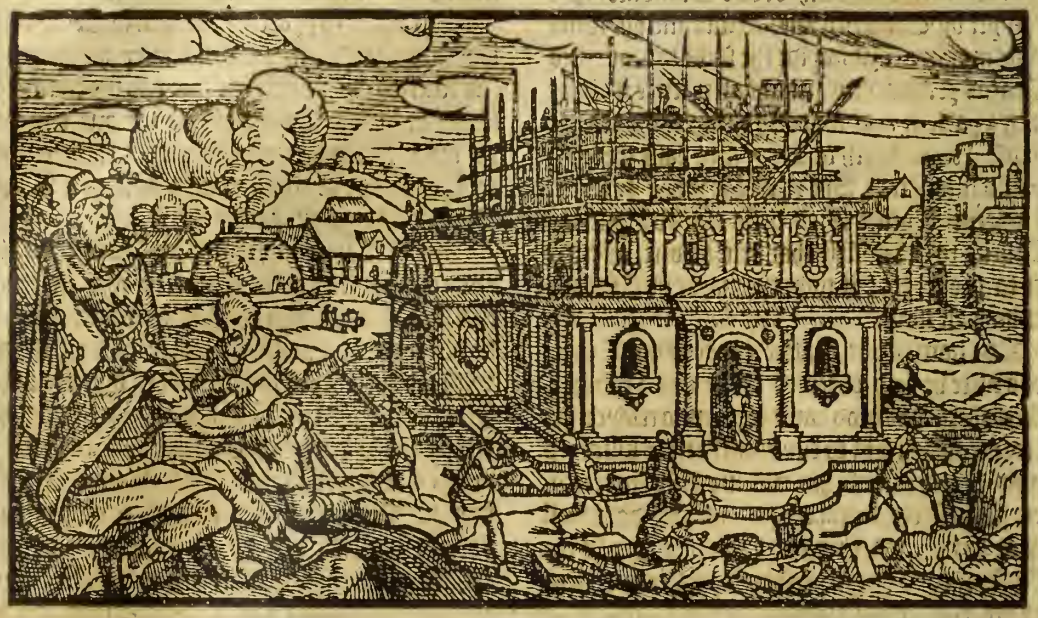
Gogmagog is slayne.

Cornvvall giuē to Corineus.

For this valiant deede and other the lyke seruice firste and laste atchieued, Brute gaue vnto Corineus the whole countrey of Cornwall.

To be briefe: After that Brute had destroyed suche as stode agaynste him, and brought suche people

people vnder his ſubiection, as he found in the Ile, and ſearched the land from the one end to the other: He was deſirous to build a citie, ẏ the ſame might be the regal ſeat of his empire or kingdom. Wherupon he choſe forth a plot of ground, lying on the north ſyde of the riuer of Thames, which by good conſideration ſeemed to be moſt pleaſant & conuenient for any great multitude of inhabitants, aſwel for holſomneſſe of aire, goodneſſe of ſoyle, plentie of woodes, & commoditie of the riuer, ſeruing as wel to bring in as to carrie forth all kindes of merchandiſe, and things neceſſarie for gayne ſore and vſe of them that there ſhuld inhabit.



The citie of Trinouants after called Lodon, buylded. See more hereof in the deſcription.

Here therfore, he began to build and lay the foundation of a citie, in the tenth, or (as other thinke) in the ſeconde yeare after his arriuall, which he nameth (ſaith Gal. Mon.) Troy nouant, or as Hum. Lhuyd ſayth, Troynewith, that is new Troy, in remembrance of that noble citie of Troy, from whēce he and his people were for the more part deſcended.

When Brutus had buylded this citie, and brought the Iland fully vnder his ſubiection, he then by the aduiſe of his nobles, commaunded this Ile whiche before hyght Albion, to bee called Britayne, and the inhabitauntes Britons after his name, for a perpetuall memorie that he was the firſt bringer of them into the lande. In this meane whyle alſo he had by his wyfe .iij. ſonnes, of which the firſte was named Locrinus, or Locrine, the ſeconde Cambris or Camber, and the third Albanactus or Albanact. And when the tyme of his death drewe neere, To the firſt he betoke the gouernment of that part of the lande which is nowe knowne by the name of England: ſo that the ſame was long after called *Loegria*, or *Logiers*, of the ſayd Locrinus.

Brute had three ſonnes.

Loegria.

To the ſeconde he appoynted the countrey of Wales, the whyche of hym was firſt named *Cambria*, deuided from *Loegria*, by the riuer of Seuerne.

Cambria.

To his thirde ſonne Albanacte, hee deliuered all the North parte of the Ile, afterwardes called *Albania*, after the name of the ſaid Albanacte: which portion of the ſaid Ile lieth beyond the Humber northward.

Thus whē Brutus had deuided the Ile of Britain (as before is mēcioned) into .3. parts, & had gouerned ẏ ſame by the ſpace of .xv. yeres, he died in ẏ. 24. yere after his arriual, as Harriſon noteth it, and was buryed at Troynouant or London: although the place of his ſaid burial there, be now grown out of memorie.

In the dayes this our Sa Saule and muell gouer Iſraell.

Locrinus, the ſecond ruler of Britayne.



LOcrinus, or Locrine, the firſt begottē ſonne of Brute begā to reigne ouer ẏ coūtrey called *Logiers* in the yere of ẏ worlde 3874. and held to his part the countrey that ſtretched frō ẏ ſouthe ſea vnto the riuer of Humber, as is afore remembred.

Gal. Mon. Mat. VVeſt. Fa. oue of de Fo.

Whyle thys Locrinus gouerned Logiers, his brother Albanact ruled in Albania, as is ſayde, and there was finally ſlayne in a battaile by a King of the Hunnes or Scythians, called Humber, which inuaded that part of Britain, & got poſſeſſiō therof, til Locrinus with his brother Cāber, in reuēge of their other brothers

Gal. Mon. Mat. VVeſt.

brothers death, and for the recouery of the kingdome, gathered their powers togither, and comming againſt the ſaid King of the Hunes, by the valiaunce of their people they diſcomfited hym in battell, and chaſed him ſo egrely, that he himſelfe and a greate number of his men were drowned in the Gulfe that then parted Loegria and Albania, which after toke name of ỹ layd king, & was called Humber, and ſo continueth vnto this day.

Moreouer, in this battell againſt the Hunes were three yong Damoſels taken of excellente beauty, ſpecially one of them, whoſe name was Eſtrild, daughter to a certayne king of Scithia. With this Eſtrild king Locrine fel ſo far in loue, notwithſtãding a former contract made betwixt him & the Lady Guendoloena, daughter to Corineus Duke of Cornewall, ỹ he meant yet with all ſpeede to marrie the ſame Eſtrild. But beyng earneſtly called vpon, and in manner forced therto by Corineus, hee chaunged his purpoſe, and married Guendoloena, keeping neuertheleſſe the foreſayde Eſtrild to paramor ſtill after a ſecrete ſort, during ỹ life of Corineus his father in lawe. But after ỹ Corineus was departed this world, Locrine forſoke Guendoloena, and maried Eſtrild. Guendoloena therfore being caſt off by hir huſband, gote hir into Cornewall to hir friendes and kinrede, and there procured them to make warre againſt the ſayde Locrine hir huſbande, in the whiche warres hee was ſlaine and a battayle foughte neere to the riuer of Sture, after he hadde raigned (as writers affirme) twenty yeeres, and buried by his father in the Citie of Troynouant, leauing behinde him a yong ſonne (begotten of his wife Guendoloena) named Madan, as yet vnmeete to gouerne.

Guendoloena or Guendoleyn the wife of Locrinus, & daughter of Corineus Duke of Cornewall, for ſo muche as hir ſonne Madan was not of yeeres ſufficient to gouerne, was by common conſent of the Britons made ruler of the Iſle, in the yeere of the world. 2894. and ſo hauing ỹ adminiſtration in hir handes, ſhe did right diſcretly vſe hir ſelfe therein, to the comforte of all hir ſubiects, till hir ſonne Madan came to lawfull age: and then ſhe gaue ouer the rule and dominion to him, after ſhee had gouerned the ſpace of fiftene yeeres.

Madan the third Ruler.

MAdan the ſonne of Locrine, and Guindoline entred into ỹ gouernement of Britaine in the. 2909. of the world. There is little left in writing of his doings, ſauing that he vſed greate tyranny amongſt his Britons: and therefore after he had ruled this land the tearme of. 40. yeres, he was deuoured of wilde beaſtes, as he was abroad in hũting. He left behind him two ſonnes, Mempricius, and Manlius. Hee builded as is reported Madan Caiſtre, now Dancaſtre, which retayneth ſtill the later parte of hys name.

Mempricius the fourth Ruler.



Mempritius.

MEmpricius, the eldeſt ſonne of Madan, began to raigne ouer the Britaynes in the yere of the world. 2949. hee continued not long in peace. For his brother Manlius vpon an ambitious minde prouoked the Britaynes to rebell againſt him, ſo that fore and deadly warre continued long betweene thẽ. But finally, vnder colour of a treatie, Manlius was ſlaine by his brother Mempricius, ſo that then he liued in more tranquilitie and reſt. Howbeit, being deliuered thus from trouble of warres, he fell into ſlouth, and ſo into vnlawfull luſt of lecherie, and thereby into the hatred of his people, by forcing of their wiues and daughters. And finally became ſo beaſtly, that he forſoke his lawfull wife and all his concubines, and fell into the abhominable ſinne of Sodomy. And thus from one vice he fell into another, till he became odible to God and man, and at length, going on hunting, was loſt of his people, and deſtroyed of wilde beaſtes, when he had raigned twentie yeares, leauing behinde him a noble yong ſonne named Ebranke, begotten of his lawfull wife.

Fabian.

Manlius is ſlayne.

Gal. Mon.

Slouth engendred Lechery.

Mempritius is deuoured of beaſts.

Ebranke the fifth Ruler.



Ebrãck

EBranke the ſon of Mempricius, began to rule ouer the Britaynes in ỹ yere of the Worlde 2969. He had as writers doe of hym record, one & twẽty wiues, on whome he begote. xx. ſonnes and thirtie daughters, of the whiche the eldeſt hight Gualeſ, or Gualea. Theſe daughters he ſent to Alba Siluius, which was the eleuenth king of Italy, or the ſixth King of the Latines, to the end they might be married to his noble men of the bloud of Troians, becauſe the Sabines refuſed to ioyne their daughters with them in marriage. Furthermore, he was the firſt Prince of his lande that euer inuaded Fraunce after Brute, and is commended as author and originall builder of many Cities, both in his owne kingdome, and elſe where. Hys

Ebranck had xxi wiues. Thirty daughters ſent into Italy.

Bergomas lib. 6.

ſonnes alſo vnder the conduct of Aſſaracus, one of their eldeſt brethren, returning out of Italy, after they had conducted their ſiſters thither, inuaded Germany, being firſt moleſted by the people of that countrey in their rage, and by the helpe of the ſayd Alba, ſubdued a great part of that countrey, and there planted themſelues. Our hiſtories ſay, that Ebrancus their father married them in their returne, and ayded them in their conqueſts, and that he builded the Citie of Caerbrank, now called Yorke, about the 14. yeare of his raigne. He builded alſo in Albania now called Scotland, the Caſtel of Maydens, afterward called Edenburgh of Aidan one of their kings. The Citie of Alclud was builded likewiſe by hym as ſome write) now decayed. After which cities thus builded, he ſayled ouer into Gallia, now called Frãce with a great army, and ſubduing the Gaules as is aforeſayde, he returned home with great riches and triumph. And when he had guided the lande of Britayne in noble wiſe by the ſpace of fortie yeares, he died, and was buried at Yorke.

e Citie of anke ed.

Mat. VVeſt.

Fortie yeares reth. Gal.

Brute Greeneſhielde the .6. Ruler.



Brute Greneſhielde.

BRute Greeneſhielde, the ſonne of Ebrank, was made gouernor of this lande in the yeere of ẏ worlde .3009. Aſa raigning in Juda, and Baaſa in Iſraell. Thys Prince bare alwayes in the field a greene ſhielde, whereof he toke hys ſurname, and of him ſome forraine authors affirme, ẏ he made an attempte to bring the whole Realme of Fraunce vnder his ſubiection, which he performed, becauſe his father ſuſteined ſome diſhonor and loſſe in his laſt voyage into that countrey. Howbeit they ſay, ẏ whẽ he came into Henaud, Brinchild a Prince of ẏ quarter gaue him alſo a greate ouerthrowe, and compelled him to retire home agayne into hys countrey. This I borrow out of William Harriſon, who in his chronologie toucheth the ſame at large, concluding in the end, that the ſaid paſſage of this Prince into France is very likely to be true, and that he named a parcell of Armorica lying on the South, and in manner vpon the very loyne after his owne name, and alſo a Citie which he builded there Britayne. For (ſayth he) it ſhould ſeeme by Strabo. lib. 4. that there was a noble Citie of that name long before his time in the ſayde countrey, whereof Plinie alſo ſpeaketh lib. 4. cap. 7. albeit that he aſcribe it vnto France after a diſordred maner. More I finde not of this aforeſaid Brute, ſauing that he ruled the lande a certaine time, his father yet liuing, and after hys deceaſe the tearme of twelue yeeres, and then dyed, and was buried at Caerbranke nowe called Yorke.

Iacobus Leſ.

Strabo lib. 4.

Leill the ſeuenth Ruler.



Leil

LEil the ſon of Brute Greeneſhielde, began to raigne in the yeere of the worlde .3021. the ſame time that Aſa was raigning in Juda, and Ambri in Iſrael. He built the Citie nowe called Carlile, which then after hys owne name was called Caerleil, that is, Leil his Citie, or the Citie of Leil. He repayred alſo (as Henry Bradſhawe hathe, the Citie of Caerleon now called Cheſter, which as by the ſame Bradſhaw it appeareth, was built before Brutus entring into this lande by a Giaunte named Leon Gauer. But what authoritie he hadde to auouche this, it may be doubted, for Ranulfe Higde in his worke entituled Policronicon, ſaith in playne wordes, that it is vnknowen who was the firſte founder of Cheſter, but that it toke the name of ẏ ſoiourning there of ſome Romayne Legions, by whom alſo it is not vnlike that it might be firſte built by *P. Oſtorius Scapula*, who as we find, after he had ſubdued Caratacus king of ẏ Ordouices ẏ inhabited ẏ countreys now called Lancaſhire, Cheſhire, & Salupſhire, built in thoſe partes, & among ẏ Silures, certain places of defence, for the better herbourgh of his men of warre, & keeping down of ſuche Britaynes as were ſtill ready to moue rebellion. But now to ẏ purpoſe concerning K. Leil. We find it recorded ẏ he was in ẏ beginning of his raigne very vpright, & deſirous to ſee iuſtice executed, & aboue all things loued peace & quietneſſe, but as yeres encreaſed with him, ſo his vertues began to diminiſh, in ſo much, that abãdoning ẏ care for the body of ẏ common welth, he ſuffered his own body to welter in all vice and voluptuouſneſſe, & ſo procuring the hatred of hys ſubiectes, cauſed malice and diſcorde to ryſe amõgſt them, which during his life, he was neuer able to appeaſe. But leauing them ſo at variãce, departed this life, and was buried at Carleil which as ye haue heard he had builded, whyle hee liued.

Carele ded.

Cheſte payred

Lud Hurdibras the eight Ruler.

Lud dibr

RUd or Ludhurdibras the ſonne of Leil began to gouerne in the yeare of the worlde .3046. In the beginning of his raigne, hee ſoughte to appeaſe the debate that was reyſed in hys fathers dayes, and bring the Realme to hir former quietneſſe, and after that hee hadde brought

brought it to good ende, he builded the towne of Kaerkyn now called Canterbury: alſo the towne of Caergueint nowe cleped Wincheſter, & Mont Paladour now called Shaftesbury. About the building of which towne of Shaftesbury, Aquila a Prophet of the Brittiſh nation wrote his prophecies, of which ſome fragments remayne yet to be ſeene, tranſlated into the Latine by ſome auntient writers. When this Lud had raigned .xxix. yeeres he dyed, and lefte a ſonne behinde him named Baldud.

Baldud the.9.Ruler.



BAldud the ſonne of Lud Hudibras, begā to rule ouer the Britaynes in the yere of the world.3085. This man was well ſeene in ỹ ſciences of Aſtronomy, and Nigromancy, by which (as the common reporte ſaith) he made the whote bathes in the Citie of Caerbran now called Bath. But William of Malmeſbery is of a contrary opinion, affirming that Julius Ceſar made thoſe bathes, or rather repayred them when he was here in Englande: which is not like to be true: for Julius Ceſar, as by good coniecture we haue to thinke, neuer came ſo farre within the land that way forthe. Both of theſe bathes more ſhall be ſayd in the deſcription. But to proceede. This Baldud toke ſuche pleaſure in artificiall practiſes and magike, that he taught this arte throughout all his Realme. And to ſhew his cunning in other poynts, vpon a preſumptuous pleaſure which he had therein, he toke vpon him to flie in the ayre, but he fell vpon the temple of Apollo, which ſtode in the Citie of Troynouant, and there was torne in peeces after he had ruled the Britaynes by the ſpace of .xx. yeeres.

Leir the.10.Ruler.



LEir the ſon of Baldud, was admitted Ruler ouer the Britaynes, in the yeere of the world. 3105. at what time Joas raigned as yet in Juda. This Leir was a Prince of right noble demeanor, gouerning his land and ſubiects in great wealth.

Hee made the towne of Caerleir nowe called Leiceſter, which ſtandeth vpon ỹ Riuer of Soze.

It is writtē that he had by his wife three daughters without other iſſue, whoſe names were Gonozilla, Regan, and Cordilla, whiche daughters he greatly loued, but ſpecially the yongeſt Cordeilla farre aboue the two elder. When this Leir therefore was come to great yeeres, and beganne to ware vnweldy through age, he thought to vnderſtand the affections of his daughters towards him, and preferre hir whome hee beſt loued, to the ſucceſſion ouer the kingdome: therefore hee firſte aſked Gonozilla the eldeſt, howe well ſhee loued him: the which calling hir Gods to record, proteſted, that ſhe loued him more than hir owne life, which by right and reaſon ſhoulde be moſt deere vnto hir. With whiche anſwer the father beeyng well pleaſed, turned to the ſecond, and demanded of hir how well ſhe loued him: whiche anſwered (confirming hir ſayings with greate othes) that ſhe loued him more than tong could expreſſe, and farre aboue all other creatures of the world. Thē called he his yongeſt daughter Cordeilla before him, and aſked of hir what accompt ſhe made of him: vnto whome ſhe made this anſwer as followeth: Knowing the great loue and fatherly zeale that towards me you haue always borne, (for the whiche I may not anſwere you otherwiſe than I thinke, and as my cōſcience leadeth me) I proteſt vnto you, that I haue loued you euer, and ſhall continually while I liue, loue you as my naturall father, and if you woulde more vnderſtand of the loue that I beare you, aſſertayn your ſelfe, that ſo much as you haue, ſo muche you are worth, and ſo much I loue you, and no more.

Gal.Mon.

A trial of loue.

The anſwere of the yongeſt daughter.

The father being nothing content with this anſwere, married his two eldeſt daughters, the one vnto the Duke of Cornewale named Henninus, and the other vnto the Duke of Albania, called Maglanus: and betwixt them after his death, hee willed and ordeyned that his land ſhould be deuided, and the one halfe thereof immediately ſhould be aſſigned to them in hande: but for the thirde daughter Cordeilla, he reſerued nothing.

The two eldeſt daughters are maried.

The Realme is promiſed to his two daughters.

Yet it fortuned, that one of the Princes of Gallia (which now is called France) whoſe name was Aganippus, hearing of the beautie, womanhode, and good conditions of the ſayd Cordeilla, deſired to haue hir in marriage, and ſente ouer to hir father, requiring that he myghte haue hir to wife: to whome aunſwere was made, that hee mighte haue hys daughter, but for any dower hee coulde haue none, for all was promiſed and aſſured to hir other ſiſters already.

Aganippus notwithſtanding this aunſwere of denyall to receyue any thyng by way of dower with Cordeilla, toke hir to wife, only moued thereto (I ſaye) for reſpecte of hir perſon and amiable vertues. Thys Aganippus was one of the twelue Kyngs that ruled Gallia

He gouerned the third parte of Gallia as Gal.Mon.hath

in thoſe dayes, as in the Brittiſh hiſtorie it is recorded. But to proceede, after that Leir was fallen into age, the two Dukes that had married his two eldeſt daughters, thinking long ere the gouernemente of the land did come to their handes, aroſe againſt him in armour, & reft from him the gouernance of the land, vpō conditions to be cōtinued for tearme of life: by ẏ whiche he was put to his portion, that is, to liue after a rate aſſigned to him for the maintenance of his eſtate, whyche in proces of time was diminiſhed as well by Magbanus, as by Henninus. But the greateſt griefe that Leir toke, was to ſee the vnkindneſſe of his daughters, which ſeemed to thinke that all was too much which their father hadde, the ſame being neuer ſo little: in ſo muche, that going from ẏ one to ẏ other, he was brought to that miſerie, that vnneth would they allow him one ſeruaunt to waite vpon him. In the end ſuch was the vnkindneſſe, or (as I may ſaye) the vnnaturalneſſe which he founde in his two daughters, notwithſtanding their faire & pleaſante wordes vttered in time paſt, that being conſtreyned of neceſſitie, he fled ẏ land, & ſayled into Gallia, there to ſeke ſome comfort of his yōgeſt daughter Cordeilla whom before time he hated. The Lady Cordeill hearing ẏ he was arriued in poze eſtate, ſhe firſt ſēt to him priuily a certayne ſumme of money to apparrell himſelfe withal, & to reteyne a certayn number of ſeruants that mighte attende vpon him in honorable wiſe, as apperteyned to the eſtate whiche he had borne: and then ſo accompanyed, ſhe appointed him to come to ẏ Court, which he did, & was ſo ioyfully, honorably, and louingly receiued, both by his ſon in law Aganippus, & alſo by his daughter Cordeilla, that his hart was greatly comforted: For he was no leſſe honored, than if he hadde bin king of ẏ whole countrey himſelfe. Alſo after ẏ he had enformed his ſon in law & his daughter in what ſort he had bin vſed by his other daughters, Aganippus cauſed a mightie army to be put in a readineſſe, & likewiſe a greate nauie of Ships to bee rigged, to paſſe ouer into Britayne with Leir his father in law, to ſee him againe reſtored to his kingdome. It was accorded, that Cordeilla ſhould alſo goe with him to take poſſeſſion of ẏ land, ẏ whyche he promiſed to leaue vnto hir, as hir rightfull inheritour after his deceſſe, notwithſtanding any former graunte made to hir ſiſters or to their huſbāds in any manner of wiſe. Herevpō, whē this army & nauie of Ships wer ready, Leir & his daughter Cordeilla w̄ hir huſbād toke ẏ ſea, & arriuing in Britaine, fought w̄ their enimies, and diſcomfited them in battaile, in ẏ whiche Maglanus & Henninus were ſlaine: and then was Leir reſtored to his kingdome, which he ruled after this by the ſpace of two yeeres, and then died, fortie yeres after he firſt began to raigne. His body was buried at Leyceſter in a vault vnder ẏ channel of the Riuer of Soze beneath the towne. *Ma. vvr*

Cordeilla Queene.



Corde la.

COrdeilla ẏ yōgeſt daughter of Leir, was admitted for Q. & ſupreme gouernoure of Britayne, in the yeere of ẏ World. 355. before the building of Rome. 54. Uzias then raigning in Juda, & Jeroboā ouer Iſraell. This Cordeilla after hir fathers deceaſe ruled the lād of Britayne right worthily during the ſpace of fiue yeres, in which meane time hir huſband died, and then about ẏ end of thoſe fiue yeres, hir two Nephewes Margan and Cunedagius ſonnes to hir aforeſaide ſiſters, diſdeigning to be vnder the gouernement of a woman, leuied warre againſt hir, and deſtroyed a great part of the land, and finally toke hir priſoner, and leyd hir faſt in ward, wherwith ſhee toke ſuche griefe, beeing a woman of a manly courage, and deſpayring to recouer libertie, there ſhe ſlew hirſelfe whē ſhe had raigned as



before is mencioned the tearme of fiue yeeres.

Cunedag and Margan contende for the gouernement.



Cunedag Margan

CUnedagius & Marganus Nephews to Cordeilla, hauing recouered the land out of hir hands, deuided the ſame betwixt them, that is to wit, the countrey ouer & beyonde Humber fell to Margan as it ſtretcheth euen to Catneſſe, & the other part lying South, and

and by west, was assigned to Cunidagius. This partition chanced in the yeere of the Woꝛld 3170. before the building of Rome. 47. Uzia as yet raigning in Juda, & Jeroboam in Israel. Afterwards, these two cousins, Cunedag and Margã, had not raigned thus past a two yeares, but thorough some seditious persons, Margan was perswaded to reise warre against Cunedag, telling him in his eare, howe it was a shame for him being come of the elder sister, not to haue the rule of the whole Ile in his hande. Herebpon, ouercome with pride, ambition, & couetousnesse, he reised an army, & entring into ẏ land of Cunedag, he brẽned & destroyed ẏ coũtrey before him in miserable maner. Cunedag in all hast to resist his aduersarie, assembled also al ẏ power he could make, & comming with the same against Margan, gaue him battell, in the which he slew a great nũber of Margãs people, and put ẏ residue to flight, and furthermoꝛe pursued him from countrey to coũtrey, till hee came into Cambria, nowe called Wales, where ẏ said Margan gaue him eftsones a new battell: but beeing too weake in number of men, he was there ouercome & slaine in ẏ field, by reason wherof, ẏ countrey toke name of him, being there slaine, and so is called to this day Glau Margã, which is to meane in our English tong, Margans land. This was the end of that Margan, after hee had raigned with his brother two yeres, oꝛ thereabouts.

After the death of Margan, Cunedagius the son of Hẽnius & Ragay (middlemost daughter of Leir, before mentioned) became Ruler of all the whole lãd of Britayne, in ẏ yere of ẏ Woꝛld 3172. before the building of Rome. 45. Uzia still raigning in Juda, and Jeroboam in Israell. He gouerned this Ile wel & honoꝛably foꝛ the tearme of. xxxiij. yeeres: And then dying, his body was buried at Troynouant oꝛ Londõ. Moꝛeouer, our writers do repoꝛte, that hee builded also three tẽples, one to Mars at Perth in Scotland, another to Mercury at Bangoꝛ, and the thirde to Apollo in Coꝛnewall.

Ryuall the. 13. Ruler.



Ryuallon, the son of Cunedeg, began to raign ouer ẏ Britaines, in the yere of the woꝛld 3202. before the building of Rome. 15. Joathan as then beeing King of Juda, and Phacea king of Israel. This Ryuall gouerned the lande in greate wealth and pꝛosperitie. In his time it raigned bloud by the space of three dayes togither. After which raigne ensued such an exceeding nũber and multitude of flies, so noysome and contagious, that muche people died by reason thereof. When he had raigned. 46. yeeres he died, & was buried at Caerbranke nowe called Yoꝛke. In ẏ time of this Ryuals raigne, was the Citie of Rome builded, after the accoꝛdance of most parte of writers. Perdix also a wisehart, and a learned Astrologian flouriſheth & writeth his pꝛophecies, and Herene also.

Rome builded

Gurguſt the. 14 Ruler.



Gurgustius, the son of the before named Riuall, beganne to gouerne the Britaynes in the yeere after the Creatiõ of the woꝛld. 3249. and after the first foundation of Rome. 13. Ezechias raigning in Juda. This Gurgustius in ẏ Chꝛonicle of England, is called Eoꝛbodian the sonne of Reignald, he raigned. 37. yeeres: then departing this life, was buried at Caerbranke (nowe called Yoꝛke) by hys father.

Gurguſt

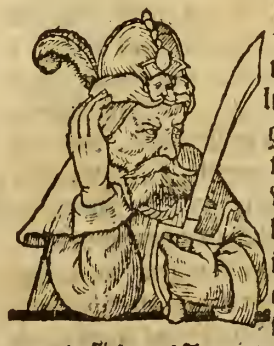
Syſillius the. 15. Ruler.



Sysillius, oꝛ after some writers Siluius, the bꝛother of Gurgustius, was chosen to haue the gouernance of Britayne, in the yeere of the woꝛlde. 3287. and after the building of Rome. 71. Manasses still raigning in Juda. This Sisillius in the English Chꝛonicle is named Sezil. He raigned 41. yeeres, and then died, and was buried at Carbadon, nowe called Bath.

Syſillius

Iago the. 16. Ruler.



Iago oꝛ Lago, ẏ cousin of Gurgustius, as next inheritoꝛ to Sisillius, toke vpon hym the gouernemente of Britayne, in the yeere of the woꝛld. 3336. and after ẏ building of Rome. 120. in whose time the Citie of Jerusalem was take by Nabuchodonoꝛ, and the King of Juda, Mathania, otherwise called Zedechias, being slaine. This Iago oꝛ Lago dyed without issue, when hee had raigned eyght and twentie yeeres, and was buried at Yoꝛke.

Iago.

Kinimak the 17. Ruler.

Kinimak.



KInimacus or Kinmarus ẏ ſon of Sicilius as ſome write, or rather ẏ brother of Iago began to gouerne ẏ lād of Britayne, in the yere of the World. 3364. and after the buildyng of Rome. 148. the Jewes as then being in ẏ third yeere of their captiuitie of Babilon. This Kinimachus departed this life, after hee hadde raigned. 54. yeeres, and was buried at Yorke.

Gorbodug the 18. Ruler.

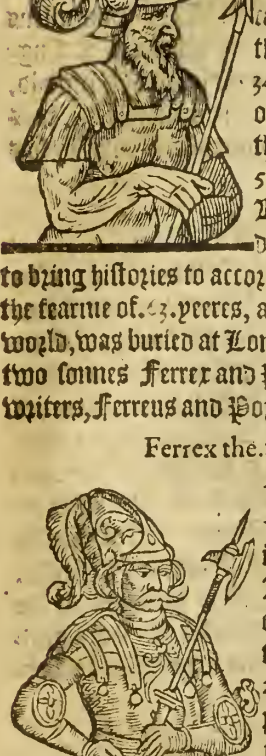
Gorbodug.



GOrbodug the ſonne of Kinimacus begā his raigne ouer the Britaynes, in the yeere after the creation of the world 3418. from the buildyng of ẏ Citie of Rome. 202. the Jewes beeing in the 58. of their captiuitie at Babilon. This Gorbodug by moſt likelyhoode, to bring hiſtories to accord, ſhould raigne aboute the ſearme of. 43. yeeres, and then departing thys world, was buried at London, leauing after hym two ſonnes Ferrex and Porrex, or after ſome writers, Ferreus and Porreus.

Ferrex the. 19. Ruler.

Forrex and Porrex.



FErrex with Porrex his brother, began ioyntly to rule ouer the Britaynes, in the yeere of the World. 3476. after ẏ building of Rome 260. at whiche tyme, the people of Rome forſoke their Citie in theyr Rebellious mode. Theſe two breethren continued for a time in good friendſhip and amitie, till at length, through couetouſneſſe, and deſire of greater dominion, prouoked by flatterers, they fell at variance and diſcord, whereby Ferrex was cōſtreyned to flee into Gallia, and there purchaſed ayde of a great Duke, called Gunhardus or Suardus, and ſo returned into Britayne, thynkyng to preuayle and obteine the dominion of ẏ whole Iland. But his brother Porrex was ready to receyue him with battell after he was landed, in the which battell Ferrex was ſlayne, with the more parte of his people. The Engliſh Chronicle ſayeth, that Porrex was he that fledde into France,

Ferrex fledde into Gallia.

and at his returne, was ſlayne, and that Ferrex ſuruiued. But Geffrey of Monmouth, and Policronicon are of a contrary opinion. Mathewe Weſtmonaſteri. writeth, that Porrex deuiſing wayes to kill Ferrex, atchieued his purpoſe and ſlew him. But whether of them ſo euer ſuruiued, the mother of them was ſo highly offended for the deathe of him that was ſlayne, whome ſhee moſt entierly loued, that ſetting aparte al motherly affection, ſhe found meanes to enter the chamber of him that ſuruiued, in the night ſeaſon, and as hee ſlept, ſhe with help of hir maidens ſlew him, and cut him into ſmall peeces, as the writers doe affirme. Suche was the ende of theſe two brethren after they had raigned by the ſpace of foure or fiue yeeres.

Ma. VV

The mo killeth h

After this folowed a troubleous ſeaſon, full of cruell warre, & ſeditious diſcord, whereby in the ende, and for the ſpace of fiftie yeres, the gouernemente of the Iſlande was deuided betwixt fiue Kings or rulers, till Dunwallon of Cornewall ouercame them all. Thus the line of Brute after the affirmance of moſt writers, toke an ende: for after the death of the two forſayde brethren, no rightful inheritor was left aliue to ſucceede them in the Kingdome. The names of theſe fiue Kings are found in certaine olde pedigrees: and although the ſame be muche corrupted in dyuers copies, yet theſe are the moſt agreeableſt.

Robert Gl corde.

Rudacus King of VVales.
Clotenus King of Cornewall.
Pinnor King of Loegria.
Staterus King of Albania.
Yewan King of Northumberlande.

But of theſe fiue Kings or Dukes, the Engliſh Chronicle alloweth Cloton king of Cornewale for moſt rightfull heire. There appeareth not any time certayne by report of auncient Authors, howe long this variaunce continued amongſt the Britaynes: but as ſome late writers haue geſſed, it ſhould continue for the ſpace of. 51. yeeres, coniecturing ſo much by that which is recorded in Policron: who ſayth, how it did continue euen till the beginning of the raigne of Mulmutius Dunwallo, who began to gouerne from the time that Brute firſt entred Britayne, about the ſpace of ſeuen hundred and three yeeres. Heere ye muſt note, ẏ there is difference amōgſt writers about ẏ ſupputation & accompt of theſe yeeres, in ſomuch ẏ ſome making their reckoning after certain writers, and finding ẏ ſame to vary aboue three C. yeeres, are brought into further doubt of the troth of the whole hiſtorie: but where other haue by diligent ſearch tryed out the continuance of euery gouernors raigne, and reduced the ſame to a likelyhoode of ſome conformitie, I haue thought beſt to follow the ſame, leauing the credite

Fab.

Ciuill 51 yeer

dite thereof with the firste Authours, as I haue sayd before.

Mulmutius the first crowned King of Britayne.



TO proceede therefore to the aforesayde Authors, Mulmucius Dunuallo, or as other haue Dunuallo Mulmucius, the sonne of Cloten, (as testifyeth the English chronicle,) also Geffrey of Monmouth, gote the vpper hand of ye other Dukes or rulers: And after his fathers decesse began his raigne ouer the whole Monarchie of Britayne in ye yeere of the world. 3529. after ye building of Rome. 314. and after the deliuerance of the Israelites out of captiuitie. 97. and about the. 26. yere of Darius Artaxerres Longimanus, the fifth King of the Persias. This Mulmutius Donuallo is named in the English Chronicle Donebant, and proued a right worthy Prince. He builded within ye Citie of London then called Troynouant a Temple, and named it the Temple of peace: the which (as some holde opinion,) I wote not vpon what ground, was ye same which now is called Blackwel halle, where the market for bying and selling of clothes is kept.

He also made many good lawes, the whyche were long after vsed, called Mulmutius lawes, turned out of the Brittish speech into the Latine by Gildas Priscus, and long time after trãslated out of Latine into Englishe by Alfrede Kyng of England, and mingled in his estatutes.

Moreouer, this Mulmutius gaue priuileges to Temples, to ploughes, to Cities, and to high wayes leading to the same, so that whosoeuer fled to them, should be in safegard from bodily harme, and from thence he might depart into what coũtrey he would, without indemnitie of his person. Some authors write, that hee began to make the foure great high wayes of Britayne, the whyche were finished by his sonne Belinus, as after shall be declared.

The Chronicle of Englãd affirmeth, that this Mulmutius whom ye olde booke nameth Molle, builded ye two townes Malmesbery, & the Vies.

After he had established his land, & set his Britons in good & conuenient order, he ordeyned him by ye aduice of his Lords a Crowne of golde, and caused himselfe with great solẽnitie to be Crowned, according to the custome of the Pagan lawes then in vse: and bycause he was the first that bare Crowne heere in Britayne, after the opinion of some writers, he is named the first King of Britayne, and al the other before rehearsed are named Rulers, Dukes, or Gouernors.

Amongst other of his ordinances, he appoynted weightes and measures, with the which men should buy & sell. And further he deuised sore and streight orders for the punishing of theft. Finally, after he had guided the land by the space of foure yeeres, he died, and was buried in the foresayde Temple of peace which he had erected within the citie of Troynouant nowe called London, as before ye haue heard. Appoynting in his life tyme, that his kingdome should be deuided betwixt his two sonnes, Brennus, & Belinus (as some men do coniecture.)

Polid. Weightes and measures.

Theft punished.

Fab.

Belinus and Brennus, the sonnes of Mulmutius.



BRennus and Belinus began to raigne ioyntly as Kings in Britaine, in ye yeere of the World. 3574. after the building of ye Citie of Rome. 355. and after the deliuerance of the Israelites out of captiuitie. 142. which was about ye seuenth yere of Artaxerres surnamed Mnemon, the seuẽth K. of the Persians. Belinus held vnder his gouernance Loegria, Wales, & Cornewale: and Brennus all those countreys ouer and beyonde Humber. And with this partition were they contented by the tearme of sixe or seuen yeres, after whyche tyme expired, Brennus coueting to haue more than his portiõ came to, first thought to purchase himselfe ayd in forreine parties, and therefore by the prouocation & counsel of yong vnquiet heads, sailed ouer into Norway, and there married the daughter of Elsing or Elsing, as then Duke or Ruler of that country. Belin offended with his brother, that he shoulde thus withoute his aduice marrie with a stranger, now in his absence sealed al his lands, townes and fortresses into his owne hands, placing garrisons of men of warre where he thought conuenient.

Belinus and Brennus.

3574

M.W.

Hath Polic.

Brennus not content with his portion.

Elsingius.

In the meane time, Brenne aduertized hereof, assembled a great nauie of Ships, well furnished with people and Souldiers of the Norwegians, with the whiche he toke his course homewardes, but in the way he was encountred by Guilthdacus king of Denmarke, the whiche had layen lõg in awaite for him, bycause of ye yong Lady whiche Bren had married, for whom he had bin a sutor to hir father Elsing of long time. Whẽ these two fleetes of ye Danes & Norwegiãs met, there

Guilthdacus King of Denmarke.

was a ſore battell betwixte them, but finally, the Danes ouercame them of Norway, and toke ẏ Ship wherein the new Bride was conueyed, and then was ſhe brought aboorde ẏ Ship of Guilthdachus. Brenne eſcaped by flighte as well as hee might. But when Guilthdachus had thus obtained the victory & pray, ſodaynly thervpon roſe a ſore tẽpeſt of winde & weather, which eſcattered the Daniſhe fleete, and put the King in daunger to haue bin loſt: but finally within fiue dayes after, being driuen by force of winde, he landed in Northumberland, with a fewe ſuche Shippes as kept togither with him.

A tempeſt.

Guithdachus landed in the North.

Beline being then in that countrie, prouidyng for defence againſte his brother, vpon knowledge had of the King of Denmarkes arriuall, cauſed him to be ſtayed. Shortly after, Brenne hauyng recouered and gote togither the moſt parte of hys Shippes, that were diſperſed by the diſcomfiture, and thẽ newly rigged and furniſhed of al thinges neceſſary, ſente worde to his brother Beline, both to reſtore to him his wife wrongfully rauiſhed by Guithdacus, and alſo his lands iniuriouſly by him ſeaſed into his poſſeſſion. Theſe requeſtes being playnely and ſhortly denyed, Brenne made no long delay, but ſpeedily made towards Albania, and landing with his army in a part thereof, encountred with his brother Beline neere vnto a wood named as then Calater, where after cruell fight, and mortall battell betwixt them, at lẽgth

Calãder wood is in Scotland.



the victory abode with the Britons, and the diſcomfiture light ſo on the Norwegians, that the moſt of them were ſlayne, and left dead vpon the groũd. Hereby Brenne being forced to flee, made ſhift, and gote ouer into Gallia, where after hee had ſued to this Prince and that, at lẽgth he was wel receiued of one Seguinus or Seginus Duke of the people called then Allobroges, as Galfrid of Monmoth ſaith, or rather Armorica, whyche now is called Britaine, as Policronicon, and the Engliſhe hiſtorie printed by Caxton, more truely may ſeme to affirme. But Belyne hauing got the vpper hand of his enimies, aſſembling hys counſell at Caerbranke, now called Yorke, toke aduice what he ſhould do with the King of Dẽmarke: where it was ordeyned, that he ſhould bee ſet at libertie, with condition and vnder couenãt, to acknowledge himſelfe by doing homage, to holde his lande of the King of Britaine, and to pay him a yeerely tribute. Theſe couenauntes therefore beeing agreed vnto, and hoſtages taken for aſſurance, he was ſet at libertie, and ſo returned into his countrey. The tribute that he couenãted to pay, was a thouſand pound, as ẏ Engliſh Chronicle ſaith.

Seguinus or Seginus Duke of the Allobroges, nowe the Delphinate or Sauoy.

The Danes tributarie to the Britons.

When Beline had thus expelled his brother, and was alone poſſeſſed of all the land of Britaine, he firſte confirmed the lawes made by hys father: and for ſo much as the foure wayes begun by his father were not brought to perfection, hee therefore cauſed workmen to be called forth and aſſembled, whom he ſet in hand to paue the ſayde wayes with ſtone, for the better paſſage and eaſe of all that ſhould trauell through the countreyes from place to place, as occaſiõ ſhuld require. The firſt of theſe foure wayes is named Foſſe, & ſtretcheth from the South into the North, beginning at ẏ corner of Totneſſe in Cornwaile, & ſo paſſing forth by Deuonſhire, and Somerſetſhire, by Tutbery, on Cotteſwold, & then forwarde beſide Couentrie vnto Leiceſter, & from thence by wilde playnes toward Newarke, & endeth at the Citie of Lincoln. The ſecond way was named Watling ſtreete, the which ſtretcheth ouerthwart the Foſſe, out of the Southeaſt into the Northeaſt, beginning at Douer, and paſſing by the middle of Kent ouer Thames beſide London, by Weſt of Weſtminſter as ſome haue thought, & ſo forth

The foure high wayes finiſhed.

The Foſſe.

Watlin Streete.

by

by S. Albanes, & by ẏ Weſt ſide of Dunſtable, Stratford, Toueſter, and Wedon by ſouth of Lilleborne, by Atherſton, Gilberts hill, that nowe is called the Wreken, and ſo forth by Seuerne, paſſing beſide Worceſter, vnto Stratton to the middle of Wales, and ſo vnto a place called Cardigan, at the Iriſh ſea.

The thirde waye was named Ermingſtreete, the which ſtretched out of the weſt northweſt, vnto the eaſt ſoutheaſt, and begynneth at Menenia, the which is in Saint Dauids lande in weſt Wales, and ſo vnto Southampton.

The fourth and laſt way hight Hikenelſtreete, which leadeth by Worceſter, Winchcomb, Birmingham, Lichfield, Darby, Cheſterfielde, and by Yorke, and ſo forth vnto Tinmouth.

And after he had cauſed theſe wayes to be wel and ſufficiently reyſed and made, hee confirmed vnto them all ſuche priuileges as were graunted by his father.

In this meane tyme that Belin was thus occupied about the neceſſarie affayres of his realm and kingdome, his brother Brenne that was fled into Gallia onely with. xij. perſons, becauſe hee was a goodly Gentleman, and ſeemed to vnderſtande what apperteyned to honour, grew ſhortly into fauor with Seginus the Duke afore mentioned, and declaring vnto him his aduerſitie, and the whole circumſtaunce of his miſhap, at length was ſo highly cheriſhed of the ſayde Seginus, deliting in ſuch worthie qualities as he ſaw in him dayly appearing, that he gaue to him his daughter in maryage, with condition, that if he dyed without iſſue Male, then ſhoulde he inherite his eſtate and Dukedome: and if it happened him to leaue any heyre Male behinde him, then ſhoulde he yet helpe him to recouer his lande and dominion in Brytaine, bereft frō him by his brother.

These conditions well and ſurely vppon the Dukes part by the aſſent of the Nobles of his lande concluded, ratified, and aſſured, the ſayde Duke within the ſpace of one yeare after dyed. And then after a certaine time it beeing knowne that the Duches was not with childe, all the Lords of that Countrey did homage vnto Brennus, receyuing him as their Lorde and ſupreme gouernour, vpon whome he likewiſe for his part in recompence of their curteſie, beſtowed a great portion of his treaſure.

Shortly after alſo, with their aſſent he gathered an army, and with the ſame eſtſoones came ouer into Brytayne, to make new warre vpon his brother Belyne. Of whoſe landing when Belin was informed, he aſſembled his people and made himſelfe readie to meete him, but as they were at poynt to haue ioyned battell, by the interceſſiō of their mother that came betwixt them, and demeaned hirſelfe in all motherly order, and moſte loning maner towardes them both, they fell to an agreement, and were made friendes or euer they parted aſunder.

After this they repayred to London, and there taking aduice togyther with their Peeres and Counſellors, for the good order and quieting of the lande, at lengthy they accorded to paſſe wyth both their armies into Gallia to ſubdue that whole Countrey, and ſo following this determination, they toke ſhipping and ſayled ouer into Gallia, where beginning the warre with fire and ſword, they wrought ſuch mayſteries, that within a ſhort time (as ſayth Geffrey of Monmouth) they conquered a great part of Gallia, Italy, and Germanie, and brought it to their ſubiection. In the ende they toke Rome by this occaſion (as writers report, if theſe be the ſame that had the leading of thoſe *Galli*, which in this ſeaſon did ſo much hurt in Italy and other parts of the world.

They inuade Gallia and Italie.

After they had paſſed the mountaynes, & were entred into Tuſkaine, they beſieged the Citie of Cluſium, the Citizens whereof beeing in greate daunger, ſent to Rome for ayde agaynſt theyr enimies. Whereupon the Romaines conſidering with themſelues, that although they were not in any league of ſocietie with the Cluſians, yet if they were ouercome, the daūger of the next brunt were like to be theirs: with all ſpeed they ſent ambaſſadours to intreate betwixte the parties for ſome peace to be had.

Now Chiuſi.

Ambaſſadors ſent from Rome.

They that were ſent, required the Captaynes of the Gaulles in name of the Senate and Citizens of Rome, not to moleſt the friendes of the Romaines: Whereunto anſwere was made by Brennus, that for his part he could be content to haue peace, if it were ſo that the Cluſians would be agreeable that the Gaulles might haue part of theyr Countrey, which they held being more than they did alreadie well occupie, for otherwiſe (ſayd he) there could be no peace graunted.

Brennus anſwere.

The Romaine Ambaſſadors being offended with theſe wordes, demaunded what the Gaules had to do in Tuſkain. By reaſon of which and other the like ouerthwart wordes, the parties began to kindle in diſpleaſure ſo farre, ẏ their cōmunication brake of, and ſo they from treating fell againe to trie the matter by dynt of ſworde.

The treatie of peace breaketh off.

The Romaine Ambaſſadors alſo to ſhewe of what prowes the Romaines were, contrarie to the law of Nations, ẏ forbiddeth ſuch as come in Ambaſſade about any treatie of peace, to take either one part or other, took weapon in hand & ioyned themſelues with the Cluſians, wherewith the Gaulles were ſo muche diſpleaſed, that incontinently with one voyce, they requyred to haue the ſiege rayſed from Cluſium, that they might go to Rome. But Brennus thought good firſt to ſend Meſſengers thither, to require the deliuerie of ſuch

as had broken the lawe, that punishment might be done on them accordingly as they had deserued. This was done, and knowledge brought againe, that the Ambassadors were not onely not punished, but also chosen to be Tribunes for the next yeare.

The Gaulles then became in such a rage (because they saw there was nothing to be looked for at the handes of the Romaines, but warre, ininrious wrongs, and deceytfull traynes) that they turned all their force against them, marching streight towards Rome, and by the way destroying all that stode before them. The Gaules make towards Rome.

The Romaines aduertised thereof, assembled themselues togither to the number of .xl. M. and encountring with Beline and Brenne, neare to the riuer Allia, about .xj. miles on this side Rome, were slaine and quite discomfited. The Romaines encountring with the Gaules are ouerthrowne.





The Galles could vneth beleeue that they had got the victorie with so small resistence: but whē they perceyued that the Romaines were wholy ouerthrowne, and that the field was clerely rid of them, they got togither the spoyle, and made towards Rome it selfe, where such feare and terror was stryken into the hearts of the people, that all men were in dispayre to defende the Citie: and therefore the Senate with all the warrelike youth of the Citizens got them into the Capitoll, which they furnished with vitayles and all things necessarie for the maintenance of the same against a long siege. The honourable fathers and all the multitude of other people not apt for warres, remayned still in the Citie, as it were to perish with their Countrey, if happe so befell.

The Romains in despayre withdraw into the Capitoll.

The Gaules enter into Rome.

In the meane time came the Gaulles to the Citie, and entring by the gate Collina, they passe forth the right way vnto the Market place, marueyling to see the houses of the power sort to bee shut against them, and those of the ryther to remaine wide open, wherefore being doubtfull of some deceytfull traynes, they were not ouer rashe to enter the same, but after they had espied the ancient fathers sit in theyr Chayres apparelled in theyr riche Robes, as if they had beene in the Senate, they reuerenced them as Gods, so honorable was their port, grauenesse in countnaunce, and shew of apparell.

The reuerend aspect of the Senators.

Marcus Papyrius.

In the meane time it chaunced, that Marcus Papyrius stroke one of the Gaulles on the heade with his staffe, because he presumed to stroke his beard: with whiche iniurie the Gaulle being prouoked, slue Papyrius (as he sate) with his sworde, and therewith the slaughter being begun with one, all the residue of those auncient fatherly men as they sat in theyr Chayres were slaine and cruelly murthered.

After this all the people founde in the Citie without respect or difference at al, were put to the sworde, and the houses sacked. And thus was Rome taken by the two brethren, Beline, and Brenne, 365. yeares after the first building therof. Rome sacked. 365

After this, the Gaulles attempted in the night season to haue entred the Capitoll: and in deede ordered their enterprise so secretely, that they had atchieued their purpose, if a sort of Ganders had not with their crie and noyse disclosed them, in wakening the Romaines that were asleepe: and so by that meanes were the Gaulles beaten backe and repulsed. The Capitoll defended.

The Romaines being thus put to their extreme shift, deuised among themselues howe to reuoke Furius Camillus from exile, whome not long before they had vniustly banished out of the Citie. In the ende they did not onely sende for him home, but also created him Dictator, committing into his handes (so long as his office lasted) an absolute power ouer all men, both of life and death. Camillus reuoked out of exile.

Camillus forgetful of the iniurie done to him, and mindful of his dutie towards his Countrey, and

and lamenting the ſtate thereof, without delay gathereth ſuche an armie as the preſent time permitted.

In the meane time thoſe that kept the Capitoll (being almoſt famiſhed for lacke of vitayles) compounded with Brenne and Beline, that for the ſumme of a thouſand pounde weight in gold, the Romaines ſhould redeeme theyr liberties: and the ſayd Brenne and Beline to depart with their armie out of the Citie and all the territories of Rome. But at the deliuerie of the money, and by a certaine kinde of happe, the Romaines name was preſerued at that time from ſuche diſhonour and ignominie as was likely to haue inſued. For ſome of the couetous ſort of the Gaulles, not cõtented with the iuſt weight of the golde, did caſt their ſwordes alſo into the Ballance where the weightes lay, thereby to haue ouer weight: wherupon the Romains refuſed to make payment after that weight.

And thus whileſt they were in altercation about this matter, the one importunate to haue, the other not willing to graunt, the time paſſed, till in the meane ſeaſon Camillus commeth in amongeſt them with his power, commaunding that the gold ſhould be had away, and affyrming that without conſent of the Dictator, no compoſition or agreement might bee concluded by the meaner Magiſtrate. He giueth a ſigne to the Gaulles to prepare themſelues to battaile, whereunto they lightly agreed, and togither they went. The battaile being once begon, the Gaulles that loked earſt for golde, and not for battaile, were eaſily ouercome, ſuch as ſtode to the brunt were ſlaine, and the reſt by flight conſtrayned to depart the Citie.

Polybius wryteth, that the Gaulles were turned from the ſiege of the Citie, through warres which chaunced amongeſt their owne people at home, and therefore they concluded a peace wyth the Romaines, and leauing them in libertie returned home againe.

But howſoeuer the matter paſſed, thus muche haue we ſtept from our purpoſe, to ſhewe ſomewhat of that noble and moſt famous Captayne Brennus, the which as not onely our Hyſtories, but alſo as Giouan Villani the Florentine doth report, was a Brytain, and brother to Beline (as before is mentioned) although I know that many other writers are not of that mind, affyrming him to be a Gaul, and likewiſe that after this preſent time of the taking of Rome by this Brennus 110. yeares, or there aboutes, there was another Brennus a Gaull alſo by Nation (ſay they) vnder whoſe conduct an other armie of the Gaulles inuaded Greeia, whiche Brennus had a brother that hight Belgius, although Humfrey Lhuyd, and ſir Johan Price doe flatly denie the ſame, by reaſon of ſome diſcordance in writers, and namely in the computation of the yeares ſet downe by thẽ that haue recorded the doings of thoſe times, whereof the erroꝛ is growen. Howbeit I doubt not but that the truth of this matter ſhall be more fully ſifted out in time by the learned and ſtudious of ſuch antiquities.

But now to our purpoſe. This is alſo to bee noted, ẏ where our Hiſtoriers make mention, that Beline was abrode with Brennus in the moſte part of his victories, both in Gallia, Germany, & Italy, Titus Liuius ſpeaketh but only of Brennus: wherevpon ſome write, that after the two brethren were by their mothers intreatance made friendes, Brennus onely went ouer into Gallia, and there through proufe of his worthie prowes, attayned to ſuch eſtimation amongeſt the people called *Galli Senones*, that he was choſen to be their generall Captaine at theyr going ouer the mountaynes into Italie. But whether Beline went ouer with his brother, and finally returned backe againe leauing Brennus behinde him, as ſome write, or that he went not at all, but remayned ſtill at home whileſt his brother was abrode, wee can affyrme no certaintie. *Tit. Liu. Polidor.* *Matthew*

The truth is, that the moſte part of all oure writers make report of many worthie deedes accompliſhed by Beline, in repayring of Cities decayed, and erecting of other newe buyldings, to the adorning and beautifying of his Realme and kingdome.

And amongeſt other workes which were by him erected, he buylded a Citie in the ſouth parte of Wales, neare to the place where the riuer Vſke falleth into Seuerne, faſt by Glaumorgan, which citie hight Cairlleon, or Cairllegion ar Wiſke. *Polichr. Gal. M.* *Cairlleon ar Wiske buylt by Belin.*

This Cairllegion was the principall Citie in tyme paſt of all Demetia, nowe called Southwales. Many notable monumentes are remayning there till this day, teſtifying the great magnificence and royall buyldings of that Citie in olde tyme.

There were in the ſame Citie alſo ſithe the time of Chriſt three Churches, one of Saint Julius the Martyr, an other of Saint Aron, and the third was the mother Church of all Demetia, and the chiefe Sea: but after the ſame ſea was tranſlated vnto Menenia, (that is to ſay) Saint Dauid in Weſt wales.

In this Cairlleon was Amphibulus borne that taught and inſtructed Saint Alben.

Alſo this Beline buylded an hauen, with a gate ouer the ſame, within the Citie of Troynouant, or London, in the ſummet whereof afterwards was ſet a veſſell of Braſſe, in the whiche were put the aſhes of his bodie, which bodie after his deceaſſe was burnt, as the maner of burying in thoſe dayes did require. *Fabian.*

This

Iohn Leyland. This gate was long after called Bellinus gate, and at length by corruption of language Bellings gate.

He buylded also a Castell Eastwarde from this gate (as some haue written) whiche was long tyme after likewyse called Bellyns Castell, and is the same whiche nowe wee call the Tower of London.

The tower of London built by Beline.

Thus Beline studying dayly to beautifie this lande with goodly buyldings and famous workes, at lengthy departed this lyfe, after he had raigned with his brother and alone, the space of.xxvj. yeare.

Gurguint.

Gurguint.



GUrguyntus ẏ son of Beline, began to raigne ouer the Brytayns, in the yeare of the Worlde, 1596. after the building of Rome. 380. after ẏ deliuerãce of the Israelites oute of captiuitie. 164. complete, which was aboute the. xxxiij. yeare of Artaxerxes Mnenon, surnamed Magnus, the. vij. king of the Persians.

This Gurguint, in the English Chronicle is named Cozinbyatus, and by Math. Westmon. he is surnamed Barbiruc, the which bycause the trybute graunted by Guythdag King of Denmarke in perpetuitie vnto the Kings of Brytaine was denyed, hee sayled with a mightie nauie and armie of men into Denmarke, where hee made suche warre with fyre and swoorde, that the King of Denmarke with the assent of hys Barons was constrayned to graunt estsones to continue the payment of the aforesayde trybute.

Barbiruc Ma. West. Gal. M.

Gurguint cõstrayned the Danes by force to pay their tribute.

After hee had thus atchieued hys desyre in Denmarke, as he returned back toward Brytain againe, he encountred with a Naule of.xxx. shippes beside the Iles of Orkeney.

These Shippes were fraught with men and women, and had to theyr Captayne one called Bartholoin or Partholin. The which beeyng brought to the presence of King Gurguint, declared that hee with hys people were banished oute of Spayne, and were named Balences or Basclenses, and had sayled long on the Sea, to the ende to synde some Prince that woulde assigne to them a place of habitation, vnto whom they would become subiects, and hold of him as of theyr soueraigne gouernour.

Mat. West. Gal. Mon.

Basques.

See more here of in Ireland.

Therefore hee besought the King to consider theyr estate, and of his greate benignitie, to appoynte some voyde quarter where they might inhabite.

The King with the aduice of hys Barons, graunted to them the Ile of Irelande, whiche as then (by report of some Authours) lay wast and without habitation.

But it shoulde appeare by other writers, that it was inhabyted long before those dayes, by the people called Hiberuenses, of Hiberus theyr Captayne that brought them also out of Spaine.

Polichron

After that Gurguintus was returned into hys Countrey, hee ordeyned that the lawes made by his auncestours, shoulde be duely kept and obserued.

And thus administring iustice to hys subiectes for the tearme of.xix. yeares, he finally departed this lyfe, and was buried at London, or as some haue, at Cairleon.

In hys dayes was the Towne of Cambridge with the Uniuersitie fyrst founded by Cantaber, brother to the aforesayde Bartholoin (according to some writers) as after shall appeare.

Caims.

Guintolinus.

Guintolinus



GUyntolinus, or Guintellius ẏ sonne of Gurguintus, was admitted king of Brytayne, in the yeare of the worlde. 3614 after the buylding of the citie of Rome. 399. and seconde yeare of the. 106. Olympiade.

This Guintoline was a prudent Prince, graue in counsell, and sober in behauiour. He had also a wife named Martia, a woman of passing beautie, and wisedome incomparable, as by hir prudent gouernment and equall administration of iustice after hir husbandes decease, during hir sonnes minoritie, it most manifestly appeared.

It is thought that in an happy time this Guintoline came to the gouernance of this kingdome, being shaken and brought out of order with ciuill dissentions, to the ende he might reduce it to the former estate, which he earnestly accomplished: for hauing once got the place, hee studyed with great diligence to reforme of newe, and to adorne with iustice, lawes, and good orders, the Brytish common wealth, by other Kings not so framed as stoode with the quietnesse thereof. But afore all things hee vtterly removed and appeased suche ciuyll discorde, as seemed yet

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to remaine after the maner of a remnant of thoſe ſeditious factions and partakings, which had ſo long time raigned in this lande. But as he was buſie in hande herewith, death toke him out of this life, after he had raigned. xxbij. yeares, and then was he buried at London.

Sicilius.



SIcilius the ſonne of Guintoline, being not paſt ſeuen yeres of age when his father dyed, was admitted king, in the yeare. 3650. after the buylding of Rome. 430. and after the deliuerance of the Iſraelites out of captiuitie. 218. and in the firſt after the death of Alexander.

By reaſon that Sicilius was not of age ſufficient of himſelfe to guide the kingdome of the Bzytaynes, his mother that worthie Ladie called Martia, had the gouernance both of his realm and perſon committed to hir charge.

She was a woman expert and ſkilful in diuerſe ſciences, but chiefely beeing admitted to the gouernance of the realme, ſhe ſtudied to preſerue the common wealth in good quiet and wholſome order, and therefore deuiſed & eſtabliſhed profitable & conueniente lawes the which after were called Martian lawes, of hir name that fyrſt made them.

Theſe lawes, as thoſe that were thought good and neceſſarie for the preſeruation of the common wealth, Alfred, or Alured, that was long after king of England, tranſlated alſo out of the Bzytiſhe tongue, into the Engliſh Saxon ſpeeche, and then were they called after that tranſlation Marchenelaghe, that is to meane, the lawes of Martia.

To conclude, this worthie woman guided the lande during the minozitie of hir ſonne right politiquely, and highly to hir perpetuall renowme and commendation. And when hir ſonne came to lawfull age, ſhe deliuered vp the gouernaunce into his handes.

How long he raigned wryters varie, ſome auouche but ſeuen yeares, though other affyrme xb. whiche agreeth not ſo well with the accozde of other Hyſtozies and tymes. He was buried at London.

Kimarus.

KImarus the ſonne of Sicilius, began to raign ouer the Bzytaynes, in the yeare of the worlde 3657. and after the buylding of Rome. 442. and in the firſt yeare of the. 117. Olympiade.

This Kimarus being a wild yong man, and giuen to follow his luſtes and pleaſure, was ſlain by ſome that were his enimies, as he was abzode in hunting, when hee had raigned ſcarcely three yeares.

Elanius.



ELanius ỹ ſon of Kimarus, or as other haue, his brother, began to rule the Bzytaines in the yere after the creation of ỹ worlde. 3661. after the building of Rome. 445. after the deliuerance of the Iſraelites. 229. and in the fourth yere of the Seleuciens, after which account the bookes of Machabees doe recken, which beganne in the xiiij. after the death of Alexander. *Elanius* *Mat. VVeſt.*

This Elanius in the Engliſhe Chronicle is named alſo Haran, by *Mat. VVeſtm.* Danius, and by an olde Chronicle which Fabian muche followed, Elanius: and Kimarus ſhoulde ſeeme to be one perſon: but other holde the contrarie, and ſay that he raigned fully. biij. yeares.

Morinde.



MOrindus the Baſtard ſonne of Elanius, was admitted king of Bzytayne, in the yeare of the worlde 3667. after the buylding of Rome. 451. after the deliueraunce of the Iſraelites. 236. and in the tenth yeare of Caſſander K. of Macedonia, which hauing diſpatched Olympias the mother of Alexander the great, and gotten Roxanes with Alexanders ſonne into his handes, vſurped the kingdome of the Macedonians, and helde it. xb. yeares. *Morind.*

This Morindus in the Engliſhe Chronicle is called Morwith, and was a man of worthie fame in chiualrie and Martial doings, but ſo cruell withall, that his vnmercifull nature could vneth be ſatisfied with the torments of them that had offended him, although oftentymes with his own handes he cruelly put them to torture and execution. He was alſo beautifull and comely of perſonage, liberall and bountrous, and of a merueilous ſtrength.

In his dayes, a certaine king of the people called Moziani, with a great army landed in Mozthumberlande, and beganne to make cruell warre vpon the inhabitantes. But Morind aduertiſed hereof, aſſembled his Bzytaines, came againſt the enimies, and in battaile put them to flight, and chaſing them to theyr ſhippes, toke a great number *G. Mon.*

ber of them priſoners, whom to the ſatiſfying of his cruell nature he cauſed to be ſlaine euen in his preſence. Some of them were headed, ſome ſtrangled, ſome panched, and ſome he cauſed to be ſlain quicke.

The like may be thought of thoſe Murreys or Moraians of whom. H. B. ſpeaketh. *Fabian.*

Theſe people who Gal. Mon. nameth Morriani, I take to bee eyther thoſe that inhabited about Terrouane and Calice called Morini, or ſome other people of the Gaulles or Germaines, and not as ſome eſteeme them, Moraianes, or Merhenners, whiche were not knowne to the world (as Humfrey Lhuid hath verie well noted) tyll about the dayes of the Emperour Mauritius, which miſcõſtruction of names hath brought the Britiſhe Hyſtorie further out of credite than reaſon requyreth, if the circumſtaunces be duely conſidered.

But now to ende with Morindus. At length this bloudie Prince heard of a Monſter that was come a lande out of the Iriſh ſea, with the which when he woulde needes fight, he was of the ſame deuoured, after he had raigned the terme of. viij. yeares, leauing behinde him fiue ſonnes, Gorbomannus, Archigallo, Elidurus, Vigenius, or Nigenius, and Peredurus.

Gorbonian.

Gorbomen, or Gorbonian.



Gorbonianus ỳ firſt ſonne of Morindus, ſucceeded hys father in the Kingdome of Britayne, in the yeare of the world. 3676. after the buylding of Rome. 46. and fourth yeare of the. 121. Olympiade.

A righteous and religious Prince.

This Gorbonianus in the Engliſhe Chronicle is named Granbodian, and was a righteous Prince in his gouernment, and very deuout (according to ſuch deuotion as he had) towardes the aduaunceing of the religion of his Gods: and therupon he repayred all the olde Temples throughe his kingdome, and erected ſome of newe.

He buylded alſo the townes of Cambridge, and Grantham (as Carton writeth) and was beloued both of the rich and poore, for he honored the rich, and relieued the poore in time of their neceſſities.

In his time alſo was more plentie of al things neceſſarie for the wealthfull ſtate of man, than had beene before in any of his predeceſſors dayes.

He dyed without iſſue, after hee had raigned (by the accorde of moſt writers) about the terme of ten yeares.

There be that write, that this Gorbonian built the townes of Cairgrant, now called Cãbridge, and alſo Grantham, but ſome thinke that thoſe which haue ſo written are deceyued, in miſtaking the name, for that Cãbridge was at the firſt called Granta: and by that meanes it might bee that Gorbonian built onely Grantham, and not Cãbrige, namely, bicauſe other write how that Cãbridge (as before is ſaid) was built in the dayes of Gurgũtius the ſonne of Beline, by one Cantaber a Spaniard, brother to Partholoin, which Partholoin by the aduice of the ſame Gurgũtius, got ſeates for himſelfe and his companie in Ireland, (as before ye haue heard.) Cambridge by whom was built.

The ſayd Cantaber alſo obteyning licence of Gurguntius, buylded a town vpon the ſide of the ryuer called Canta, which he cloſed with walles, and fortified with a ſtrong tower or Caſtell, and after procuring Philoſophers to come hither from Athens (where in his youth he had bene a ſtudent) he placed them there, and ſo euen then was that place furniſhed (as they ſay) with learned men, and ſuch as were redie to inſtruct others in knowledge of letters & Philoſophicall doctrine. But by whõ or in what time ſoeuer it was built, certaine it is that there was a Citie or towne walled in that place before the cõming of the Saxons, called by the Britaynes Cairgraunt, and by the Saxons Grantcheſter.

This towne fell ſo in ruyne by the inuaſion of the Saxons, that at length it was in maner left deſolate, and at this day remayneth as a village. But neare thereunto vnder the Saxon kings, an other towne was buylt, now called Cambridge, where by the fauor of K. Sigebert & Felix a Burgunian, that was Biſhop of Dunwich, a ſchole was erected, as in place cõuenient it ſhal appeare.

Archigallo.

Archigallo



Archigallo, the ſeconde ſonne of Morindus, & brother vnto Gorbonianus, was admitted King of Britayn, in the yeare. 3686. after the buylding of the citie of Rome. 470. after the deliuerance of the Iſraelites out of captiuitie. 355. and in the firſt yeare of Soſthenes king of Macedonia.

He is giuen nouriſhed ſention.

This Archigallo (in the Engliſh Chronicle called Artogaill,) followed not the ſteppes of hys brother, but giuing himſelfe to diſſention & ſtrife, ymagined cauſes againſt his Nobles, that hee might diſplace them, & ſet ſuch in their rowmthes as were men of baſe byrth and of euill cõditions.

Alſo

Alſo he ſought by vnlawfull meanes to bereaue his wealthie ſubiects of their goods and riches, ſo to enrich himſelfe and impouerith his people. For the which his inordinate doings, his Nobles conſpired againſt him, and finally depriued him of all his honor & kingly dignitie, after he had raigned about the ſpace of one yeare.

Elidure.



ELidurus ỹ third ſonne of Morindus, & brother to Archigallo, was by one aſſente of the Brytaynes choſen to raigne ouer them in hys brothers ſtead, after the creation of the worlde. 3687. and after the buylding of the Citie of Rome. 471. after the deliuerance of the Iſraelites, and in the firſt yeare of Oſthenes king of Macedonia.

This Elidurus in the Engliſh Chronicle named Hilder, or Elodor, proued a moſt righteous Prince, and doubting leaſt he ſhould do otherwiſe than became him, if hee did not take care for his brother Archigallos eſtate. A man might wonder what diligence he ſhewed in trauelyng with the Nobles of the Realme to haue his brother reſtored to the Crowne againe.

And as it chaunced one day (being abrode on hunting in the Wood called Calater) neare vnto Yorke, he found his brother Archigallo wandring there in the thickeſt of that wildernelſe, whom in moſt louing maner he ſecretly conueyed home to his houſe, being as then in the Citie of Aloud, otherwiſe called Acliud.

Shortly after he feyned himſelfe ſicke, and in al haſt ſent Meſſengers about to aſſemble his barons, who being come at the day appoynted, hee called them one after another into his priuie chãber, & there hãdled thẽ in ſuch effectuous ſort with wiſe and diſcrete wordes, that hee got their good willes to further him to their powers for the reducing of the kingdome eftſoones into the handes of his brother Archigallo.

And after this he aſſembled a counſel at Yorke, where he ſo vſed the matter with the commons, that in concluſion, when the ſayd Elidurus had gouerned the land well and honourably the ſpace of three yeres, he reſigned wholy his Crowne and kingly title vnto his ſaid brother Archigallo, who was receyued of the Brytaynes againe as King, by mediation of his brother in maner as afore is ſayde. A rare example of brotherly loue, if a man ſhall reuolue in his mind what an inordinate deſire remayneth amongeſt mortall men to atteyne to the ſupreme ſouraintie of ruling, and to keepe the ſame when they once haue it in poſſeſſion. For this greate good will and brotherly loue by hym ſhewed thus towards his brother, he was ſurnamed the godly or vertuous.

Archigallo againe.

WHen Archigallo was thus reſtored to the kingdome, and hauing learned by due correction that he muſt turne the leafe, and take out a new leſſon, by chãging his former trade of liuing into better, if he would raigne in ſurtie: he became a new man, bring himſelfe vprightly in the adminiſtration of iuſtice, & behauing himſelfe ſo worthily in all his doings, both towards the Nobles and commons of his realme, that he was both beloued and dread of all his ſubiects. And ſo continuing the whole terme of his life, finally departed this worlde now after he had raigned this ſecond time the ſpace of tenne yeares, and was buryed at Yorke.

Elidure againe.

ELidurus brother to this Archigallo, was then *Mat. VVeſt.*
again admitted king by conſent of al the Britaynes. 3700. of the worlde. But his two yonger brethren, Vigenius and Peredurus, enuying the happie ſtate of this worthie Prince, ſo highly for his vertue and good gouernaunce eſteemed of the Brytaynes, of a grounded malice conſpired againſt him, and aſſembling an armie, leuied war againſt him, and in a pight field toke him priſoner, and put him in the Tower of London, there to be kept ſafely as a priſoner, after he had raigned now this laſt time the ſpace of one yeare.

Brother againſt brother.

Elidure committed to priſon.

Vigenius and Peredurus.



VIgenius & Peridurus, *Vigenius and Peredurus.* ỹ yõgeſt ſonns of Morindus, and brethren to Elidurus, beganne to raign iointly as kings of Brytayne, in the yeare of the worlde. 3701. after the buylding of Rome. 485. after the deliuerance of the Iſraelites. 266. complete, and in the xij. yere of Antigonus Gonatas, the ſonne of Demetrius king of the Macedonians.

These two brethren in the Engliſh Chronicle are named Higanius, and Petitur, the which (as teſtifieth, Gal. Mon.) deuided the realme betwixt them, ſo that all the lande from Humber weſtward, fell to Vigenius, or Higanius, the other part beyõd Hũber northward Peridure held. But other affirm, ỹ Peredurus only raigned & held his brother Elidurus in priſon by his owne conſent, forſomuch as he was not willing to gouerne.

Brytayne deuided into two realmes.

But

But Gal. Mon. sayth, that Vigenius dyed after he had raigned .vij. yeares, and then Peridurus sealed all the land into his owne rule, and gouerned it with such sobrietie and wisedome, that he was praysed aboue all his brethren, so that Elidurus was quite forgotten of the Brytaynes. But other write, that he was a verie tyrant, and bled himselfe right cruelly towardes the Lordes of his lande, wherevpon they rebelled and slue him. But whether by violent hand, or by naturall sickneſſe, he finally departed this life, after the consent of most writers, when hee had raigned viij. yeares, leauing no issue behinde him to succeede in the gouernaunce of the kingdome. Hee buylded the towne of Pykering, where his bodie was buried.

Varietie in wryters.

Caxton. Eth. Bur.

Elidurus the thirde time.

ELidurus then as sone as his brother Peridurus was dead, for as muche as hee was nexte heyre to the crowne, was deliuered out of prysen, and now the thirde tyme admitted king of Brytayne, who bled himselfe (as before) very orderly in ministring to all persons right and iustice all the dayes of his life, and lastly beeing growne to great age dyed, when he had raigned nowe thys thirde tyme, (after most concordance of writers) the tearme of foure yeares: and was buryed at Carleill.

He is buried at Carleil.

HEre is to be noted, that euen from the beginning of the Brytish kings, whiche raigned here in this lande, there is great diuersitie amongst writers, both touching the names, and also the tymes of theyr raignes, specially till they come to the death of the last mentioned king Elidurus. Insomuch that Polydor Vergile in his Hystorie of England, finding a manifest error (as he taketh it) in those writers whom he followeth touching the account, from the comming of Brute, vnto the sacking of Rome by Brennus, whome our hystories affyrme to be the brother of Beline, that to fill vp the number whiche is wanting in the reckening of the yeares of those Kings which raigned after Brute, tyll the dayes of the same Brenne and Beline, he thought good to chaunge the order, least one error should follow an other, and so of one error making many, he hath placed those kings whiche after other writers shoulde seeme to followe Brenne and Beline, betwixte Dunuallo and Mulmutius, father to the sayde Beline and Brenne, and those fiue kings whiche strouе for the gouernment after the decease of the two brethren, Ferrex, and Porrex, putting Guintoline to succeede after the fiue kings or rulers, and after Guintoline his wife Martia during the minoritie of hir sonne, then hir sayde sonne named Sicilius. After him these whose names follow in order, Chintarius, Danius, Mozuidius, Coybonianus, Archigallo, who beeing deposed, Elidurus was made king, and so continued till he restored the gouernment (as ye haue heard) to Archigallo againe, and after his death Elidurus was eftsones admitted, and within a while againe deposed by Vigenius & Peridurus, & after theyr decеasses, the thirde time restored. Then after his decease, followed successiuely Reginus, Morganus, Ennanus, Idouallo, Rimo, Gerruntius, Catellus, Coillus, Porrex the second of that name, Cherinus, Fulgetius, Eldalus, Androgeus, Urianus, and Eliud, after whom should follow Dunallo Molmutius, as in his proper place, if the order of things done, and the course of tyme should be obserued, as Polidore gathereth by the account of yeares attributed to those kings that raigned before and after Dunuallo, according to those Authours whom (as I sayde) he followeth, if they will that Brennus which led the Gaules to Rome, be the same that was sonne to the sayd Dunuallo Molmutius, and brother to Beline.

Polidor.

But sithe other haue in better order brought out a perfite agreement in the account of yeares and succession of those kings, which raigned and gouerned here in this lande before the sacking of Rome, and also another suche as it is after the same, and before the Romaines had anye perfite knowledge thereof, we haue thought good to follow them therein, leauing to euery man his libertie to iudge as his knowledge shall serue him in a thing so doubtfull and vncertaine, by reason of variaunce amongest the auncient writers in that behalfe.

The diuersitie of wryters in the account of yeares.

And euen as there is great difference in writers since Gurguntius, till the death of Elidurus, so is there as great or rather greater after his decease, specially till king Lud attayned the kingdome. But as may be gathered by that whiche Fabian and other whom he followeth doe write, there passed aboue .185. yeares, betwixt the laste yere of Elidurus, and the beginning of king Lud his raigne, in the which time there raigned .xxxij. or .xxxiij. kings, as some writers haue mẽtioned, whose names (as Gal. Mon. hath recorded) are these: Regny the sonne of Gorbolyan or Gorbonian, a worthie Prince, both iustly and mercifully gouerned his people. Then Margan the sonne of Archigallo a noble Prince likewise, and guiding his subiects in good quiet. Emerian brother to the same Margan, but farre vnlike to him in maners, so that he was deposed in the first yere of his raigne. Pdwallo sonne to Vigenius. Rimo the sonne of Peridurus. Gerruntius the sonne of Elidurus. Then Catell that was buried at Winchester. Coill that was buried at Notingham. Porrex a vertuous and most gentle prince. Cherinus a Drunkerd. Then Fulginius, Eldad, and Androgius: these three were sonnes to Cherinus, and raigned successiuely one after another.

Fabian

After

After them a ſonne of Androgeus. Then Eliud, Dedaicus, Clotinius, Gurguntius, Merianus, Bledius, Cop, Owen, Sicilius, Blegabredus an excellēt Muſitiā. After him his brother Archemail. Then Eldol, Red, Rodieck, Samuil, Peniſel, Pir, Capoir. And after him his ſon Eligweill an vpright dealing prince, & a good iuſticiarie. After whō ſucceeded his ſonne Hely, which raigned. lx. yeres, as the forſaid Gal. Mon. writeth, where other affyrme that he raigned. xl. yeares, & ſome againe ſay that he raigned but. vij. moneths.

Such diuerſitie is there in writers touching the raignes of theſe kings, and not only for the nūber of yeres which they ſhuld cōtinue in their raignes but alſo in their names: ſo that to ſhew the diuerſitie of all the writers, were but to ſmall purpoſe, ſith the doings of the ſame kings were not great by report made thereof by any approued author. But this maye ſuffice to aduertiſe you, that by conferring the yeres attributed to the other kings which raigned before them ſith the comming of Brute, who ſhoulde enter this lande (as by the beſt writers it is gathered) about the yeare before the building of Rome, 367. which was in the yere after the creation of the world. 2850. (as is ſayde) with their time there remaineth. 182. yeares to bee dealt amongſt theſe. xj. xiij. kings, which raigned betwixt the ſaid Elidure and Lud, which Lud alſo began his raigne after the building of the citie of Rome (as writers affyrme) about. 679. yeres, & in ẏ yere of the world 3895. as William Harriſō hath ſet it downe in the exquiſite Chronologie whiche he hath gathered frō the creation of Adam, wherin he ſheweth a large diſcourſe of moſte things worthy remembrance, don ſince the world began, as may appeare hereafter, if euer it come to light, and the hugenes therof & coſt to be beſtowed therupon, do not hinder the printing of the ſame.

Polidore Vergil changing (as I haue ſhewed) the order of ſucceſſion in the Britiſhe Kings, in bringing diuerſe of thoſe kings which after other writers followed Beline and Brenne, to preceed them ſo ſucceſſiuely after Beline & Brenne, he reherſeth thoſe that by his cōiecture did by likelihood ſucceed, as thus. After the deceaſſe of Beline, his ſon Gurguntius, being the ſecond of that name ſucceeded in gouernment of the land, & then theſe in order as they followe: Merianus, Bladanus, Capeus, Dolnus, Silius, Bledgabredus, Archemalus, Eldolus, Rodianus, Redargius, Samulius, Peniſellus, Pyrrhus, Capozus, Dinellus, & Hely, who had iſſue, Lud, Caſſibellane, & Meurius. But to leaue the diuerſitie of writers to the iudgement of the readers in ſuch vncertaynties where an vndoubted truth may hardly be auouched, & more hardly approued, we wil not further ſtand vpon theſe doubts, but proceed with the hyſtorie. Mary this is not to be forgotte, ẏ of ẏ forſaid Hely ẏ laſt of the ſaid. xxriij. kings, the Ile of Ely toke the name, becauſe that he moſt cōmonly did there inhabite, building in the ſame a goodly palace, & making great reparations of the ſluyſes, ditches & cawſies about that Ile, for cōueiance away of the water, ẏ els would ſore haue endomaged the countrey. There be that haue mainteined that this Ile ſhould rather take name of the great abundance of Eeles that are found in thoſe waters and fennes wherwith this Ile is enuironed. But Humfrey Lhuid holdeth, that it toke name of this Britiſh worde *Helig*, whiche ſignifieth Willowes, wherewith thoſe fennes abound.

Lud.



Lud.

After ẏ deceaſe of the ſame Hely, his eldeſt ſon Lud begā his raign, in the yeare after the creation of the worlde 3895. after the buylding of the Citie of Rome 679. before the comming of Chriſt. 72. and before the Romaines entred Britaine. xix. yeares.

This Lud proued a right worthie prince, amending the lawes of the realme that were defectiue, aboliſhing euill cuſtomes and maners vſed amongſt his people, and repairing old Cities and townes which were decayed: but ſpecially he delyted moſt to beautifie & enlarge with buildings the Citie of Troynouant, which he cōpaſſed with a ſtrong wall made of lime and ſtone, in the beſt maner fortified with diuerſe fayre towers: and in the weſt part of the ſame wall he erected a ſtrong gate, which he commaunded to be cleped after his name, Luds gate, and ſo vnto this day it is called Ludgate, the, s, only drowned in ẏ pronunciatiō of the word. In the ſame citie alſo he ſoiorned for the more part, by reaſon whereof the inhabitants encreaſed and many habitations were buylded to receyue them, & he himſelfe cauſed buildings to be made betwixt London ſtone & Ludgate, & buylded for himſelf not farre from the ſayd gate a faire palace, which is the Biſh. of Londons palace, beſide Paules, at this day (as ſome think) yet Harriſ. ſuppoſeth it to haue bin Bainards caſtel, wher the black friers now ſtandeth. He alſo builded a faire Temple nere to his ſaid palace, which temple (as ſome take it) was after turned to a church, and at this day cleped Paules. By reaſon that K. Lud ſo much eſteemed ẏ citie before al other of his realme, enlarging it ſo greatly as he did, and cōtinually in maner remained there, the name was chāged, ſo ẏ it was called Cairlud, ẏ is to ſay, Luds towne: & after by corruptiō of ſpeech it was named Lōdon.

A worthie prince.

London enclоſed with a wall.

Iohn. Hard.

Fabian.
Gal. Mon.
Mat. VVeſt.

The Biſhops palace.

The name of Troynouant chaunged and called London.

Beside the princely doings of this Lud touching the aduancement of the cõmon wealth by studies apertayning to the time of peace, hee was also strong and valiant in armes, in subduing his enimies. He was also bounteous and liberall both in giftes and in keeping a plentifull house, so that he was greatly beloued of all the Brytaynes. Finally, when he had thus raigned with great honor for the space of .xj. yeres, he died, and was buried nere Ludgate, leauing after him two sonnes, Androgeus and Theomancius or Tenancius.

Cassibellane.

Cassibellaen.



3908

CAssibellane the brother of Lud was admitted king of Brytaine, in the yeare of the worlde, 3908. after the buylding of Rome, 691. & before the comming of Christ. 58. complete. For sith the two sonnes of Lud were not of age able to gouerne, the rule of the land was committed to Cassibellane: but yet (as some haue written) he was not created king, but rather appointed ruler and protector of the land, during the nonage of his nephewes.

Gal. Mon. Mat. West. Fabian.

Gal. Mon.

Now after he was admitted (by whatsoeuer order) to the administration of the cõmon welth, he became so noble a prince and so bounteous, that his name spred far & nere, and by his vpright dealing in seeing iustice executed he grew in such estimation, that the Brytayns made small accoũt of his nephews, in comparison of the fauour whiche they bare towards him. But Cassibellane hauing respect to his honor, least it might be thought that his nephewes were expulsed by him out of their rightfull possessions, brought them vp very honorably, assigning to Androgeus, London & Kent, and to Theomantius the country of Cornewale.

Mat. West.

And thus farre out of the Britishe hystories, by the which it may be gathered, that the yeares assigned to these kings that raigned before Cassibelane, amount to the summe of. 1058. But whether these gouernors (whose names we haue recited) were kings or rather rulers of the cõmon wealth, either else tyrants & vsurpers of the gouernment by force, it is vncertain: for not one ancient writer of any approued authoritie maketh any remembrance of the, & by that which Iulius Cesar writeth, it may & doth appere, that diuerse cities in his dayes were gouerned of their selues, as hereafter it shall more plainly appeare. Neither doth he make mention of those townes which the Britishe hystorie affirmeth to be built by the same kings.

Polidor.

In deede both hee and other latine writers speake of diuerse people that inhabited diuers portions of this land, as of the Brigantes, Trinobantes, Iceni, Silures, and such other like, but in what selfe partes most of the sayde people did certenly inhabit, it is hard to auouch a certain truth.

But what John Leyland thinketh hereof, being one in our time that curiously serched out old antiquities, you shall after heare as occasion serueth: and likewise the opinions of other, as of Hector Boetius, who couting to haue all such valiaunt actes as were atchieued by the Brytains to be ascribed to his countrymẽ the Scots, draweth both the Silures, & Brigantes with other of the Britains so farre norward, that he maketh them inhabitãts of the Scottish countries. And what particular names soeuer they had, yet were they all Scots with him, & knowne by that generall name (as he would perswade vs to beleue,) saying that they entred into Britain out of Ireland. xx. yeres before the incarnation of our sauiour. But how generall soeuer the name of Scots then was, sure it is, that no speciall mention of thẽ is made by any writer, till about. 300. yeares after the birth of our sauiour. And yet the Romains which ruled this land, & had so much ado with the people therof, make mention of diuers other people, nothing so famous as Boetius would make his Scottish men cũ then to be. But to leaue to the Scots the antiquitie of their briginal beginning, as they and other must doe vnto vs our discent from Brute & the other Troians, sith ỳ contrary doth not plainly appeare, vnlesse we shal lean vnto presũptions: now are we come to the time in the which what actes were atchieued, there remaineth more certaine record, and therfore may we the more boldly proceede in this our hystorie.

Hector & his fault.

More from hence forth ar reth in hystorie.

Iulius

In this season ỳ Cassibellane had the supreme gouernmẽt here in Britain. Caius Julius Cesar being appointed by the Senate of Rome to conquer Gallia, was for ỳ purpose created Consull, & sent with a mightie army into ỳ country, where after he had brought the Galles vnto some staye, he determined to assay ỳ winning of Britain, the which as yet the Romains knew not otherwyse thã by report. The chiefest cause that moued him to take in hand that enterprise was, for that he did vnderstande, that there dayly came great succors out of that Ile to those Gaules that were enimies vnto the Romains. And although the season of ỳ yere to make warre was farspent (for sommer was almost at an end) yet he thought it would be to good purpose, if he might but passe ouer thither, & learne what maner of people dwelt inhabited there, and discouer the places, hauens & entries apperteyning to that Ile. Herevpon calling togither such Marchauntes as he knewe to haue had traffique thyther with some trade of Marchandize, he diligently enquyred of them the state of the Ile:

Caesar lo Gal.

Brytayns knowne Roma

Caesar Gal. lib.

Causes warre.

Caesar pose.

but

but he could not be throughly ſatiſfied in anye of thoſe things that he coueted to know. Therefore thinking it good to vnderſtand all things by view that might appertaine to the vſe of that warre which he purpoſed to follow: before he attempted the ſame, he ſent one Caius Voluſenus with a galley or light Pineſſe to ſurney the coaſtes of the Ile, commaũding him after diligent ſearch made to returne with ſpeede to him againe. He himſelf alſo draweth downwardes towards Bullenoys, from whẽce the ſhorteſt cut lieth to paſſe ouer into Brytaine,

In which part of Gallia there was in thoſe days an hauen called *Itium Portus*, (which ſome take to be Calice) & ſo the word importeth, an harbourgh as then able to receiue a great nũber of ſhips. Vnto this hauen therefore Ceſar cauſed all the ſhips he coulde get out of the next borders and parties, and thoſe ſpecially whiche hee had prouided and put in a readineſſe the laſt yeare, for the warres (againſt them of Vannes in Armorica, now called Brytayne in Fraunce) to be brought thither, there to lie till they ſhould heare further.

In the meane time (his indeuor being knowne, and by Merchants reported in Brytain) all thoſe that were able to beare armor were commaunded and appoynted to repayre to the ſea ſide, that they might be readie to defend their countrey in time of ſo great daunger of inuaſion. Ceſar in his Commentaries agreeth not with our hyſtoriographers: for he writeth that immediatly vpon knowledge had that he woulde inuade Brytaine, there came to him Ambaſſadors frõ diuerſe cities of the Ile to offer themſelues to be ſubiects to the Romains, and to deliuer hoſtages. Whõ after he had exhorted to continue in their good minde, he ſent thẽ home again, & with thẽ one Comius, gouernor of Artois, cõmaunding him to repair vnto as many cities in Brytayn as he might, & to exhort thẽ to ſubmit themſelues to the Romains. He maketh no mention of Caſſibellane till the ſecond iourney ẏ he made into the Ile, at what time the ſaid Caſſibelan was choſen (as ye ſhal heare) to be the generall captain of the Britayns, & to haue the whole adminiſtratiõ of the warr for defence of the cõtry. But he nameth him not to be a king, how be it in the Britiſh hyſtorie it is conteyned, that Ceſar required tribute of Caſſibelan, & that he anſwered howe he had not learned as yet to liue in ſeruage, but to defend the libertie of his country, & that with weapõ in hand (if need were) as he ſhuld wel perceiue, if (blinded through couetouſneſſe) he ſhould aduenture to ſeke to diſquiet the Britains.

Thus here aſwel as in other places, there is diuerſitie in authors: & to the end you ſhould not be ignorant therof, we haue thought good now and then to touch the ſame, that you may in reading take the more pleaſure, when ye ſhal marke ſome things worthie of credite, and ſomethings again ſo vnlikelyas may rather ſeme to moue laughter, than to paſſe for matter worthie of credite.

Voluſenus returneth.

But to the purpoſe. Caius Voluſenus within fiue days after his departure from Ceſar, returned again vnto him with his galley, & declared what he had ſeene touching the view which he had taken of the coaſtes of Brytaine.

Cæſar with two legions of ſouldiers paſſeth ouer into Brytayne.

Ceſar then hauing got togither ſo many ſayle as hee thought ſufficient for the tranſporting of two legions of ſouldiers, after he had ordred his buſineſſe as he thought expedient, and gotten a conuenient winde for his purpoſe, he embarqued himſelfe and his people, and departed from Calice in the night about the thirde watch (which is about three or foure of the clocke after midnight) giuing order that the horſemen ſhould take ſhip at an other place. viij. myles aboue Calis, and follow him. But when they ſomewhat ſlacked the time, about tenne of the clocke the next day, hauing the winde at will, he touched on the coaſt of Brytayne, where he might beholde all the ſhore ſet and couered with men of warre. For the Brytaynes hearing that Ceſar ment verye ſhortly to come againſt them, were aſſembled in armour to reſiſt him: and now being aduertiſed of his approche to the lande, they prepared themſelues to withſtande him. Ceſar perceyuing this, determined to ſtay till the other ſhips were come, and ſo he lay at ancre till about. xj. of the clocke, and then calleth a counſell of the Marſhals and chiefe captaines, vnto whome he declared both what he had learned of Voluſenus, and alſo further what he would haue done, willing them that all things might be ordred as the reaſon of warre requyred. And bycauſe he perceyued that this place where he firſt caſt ancre, was not meete for the landing of his people, bith (from the height of the cliffes that cloſed on eche ſide the narrow creek into the which he had thruſt) the Brytaynes might annoy hys people with their bowes and darts, before they could ſet foote on land, hauing now the wind and tyde with him, he diſanked from thence, & drewe alongeſt the coaſt vnder the downes, the ſpace of bij. or. biij. myles: and there finding the ſhore more flat and plaine, he approched neare to the land, determining to come to the ſhore.

The Brytaines ready to defend their countrey.

Cæſar calleth a counſell.

This was about Dale.

The Brytaynes perceyuing Ceſars intent, with all ſpeede cauſed their horſmen and charets or wagons which Ceſar calleth *Eſſede* (out of the which in thoſe dayes they vſed to fight) to marche forth toward the place whither they ſaw ẏ Ceſar drew, and after followed with their maine army. Wherefore Ceſar being thus preuented, enforced yet to lande wyth hys people, although hee ſawe that hee ſhoulde haue muche a doe: for as the Brytaynes were in readyneſſe to reſyſte hym: ſo hys greate and huge Shyppes couldе

not come neare the ſhoꝛe, but were foꝛced to keepe the deepe, ſo that the Romaine Souldiers were put to a verie hard ſhift, foꝛ they muſt both leape foꝛth of their ſhippes, and peſtred with their heauy armour and weapons fight in the water wyth their enimies, who knowing the flats and ſhelues ſtood either vpõ the dꝛie ground, oꝛ elſe but a little way in the ſhallow places of the water, and being not otherwiſe encombꝛed either with armour oꝛ weapon, but ſo as they might beſtir thẽſelues at wil, they layd load vpon the Romains with their arrowes and dartes, and foꝛced their hoꝛſes (be-

The Romains put to their ſhiftes.



ing thereto enꝛyed to enter the water the moꝛe eaſily, ſo to annoy and diſtreſſe the Romaines, who wanting experience in ſuche kinde of fight, were not wel able to helpe themſelues, noꝛ to kepe oꝛder as they vſed to doe on lande: wherefoꝛe they fought nothing ſo luſtily as they were wont to doe, which Ceaſar perceyuing, commaunded the Gallyes to depart from the great ſhippes, and to rowe harde to the ſhoꝛe, that being placed ouer agaynſt the open ſydes of the Bꝛytaynes, they might with theyꝛ ſhotte of Arrowes, Darts, and Slings, remoue the Bꝛytaynes, and cauſe them to withdꝛaw further off from the water ſide.

The Brytaynes aſtonied.

This thing being put in execution (accoꝛding to his commaundement, the Bꝛytaynes were not a little aſtonyed at the ſtraunge ſight of thoſe Gallies, foꝛ that they were dꝛyuen with Oares, which earſt they had not ſeene, and ſhꝛewdly were they galled alſo with the artillerie which the Romaines diſcharged vpon them, ſo that they began to ſhꝛinke and retyꝛe ſomewhat backe. Herewith one that bare the enſigne of the legion ſurnamed Decima, wherin the Eagle was figured, as in that which was the chiefe enſigne of the legion, when he ſawe his fellowes nothing eagre to make foꝛward, firſt beſeeching the goddes that his enterpꝛiſe might turne to the weale, pꝛofite, and honour of the legion, he ſpake with a lowd voyce theſe woꝛdes to his felowes that were about him: Leape foꝛth now you woꝛthie ſouldiers (ſayth he) if you wil not betray your enſigne to the enimies. Foꝛ ſurely I will acquite my ſelfe accoꝛding to my dutie both towardes the common welth, and my generall: and therewith leaping foꝛth into the water, he marched with his enſigne ſtreight vpon the enimies.

The valiant courage of an enſigne bearer

The Romaines doubting to loſe their enſigne, which ſhould haue turned them to high repꝛoche, leapt out of their ſhips ſo faſt as they might, and followed their ſtandard, ſo that there enſued a ſoꝛe scencounter: and that thing that troubled moſte the Romaines, was bycauſe they could not keepe their oꝛder, neyther finde any ſure foting, noꝛ yet follow euery man his owne Enſigne, but to put themſelues vnder that enſigne whiche hee fyꝛſt met with after their firſt comming foꝛth of the Shippe.

The Bꝛytaynes that were acquainted with the ſhelfes and ſhallow places of the water, when they ſaw the Romaines thus diſoꝛderly to come foꝛth of their ſhips, they ranne vpon them with their hoꝛſes and fiercely aſſayled them, and nowe and then a greate multitude of the Bꝛytaynes woulde compaſſe in, and enclooſe ſome one company of them: and other alſo from the moſt open places of the ſhoꝛe beſtowed great plentie of darts vpon the whole number of the Romaines, and ſo troubled them paſſing foꝛe: wherevpon Ceſar perceyuing the maner of this fight, cauſed his mẽ of warre to enter into Boates and other ſmall veſſels, which he commaunded to go to ſuch places where moſt need appeared. And thus relieuing them that fought, with new ſuccours, at length the Romaines got to lande, and then aſſembling togither, they aſſayled the Bꝛytaynes of new, and ſo at length did put them all to flight. But the Romaines could not folow the Bꝛytaynes farre, bycauſe they wanted their hoꝛſmen, which were yet behind, and thꝛough ſlacking time coulde not come to lande. And this one thing ſeemed onely to diſappoint the luckie foꝛtune ẏ was accuſtomed to followe Ceſar in all his other enterpꝛiſes.

The fie of the B taynes.

The Re get to l

The wi horſem

The Bꝛytains after this flight were no ſoner got togither, but that with all ſpeed they ſent Imbaſſadoꝛs vnto Ceſar to treat with him of peace, offering to deliuer hoſtages, and further to ſtande vnto that oꝛder that Ceſar ſhould take with them in any reaſonable ſoꝛt. With theſe Imbaſſadoꝛs came alſo Comius, whõ Ceſar (as ye haue heard) had ſent befoꝛe into Bꝛytaine, whom notwithſtanding that he was an Imbaſſadoꝛ, and ſent from Ceſar with commiſſion and inſtructions

The Br ſend vn Cæſar.

Comius Arras.

ſufficiently

ſufficiently furniſhed, yet had they ſtayd him as a priſoner. But now after the battaile was ended, they ſet him at libertie, & ſent him back with their Ambaſſadors, who excuſed the matter, laying the blame on the people of the Countrey, which had impriſoned him through lacke of vnderſtanding what appertayned to the law of armes and nations in that behalfe.

Ceſar found great fault with their miſdemeanor, not onely for impriſoning his Ambaſſador, but alſo for that contrary to their promiſes made by ſuch as they had ſent to him into Gallia to deliuer hoſtages, in lieu thereof, they had receyued him with warre: yet in the ende he ſayd he would pardon them, and not ſeeke any further reuenge of their follies. And herewith required of them hoſtages, of which, part were deliuered out of hand, and promiſe made that the reſidue ſhould likewiſe be ſent after, craning ſome reſpite for performance of the ſame, becauſe they were to be fetched farre off within the Countrey.

Peace being thus eſtabliſhed after the. iiij. day of the Romaines arriuall in Bryteyne, the. xviij. ſhippes which (as ye haue heard) were appoynted to conuey the horſmen ouer, loſed from the further hauen with a ſoft winde. The whiche when they approched ſo neare the ſhore of Bryteyn, that the Romains which were in Ceſars camp might ſee them, ſodainly there aroſe ſo great a tempeſt, that none of them was able to keepe his courſe, ſo that they were not onely driuen in ſunder (ſome being caried againe into Gallia, and ſome weſtward but alſo the other ſhippes that lay at ancre, and had brought ouer the armie, were ſo pitifully beaten, toſſed and ſhaken, that a great number of them did not onely loſe their tackle, but alſo were caried by force of winde into the high ſea, the reſt being likewiſe ſo filled with water, ẏ they were in danger by ſinking to periſh & to be quite loſt. For the Mone in the ſame night was at the full, and therefore cauſed a ſpring tide, which furthered the force of the tempeſt, to the greater perill of thoſe ſhips and gallies that lay at an ancre. There was no way for the Romains to help ẏ matter: wherfore a great number of thoſe ſhips were ſo bruiſed, rent, and weatherbeaten, that without new reparation they would ſerue to no vſe of ſailing. This was a great diſcõfort to the Romaines that had brought ouer no prouiſion to liue by in ẏ winter ſeaſon, nor ſaw any hope how they ſhould repaſſe againe into Gallia. In the meane time the Bryteiſh princes that were in the Romaine army, perceyuing how greatly this miſhap had diſcouraged the Romains, & againe by the ſmal circuit of their campe, geſſed that they coulde be no great number, and that lacke of vitayles ſore oppreſſed them, they priuily ſtale away one after another out of the campe, purpoſing to aſſemble their powers againe & to foreſtall the Romains from vitayles, and ſo to driue the matter off till winter: which if they might do (vanquiſhing theſe or cloſing them from returning) they truſted that none of the Romains from thenceforth would attempt ſeruices to come come into Bryteyn. Ceſar miſtruſting their dealings, becauſe they ſtayd to deliuer the reſidue of their hoſtages, commaunded vitails to be brought out of ẏ parties adioyning, & not hauing other ſtuffe to repaire his ſhips, he cauſed. xij. of thoſe that were vtterly paſt recouerie by the hurts receyued through violence of the tẽpeſt, to be broken, wherwith the other (in which ſome recouerie was perceyued) might be repayred.

In the meane time, whileſt theſe things were a doing, it chaunced that as one of the Romaine legions named the. vij. was ſent forth to fetche in corne out of the countrey adioyning (as their cuſtome was) no warre at that time being ſuſpected, or once looked for, when part of the people remayned abrode in the field, and part repayred to the camp: thoſe that warded before the campe, aduertiſed Ceſar, that there appeared a duſt greater than was accuſtomed from that quarter, into the which the legion was gone to fetch in corne. Ceſar iudging therof what the matter might meane, commaunded thoſe bandes that warded, to goe with him that way forth, and appoynted other two bands to come into their rowmthes, and the reſidue of his people to get them to armor, and to follow quickly after him. He was not gone any great way from the campe, when hee might ſee where his people were ouermatched by ẏ enimies, and had much ado to beare out the brunt: for the legion being thronged togither, the Bryteynes pelted them ſore with arrowes & darts on eche ſide: for ſithence there was no forrage left in any part of the cuntry about, but only in this place, ẏ Bryteins iudged that the Romains would come thither for it: therfore hauing lodged thẽſelues with the woods in ambuſhes the night before, on ẏ morow after when they ſaw the Romains diſperſed here & there, and buſie to cut downe the corne) they ſet vpon them on the ſodein, & ſleaing ſome few of them, brought the reſidue out of order, cõpaſſing thẽ about with their horſmen and charets, ſo that they were in greate diſtreſſe. The maner of fight with theſe charets was ſuch, that in ẏ beginning of a battaile they would ride aboute the ſides and ſkirts of the enimies hoſt, & beſtow their darts as they ſat in thoſe charets, ſo that oftentimes with the braying of the horſes, & craking noiſe of ẏ charet wheeles they diſorderd their enimies, and after that they had wound themſelues in amongſt the troupes of horſmẽ, they would leap out of the charets, & fight a foot, & in the mean time theſe ẏ guided the charets would withdraw thẽſelues out of the battail, placing thẽſelues ſo, that if their people

were ouermatched with the multitude of enimies they might eaſily withdraw to their charets, and mount vpon the ſame againe, by meanes whereof they are as readie to remoue as the horſemen, & as ſtedfaſt to ſtand in the battaile as the footmen, and ſo to ſupplie both dueties in one. And thoſe Charetmen by exercile and cuſtome were ſo cunning in their feat, that although their horſes were put to run and gallop, yet could they ſtay them & hold them backe at their pleaſures, and turne and wind them to and fro in a moment, notwithſtanding that the place were very ſteepe and daungerous: and againe they would run vp and downe very nimbly vpon the coppes, & ſtand vpō ẏ beam and conuey thẽſelues quickly again into ẏ charet.

Ceſar thus finding his people in great diſtreſſe and readie to be deſtroyed, came in good time, and deliuered thẽ out of that daunger: for ẏ Brytains vpon his approch with new ſuccors, gaue ouer to aſſaile their enimies any further, & the Romaines were deliuered out of the feare wherein they ſtode before his comming.

Furthermore, Ceſar cõſidering the time ſerued not to aſſaile his enimies kept his ground, & ſhortly after brought backe his legions into the camp. Whileſt theſe things were thus a doing, & all the Romains being occupied, ẏ reſt that were abrode in the fields got them away. After this there followed a ſore ſeaſon of raine and foule weather, which kept the Romains within their campe, and ſtayed the Brytains frõ offring battel. But in the meane time they ſent into all parts of the coũtrey meſſengers abrode to giue knowledge of the ſmal number of the Romaines, & what hope there was both of great ſpoyle to be gotten, and occaſion to deliuer thẽſelues from further daunger for euer, if they might once expell the Romaines out of their campe. Herevpon a great multitude both of horſemen and footemen of the Britains were ſpeedily got togither, & approched the Romain camp. Ceſar although he ſaw that the ſame would come to paſſe which had chanced before, that if the enimies were put to the repulſe, they would eaſily eſcape ẏ danger with ſwiftneſſe of foot, yet hauing now vp him .xxx. horſemen (which Comius of Arras had brought ouer with him, whẽ he was ſent frõ Ceſar as an Ambaſſador vnto the Brytains) he placed his legions in order of battail before his camp, and ſo cõming to ioyne with the Brytains, they were not able to ſuſteyn the violent impreſſion of





the armed men, and ſo fled. The Romains purſued them ſo farre as they were able to ouertake any of them, and ſo ſlaing many of them, & burning vp their houſes all about, came backe againe to their campe.

Immediately whereupon, euen the ſame day they ſent Ambaſſadors to Ceſar, to ſue for peace, who gladly accepting their offer, commaunded them to ſend ouer into Gallia, after he ſhoulde be returned thither, hoſtages in nũbre double to thoſe that were agreed vpon at the firſt.

After that theſe things were thus ordred, Ceſar becauſe that the Moneth of September was wel neare halfe ſpent, and that Winter haſted on (a ſeaſon not meete for his weake bruyſed ſhippes to breake the Seas in) determined not to ſtay anye longer, but hauing winde and weather for his purpoſe, got himſelfe a backe with his people, and returned into Gallia.

Thus writeth Ceſar touching his firſt iourney made into Brytaine. But the Britiſh hyſtorie (which Polidore calleth the new hyſtorie) declareth, that Ceſar in a pight field was vanquiſhed at the firſt encounter, and ſo withdrew backe into Fraunce. *Ceſar Gallia*

Beda alſo writeth thus: that Ceſar cõming into the countrey of Gallia, where the people then called *Morini* inhabited (whiche are at this day the ſame that inhabite the Dioces of Terwine) from whence lyeth the ſhorteſt paſſage ouer into Brytain, now called England, got togither .lxx. ſayle of great ſhippes and row Gallies, with the which he paſſed ouer into Brytayne, and there at the firſt being wearied with ſharpe and ſore fight,

and

and after taken with a grieuous tempeſt, loſt the more part of his nauie, with no ſmall number of his ſouldiers, and almoſt all his horſemen. And therewith being returned into Gallia, placed his ſouldiers in ſtedes to ſoiourne there for the winter ſeaſon. Thus hath Bede.

The Britiſh hyſtorie moreouer maketh mention of three vnder kings that ayded Caſſibellane in this firſt battail fought wᵗʰ Ceſar, as Cridiorus, *alias*, Ederus, K. of Albania, nowe called Scotland: Guitethus king of Venedocia, that is north Wales: & Britael king of Demetia, at this day called ſouth Wales.

The ſame hyſtorie maketh alſo mention of one Belinus that was general of Caſſibelanes army, and likewiſe of Menius brother to Caſſibelane, which in the fight happened to get Ceſars ſword faſtned in his ſhield by a blow which Ceſar ſtroke at him. Androgeus alſo, and Tenaneius, were at the battail in ayde of Caſſibelane. But Mennius died within .xb. dayes after the battail of the hurt receiued at Ceſars hand, although after he was ſo hurt, he ſlue Labienus one of ỹ Rom. Tribunes: all which may well be true, ſith Ceſar either maketh the beſt of things for his owne honor, or elſe coueting to write but Commentaries, maketh no accoũt to declare the needles circũſtances, or any more of the matter, than ỹ chief points of his dealing. Again the Scottiſh hyſtoriographers write, that when it was firſt known to the Brytaynes, that Ceſar would inuade them, there came from Caſſibelane king of Brytaynes an Ambaſſade vnto Ederus king of Scottes, the which in the name of king Caſſibelane, requyred ayde againſt the common enimies the Romaines, which requeſt was graunted, and ten .M. Scots ſent to the ayde of Caſſibellane.

At their comming to London, they were moſt ioyfully receiued of Caſſibellane, who at the ſame tyme had knowledge that the Romaines were come a land, and had beatẽ ſuch Brytayns backe as were appoynted to reſiſt their landing. Wherupon Caſſibellane with all his whole puiſſaunce nightily augmented, not onely with the ſuccors of the Scottes, but alſo of the Picts (which in that common cauſe had ſent alſo of their people to ayd the Brytaynes) ſet forwarde towardes the place where he vnderſtode the enimies to be.

At their firſt approch togither, Caſſibellane ſent forth his horſmen and charets called *Eſſedæ*, by the which he thought to diſorder the array of the enimies. Twice they encountered togither with doubtfull victorie. At length they ioyned puiſſance againſt puiſſance, and fought a right ſore and cruell battayle, till finally at the ſodaine comming of the Welchmen, and Cornithmen, ſo huge noyſe was rayſed by the ſounde of Belles hanging at their trappers and Charets, that the Romaynes aſtonyed therewith, were more eaſily put to flight.



The Brytaynes, Scots, and Picts following in the chaſe without order or aray, ſo that by reaſon the Romains kept themſelues cloſe togither, the Brytayns, Scots, & Picts did vneth ſo much harm to the enimies as they themſelues receyued. But yet they followed on ſtil vpon the Romains till it was darke night. Ceſar after he had perceyued them once withdrawne, did what he could to aſſemble his companies togither, minding the next morning to ſeeke his reuenge of the former days diſaduãtage. But forſomuch as knowledge was giuẽ him ỹ his ſhips by reaſon of a ſore tẽpeſt were beatẽ & rent, ỹ many of thẽ wer paſt ſeruice, he doubted leaſt ſuch newes would encourage his enimies, & bring his people into diſpair. Wherfore he determined not to fight til time more cõueniẽt, ſending all his wounded folks vnto ỹ ſhips, which he cõmaunded to be newly rigged and trimmed.

After this, keeping his army for a time within the place where he was encamped without iſſuing forth, he ſhortly drew to the ſea ſide, where his ſhippes lay at ankre, and there within a ſtrong place fortified for the purpoſe he lodged his hoſt, & finally without hope to atchieue any other exploit auaileable for that time, he toke the ſea with ſuch ſhippes as were apt for ſailing, and ſo repaſſed into Gallia, leauing behind him all the ſpoyle and baggage, for want of veſſelles, and leyſure to conuey it ouer.

Thus haue the Scottes in their Chronicles framed the matter, more to the confuſion of the Romaine hyſtories, than according to the report of our Britiſh and Engliſh writers: and therfore we haue thought good to ſhew it here, that the diuerſitie of writers and their affections maye the better appeare.

Of this ſodein departing alſo, or rather flying of Julius Ceſar out of Britain, Lucanus ỹ poet maketh mẽtion: reciting the ſaying of Pompeius in an oratiõ made by him vnto his ſoldiers, wherin he reprochfully and diſdainfully reproued the doings of Ceſar in Britaine, ſaying:

Territa quæſitis oſtendit terga Britannis.

That is in Engliſh.

He turnde his backe and fled away,
from the Brytaynes whom he ſought.

But now to turne to the ſequele of the matter, as Ceſar himſelfe reporteth. After his comming into Gallia, there were but two Cities of al Britaine that ſent ouer their hoſtages according to their couenant, which gaue occaſion to Ceſar to pike a new quarell againſt them, which if it had wanted, he would yet I doubt not haue founde ſome other: for his full meaning was to make a more full conqueſt of that Ile. Therfore purpoſing to paſſe againe thither, as he that had a great deſire to bring the Brytaynes vnder the obedience of the Romain eſtate, he cauſed a great number of ſhippes to be prouided in the winter ſeaſon & put in a redineſſe, ſo that againſt the next ſpring there were found to be readie rigged fiue hundred ſhips, beſide. xxviij. Gallies. Herevpon hauing taken order for the gouernance of Gallia in his abſence, about the beginning of the Spring he came to the hauen of Calice, whither (according to order by him preſcribed) all his ſhips were come, except. xl. which by tempeſt were driuen backe, and coulde not as yet come to him.

Dion Caſſius.

Cæſar de bello Gallico.

After he had ſtayed at Calice (as wel for a conuenient winde, as for other incidentes) certaine dayes, at length when the weather ſo chaunged that it ſerued his purpoſe, he toke the ſea, hauing with him fiue legions of ſouldiers, and about two thouſand horſmen, departed out of Calice hauen about the ſun ſetting with a ſoft ſouth weſt wind, directing his courſe forward: about midnight the wind fell, and ſo by a calme, he was caried alõgſt with the tide, ſo that in the morning whẽ the day appeared, he might beholde Britaine vpon his left hand. The folowing the ſtreame as the courſe of the tide changed, he forced with Oares to fetch the ſhore vpon that part of the coaſt, which he had diſcouered and tried the laſt yeare to bee the beſt landing place for the armie. The diligence of the ſouldiers was ſhewed here to be great, who with cõtinual toile droue forth the heauy ſhips, to keepe courſe with the gallies, and ſo at length they landed in Britayn about noone on the next day, finding not one to reſiſt his comming a ſhore: for as he learned by certain priſoners which were taken after his comming to lande, the Britaines being aſſembled in purpoſe to haue reſiſted him, through feare ſtriken into their heartes, at the diſcouering of ſuch an huge number of ſhips, they forſoke the ſhore, and got them vnto the Mountaines.

There were in deed of veſſels one & other, what with vitailers, and thoſe which priuate men had prouided and furniſhed forth for their owne vſe, being ioyned to the ordinarie number, at the leaſt viij.C. ſayle, which appearing in ſight all at one time, made a wonderfull muſter, & right terrible in the eyes of the Brytaynes.

But to proceed: Ceſar being got to land, encamped his army in a place conuenient: and after learning by the priſoners, in to what parte the enimies were withdrawne, hee appointed one Quintus Atrius to remaine vpon the ſafegard of the naue, with ten companies or cohorts of footmen, and three hundred horſmen: and anon after in dright marched forth himſelfe with the reſidue of his people towards the Brytaynes, and hauing made. xij. miles of way, hee got ſight of his enimies hoſt, the which ſending downe their horſmẽ and charets vnto the riuer ſide, ſkirmiſhed with the Romaines, meaning to beat them backe from the higher ground: but being aſſayled of the Romaine horſemen, they were repulſed, and toke the woodes for their refuge, wherein they had got a place very ſtrong, both by nature & helpe of hand, which (as was to be thought) had beene fortified before, in time of ſome ciuill warre amongſt thẽ: for all the entries were cloſed with trees whiche had bene cut down for that purpoſe. Howbeit the ſouldiers of the. xij. legion caſting a trench before them, found meanes to put backe the Brytaynes from their defences, and ſo entring vppon them, droue them out of the woods.

But Ceſar would not ſuffer the Romanes to follow the Brytaynes, becauſe that the nature of the countrey was not knowne vnto them: and againe the day was farre ſpent, ſo that hee woulde haue the reſidue thereof beſtowed in fortefying his campe.

The next day, as he had ſent forth ſuch as ſhould

ſhould haue purſued the Britans, worde came to him from Quintus Atrius, that his nauie by rigour of a ſore and hideous tempeſt, was greeuouſly moleſted, and throwen vpon the ſhore, ſo that the cables and tagle being broken and deſtroyed with force of the vnmercifull rage of wind, the maſters and Mariners were not able to help the matter. Ceſar calling backe thoſe whiche he had ſent forth, returneth to his Shippes, and finding them in ſuche ſtate as he had heard, toke order for the repairing of thoſe that were not vtterly deſtroyed, and cauſed them ſo to be drawen vp to the land, that with a trench he might ſo compaſſe in a plot of ground, that might ſerue both for defence of his Shippes, and alſo for the incāping of thoſe men of warre, which he ſhuld leaue to attend vpon the ſauegard of the ſame. And bycauſe there were at the leaſt a fortie Ships loſt by violence of this tēpeſt, ſo as there was no hope of recouerie in them, he ſawe yet howe the reſt with great labour and coſt might bee repaired: wherefore he chooſe forth wrightes among the Legions, ſent for other into Gallia, and wrote ouer to ſuch as he had left there in charge with the gouernāce of the country, to prouide ſo many Ships as they could, and to ſend them ouer vnto him. He ſpente a tenne dayes about the repairing thus of his nauy, and in fortifying of ẏ camp for defence thereof, which done, he left thoſe within it which were appoynted there before, and then returneth towards his enimies. At his comming backe to the place where hee had before encamped, hee founde them there ready to reſiſt him, hauing their numbers hugely encreaſed: for the Britaynes hearing that he was returned with ſuch a mightie number of Shippes, aſſembled out of all partes of the land, and had by generall conſent appoynted the whole rule and order of all things touching the warre, vnto Caſſiuellaune, or Caſſibelane, whoſe dominion was deuided from the Cities ſytuate neere to the Sea coaſt, by the riuer of Thames, 80. miles diſtant from the ſea coaſt. This Caſſibellaune before time had bin at continual warre with other rulers, and Cities of the land: but now the Britons moued with the comming of ẏ Romaynes, chooſe hym to be chiefe gouernor of all their army, permitting the order and rule of all things touching the defence of their countrey againſt the Romanes, only to him. Their horſemen and Charrets ſkirmiſhed by the way with the Romaynes, but ſo as they were put backe oftentimes into the woodes and hilles adioining: yet the Britaynes ſlewe diuers of the Romaines as they followed any thing egrely in the purſute.

Alſo within a while after, as the Romaynes were buſie in fortifying their camp, ẏ Britaynes ſodaynely iſſued out of the woodes, and fiercely aſſayled thoſe that warded before the camp, vnto whoſe ayde, Ceſar ſent two of the chiefeſt cohortes of two legions, the whiche being placed but a little diſtance one from another, when the Romanes began to be diſcouraged with this kynd of fight, the Britayns therwith burſt through their enimies, and came backe from thence in ſafetie. That daye Quintus Laberius Durus a Tribune was ſlayne. At length, Ceſar ſendyng ſundry other cohortes to the ſuccoure of his people that were in fighte, and ſhewdly handled as it appeared, the Britaynes in the ende were put backe.

In all this manner of ſkirmiſhing and fyghte which chanced before the camp, euen in the ſighte and viewe of all men, it was perceyued that the Romaynes, by reaſon of their heauie armour (being not able eyther to followe the Britaynes as they retired, or ſo bold, as to depart from their enſignes, except they woulde runne into daunger of caſting themſelues away) were nothing meete to mateh with ſuch kind of enimies: and as for their horſemen, they fought likewiſe in great hazarde, bycauſe the Britaynes would oftentimes of purpoſe retire, & when they had trained the Romane horſemen a little from their legions of footemen, they would leape out of their charrets and encoūter with them a foote. And ſo the battell of horſemen was daungerous, and like in all poyntes whether they purſued or retired. This alſo was the manner of the Britaynes: they fought not cloſe togither, but in ſunder, and deuided into cōpanies one ſeparated from another by a good diſtance, & had their troupes ſtanding in places conuenient, to ẏ which they might retire, & ſo releeue one another with ſending newe freſh men to ſupply the roomthes of them that were hurt or weary. The next day after they had thus fought before ẏ camp of the Romanes, they ſhewed themſelues aloft on ẏ hilles, & began to ſkirmiſhe with the Romane horſemen, but not ſo hotely as they had done the day before. But about none, when Ceſar had ſent forth three legions of footemē and all his horſemen vnder the leading of his Lieutenant Caius Trebonius to fetch in fourrage, they ſodainely brake out on euery ſide, & ſet vpon the fourragers. The Romanes ſo farre forth as they might, not breaking their array, nor going from their enſignes or guidōs gaue ẏ charge on them, & fiercely repulſed them, ſo ẏ the horſemen hauing ẏ legions of footemen at their backes, followed the Britons ſo long as they might haue the ſaid Legions in ſight ready to ſuccour thē if neede were: by reaſon whereof, they ſlew a great number of ẏ Britons, not giuing them leaſure to recouer thēſelues, nor to ſtay, that they might haue tyme to get out of their charrets. After this chaſe and diſcomfiture, all ſuch as were come from other parties to the ayde of their fellowes departed home,

The Romains heauie armor.

The manner of the Britons in the warres.

Caius Trebonius.

Dion Caſſius ſaith, that the Britaynes vanquiſhed the Romayne footemen at this time, but were put to the worſt by the horſemen.

and after ẏ day the Britons aduentured to fight againſt Ceſar with their maine power, but withdrawing beyond the riuer of Thames, determined to ſtop the enimies from paſſing the ſame, if by any meanes they might: and where as there was but one fourde by ẏ which they might come ouer, Caſſiuellane cauſed the ſame to be ſet ful of ſharp ſtakes, not onely in the middeſt of the water, but alſo at the comming fourthe on that ſyde where he was lodged with his army in good order, ready to defende the paſſage. Ceſar learning by relation of priſoners which he toke, what the Britaynes intended to do, marched forth to ẏ riuer ſide, where the fourde was, by the whiche hys army might paſſe the ſame afoote though very hardly. At his cõming thither, hee might perceiue howe the Britaynes were ready on ẏ further ſide to impeach his paſſage, & how that the banke at ẏ comming fourthe of the water was pighte full of ſharp ſtakes, and ſo likewiſe was the chanell of ẏ Riuer ſet with ſtakes which were couered with ẏ water. Theſe things yet ſtayed not Ceſar, who appoynting his horſemen to paſſe on before, cõmanded the footemen to follow. The ſouldiers entring ẏ water, waded through with ſuch ſpede & violence, (nothing appearing of thẽ aboue water but their heads) that ẏ Britaynes were conſtreyned to giue place, being not able to ſuſteyne ẏ brunt of ẏ Romane horſemen. & the legions of their footemen, & ſo abandoning ẏ place toke thẽ to flight. Caſſiuelane not minding to trie ẏ matter any more by battell, ſente away ẏ moſt parte of his people, but yet kept with him about a foure thouſand charretmen or wagoners, and ſtil watched what way ẏ Romanes toke, coaſting them euer as they marched, and kepte ſomewhat aſide within ẏ couert of woods, and other comberſome places. And out of thoſe quarters through ẏ whiche he vnderſtood ẏ Romanes would paſſe, he gathered both mẽ & cattel into ẏ woods & thicke forreſts, leauing nothing of valew abrode in ẏ chãpayne countrey. And whẽ ẏ Romane horſemen did come abrode into ẏ countrey to ſeeke booties, he ſent out his charrets vnto the knowen ways & paſſages to ſkirmiſh with the ſame horſemen, ſo much to the diſaduãtage of the Romanes, ẏ they durſt not ſtraye far frõ their maine army. Neither would Ceſar permit thẽ leaſt they might haue bin vtterly diſtreſſed by ẏ Britaynes) to depart further thã ẏ maine battels of ẏ footemẽ kept pace vẽ thẽ, by reaſon whereof ẏ countrey was not endamaged by fire & ſpoyle, but onely where the army marched. In ẏ mean time, the *Trinouantes* which ſome take to be the middeſex & Eſſex mẽ, whoſe Citie was ẏ beſt ſtored of al other in thoſe parties, & thought to be the ſame ẏ now is called Londõ, ſent Imbaſſadors vnto Ceſar, offering to ſubmit thẽſelues vnto him, & to obey his ordinances, and further beſought him to defend Mãdubratius frõ ẏ iniurie of Caſſiuellaune, which Mandubratius had fled vnto Ceſar into France, after ẏ Caſſibelane had ſlain his father named Imanuentius, ẏ was chiefe Lord & K. of the *Trinobantes*, & ſo now by their Imbaſſadors, ẏ ſame *Trinobantes* requeſted Ceſar, not only to receiue Mandubratius into his protection, but alſo to ſend him vnto them, that he might take the gouernmẽt & rule of their Citie into his hands. Ceſar cõmanded thẽ to deliuer vnto him. 40. hoſtages, & grayne for his army, & therewith ſent Mandubratius vnto them. The *Trinouantes* accõpliſhed his commaundements wt al ſpeede, ſending both ẏ appoynted nũber of hoſtages, and alſo graine for the army. And being thus defended & preſerued from iniurie of ẏ ſouldiers, ẏ people called Cenimagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci, and Caſſi, ſubmitted thẽſelues vnto Ceſar, by whom he vnderſtode that ẏ towne of Caſſibellane was not far from ẏ place wher he was then encamped fenſed with woodes & mariſhes, into ẏ whiche a great number of people wt their Cattell and other ſubſtãce was withdrawen. The Britaines in thoſe dayes (as Ceſar writeth) called ẏ a towne or hold which they had fortified wt any thick cõberſome wood, with trẽch & rampire, into ẏ which they fled to get thẽſelues for ẏ auoyding of inuaſion. Ceſar with his legions of ſouldiers therefore marcheth thither, & finding the place very ſtrong both by nature & helpe of hand, aſſaulteth it on two parts. The Britains defending their ſtrength a while, at lẽgth not able longer to endure the impreſſion of ẏ Romaynes, fled out on ẏ contrary ſide of ẏ towne wher the enimies were not. Within this place a great nũber of Cattel was found, & many of ẏ Britaynes take by ẏ Romanes ẏ followed them in chaſe, & many alſo ſlaine. Whileſt theſe things paſſed on this ſort in thoſe parties, Caſſibellaune ſent meſſengers into Kent vnto four kings (whiche ruled ẏ ſide of the lãd in thoſe dayes) Cingetorix, Carſilius, Taximagulus, & Segonax, cõmaunding thẽ, that aſſembling togither their whole puiſſãce, they ſhould aſſaile ẏ camp of ẏ Romaines by the Sea ſide wher certain bãds lay (as ye haue heard) for ſafegard of ẏ nauie. They according to his apointmẽt came ſodainly thither, & by ẏ Romains that ſailed forth vpon them were charply fought with, & loſt diuers of their men ẏ were ſlaine, and taken. and amõgſt the priſoners that ẏ Romains toke, Cingetorix was one. When Caſſibellaune heard theſe newes, being ſore troubled for theſe loſſes thus chanting one in the neck of an other, but namely moſt diſcouraged, for that diuers Cities had yelded vnto the Romanes: hee ſendeth Imbaſſadors by meane of Comius of Arras vnto Ceſar, offering to ſubmit himſelfe. Ceſar meaning to winter in Gallia, and therefore becauſe ſommer drewe towardes an ende, willyng to diſpatch in Britayne, commanded that hoſtages ſhould

(Which is to be ſuppoſed was at Kingſton) or not farre from thence.

Some take Trinouãtes be Londin

Foure Kings in Kent.

Cingeton

Trinouantes where they inhabited.

Mandubratius.

ſhould be deliuered, and appoynted what tribute the Britaynes ſhould yeerely ſend vnto the Romaynes. He alſo forbade and commaunded Caſſibellaune that he ſhould not in any wiſe trouble or endomage Mandubratius or the Londoners. After this, when he had receyued the hoſtages, he bringeth his army to the Sea, and there findeth his Shippes well repayred, decked, and in good point: therefore he commandeth that they ſhould be had downe to the ſea. And bycauſe hee hadde a great number of priſoners, and diuers of his ſhips were loſt by the tempeſt, he appoynted to tranſport his army ouer into Gallia at two conuoyes, whiche was done with good ſucceſſe about the middeſt of September, though the Shippes returning for the reſidue of the army, after the firſte conuoy, were driuē ſo with force of weather, that a great number of them could not come to lande at the place appoynted: ſo that Ceſar was conſtreyned to fraught thoſe that he could get, with a greater burden, and ſo departed from the coaſt of Britayne, and ſafely landed with the remnaunte of his people in Gallia with as good ſpeede as he cold haue deſired. He thought not good to leaue any of his people behinde him, knowing that if he ſhould ſo doe, they were in daunger to be caſt away. And ſo bycauſe he could not well remayne there all the winter ſeaſon for doubt of Rebellion in Gallia, he was contented to take vp, and returne thither, ſith he had done ſufficiently for the time, leaſt in coueting the more, hee mighte haue come in perili to loſe that whiche hee had already obteyned.

Thus according to that which Ceſar himſelfe and other autentike authors haue written, was Britayne made tributorie to the Romaynes by the Conduit of the ſame Ceſar. But our hiſtories farre differ from this, affirming, that Ceſar comming the ſecōd time, was by the Britaynes with valiancie, and martial prowes beaten, & repulſed, as he was at the firſt, and ſpecially by meanes ỳ Caſſiuclaune had pight in the Thames greate pyles of trees pyked with yron, through whych, his ſhippes being entred the riuer, were periſhed & loſt. And after his comming a land, he was banquiſhed in battell, & conſtreyned to flee into Gallia with thoſe ſhippes that remayned. For ioy of this ſeconde victory (ſaith Galfrid) Caſſibellane made a great feaſt at London, & ther did ſacrifice to the Gods. At which feaſt there fel variance betwixt two yong Gentlemen, the one named Herilda, nephew to Caſſibellan, & the other Euelyn, or Eweline, being of aliance to Androgeus Erle of Londō. They fell at diſcord about wraſtling, & after multiplying of wordes, they came to dealing of blowes, by meane whereof partes wer taken, ſo that there enſewed a ſore fray, in the whiche, diuers were wounded and hurt, and amōgſt other Herilda the kings Nephew was ſlayne by ỳ hands of Eweline. The K. ſore diſpleaſed herwith, meant to puniſh Eweline according to the order of his lawes, ſo that he was ſummoned to appeare in due forme to make anſwere to ỳ murder: but Eweline by the comforte of Androgeus diſobeyed the commonāce, and departed ỳ Court with Androgeus, in contempt of the king and his lawes. The K. to be reuenged vpon Androgeus, gathered a power, & began to make war on him. Androgeus perceiuing himſelfe not able to withſtand the Kings puiſſance, ſente letters to Julius Ceſar, exhorting him to returne into Britayne, & declaring the whole matter concerning ỳ variance betwixt him and the king, promiſing to ayd the Romaynes in all that he might. Julius Ceſar ioyfull of this meſſage, prepareth his naule, & with all ſpeede with a mightie hoſt embarqued in the ſame, commeth toward Britayne: but ere he would land, doubting ſome treaſon in Androgeus, he receyueth from him in hoſtage his ſonne named Scena, and thirty other of the beſt & moſt noble perſonages of all his dominion. After thys he landed, & ioyning with Androgeus, came into a valley neere to Canterbury, & there encamped. Shortly after commeth Caſſibellane with al his power of Britaynes, and giueth battell to ỳ Romanes. But after that the Britaynes had long





foughten,

fought and knightly borne thẽſelues in that battell, Androgius came with his people on a wing, and ſo ſharply aſſayled them, that the Britaynes were conſtreyned to forſake the field, & toke thẽſelues to flight. The which flight ſo diſcomforted them, that finally they all fled, & gaue place to the Romanes, the which purſued and ſlew thẽ without mercy, ſo that Caſſibellane with the reſidue of his people withdrewe to a place of ſuretie, but beeing enuironed about with the puiſſance of the Romaynes, & of Androgeus, who had with him ſeuen thouſande men there in the ayd of the Romans, Caſſibellanin the end was enforced to fal to a cõpoſition, in couenaunting to pay an yerely tribute of three thouſand. ℔. Then when Ceſar had ordred his buſineſſe as he thought conuenient, he returned, & with him went Androgeus, fearing ẏ diſpleaſure of Caſſibellane. The reuerend father Bede writing of this mater, hath thus: After that Ceſar being returned into Gallia, had placed his ſouldiers abroade in the countrey to ſoiorne for ẏ winter ſeaſon, he cauſed Ships to be made ready, to the number of fiue C. with the which repaſſing again into Britaine, whileſt he marcheth forthe with a mighty army againſt ẏ enimies, his ſhips that lay at ancre being takẽ with a fore tempeſt, were either beaten one againſt another, or els caſt vpon the flats & ſands, and ſo broken, ſo that fortie of them were vtterly periſhed, and the reſidue with great difficultie were repaired. The horſemen of the Romaines at the firſt encounter were put to the worſe, & Labienus the Tribune ſlain. In the ſeconde conflict hee vanquiſhed the Britaines not without greate daunger of his people. After this, hee marcheth to the riuer of Thames which as thẽ was paſſable by fourde, only in one place and not elſe, as the reporte goeth. On the further banke of that riuer, Caſſibellane was encamped with an huge multitude of enimies, and had pight & ſet the banke, & almoſt all the fourde vnder the water, ful of ſharp ſtakes, the tokens of which vnto this day are to be ſeene, and it ſemeth to the beholders that euery of theſe ſtakes are as bigge as a mãs thigh, ſticking faſt in ẏ bottome of the riuer cloſed with leade. The whiche beeing perceyued of the Romaines, & auoyded, the Britaynes not able to ſuſteyne the violent impreſſion of the Romain legions, hid thẽſelues in ẏ woods, out of the which, by often iſſues, they greeuouſly & many times aſſailed the Romanes, & did them great domage. In the mean time, the ſtrong Citie of Trinouant with hir Duke Androgius deliuering fortie hoſtages, yelded vnto Ceſar, whoſe exãple many other Cities following, allyed thẽſelues with the Romains, by whoſe information Ceſar with fore fight toke at length the towne of Caſſibelan, ſituate betwixt two mariſhes, fenſed alſo with the couerte of woods, & hauing within it great plentie of all things. After this Ceſar returned into Fraunce, and beſtowed his armie in places to ſoiorne there for the winter ſeaſon.

So hath Campion, but Galfrid. Monu. hath fiue thouſande.

Thus muche hath Bede. The Scottiſh writers reporte, that the Britons after the Romaines were the firſte time repulſed (as before yee haue heard,) refuſed to receyue the ayde of the Scottiſhmen the ſecond time, & ſo were vanquiſhed, as in the Scottiſh hiſtories ye maye ſee more at length expreſſed. Thus much touching the warre which Julius Ceſar made againſt the Britons, in bringing them vnder tribute to the Romains. But heere is to be noted, that Ceſar did not vanquiſh al the Britons: for he came not amongſt the Northren men, only diſcouering & ſubduing ẏ part which lyeth towards the French ſeas: ſo that ſith other of the Romain Emperors did moſt earneſtly trauaile to bring the Britons vnder their ſubiection (whiche were euer redy to rebell ſo many ſundry tymes) Ceſar might ſeme rather to haue ſhewed Britain to the Romãs, thã to haue deliuered vnto them the poſſeſſion of the ſame. This ſubiection to the whiche he brought this Ile (what maner of one ſo euer it was) chanced about ẏ yere of the worlde. 3913. after ẏ building of Rome. 698. before the birth of our ſauior 53. the 1. and ſecond yere of the. 181. Olympiade, after the cõming of Brute. 1060. before the conqueſt made by Willia̅ duke of Normandie. 1120. and. 1629. yeres before this preſent yere of our lord 1576 as Harriſon hath ſet downe.

Cornelius Tacitus. *In vit. Agr.* *Dion Caſſ.*

After that Julius Ceſar had thus made the Britayns tributaries to ẏ Romaines, & was returned into Gallia, Caſſibelan reigned. 7. yeres, & was vanquiſhed in the ninth or tenth yere after he begã firſt to raigne, ſo ẏ he raigned in ẏ whole about. 15. or as ſome haue. 17. yeres, & then dyed, leauing no iſſue behinde him. There hath bin an old Chronicle (as Fabiã recordeth) which he ſaw & followeth much in his booke, wherein it is conteyned, that this Caſſibellane was not brother to Lud, but eldeſt ſon to him: for otherwiſe as maye be thought (ſaith he) Ceſar hauing the vpper hand would haue diſplaced him from the gouernemẽt, & ſet vp Androgeus the right heire to the crowne, as ſonne to the ſayd Lud. But what ſoeuer ours Chronicles or the Britiſh hiſtories report of this matter, it ſhoulde appeare by that whiche Ceſar writeth (as partly ye haue heard) that Britaine in thoſe days was not gouerned by one ſole prince, but by diuers, and that diuers cities were eſtates of themſelues, ſo that the lande was deuided into ſundry gouernments, muche after the forme and manner as Germany and Italy are in our time, where ſome Cities are gouerned by one onely Prince, ſome by the nobilitie, and ſome by the people. And whereas diuers of the rulers in thoſe dayes heere in thys lande were called Kings,

Fabian.

Ceſar.

The ſtakes remayning to be ſeene in Bedes dayes.

thoſe

thoſe had moze large ſeigniouries than the other, as Caſſibellane, who was therfoze called a king. And though we do admit this to be true, yet may it bee that in the beginning after that Brute entred the land, there was ozdeyned by him a Monarchie, as befoze is mentioned, which might cõtinue in his poſteritie many yeeres after, and yet at length befoze the comming of Ceſar, through emill diſſention, might happily be broken, and deuided into partes, and ſo remayned not only in ẏ time of this Caſſibellane, but alſo lõg after, whileſt they lined as tributaries to the Romanes, till finally they were ſubdued by the Saxons. In whiche meane time, through the diſcoꝛde, negligence, oꝛ rather vnaduiſed raſhneſſe of writers, hard it is to iudge what may be affirmed and receyued in their writings foꝛ a troth, namely concerning the ſucceſſion of the Kings that are ſayd to haue raigned betwixte the dayes of Caſſibellane, and the comming of the Saxons. The Romayne writers, (namely Tacitus) repoꝛt, that the Britaynes in times paſt were vnder the rule of Kings, and after being made tributaries, were drawen ſo by Princes into ſundry factions, that to defend and keepe off a cõmon ieoperdy, ſcarcely would two oꝛ three Cities agree togither, and take weapon in hande with one accoꝛde, ſo that whileſt they fought by partes, the whole was ouercome.

And after this ſoꝛte they ſaye that Brytayne was brought into the foꝛme of a prouince by the Romanes, from whome gouernours vnder the name of Legates and procurates were ſente that had the rule of it. But yet the ſame authoꝛs make mention of certayne kings (as hereafter ſhall appeare) the whiche, whileſt the Romaine Emperours had the moſt part of the earth in ſubiection, raigned in Britayne. The ſame witneſſeth Gildas ſaying: Britayne hathe Kings, but they are Tyrants: Judges it hathe, but the ſame are wicked, oftentimes ſpoyling and toꝛmenting the innocent people. And Ceſar (as ye haue heard) ſpeaketh of foure Kings that ruled in Kent, and therabouts. Coꝛnelius Tacitus maketh mention of Pꝛaſutagus, and Cogidunus, that were Kyngs in Britayne: and Iuuenall ſpeaketh of Aruiragus: and all the late writers of Lucius. Hereby it appeareth, that whether one oꝛ moe, yet Kings there were in Britayne, bearing rule vnder ẏ Romayne Emperours. On the other parte, the common opinion of our Chꝛonicle writers is, that ẏ chiefe gouernement remained euer with the Britaynes, and that the Romayne Senate receyuing an yeerely tribute, ſent certayne times (*ex officio*) their Emperours and Lieutenants into this Ile, to repꝛeſſe the rebellious tumultes therin begonne, oꝛ to beate backe the inuaſion of the enimies that went about to inuade it. And thus woulde thoſe writers inferre, that the Britaynes euer obeyed their King, till at length they were put beſide the gouernement by the Saxons. But where as in the common hiſtoꝛie of Englande, the ſucceſſion of Kings ought to be kepte, ſo ofte as it chanceth in the ſame, that there is not anye founde to fyll the place, then one while the Romane Emperours are placed in their ſteades, and another while their lieutenants, and are ſayde to be created Kings of the Britaines, as though the Emperours were inferiours vnto the Kings of Britaine, and that the Romane Lieutenants at their appoyntments, and not by pꝛeſcripte of the Senate oꝛ Emperours adminiſtred ẏ Pꝛouince. But this may ſuffice here to aduertiſe you of the contrarietie in writers, & now we will goe foꝛth in following our hiſtoꝛies, as we haue done heretofoꝛe, ſauing that where the Romaine hiſtoꝛies write of things done here by Emperors oꝛ their Lieutenants, it ſhall be ſhewed as reaſon requireth, ſith there is a great appearence of troth oftẽtimes in the ſame, as thoſe that be authoꝛiſed and allowed in the opinion of the learned.

Theomantius.



After ẏ deth of Caſſibelan, Theomãtius oꝛ Tenãtius the põgeſt ſonne of Lud, was made K. of Britayne in the yeere of the Woꝛld. 3921. after the building of Rome 702. and befoze the comming of Chꝛiſt. 45. He is named alſo in one of the Engliſhe Chꝛonicles Coꝛmace: but in the ſame Chꝛonicle it is conteyned, that not hee, but his bꝛother Andꝛogius was King, where Geffrey of Monmouth & other teſtifie, that Andꝛogus abãdoned the land clerely, and continued ſtill at Rome, bycauſe he knew the Britaynes hated him foꝛ the treaſon he hadde committed, in aiding Julius Ceſar againſt Caſſibellane. Theomantius ruled the land in good quiet, and paied the tribute to the Romanes whiche Caſſibellane had graunted, and finally departed this life after he had raigned. 22. yeares, & was buried at London.

Theomãtius.

Fabian.

Gal. Mo.

Kymbelyne or Cimbeline,

The ſonne of Theomantius was of the Britaynes made King after the deceſſe of his father, in the yeere of the woꝛld. 3944. after the building of Rome. 728. and befoze the birthe of oure Sauioure. 23. This man as ſome write, was brought

Kymbelyne.

Fabian out of Guido de Columna.

brought vp at Rome, and there made Knight by Augustus Cesar, vnder whome hee serued in the warres, and was in suche fauour with him, that he was at libertie to pay his tribute or not.

Little other mention is made of his doyngs, except that during his raigne, the Sauiour of the world, our Lord Jesus Christ, the only sonne of God, was borne of a Virgin about the. 23. yeare of the reygne of this Kymbalyne, and in the. 42. of the Emperour Octauius Augustus, that is to witte, in the yeare of the Worlde. 3966. in the seconde yeare of the. 194. Olympiade, after ỳ building of the Citie of. Rome. 750. nigh at an end, after the vniuersal floud. 2311. from the birth of Abraham. 2019. after the departure of the Israelites out of Egipt. 1513. after the captiuitie of Babylon 535. from the building of the Temple by Salomon. 1034. and from the arriuall of Brute. 1116. complete. Touching the continuance of ỳ yeares of Kymbelines raigne, is some discordaunce amongst writers, but the best approued affirme, that he raigned. xxv. yeeres, and then dyed, and was buried at London, leauing behind hym two sonnes, Guiderius and Aruiragus.

Christ our Sauiour is borne

3966

But heere is to be noted, that although our histories do affirme, that as well this Kymbeline, as also his father Theomantius, liued in quiet with the Romans, and continually to them payed the tributes which the Britons had couenanted with Julius Cesar to pay. Yet wee finde in the Romane writers, that after Julius Cesars death, when Augustus had taken vppon him the rule of the Empire, the Britaynes refused to pay that tribute: whereat as Cornelius Tacitus reporteth, Augustus, being otherwise occupied, was contented to winke, howbeit, through earnest calling vpon to recouer his right by such as were desirous to see the vttermost of the Britishe kingdome, at length, to witte, in the tenth yeere after the death of Julius Cesar, whiche was about the thirtenth yeere of the sayd Theomantius, Augustus made prouision to passe with an army ouer into Britayne, and was come forward vpon his iourney into Gallia Celtica: or as wee may say,

Cor. Tacitus in vita Iu. Agr.

Dion Cass.



into these hither partes of Fraunce.

But here receiuing aduertisements that ỳ Pannonians which inhabited the countrey now called Hungarie, and the Dalmatians whome now we call Slauons had rebelled, he thoughte it best first to subdue those Rebelles neere home, rather than to seeke newe countreys, and leaue suche in hazard whereof he had presente possession, and so turning his power against the Pannonians and Dalmatians, he left off for a time the warres of Britaine, whereby the lande remayned without feare of any inuasion to be made by ỳ Romains, till the yere after the building of the citie of Rome 725. and about the. 19. yere of king Theomantius raigne, ỳ Augustus with an army departed once gayne from Rome to passe ouer into Britayne, there to make warre, but after his commyng into Gallia, when the Britaynes sent to him certaine Ambassadors to treate with him of peace, he staied there to settle the state of things among the Gualles, for that they were not in very good order, & hauing finished there, he wēt into Spayne, and so his iourney into Britayne was put off til the next yeere, that is, the. 726. after the buildyng of Rome, which fell before the birth of our Sauiour. 25. about whiche time Augustus eftsoones meante the third time to haue made a voyage into Britayne, bycause they could not agree vppon couenaunts: But as the Pannonians and Dalmatians hadde afore time stayed him, when as before is sayde, hee meante to haue gone againste the Britaynes: so euen nowe the Sedatians, (a people inhabiting betwixt Italy, and Swetzerland,) the Cantabrians and Asturians by suche rebellious sturres as they reysed, withdrewe him from his purposed iourney. But whether this cōtrouersie which appeareth to fal forth betwixt the Britaynes and Augustus, was occasioned by Kymbeline or some other Prince of the Britaynes, I haue not to auouch: for that by

He kept promise with the Romayns

Those of Gascoigne & Biskaye

our

our writers it is reported, that Kymbelyne being brought vp in Rome, and made Knighte in the Court of Augustus, euer shewed himselfe a friend to the Romanes, and chiefly was loth to breake with them, because the youth of the Britayne nation shoulde not bee depriued of the benefite to bee trayned and broughte vp among the Romaynes, whereby they mighte learne both to behaue themselues lyke ciuill men, and to attayne to the knowledge of feates of warre. But whether for this respect, or for that it pleased the Almightie God so to dispose the myndes of men at that present, not only the Britaynes, but in maner all other nations were contented to be obedient to the Romayne Empire. That thys was true in the Britaynes, it is euidente ynough by Straboes wordes, whiche are in effect as followeth. At this present (sayth he) certayne princes of Britayne, procuring by Ambassadors and dutifull demeanors the amitie of the Emperoure Augustus, haue offered in the Capitoll vnto the Goddes presentes or giftes, and haue ordeyned the whole Ile in a maner to be appertenant, proper and familiar to the Romaynes. They are burdened with fore customes whiche they pay for wares, eyther to be sent forth into Gallia, or brought from thence, whiche are commonly iuorie vessels, sheares, ouches, or carering, and other conceptes made of ambre, and glasses, and suche like manner of merchandise: so that nowe there is no neede of any army or garrison of menne of warre to keepe the Ile, for there needeth not past one legion of fotemen, or some wing of horsemen, to gather vp and receyue the tribute: for the charges are rated according to the quantitie of the tributes: for otherwise, it shoulde be needefull to abate the customes, if the tributes were also reysed: and if any violence shoulde be vsed, it were daungerous least they mighte be prouoked to rebellion. Thus farre Strabo.

Guiderius.



Guiderius the firste son of Kymbaline (of whome Harrison sayeth nothing,) beganne his raigne in the seuentenih yere after the incarnatiō of Christ. This Guiderius being a man of stout courage, gaue occasiō of breach of peace betwixt the Britaynes and Romaynes, denying to pay the tribute, and procuring the people to newe insurrections, the whyche by one meane or other made open rebellion, as Gildas hath. Whereupon, the Emperour Caligula (as some thinke,) toke occasion to leauie a power, and as one vtterly misliking the negligence (as he called it) of Augustus & Tiberius his predecessors, he meant not only to reduce the Iland vnto the former subiection, but also to search out the vttermost boundes thereof, to the behoofe of himselfe, and of the Romayne Monarchie.

Guiderius.

From henceforth yee shall finde the yere of the Lord in the margente.

Caligula.

Greate prouision therefore was made by the sayde Caligula to perfourme that noble enterprise, and this was in the fourth yeare of hys raigne. The lyke preparation was made on the other side by Guiderius, to resist the forayne enemies, so that hauing all things in a readinesse, he ceassed not dayly to looke for the comming of the Emperour, whome hee meante to receyue with harde entertaynemente if hee durst aduenture to set towarde Britayne. But see the sequeale: the Romayne army beeyng thus in a readinesse, departeth from Rome in the. 79. yeare after the buyloing of the Citie, and marching forthe,

Dion Cassius. lib. 59.



at length

at length commeth to the Belgique ſhore, from whence they might loke ouer, and beholde the cliffes and coaſt of Britaine, whiche Caligula & his men ſtood gasing vpō with great admiratiō & wonder. Furthermore he cauſed them to ſtand in battel array vpon the coaſt, where he heard, howe the Britaynes were in a redineſſe to withſtande his entrāce: but he entring into his galley, as nothing diſcouraged wᵗ theſe newes, rowed a ſlight ſhot or two from the ſhore, and forthwith returned, & then going vp into an high place like a pulpet, framed & ſet vp there for the nonce, he gaue ẏ token to fight vnto his ſouldiers by ſound of trūpet, and therewith was each man charged to gather cockle ſhels vpō the ſhore, which he called the ſpoyle of the Ocean, and cauſed them to be layde vp vntill a time cōueniente. With the atchieuing of this exployt (as hauing none other wherewith to beautifie his triumph) he ſeemed greatly exalted, thinking that now he had ſubdued the whole Ocean, and therefore highly rewarded his ſouldiers for their paynes ſuſteyned in that collection of cockle ſhelles, as if they had done him ſome notable peece of ſeruice. He alſo carried of the ſame ſhelles with him to Rome, to the ende he myghte there boaſt of his voyage, and bragge how well he had ſped: and required therefore very earneſtly to haue a triumph decreede vnto him for the accompliſhment of this enterpriſe. But whē he ſaw the Senate grudge at the free and liberall graunting of a grace in that behalfe, and perceiued how they refuſed to attribute deuine honors vnto him, in recompence of ſo fooliſh an enterpriſe, it wanted little that he had not ſlayne them euery one. From thence therefore he wente vp into a throne or royall ſeate, and calling therewith the commō people about him, he tolde them a long tale what aduentures had chanced to him in his conqueſt of the Ocean, and when hee perceyued them to ſhoute and crie, as if they had conſented that hee ſhould haue bin a God for this his greate trauell and valiant prowes, he to increaſe their clamour, cauſed great quantities of golde and ſiluer to bee ſcattered amongſt them, in the gathering whereof, many were preſſed to deathe, and diuers alſo ſlayne with ẏ inuenomed caltrops of iron, which he did caſt out with the ſayd money, of purpoſe to doe miſchiefe, the ſame caltrops beeing in forme ſmall and ſharp, ſo that by reaſon of the preaſſe of people, muche hurte was done by them ere they were perceyued. And this was the ende of the ridiculous voyage of Caligula attempted againſt the Britaynes.

The ſpoyle of the Ocean.

Suetonius. But after the death of this Caligula, the Emperoure Claudius (as Suetonius hath,) moued warre againſt the Britaynes, becauſe of a ſturre and Rebellion reyſed in that lande, for that ſuche fugitiues as were fled from thence, were not againe reſtored when requeſt was made for the ſame.

Dion Caſſius writeth, how one Bericus, being expelled out of Britayne, perſwaded ẏ Emperoure Claudius to take the warre in hande at this time againſt the Britaynes, ſo that one Aulus Plautius a Senator, and as then Prætor, was appoynted to take the army that ſoiourned in Fraunce then called Gallia, and to paſſe ouer with the ſame into Britayne. The Souldyers hearing of thys voyage, were loth to goe with him, as men not willing to make warre in another worlde: and therefore delayed tyme, till at length one Narciſſus was ſente from Claudius (as it were) to appeaſe ẏ ſouldiers, & procure thē to ſet forward. But whē this Narciſſus wēt vp into the tribunal throne of Plautius, to declare ẏ cauſe of his comming, ẏ Souldiers taking great indignation therewith cried, *O Saturnalia*, as if they ſhould haue celebrated their feaſt day ſo called. When the ſeruants apparrelled in their maiſters robes, repreſented the roumth of their maiſters, and were ſerued by them, as if they hadde bin their ſeruants, and thus at length conſtreyned through very ſhame, they agreed to followe Plautius. Herevpon being embarqued, he deuided his nauie into three partes, in the ende, that if they were kept off from arriuing in one place, yet they might take land in another. The Shippes ſuffered ſome impeachment in their paſſage by a contrary winde that droue them backe againe: but yet the Marriners and men of warre taking good courages vnto them, the rather becauſe there was ſeene a fyery leame to ſhote out of the Eaſt towardes the Weſt, which way their courſe lay, made forwarde againe with their Shippes, and landed without finding anye reſiſtaunce. For



Dion Caſſ.

the Britaynes loked not for their comming: wherefore, when they hearde howe their enimies were a lande, they gote them into the Woddes and marſſes, truſting that by lingering of tyme

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the Romaynes would be conſtreyned to departe, as it had chanced in time paſt to Julius Ceſar aforeſayd.

Plautius therefore had muche adoe to fynde them out, but after hee had found them, firſte hee banquiſhed Cataratacus, and after Togodumnus the ſonnes of Cynobellinus: for theyr father was dead not very long before. Theſe therefore fleeing their wayes, Plautius receyued parte of the people called Bodumni (which were ſubiects vnto them that were called Catuellani) into the obeyſance of the Romaynes: and ſo leauing there a garriſon of Souldiers, he paſſed further till hee came to a riuer whiche coulde not well be paſſed without a bridge: wherevppon the Britaynes toke ſmall regard to defend ẏ paſſage, as though they had bin ſure inough. But Plautius appointed a certaine number of Germaynes whyche he had there with him (being vſed to ſwimme ouer riuers, although neuer ſo ſwift) to get ouer, whiche they did, ſleaing & wounding the Britaynes Horſes whiche were faſtned to their waggens or Charrets, ſo that the Britaynes were not able to doe anye peece of their accuſtomed ſeruice with the ſame.

Herewith alſo was Flauius Veſpaſianus (that afterwards was Emperour) with his brother Sabinus ſent ouer that riuer, which beeyng gote to the further ſide, ſlewe a greate number of the enimies. The reſidue of the Britaynes fled, but the nexte daye proffered newe battell, in the which they alſo fought ſo ſtoutly, that the victo-



ry depended long in doubtfull ballance, till C. Sidius Geta being almoſt at poynt to be taken, did ſo handle the matter, that the Britaynes finally were put to flight: for the whiche his valiant doings, triumphante honors were beſtowed vpon him although he was no Conſul.

The Britaynes after this Battell, withdrew to the Riuer of Thames, nere to the place where it falleth into the Sea, and knowing the ſhallowes and firme places thereof, eaſily paſſed ouer to the further ſide, whome the Romanes following through lacke of knowledge in the nature of the places, they fel into ẏ mareſſe grounds, and ſo came to loſe many of their men, namely of the Germaynes, which were the firſt that paſſed ouer the Riuer to follow the Britaines, partly by a bridge whiche lay within the countrey ouer the ſayde Riuer, and partly by ſwimming, and other ſuch ſhift as they preſently made. The Britaynes hauing loſt one of theyr Rulers, that is to witte, Togodumnus, of whome yee haue hearde before, were nothing diſcouraged, but rather the more egrely ſet on reuenge. Plautius perceyuing their fiercenes, went no further, but ſtayed and placed garriſons in ſtedes, where neede required, to keepe thoſe places whiche hee had gotten, and with al ſpeede ſent aduertiſemẽt vnto Claudius, accordingly to that he habde in commaundement, if any vrgent neceſſitie ſhould ſo moue him. Claudius therefore hauing all things before hand in a readineſſe, ſtreightwayes vpon the receyuing of the aduertiſement, departed from Rome, and came by water vnto Oſtia, and from thence vnto Maſſilia, & ſo through Fraunce, ſped his iourneys till hee came to ẏ ſide of the Occean ſea, and then embarquing hymſelfe with his people, paſſed ouer into Britaine, & came to his army which abode his cõming neere to ẏ Thames ſide, where being ioined, they paſſed the Riuer agayne, fought with the Britaines in a pight fielde, and getting the victory, toke the towne of Camalodunum, whiche was the chiefeſt Citie appertayning vnto Cynobelinus. Hee reduced alſo many other people into his ſubiection, ſome by force, and ſome by ſurrender, wherof he was called oftentimes by the name of Emperour, which was againſt the ordinance of ẏ Romanes: for it was not lawfull to any to take ẏ name vppon him, oftner than once in any one voyage.

Moreouer, Claudius toke from the Britaynes their armor and weapons, and committed the gouernement of them vnto Plautius, cõmaunding him to endeuor himſelfe to ſubdue the reſidue.

Thus hauing brought vnder a parte of Britayne, and hauing made his abode therein not paſt a firteene dayes, he departed, and came backe agayne to Rome with victory in ẏ ſixth moneth after his ſetting forth from thence, gyuing after his returne, to his ſon, the ſurname of Britannicus. *Dion Caſſius.* *Suetonius.*

This warre he finiſhed, in manner as before is ſayd, in the fourth yeare of his raigne, why che fell in the yeare of the worlde. 4011. and after the birth of our Sauioure. 44. after the building of Rome. 79.

44

There be that write, how Claudius ſubdued and added to the Romaine Empire, the Iſles of Orkney, ſituate in the Northy Ocean beyonde Britayne, which might well be brought to paſſe eyther by Plautius, or ſome other his Lieutenant: for Plautius indeede for his noble prowes and valiant actes atchieued in Britayne, afterwards triumphed. Titus the ſonne of Veſpaſian alſo wanne no ſmall prayſe for deliuering hys father out of daunger in his time, being beſette with a company of Britaynes, whiche the ſayde Titus bare downe and put to flight with greate ſlaughter. Beda following ỳ authoritie of Suetonius, writeth briefly of this matter, and ſayth, that Claudius paſſing ouer into this Iſle, to the whiche neyther before Julius Ceſar, nor after him any ſtraunger durſt come, within few days receyued the moſt part of the countrey into hys ſubiection without battell or bloudſhed.

Gildas alſo writing of this reuolting of the Britaynes, ſayth thus, when information thereof was gyuen to the Senate, and that hall was made with a ſpeedy army to reuenge the ſame, there was no warlike nauie prepared in the Sea to fyghte valiantly for defence of the countrey, no ſquare battell, no right wing, nor any other prouiſion appoynted on the ſhore to bee ſeene, but the backes of the Britaynes in ſtead of a ſhielde are ſhewed to the perſecuters, and their neckes ready to bee cutte off with the ſworde through colde feare running through their bones, whiche ſtretched forth their handes to be bound like womanly creatures, ſo that a common Prouerbe followed thereof, whiche was commonly vſed and ſpoken, that the Britaynes were neyther valiant in warre, nor faythfull in peace: and ſo the Romaynes ſleaing many of the Rebelles, reſeruing ſome, and bringing them to bondage, that the lande ſhoulde not lye altogither vntilled and deſert, returned into Italy out of that lande which was voyde of wine and oile, leauing ſome of their men there for gouernors to chaſtiſe the people, not ſo muche with an army of men, as with ſcourge and whippe, and if the matter ſo required, to apply the naked ſworde vnto theyr ſydes: ſo that it might be accompted Rome and not Britayne. And what coigne eyther of braſſe, ſiluer, or golde there was, the ſame to be ſtamped with the Image of the Emperoure. Thus farre Gildas.

In the Britiſh hiſtorie we finde other report as thus, that Claudius at his comming a lande at Porcheſter, beſieged that towne, to the reſkew

Gal. Mo. Mat. W.



whereof came Guinderius, and giuing battell to the Romaynes, put them to the worſe, till at length, one Hamo, beeyng on the Romaynes ſyde, chaunged hys ſhielde and armoure, apparellyng hymſelfe lyke to a Britayne, and ſo entring into the thickeſt preaſſe of the Britiſhe hoſt, came at length to the place where the King was, and there ſlewe him. But Aruiragus perceyuing this miſchiefe, to the ende the Brytaines ſhoulde not be diſcouraged therewith, he cauſed himſelfe to be adorned with the Kings coate armour, and other abiliments, and ſo as Kyng continued the fight with ſuch manhood, that the Romaynes were put to flighte. Claudius fleeing backe to hys Shippes, and Hamo to the nexte Woodde, whome Aruiragus purſued, and at length droue hym vnto the Sea ſyde, and there ſlewe hym ere hee coulde take

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Hamo to the nerte woodes, whome Aruiragus purſued, and at length, droue him vnto the Sea ſide, and there ſlewe hym ere hee coulde take the hauen which was there at hand, ſo that the ſame hauen toke name of hym, and was called long tyme after Hamons hauen, and at length by corruption of ſpeeche, it was called Hampton, and ſo continueth vnto thys day commonly called Southampton.

Thus haue you heard howe Guyderius or Guinderius (whether you will) came to his ende, which chanced (as ſome write) in the. 28. yeare of his raigne.

Aruiragus.



ARuiragus ỹ yõgeſt ſon of Kimbelyne, & brother to Guinderius, becauſe the ſame Guinderius lefte no iſſue to ſucceede him, was admitted Kyng of Britayne in the yere of oure Lord. 45. or rather. 46.

This Aruiragus, otherwiſe called by the Britaynes Meuricus or Mabus, of Tacitus Praſutagus, is alſo named Armager in ỹ Engliſhe Chronicle, by whiche Chronicle (as it appeareth) he bare hymſelfe ryght manfully againſt Claudius and his Romaynes in the warre whyche they made agaynſte hym: in ſo muche, that when Claudius hadde renued his force and wonne Pozcheſter, and after came to beſiege Wincheſter, (in the whiche Aruiragus as then was encloſed,) Aruiragus aſſembling his power, was ready to come forth and giue Claudius battell: wherevppon, Claudius doubting the ſequele of the thing, ſente meſſengers vnto Aruiragus to treate of concord, and ſo by compoſition, the matter was taken vp, with condition, that Claudius ſhoulde gyue his daughter Geniſſa in marriage vnto Aruiragus, and Aruiragus ſhuld acknowledge to holde hys Kingdome of the Romaynes.

Some write that Claudius in fauour of the ballant prowes which he ſaw and found in Aruiragus, honored not only hym with the marriage of hys daughter the ſayd Geniſſa, but alſo to the ende to make the Towne more famous where this marriage was ſolemnized, hee therefore called it *Glaudioceſtria*, after his name, the whiche in the Britiſhe tong was called before that daye Caerleon, and after Glouernia, of a Duke that ruled in Demetia, that heyght Gluup, but now it is called Glowceſter.

Other there be that write, how Claudius being vanquiſhed in battell by Aruiragus, was compelled by the ſayde Aruiragus to giue vnto him his ſayde daughter to wife, with condition as before is mentioned: and that then Aruiragus was crowned King of Britayne But Sueto- *Suetonius.*
nius may ſeme to repugne this part of the Britiſh hiſtory, the whyche in the life of Claudius witneſſeth, that he had by three wiues only three daughters, that is to ſay, Claudia, Antonia, and Octauia: and further, that reputing Claudia not to be his, cauſed hir to be caſt downe at the dore of his wife Herculanilla, whome he had forſaken by way of diuorcement. And that hee beſtowed his daughter Antonia firſt on Cn. Pompeius Magnus, and after on Fauſtus Silla, right noble yong men: and Octauia, he matched with Nero his wiues ſonne, whereby it ſhoulde appeare, that this ſuppoſed marriage betwixte Aruiragus and the daughter of Claudius, is but a fayned tale.

And heere to ſpeake my fancy alſo what I thynke of this Aruirogus, and other the Kyngs whome Galfrid and ſuch as haue followed hym do regiſter in order, to ſucceede one after another: I will not denie but ſuche perſons there were, and the ſame happily bearing very great rule in the lande, but that they reigned as abſolute kings ouer the whole, or that they ſucceeded one after another in manner as is auouched by the ſame writers, it ſeemeth moſt vnlyke to bee true: for rather it may bee geſſed by that whyche as well Gildas as the olde approued Romayne writers haue written, that diuers of theſe Kyngs lyued about one time, or in tymes greatly differing from thoſe tymes, whyche in oure writers wee finde noted: as for enſample, Iuuenall maketh thys Aruiragus of whome we nowe entreate, to raigne about Domitians tyme. For my parte therefore, ſith this order of the Britiſhe Kingly ſucceſſion in thys place is more eaſie to be flatly denyed and vtterly reproued, than eyther wiſely defended, or truly amended, I will referre the reforming thereof, vnto thoſe that haue perhappes ſeene more than I haue, or more deepely conſidered the thyng, to trie out an vndoubted truth: and in the meane tyme, I haue thoughte good, both to ſhewe what I fynde in oure hyſtories, and likewiſe in the forrayne writers, to the which we thynke namely in thys behalfe, whyleſt the Romaynes gouerned there, we may eaſily gyue moſt credit: doe wee otherwiſe neuer ſo muche contente ourſelues with other vayne and fonde conceytes.

To proceede yet with the Hiſtory as wee fynde it by our writers ſet forth: It is reported, that after the ſolemnization of thys marriage, whyche was done with all honor that myghte bee deuiſed, Claudius ſente certayne legions of Souldyers forth to goe into Irelande to *Legions of Souldiers ſent into Irelande.*

ſubdue that countrey, and returned himſelfe to Rome.

After his departure, Aruiragus rode about to viewe the ſtate of hys Realme, repayring Cities and Townes decayed by the warre of the Romaynes, and ſawe hys people gouerned with ſuche iuſtice and good order, that hee was both dreadde, and greatly beloued: ſo that in tract of tyme, hee grewe very welthie, and by reaſon thereof, fell into pride, ſo that he denyed his ſubiection to the Romaynes. Wherevpon Claudius appoynted Veſpaſian with an army to goe as Lieutenant into Bryttayne, the whiche iourney was to him the beginning of his aduancemente to that honor, whiche after to him moſt luckily ſucceeded. But if wee ſhall credite our Britayne writers, he gayned not muche at Aruiragus handes, for where he woulde haue landed at Sandwich or Richbourrow, Aruiragus was ready to reſiſt hym, ſo as he durſt not once enter the hauen: for Aruiragus had there ſuche a puiſſaunte number of armed menne, that

Veſpaſian in Britayne. *Cornelius Tac. in vit. Agr. lib. 3. and lib. 3.*

Hiſt. Galf. Mon. Rutupis.



the Romaynes were afrayde to approche the lande.

Veſpatian therefore withdrewe from thence, and coaſting Weſtwarde, landed at Totnes, and comming to Exeter, beſieged that Citie: but about the ſeuenth day after he hadde planted hys ſiege, came Aruiragus, and gaue him battell, in the which both the Armies ſuſteyned greate loſſe of men, and neyther parte got any aduantage of the other. On the morrowe after, the Queene Geniſſa made them friendes, and ſo the warres ceaſſed.

But ſeeing that (as before I haue ſayde) the troth of this hiſtorie may be greatly miſtruſted, yee ſhall heare what the Romayne writers ſay of Veſpaſianus being here in Bryttayne, beſide that whiche wee haue already recited out of Dion in the lyfe of Guiderius.

In the dayes of the Emperoure Claudius, through fauour of Narciſſus (one that myghte do all with Claudius) the ſayde Veſpaſian was ſente as Coronell or Lieutenaunt of a legion of Souldiers into Germany, and beeyng remoued from thence into Bryttayne, hee fought thirtie ſeuerall tymes with the enimies, and brought vnto the Romayne obeyſance, two moſt mightie nations, and aboue twentie Townes, togither with the Ile of Wight, and theſe exployctes hee atchieued, partly vnder the conduct of Aulus Plautius that was Ruler of Bryttayne for the Emperour Claudius, and partly vnder the ſame Emperour himſelfe. For as it is euident by writers of good credite, hee came firſt ouer into Bryttayne with the ſayd Aulus Plautius, and vnder him ſerued right valiantly, as before in place wee haue partly touched. By Tacitus it appeareth, that he was called to be partener in the gouernment of things in Bryttayne with Claudius, and had ſuch ſucceſſe, as it appeared to what eſtate of honor hee was predeſtinate, hauing conquered nations, and taken Kings priſoners. But nowe to make an ende with Aruiragus: At length whē hee perceyued that hys force was too weake to preuayle agaynſte the Romayne Empire, and that hee ſhoulde ſtriue but in vayne to ſhake the yoke of ſubiection from the neckes of the Bryttaynes, hee made a ſtiall peace with them nowe in hys olde age, and ſo continued in quiete the reſidue of hys raigne, whyche hee laſtly ended by deathe, after hee hadde gouerned the lande by the ſpace of thirtie yeeres, or but eyght and twentie, as ſome other doe imagine. He dyed in the yeere of grace. 73. as one Authoure affirmeth, and was buried at Glouceſter.

Gal. Mon.

Veſpaſian. Suetonius. Sabellic.

Math. W. 73

In the dayes of this Aruiragus, about the yeare

yeare of Christ. 52. Joseph of Aramathia (whych buried the body of our Sauioure, beeing sente by Philippe the Apostle (as John Bale, followyng the authoritie of Gildas and other Britishe writers reciteth.) After that the Christians were dispersed out of Gallia, came into Britayne with diuers other godly Christian men, and preaching



the Gospell there amongst the Britaynes, and instructing thē in the faith and lawes of Christ, conuerted many to the true belicke, and baptised them in the wholesome water of regeneration, and there continued all the residue of his lyfe, obteyning of the King a plotte of grounde where to inhabite, not past a foure miles from Welles, and there with his fellowes began to lay the first foundation of that true and perfect Religion, in which place (or neere thereunto) was afterward erected the Abbey of Glastenbury.

Nicephorus writeth in his second Booke and fourth Chapter, that one Simon Zelotes came likewise into Britayne. And Theodoretus in his 9. Booke *de Curandis Græcorū affectibus* sheweth, that Paule being released of his secōd imprisonment, and suffered to departe from Rome, preached the Gospell to the Britaynes and to other nations in the West.

The same thing in manner doth Sophronius the Patriarke of Jerusalem witnesse. Tertullian also may bee a witnesse of the auncientie of the fayth receyued heere in Britayne, where hee writing of these times sayeth: Those places of ỹ Britaines to the whiche the Romaynes coulde not approche, were subiect vnto Christ, as were also the countreys of Sarmatia, Dacia, Germania, Scithia, and others.

Thus it may appeare, that ỹ Christian religion was planted here in this lande shortly after Christs time, although it certaynely appeare not who were the firste that preached the Gospell to the Britaynes, nor whether they were Grekes or Latines.

Cornelius Tacitus writeth, that the Romayne Emperoures in this season gouerned this land by Lieutenantes and Threasorers, the which were called by the name of Legates and Procurators, thereby to keepe the inhabitantes the better in order. Treasorers or recyuers.

And Aulus Plautius a noble man of Rome of the order of Consuls, was sente hither as the first Legate or Lieutenant (in maner as before ye haue heard) and after him Ostorius Scapula, the whiche Scapula at his comming, founde the Ile in trouble, the enimies hauing made inuasiō into the countrey of those that were frends to the Romaynes, the more presumptuously, for that they thought, a new Lieutenaunt with an army to him vnaquaynted and commen ouer nowe in the beginning of Winter, woulde not be hable to march forth against them. But Ostorius vnderstanding, that by the firste successe and chance of warre, feare or hope is bredde and augmented, hasteth forwarde to encounter with them, and such as he findeth abroade in the countrey he sleath downe right on euery side, and pursueth such as fledde, to the ende they shoulde not come togither againe: and for that a displeasant and a doubtfull peace was not like to bring quietnesse eyther to him or to his army, hee toke from such as he suspected, theyr armour. And after this, hee goeth about to defende the ryuers of Auon and Seuerne, with placing his souldiers in campes fortified neere to the same. But the Oxfordshire menne and other of those parties would not suffer hym to accomplish his purpose in any quiet sort, being a puissant kynd of people, & not hitherto weakened by warres: for they willingly at the firste had ioyned in amitie with the Romaines. The Countreys adioyning also beeing induced by their procurements, came to thē, and so they chose forth a plotte of grounde, fensed with a mightie ditche, vnto the whiche there was no way to enter but one, and the same very narrowe, so as the horsemen could not haue any easie passage to breake in vpon them. Ostorius, although he hadde no legioneste Souldiers, but certayne bandes of aydes, marcheth forthe towards the place within the which the Britaines were lodged, and assaulting them in the same, breaketh through into their camp, wher the Britaynes being impeached with their owne inclosiers whiche they had reysed for defense of the place, knowing how for their rebellion, they were like to finde smal mercy at the Romaynes hāds, when they sawe now no way to escape, layde about them manfully, and shewed greate proofe of their valiant stomackes.

Aulus Plautius.

Ostorius Scapula.

Cor. Tacitus lib. 12.

Cornelius Tacit. lib. 12.

In this battell, the sonne of the Lieutenante M. Ostorius deserued the prise and commendation of preseruing a Citizen out of the enimies hands. Which was a certayne Crowne, to be set on his head called ciuica corona.

But nowe with this ſlaughter of the Oxeforoſhire menne, dyuers of the Britaynes that ſtoode doubtfull what way to take, eyther to reſt in quiet, or to moue warres, were contented to bee reformable vnto a reaſonable order of peace, and ſo Oſtorius leadeth hys armye againſte the people called Cangi, that inhabited that parte of Wales that nowe is called Denbighſhire, whiche countrey hee ſpoyled on euery ſide, no enemie once daring to encounter him: and if any of them aduentured priuily to ſet vpon thoſe whiche they founde behinde, or on the outſides of his army, they were cut ſhortere they could eſcape out of daunger. Whereupon, hee marched ſtraighte to their campe, and giuing them battell, vanquiſheth them. And vſing the victory as reaſon moued him, he leadeth his army againſte thoſe that inhabited the inner partes of Wales, ſpoyling the countrey on euery ſide.

Cangi.

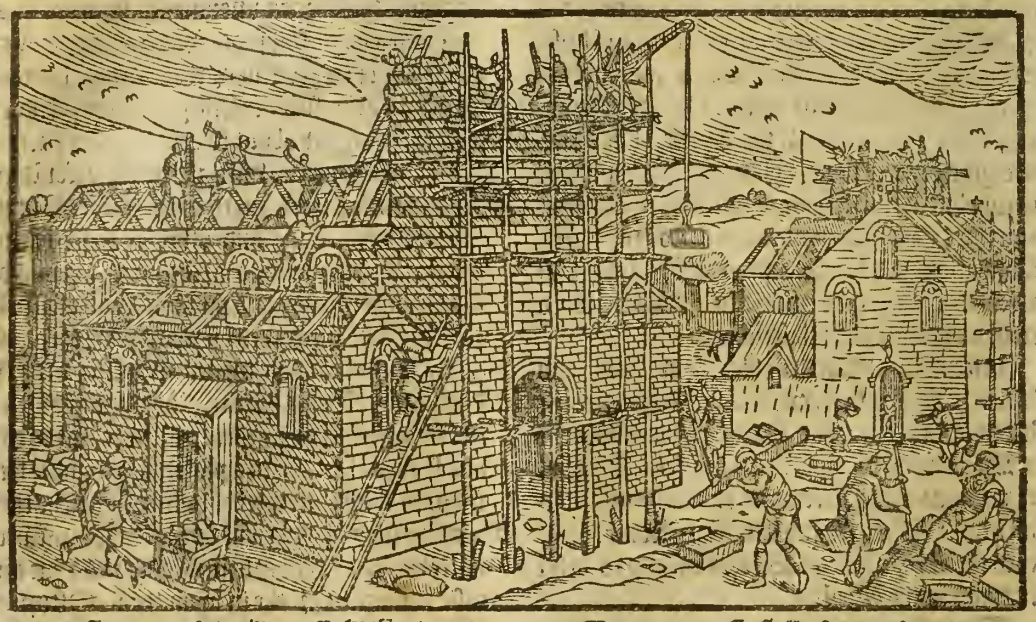
And thus ſharply purſuing the Rebells, he approched neere to the Sea ſide, whiche lyeth ouer againſt Ireland.

Whileſt this Romane Captayne is thus occupied, hee was called backe by the Rebellion of the Yorkeſhire men, whome forthwith vppon his comming vnto them, he appeaſed, puniſhyng the firſt authors of that tumult with death.

In the meane tyme, the people called Silures, beeyng a very fierce kynde of menne, and right valiante, prepare to make warre againſte the Romaynes, for they might not bee bowed neyther with roughneſſe, nor yet with any curteous handling, ſo that they were to be tamed by an army of legionary ſouldiers to be brought among them. *Cor. Tacitus lib. 12.*

Therefore to reſtrayne the furious rage of thoſe people and their neighbours, Oſtorius peopled a Towne neere to their borders, called Camulodunũ with certayne bandes of olde Souldiers, there to inhabite with theyr Wiues, and children, according to ſuch manner as was vſed in like caſes of placing naturall Romaynes in any Towne or Citie, for the more ſuretie and defence of the ſame.

Here alſo was a temple builded in the honor of Claudius the Emperour, where were two Images erected, one of the Goddeſſe Victoria, and an other of Claudius himſelfe. But nowe there reſteth a great doubt among writers, where thys Citie or Towne called Camulodunum dyd ſtand of ſome and not without good grounde of probable coniectures, gathered vpon the aduiſed conſideration of the circumſtances of that whych in olde authors is found written of this place, it is thought to be Colcheſter. But verily by thys place of Tacitus it may ſeeme rather to be ſome other towne, ſituate more Weſtward than Colcheſter, ſith a colonie of Romaine Souldiers were planted there to bee at hande, for the repreſſing of the vnquiet Silures, whiche by conſent of moſt writers inhabited in Southwales, or neere the Welch Marches.



Camulodunũ Colcheſter.

Silures where they inhabited

There was a Caſtell of great fame in tymes paſt that hight Cameletum, or in Britiſhe Caermalet, whiche ſtoode in the Marches of Sommerſetſhire: but ſith there is none that hathe ſo written before thys tyme, I will not ſaye that happily ſome error hathe growen by miſtakyng the name of Camalodunum, for this Camaletum by ſuch as haue copyed forthe the Booke of Cornelius Tacitus, and yet ſo it myght be done by ſuche as found it ſhort, or vnperfectly written, namely, by ſuche ſtraungers or other, to whome onely the name of Camulodunum was onely knowne, and Camaletum peraduenture neuer ſeene nor heard of. As for enſample, an Engliſhman that hath heard of Waterforde in Ireland, and not of Werforde, might in taking forthe a copie

copie of ſome writing eaſily committe a faulte in noting the one for the other.

We fynde in Ptolomei Camudolon to bee a Citie belonging to the Trinobantes, and he maketh mention alſo of Camulodunum, but Humfrey Lhuyde thinketh that hee meaneth all one Citie.

Notwithſtanding, Polidore Vergill is of a contrary opinion, ſuppoſing the one to be Colcheſter indeede, and the other that is Camelodunum to be Duncaſter or Pontfret. Leland eſteeming it to be certaynely Colcheſter, taketh the Iceni alſo to be the Northfolke men. But howe ſo euer we ſhall take thys place of Tacitus, it is euidente ynough that Camulodunum ſtoode not farre from the Thaynes. And therefore to ſeeke it with Hector Boetius in Scotlande, or with Polidore Vergill ſo farre as Doncaſter or Pontfret, it may bee thought a playne error: but to leaue each man to his owne iudgemente in a matter ſo doubtfull (as to many it ſeemeth to be) we will proceede with the hiſtorie, touching the warres betwixte the Romaynes and the Sylurians, againſte whome (truſting not only vppon theyr owne manhode, but alſo vppon the hygh prowes and valiantie of Caractacus) Oſorius ſet forwarde. Caractacus excelled in fame aboue all other the Princes of Britaine, aduanced thereto by many doubtfull aduentures and many proſperous exployte whiche in his tyme he hadde atchieued: but as hee was in policie and aduauntage of place better prouided than the Romaines: ſo in power of Souldiers hee was ouermatched. And therefore he remoued the warre into the partes of that countrey where the Ordouices inhabited, whiche are thoughte to haue dwelled in the bordures of Shropſhire, Cheſhire, and Lancaſhire, the which people togither with other that miſliked of the Romayne gouernemente, he toyned in one, and choſe forthe a plotte of grounde moſt for his aduantage, determining there to trie the vttermoſt hazarde of Mars his iudgemente.

The place whyche he thus choſe was ſuch, as the entries, the backwayes, and the whole ſituation thereof made for the Britaynes aduauntage, and cleane contrarye to the Romaynes, enclofed amongſt high hilles, and if there were any eaſie paſſage to enter it vppon any ſyde, the ſame was ſhutte vp with mightie huge ſtones in manner of a rampire, and afore it there ranne a riuer without any certayne fourde to paſſe ouer it.

This place is ſuppoſed of ſome to lye in the confynes of Shropſhire aloft vppon the toppe of an hygh hyll there, enuironed with a triple rampire and ditch of great depth, hauing three entries into it, not directly one againſte an other, but aſlope.

It is alſo (ſaye they) compaſſed aboute with two Riuers, to witte, on the lefte hand with the Riuer called Clun, and on the ryght with an other Riuer called Teude. In three fydes there of, the clime is very ſteepe and headlong, and no way eaſie to come vnto it, but onely one.

Caratacke hauyng thus fortified hymſelfe within thys place, and broughte his army into it: hee to encourage hys people, exhorted them to ſhewe theyr manhode, affirmyng that to bee the daye, and that army to bee the ſame wherein ſhoulde appeare the beginnyng eyther of libertie, then to bee recouered, or elſe of perpetuall bondage for euer to be ſubieyned.

He rehearſed alſo ſpecially by name thoſe their elders, whiche hadde reſiſted Julius Ceſar, by whoſe high valiantie they lyued free from the bloudy thraldome and tributes of the Romayns, and enioyed theyr Wiues and children ſafe and vndefiled. And thus diſcourſing of many thyngs with them, in ſuch hope of aſſured victory, that they began to reyſe theyr cries, eache one for himſelfe declaring, that he was bound by the dutie he ought to the Gods of his countrey, not to ſhrinke for feare of any woundes or hurtes that might chaunce vnto them by the enimies weapon.

Thys cheerefulneſſe of the Britaynes, greatly aſtonied the Romayne Lieutenant. The hideous courſe alſo of the Riuer before his face, the fortificatiõs and craggie height of the hilles, all ſet full of enimies ready to beate him backe, putte him in greate feare: for nothyng he ſawe afore him, but that whiche ſeemed dreadfull to thoſe that ſhould aſſayle. But the Souldiers yet ſeemed to be very deſirous of battayle, requeſting him to bring them to it, proteſting that nothyng was able to reſiſt the force of noble prowes. Herewith the Captaynes and Tribunes diſcourſing the like, pricked forwarde the earneſt willes whiche theyr Souldiers had to fighte.

Oſorius perceyuing ſuche courage and readie willes in the menne of warre, as well Souldiers as Captaynes, hee beganne to beſturre himſelfe, and left nothing vndone that myghte ſerue to ſet forwarde theyr earneſt deſire to battell.

And hauing aduiſedly conſidered whiche wayes were harde, and impoſſible to bee entred vpon, and whyche places were moſt eaſie for hys people to finde paſſage by, he leadeth them forth, beeing moſt earneſtly beaute to cope with theyr enymies. *Cornelius Tacitus. Annal. lib. 12.*

Hee paſſed the water without anye greate difficultie, but comming to the rampyre, he loſt many of his people, ſo lõg as the fight was cõtinued

nued with ſhotte and caſting of dartes: but after that the Romaynes couering them ſelues with theyr targets, came once cloſe togither, and approched vnder ẏ Rampire, they remoued away ẏ ſtones which ẏ Britaynes had roughly couched togither, and ſo they came to ioyne with them at handblowes. The Britaynes being vnarmed, and not able to abide the force of the armed men, withdrew to ẏ top of the hilles, but as well theyr enimies that were light armed as the other with heauie armoure followed and brake in among them, ſo as the Britaynes coulde not turne them any way forth to eſcape, for the light armed mẽ with ſhot a farre off, and the heauie armed with weapons at hand, ſought to make ſlaughter and wracke of them on eache ſide, ſo that this was a



right dolefull day vnto the Britaynes.

The wife and daughter of Caratake were taken priſoners, and his breethren alſo yeelded thẽſelues. He himſelfe eſcaped, and committing hys perſon vnto the aſſurance and truſt of Cartemãdua Queene of the Brigantes, was by hir delyuered into the hands of the Romaynes.

This was a nine yeres after ẏ warres in Britayne firſte began. His name being brought forth of the Iſles, was already ſpredde ouer the prouinces adioyning, and began nowe to growe famous through Italy. Men therefore were deſirous to ſee what manner of man he was that had ſo many yeeres ſet at naught the puiſſante force of the Empire. For in Rome the name of Caratacus was much ſpoken of. And the Emperoure whileſt hee goeth about to preferre his owne honor, aduanceth the glory of him alſo that was vanquiſhed. For the people were called forthe as vnto ſome great notable ſight or ſpectable. The Pretorian bandes ſtode in order of battell armed in the field that lay before their lodgings, through which fielde Caratake ſhould come. Then paſſed forth the trayne of his friends and ſeruantes, and ſuche armour, riches, Iewels, and other thynges as had bin gote in thoſe warres, were borne forwarde, and openly ſhewed, that all men myghte behold the ſame.

Cornelius Tac. lib. 12. Caratakes name renowmed.

After theſe followed his breethren, Wife, and daughters: and laſt of all came Caratacus himſelfe, whoſe countenaunce was nothing lyke to theirs that went afore him, for whereas they fearing puniſhment for their Rebellion with wailefull countenence craued mercy, hee neyther by countenaunce nor wordes ſhewed any token of a diſcouraged minde, but beeyng preſented before the Emperour Claudius ſitting in his Tribunall ſeate, he began his tale in this wiſe. If there hadde bin in mee ſo muche moderation in tyme of proſperitie, as there was nobilitie of birth, and puiſſance, I hadde come to this Citie rather as a friende than as a Captayne. Neyther ſhould I haue thought diſdeyne, beeyng borne of moſt noble parentes, and ruling ouer many people, to haue accepted peace by way of ioyning with you in league. My preſente ſtate as it is to mee reprochfull, ſo to you it is honorable. I hadde at commaundemente Horſes, men, armour, and great riches, what maruell is it if I was loth to forgoe the ſame? For if you ſhall loke to gouerne all men, it muſt needes followe that all meune muſt become your ſlaues. If I hadde at the firſte yeelded my ſelfe, neyther my power nor youre glory hadde bin ſet forth to the world, and vpon myne execution I ſhoulde ſtraight haue bin forgotten. But if you nowe graunte me life, I ſhall be a witneſſe for euer of youre mercifull clemencie.

The Emperour with theſe wordes being pacified, graunted life both to Caratake and alſo to

his

his wife and brethren, who being loſed from their bandes, went alſo to the place where the Empres Agrippina ſate (not farre of) in a Chayre of eſtate, whome they reuerenced with the lyke prayſe and thankes as they had done before to the Emperour.

After this, the Senate was called togither, who diſcourſed of many things touching thys honourable victorie atchieued by the taking of Caratake, eſteeming the ſame no leſſe glorious, than whē P. Scipio ſhewed in triumph Siphax king of the Numidians, or L. Paulus the Macedonian king Perces, or other Romain captaynes any ſuch king whom they had banquiſhed.

Herebpon it was euen determined, that Oſtorius ſhoulde enter the Citie of Rome wyth tryumphe lyke a Conquerour, for ſuche proſperous ſucceſſe as hytherto had followed hym: but afterwardes hys proceedings were not ſo luckie, eyther for that after Caratake was remoued out of the way, the Romaines as though the warre had beene finiſhed, looked negligently to themſelues, eyther elſe for that the Brytayns taking compaſſion of the miſerable ſtate of Caratake, being ſo worthie a Prince, through fortunes froward aſpect caſt into miſerie, were more earneſtly ſet to reuenge hys quarell. And herebpon they cōpaſſe about the maiſter of the campe, and thoſe legionarie bandes of ſouldiers, which were left amongſt the Silures to fortifie there a place for the armie to lodge in: and if ſuccour had not come out of the next townes and caſtels, the Romains had bene deſtroyed by ſiege. The head Captaine yet, and .viij. Centurions, and euery one elſe of the cōpanies being moſt forward, were ſlaine.

And ſhortly after, they ſet bpon the Romaine forragers, and put them to flight, and alſo ſuche companies of horſemen as were appoynted to garde them. Herebpon Oſtorius ſetteth forth certaine bands of light horſmen, but neither could he ſtay the flight by that meanes, til finally the legions entred the battail, by whoſe force they were ſtayd, and at length the Romaines obteyned the better: but the Brytayns eſcaped by flight with-



out great loſſe, by reaſon the day was ſpent.

After this many bickerings chaunced betwixt the Brytains & Romains, and oftentymes they wrought theyr feates more like to the trade of them that vſe to robbe by the high wayes, than of thoſe that make open warre, catching their enimies at ſome aduauntage in woods and bogs, as hap or force miniſtred occaſion bpon malice conceyued, or in hope of pray, ſomtimes by cōmaundement, and ſometimes without eyther cōmaundement or knowledge of captain or officer.

At one time the Brytains ſurpriſed two bands of footmen that were with the Romains in ayde, and ſente forth to forrey abroade vnaduiſedly, through couetouſneſſe of the Captaines. Thys feat was atchieued by the Silures alſo, the which in beſtowing priſoners and part of the ſpoyle vnto other of their neighbours, procured them likewiſe to rebel againſt the Romains, & to take part with them. The Silures were the more earneſtly ſet againſt the Romains, by occaſion of wordes which the Emperor Claudius had vttred in their diſfauor, as thus: that euē as the Sicanibres were deſtroyed and remoued into Gallia, ſo likewiſe muſt the Silures be dealt with, and the whole nation of them extinguiſhed.

Theſe wordes being blowne abroade, and knowne ouer all, cauſed the Silures to conceyue a wonderfull hatred againſt the Romaynes, ſo that they were fully bent, eyther to retayne theyr libertie, or to die in defence thereof bpon the enimies ſwordes.

In the meane tyme Oſtorius Scapula departed this life, a right noble warriour, and one who by little and little enſuing the ſteps of Aulus Plautius his predeceſſor, did what hee coulde to

bring the Ile into the forme of a prouince, which in part he accompliſhed.

There be ſome led by coniecture grounded vpon good aduiſed conſiderations, that ſuppoſe this Oſtorius Scapula beganne to build the Citie of Cheſter after the ouerthrow of Caractacus, for in thoſe parties he fortified ſundry holdes, and placed a number of olde ſouldiers either there in that ſelf place, or in ſome other neare therevnto by way of a colonie. And forſomuch (ſay they) as we read of none other of any name thereaboutes, it is to bee thought that he plãted the ſame in Cheſter, where his ſucceſſors did afterwardes vſe to harborow their legions for the winter ſeaſon, and in time of reſt from iourneyes, which they haue to make againſt their common enimies. In deede it is a common opinion among the people there vnto this day, that the Romains built thoſe vaultes or tauernes (which in that citie are vnder ẏ grounde) with ſome part of the caſtell. And verily as Ranulf Higeden ſayth, a man that ſhall view & well conſider thoſe buildings, he may think the ſame to be the worke of Romains rather than of any other people. That the Romain legions did make their abode there, no man ſene in antiquities can doubt thereof, for the auncient name *Caer leon ar dour deuy*, that is, the Citie of Legions vpon the water of Dee, prouetb it ſufficiently ynough.

W. H. in his Chronologie.

Ra. Higeden alias Ceſtrenſis.

But now to returne vnto Oſtorius Scapula, we finde in Cornelius Tacitus, that during the time of the ſame Scapula his being lieutenant in this Ile, there were certaine Cities giuen vnto one Cogidune a king of the Brytains, who continued faythfull to the Romaines vnto the dayes of the remembrance of men liuing in the time of the ſayd Cor. Tacit who liued and wrote in the Emperor Domitianus time. And this was done after an olde receyued cuſtome of the people of Rome, to haue both ſubiects & kings vnder their rule and dominion as witneſſeth the ſame Tac.)

Cor. Tacit.

Cogidune a King Brytaine.



A. Didius Lieutenant.

After the deceaſſe of Oſtorius Scapula, to ſupplye his rowmeth was ſent one A. Didius: but ere hee coulde come thinges were brought oute of order, and the Brytaynes had vanquiſhed the legion of the whiche Manlius Valens had the conduct: and this victorie was ſet forth by the Brytaynes to the vttermoſt, that with the bruite thereof they might ſtrike a feare into the Lieutenants heart, nowe vpon his firſt comming ouer. And he himſelfe reported it by letters to the Emperor after ẏ largeſt maner, to the end that if he appeaſed the matter, he might winne the more prayſe, or if hee were put to the worſt, and ſhoulde not preuaile, that then his excuſe might ſeeme the more reaſonable and worthie of pardon. The Silurians were they that had atchieued this victory, and kept a foule ſturre ouer all the countryes aboute them, till by the comming of Didius againſte them, they they were dryuen backe and repulſed.

But herewyth beganne trouble to be rayſed in another part: for after that Caratake was taken, the chiefeſt and moſt ſkilfull Captain which the Brytaynes had, was one Venuſius, a ruler of the people named Iugantes, a man that remayned a long tyme faythfull to the Romains, and by theyr power was defended from his enimies, who hauing maryed with Cartimanda Queene of the Brygantes or Yorkeſhire men. This Cartimãda (as ye haue heard) had deliuered Caratake into the Romains hands, therby miniſtring matter for the Emperour Claudius to triumph, by whiche pleaſure ſhewed to the Romains, ſhee increaſed through theyr friendſhip in power and wealth, whereof followed riotous luſt to ſatiſfie hir wanton appetite, ſo as ſhe falling at ſquare with hir huſbande, maryed Velloca-tus, one of his Eſquiers, to whom ſhe gaue hir kingdome, and ſo diſhonoured hir ſelfe. Herevpon enſued cruell warre, inſomuche that in the ende Venuſius became enimie alſo to the Romaines. But firſt they tugged togither betwixt themſelues, and the Queene by a craftie pollicie founde meanes to catch the brother and couſins of Venutius, but hir enimies nothing therwith diſcouraged, but kindled the more in wrath againſt hir, ceaſſed not to goe forwarde with theyr purpoſe. Many of the Brigantes diſdeyning to be ſubiect vnto a womans rule ẏ had ſo reiected hir huſbãd, reuolted vnto Venutius: but yet ẏ Queenes ſenſual luſt mixed with crueltie, mainteyned the adulterer. Venutius therfore calling to him ſuch aid as he could get, & ſtrẽgthned now by the reuolting of the Brigantes, brought Cartimanda to ſuch a narrow point, ẏ ſhe was in great danger to fal into the hands of hir enimies: which the Romaines forſeeing, vpon ſute made, ſent certaine bands of horſmen & footmen to help hir. They had diuerſe encoũters with the enimies at the firſt, with doutfull ſucceſſe: but at length they preuayled, & ſo deliuered the Queene out of peril, but the kingdome remained to Venutius: againſt whõ ẏ Romains were conſtrayned ſtill to mainteyne the warre.

Venutius ler of the gantes.

Cartiman

Velocat

Venutius keepeth kingdom diſpite of Romains

About the ſame time the legion alſo which Ceſius Nalcica led, got the vpper hand of thoſe Britains againſt whom he was ſent. For Did. being aged, & by victories paſt ynough renowmed, thought it ſufficient for him to make war by his captains, ſo to ſtay and keepe off the enimie.

Certain caſtels and holdes in deed he cauſed to be built & fortified further within ẏ cũtry thã had

beene

bene afore attempted by any of his predeceſſors, and ſo thereby were the confines of the Romains in this Ile ſomwhat inlarged.

Thus haue ye heard with what ſucceſſe the Brytaynes mainteyned warre in defence of their libertie agaynſt the Romaines, whyleſt Claudius ruled the Empire (according to the report of the Romain Writers.)

But here muſt you note, that Hector Boetius following the authoritie of one Veremond a Spaniard, alſo of Cornelius Hibernicus, and Campbell remouith the Silures, Brygantes, and Monantes, ſo farre northward that he maketh the inhabitants of thoſe Countreys which the Scottes haue now in poſſeſſion, and were euen then inhabited (as he affyrmeth) partly by the Scottes, and partly by the Pictes: as in the Scottiſh Hyſtorie ye may ſee more at large, ſo that what notable feate ſoeuer was atchiued by the olde Britains againſt the Romains, the ſame by him is aſcribed vnto Scottes and Pictes, throughout his whole Hyſtorie, whereas (in verie truth) for ſomuch as may bee gathered by coniecture and preſumption of that whiche is left in writing by auncient Authours, the Brygantes inhabited Yorkſhyre, the Silures Wales & the Marches, and the Mouātes in the countrey of Cumberland.

But forſomuch as he hath diligently gathered in what maner the warres were mainteyned by thoſe people agaynſt the Romains, and what valiant exployts were taken in hande, and furniſhed through their ſtoutneſſe and valiantie, ye may there reade the ſame, and iudge at your pleaſure what people they were whome hee ſo muche prayſeth, aduertiſing you hereof by the way, that as we haue before expreſſed, none of the Romain writers mencioneth anye thing of the Scottes, nor once nameth them, tyll the Romaine Empyre beganne to decaye aboute the tyme of the Emperour Conſtantius, the father of Conſtantine the great, ſo that if they had beene in thys Ile then ſo famous both in peace and warre, as they are reported by the ſame Boetius, marueyle might it ſeeme, that the Romaine writers woulde ſo paſſe them ouer with ſilence.

After the death of Claudius the Emperour of Rome, Claudius Domitianus Nero ſucceeded him in gouernment of the Empyre. In the viij. yeare of whoſe raigne, which was after the incarnation. 57. the Romaines receyued a great ouerthrow in Brytain, where neither the lieutenāt A. Didius Gallus (whō in this place Cornelius Tacitus calleth Auitus) coulde during the tyme of his rule do no more but holde that which was alreadie gotten beſide the building of certain Caſtelles (as before ye haue heard:) neyther hys ſucceſſor Veranius, beating and forreying the Wods, could atchiene any further enterpryce, for he was by death preuēted, ſo as he could not proceed forward with his purpoſe touching ỳ warres which hee had ment to haue followed, whoſe laſt wordes (in his teſtament expreſſed) detected him of manifeſt ambition: for adding many things by way of flatterie to content Neroes minde, he wiſhed to haue lined but two yeres longer, in which ſpace he might haue ſubdued prouinces vnto hys dominion, meaning thereby the whole Ile of Brytaine.



Paulus Suetonius lieutenāt.

BVT nowe when thys great loſſe chāced to the Romains, Paulinius Suetonius did gouerne here as lieutenāt, a mā moſt plentifully furniſhed with all giftes of fortune and vertue, and therewith a right ſkilfull warriour.

Angleſey inuaded.

This Suetonius therefore wiſhing to tame ſuch of the Brytains as kept out, prepareth to aſſaile the Ile of Angleſey, a country full of Inhabitants, and a place of refuge for al outlawes and rebels. He builded certaine Brygantines with flat kiles to ſerue for the ebbes & ſhallowe ſhelues here & there, lying vncertainly in the ſtraits which he had to paſſe. The footmen ferried ouer in thoſe veſſels, the horſmen following by the fourds & ſwimming when they came into the deepe, got likewiſe to the ſhore, where ſtood in order of battel an huge number of armed men mixt together, redy to beate back the Romains, & to ſtay the frō comming to land. Amongſt the men, a nūber of women were alſo running vp and down, as they had bin out of their wits in garments like to wild rogues, with their heare hanging downe about their ſhoulders, and bearing firebrands in their handes.

A ſtrange maner of women.

There was alſo a company of their prieſts, or philoſophers called Druides, who with ſtretched forth handes towards heauen, thundred out curſings againſt the Romains in moſt bitter wiſe.

The Druides.

The ſoldiers were ſo amazed with the ſtrāgeneſſe of this ſight, that (as men benummed of their limmes and ſenſes) they ſuffred themſelues to be wounded and ſlain like ſenſeleſſe creatures, til by the calling vpon of their generall, each one encouraging other in no wiſe to feare a ſort of mad diſtract women, they preaſſed forward vnder theyr enſignes, bearing downe ſuche as ſtoode in theyr way, & with their owne fire ſmouldred and burnt them to aſhes.

To conclude, the Romain lieutenāt got poſſeſſiō of the whole Ile, wherin he placed gariſons of mē of war to kepe the people there in ſubiectiō.

Angleſey won by the Romains.

He

Woods cut downe.

He alſo cauſed their woods to be cut downe, that were conſecrated to theyr Goddes, within the which they were accuſtomed to ſacrifice ſuche as they toke priſoners, and by the view of theyr intrayles, in diſmembring them, to learne of theyr Goddes ſome Oracles and ſuch other things as ſhould come to paſſe.

But now in the meane tyme, whileſt Paulinus was abrode about this enterpriſe, the Brytains began to conferre togither of their great and importable miſeries, of their grieuous ſtate of ſeruitude, of their iniuries and wrongs, whiche they dayly ſuſteyned: how that by ſuffrance they profited nothing, but ſtill were oppreſſed with more heauy burdens: eche cuntrie in times paſt had only one king to rule them: now had they two, the

Lieutenant & Procurator.

lieutenant by his captains and ſouldiers, ſpilling their blouds, and the Procurator or receyuer (as we may call him) bereauing them of their goods and ſubſtance. The concord or diſcord betwixt thoſe that were appoynted to rule ouer them, was all alike hurtful vnto the ſubiects, the lieutenaunt oppreſſing them by his captains & men of warre, and the procurator or receyuer by force & reprochfull demeanor, polling them by inſupportable exactions. There was nothing free from the couetous extortion & filthie concupiſcence of thoſe inſaciable perſons, for in theſe dayes (ſay they) the greateſt ſpoiler is the valianteſt man, & moſt commonly our houſes are robbed & rãſacked by a ſort of cowardly raſkals that haue no knowledge of any warlike feates at all. Our children are taken from vs, we are forced to go to the muſters, & are ſet forth to ſerue in forraine parties, as thoſe that are ignorant which way to ſpend our liues in the quarell of our owne countrey. What a number of ſoldiers haue bene tranſported ouer from hence to ſerue in other landes, if a iuſt account were taken therof? The Germaines by manhood haue caſt (ſayd they) from their ſhoulders the heauy yoke of bondage, and are not defended as we are with the main Ocean ſea, but onely with a riuer. Where the Brytaines haue their countrey, their wiues & patents, as iuſt cauſes of warre to fight for: the Romains haue none at all, but a couetous deſire to gayne by rapine, and to ſatiſfie their exceſſiue luſtes. They might eaſily be compelled to depart the cuntry, as Julius Ceſar was, if the Brytains would ſhew ſome proofe of the noble prowes that was euidently found in their worthie auncеſters; and not to ſhrinke or quaile in courage for the miſaduenture that ſhould happily chance by fighting one battaile or two. Greateſt force and conſtancie alwayes remayneth with thoſe that ſeeke to deliuer themſelues from miſerie. Now appeared if that the Goddes had taken ſome pitie of the poore Brytayns, who by their diuine power did withhold the chief captain of the Romaines with his army, as it were baniſhed in an other Iſlande. Let vs (ſayd they) take the opportunitie of time and good occaſion offred, and forthwith proceede in our buſineſſe: for leſſe daunger it is manfully to aduenture, and to goe forwarde with our purpoſe, than to be bewrayed and taken in theſe oure conſultations.

Occaſion not to be neglected.

Thus hauing taken aduice togither, and wholy miſlyking their preſent ſtate, they determined to take weapon in hande and ſo by force, to ſeeke for reformation.

They were verily occaſioned thereto through many euil partes practiſed by ẏ Romains greatly to their griefes and diſpleaſures. For whereas Praſutagus (ſuppoſed by Hector Boetius to bee Aruiragus K. of the people called *Iceni*) had made the Emperor and two of his owne daughters his heyres, ſuppoſing by that meane to haue his kingdome & family preſerued frõ al iniury: it happened quite contrarie to that his expectation. For his kingdom was ſpoyled by the Romain captaines, his wife named Uoadicia beaten by the ſouldiers, his daughters rauiſhed, the Peeres of the realme bereft of their goods, and the kings friends made and reputed as bond ſlaues.

Cor. Tacit.

Praſutagus.

The Oxfordſhire and Ceſterſhire men.

Voadicia Bunduica.

There was alſo an other great cauſe that ſtyred the Brytains to this rebellion, which was the cõfiſcating of their goods: for where as Claudius himſelfe had pardoned the chiefeſt perſons of the forfeytures, Decianus Catus the Procurator of that Ile, mainteyned that the ſame ought to be renued againe.

Dion Caſſ.

To this an other griefe was added, that where Seneca had lent to the nobilitie of ẏ Ile foure. C. *Seſtertium*, ech hũdred being. 500000. *lb.* ſterling, or there about, vpon great intereſt, he required the whole ſumme togither by great rigor & violence, although he forced them at the firſt to take thys money to vſurie.

Vſurie.

Alſo ſuch old ſouldiers as were placed by way of a colonie, to inhabite the towne of Camulodunum, expelled many of the Brytains out of their houſes, droue them out of theyr poſſeſſions and landes, and accounted the Brytaynes as ſlaues and as though they had beene their captiue priſoners or bondmen. Beſide this, the temple there which was built in honor of Claudius as an aulter of eternal rule & gouernment, was ſerued with prieſts, the which vnder color of religiõ did ſpoile, conſume and deuour the goods of all men.

Moreouer ſuch ſtrange ſightes and wonders as chanced about the ſame time, pricked the Britains the rather forwarde. For the Image of the Goddeſſe *Victoria* in the temple at Camulodunũ, ſlipping downe, turned hir backe (as who ſhoulde ſay) ſhee gaue place (as vanquiſhed) to the enimyes.

Alſo in the Hall where the Courtes of Juſtice

Dion Caſſ.

ſtice were kept, there was a marueylous greate noyſe hearde, with muche laughing and a ſturre in the Theatre, with great weeping and lamentable howling, at ſuche tyme as it was certenly knowne that there was no creature there to make any ſuch noyſe.

The Sea at a Spring Tyde appeared of a bloudie colour; and when the Tyde was gone backe, there were ſeene on the Sandes the ſhapes and figures of mens bodies.

Women alſo, as rauiſhed of theyr wittes, and beeing as it were in a furye, prophecied that deſtruction was at hande, ſo that the Brytaynes were put greatly in hope, and the Romaines in feare.

But thoſe things, whether they chaunced by the crafte of man, or illuſion of the Diuell, or whether they proceeded of ſome naturall cauſe, the which the common ſort of people oftentymes taketh ſuperſtitiouſly, in place of vnkouth maruails ſignifying things to followe, we woulde let paſſe leaſt wee might bee thought to offende religion, (the which teaching all things to bee done by the prouidence of God, deſpiſeth the vaine foreſhewings of happes to come) if the order of an hyſtory (ſayth Polidore Vergill) woulde ſo permit, the whiche requyreth all things to bee wrytten in maner as they fall forth and come to paſſe.

But the Brytaynes were chiefely moued to Rebellion by the iuſte complaynte of Boadicia, declaryng howe vnſeemely ſhee had beene vſed and intreated at the handes of the Romaines: and bycauſe that ſhee was moſte earneſtlye bent to ſeeke reuenge of theyr iniuryes, and hated the Romaine name moſte of all other, they chooſe hir to bee Captayne (for they in rule and gouernment made no difference then of ſexe, whether they committed the ſame to man or woman) and ſo by a generall conſpiracie, the more parte of the people hauing alſo allured the Eſſex men vnto Rebellion, roſe and aſſembled themſelues togyther to make warres agaynſt the Romaines.

The auncient Brytaines admitted as well women as me to publike gouernment.

There were of them a hundred and twentie thouſande gotte togither in one armie vnder the leading of the ſayde Boadicia, or Bunduica (as ſome name hir.)

She therefore to encourage hir people agaynſt the enimyes, mounted vp into an high place rayſed vp of turfe and ſoddes made for the nones, out of the which ſhe made a long and verie pithie Oration.

Hir mightie tall perſonage, comely ſhape, ſeuere countenance, and ſharpe voyce, with hir long and yealow treſſes of heare reaching downe to hir thighes, hir braue and gorgeous apparell alſo cauſed the people to haue hir in greate reuerence. She ware a Chaine of golde, greate, and verye maſſie, and was clad in a loſe kyrtle of ſundrie colours, and aloft therevppon ſhee had a thicke Iriſh mantell: hereto in hir hand (as hir cuſtome was) ſhe bare a ſpeare, to ſhew hirſelfe the more



dreadfull. Hir wordes therefore ſet forth with ſuch a Maieſtie of preſence, greatly encouraged the Brytaynes, ſhe vttering the ſame in maner as followeth.

I Doe ſuppoſe (my louers and friendes) that there is no man here but doth well vnderſtande howe much libertie and freedome is to bee preferred before thraldome and bondage. But if there haue bene any of you ſo deceyued with the Romaine perſwaſions, that that ye did not for a time ſee a differenee betweene them, and iudge whether of both is moſt to be deſired. Nowe I hope that hauing tried what it is to be vnder both, ye wil with me reforme your iudgement, and by the harmes alreadie taken, acknowledge your ouerſight, & forſake your former error. Againe in

that

that a number of you haue raſhly preferred an external ſouereintie before the cuſtomes and lawes of your own coũtry, you do at this time (I doubt not) perfitly vnderſtande how much free powertie is to be preferred before great riches, wherevnto ſeruitude is annexed, & much wealth in reſpect of captiuitie vnder forraine magiſtrates, whereupon ſlauerie attendeth. For what thing (I beſeech you) can there be ſo vile & grieuous vnto the nature of man, that hath not happened vnto vs, ſithence the time that the Romains haue bin acquainted with this Iland? are we not all in maner bereued of our riches and poſſeſſions? Doe not we (beſide other things that we giue, and the land that we till for their onely profite) pay them all kindes of tribute, yea for our owne carkaſſes? how much better is it to be once aloft and fortunate in deed, than vnder the forged and falſe title of libertie, continually to to pay for our redemption & freedome? how much is it more cõmẽdable to loſe our liues in defence of our coũtry, than to cary about not ſomuch as our heads toll free, but dayly oppreſſed & laden with innumerable exactions? But to what ende do I remẽber & ſpeake of theſe things, ſince they wil not ſuffer by death to become free? For what and how much we pay for thẽ that are dead, ther is not one here but he doth well vnderſtande. Among other nations, ſuch as are brought into ſeruitude, are alwayes by death diſcharged of their bondage: onely to the Romains, the dead doe ſtill liue, & all to encreaſe their commoditie and gain. If any of vs be without mony (as I know not wel how & which way we ſhould come by any) then are we left naked, and ſpoyled of that which remayneth in our houſes, & we our ſelues left as mẽ deſolate & dead. How ſhal we looke for better dealing at their hãds hereafter, that in the beginning deale ſo vncurteouſly with vs: ſince there is no man that taketh ſo much as a wilde beaſt, but at the firſt hee will cheriſh it, and with ſome gentleneſſe win it to familiaritie. But we our ſelues (to ſay the truth) are authors of our own miſchief, which ſuffred thẽ at the firſt to ſet foot within our Iland, and did not by & by driue them backe as we did Ceſar, or ſlue them with our ſwordes when they were yet farre of, & that the aduenturing hither was dangerous, as we did ſomtime to Auguſtus & Caligula. We therefore that inhabite the Iland, which for the quantitie thereof may well be called a maine, although it be enuironed about with the Deũ ſea, deuiding vs from other nations, ſo that we ſeeme to liue vpon an other earth, and vnder a ſeuerall heauen. We, euen we (I ſay) whoſe name hath bene long kept hid from the wiſeſt of them, all are nowe contemned and trode vnder foote, of them who ſtudie nothing elſe but how to become lords, and haue the rule of other men. Wherefore (my welbeloued Citizens, friendes, and kinſfolke) for I thinke we are all of kinne, ſince we were borne and dwell in this Ile, and haue one name common to vs all: let vs now, euen now, I ſay) becauſe we haue not done it heretofore, and whileſt the remembrance of our auncient libertie remayneth, ſticke togither, & performe that thing which doth apertaine to valiant and hardie courages, to the ende we may enioy, not onely the name of libertie, but alſo freedome it ſelfe, and thereby leaue our force and puiſſant actes for an example to our poſteritie: for if we which haue bin liberally and in honeſt maner brought vp, ſhould vtterly forget our priſtinate felicitie: what may we hope for in thoſe that ſhall ſucceed vs, & are like to be brought vp in miſerie and thraldome. Neither do I make rehearſall of theſe things vnto you, to the ende I woulde prouoke you to miſlike of this preſent eſtate of things (for well I knowe you abhorre it ſufficiently alreadie) neither to put you in feare of thoſe things that are likely to fall hereafter (becauſe you feare and foreſee them very well before hande) but to the ende I maye giue you heartie thankes and worthie commendations, for that of your owne accord and meanes, you determine ſo well to prouide for things neceſſarie (thereby to help both me & your ſelues with willing mindes) as men that are nothing in doubt of all the Romaine puiſſaunce. If you conſider the number of your enimies, it is not greater than yours: if you regarde their ſtrength, they are no ſtronger than you: and all this doth eaſily appeare by the Baſſinets, Habergeans, and Greaues that you bee armed withall, and alſo by the walles, ditches, and trenches that you haue made for your owne defence, to keepe off their excurſions, who rather and for verie feare to fight farre off them, to cope with vs at hande ſtrokes, as our cuſtome of the warres and Martiall diſcipline doeth require. Wherefore we do ſo far exceed them in force, that in mine opinion, our armie is more ſtrong than ſtone walles, and one of our tergats worthy al the armor that they do beare vpon them: by meanes whereof, if the victorie be ours, we ſhal ſome make them captiues: or if we loſe the field, we ſhall eaſily eſcape the daunger. Furthermore, if after the flight we ſhall indeuour to meete any where, we haue the mariſhes here beneath to hide vs in, and the hylles rounde aboute to keepe them off, ſo that by no meanes they ſhall haue their purpoſe of vs, whereas they being ouercharged with heauie armour, ſhall neither be able to follow, if wee flee, nor eſcape oute of our daunger if they bee put to flight: if they happen to breake out at anye tyme as deſirous to make a rode, they returne by and by to their appoynted places, where we may take them as byrdes alreadie in Cage. In all whiche things, as they are farre inferiour to vs, ſo moſte of all in this, that they can not

endure

endure hunger, thyrſt, colde, heate, and Sunſhine, as we can doe. In their houſes alſo and tentes, they make much accounte of theyr baked meates, wine, Oyle, and abrode of the ſhadowe, that if any of theſe do fayle them, they eyther die forthwith, or elſe in time they languiſh and conſume: Whereas to vs euery hearbe and rote is meate, euery ryuer an Oyle, all water pleaſant wine, and euery tree an houſe. Beſide this, there is no place of the lande vnknowne to vs, neither yet vnfriendly to ſuccour vs at neede, whereas to the Romaines they are for the moſte part vnknowne and altogither daungerous, if they ſhoulde ſtande in neede: we can with eaſe ſwim ouer euery Riuer both naked and clad, whiche they with their great ſhips are ſcarce able to performe. Wherefore with hope and good lucke, let vs ſet vpon them couragiouſly, and teach them to vnderſtande, that ſince they are no better than Hares and Foxes, they attempt a wrong match, when they endeuour to ſubdue the Greyhoundes and the Wolfes. With whiche wordes the Queene letteth an Hare go out of hir lappe, as it were thereby to giue Prognoſtication of hir ſucceſſe, which comming well to paſſe, all the companie ſhowted, and cryed out vpon ſuche as not long before had done ſuche violence to ſo noble a perſonage.

Then Bunduica calling them togither againe, proceeded forwarde with hir prayer, which ſhe made before them al, holding vp hir hands after this maner:

I giue thee thankes *Adraſte*, and call vpon thee thou woman of women, which raigneſt not ouer the burthen bearing Egiptians, as *Nitocris*, neither ouer theyr Marchauntes, as doth *Semiramis*, for theſe trifles we haue lerned lately of the Romaines: neyther ouer the people of Rome, as a little heretofore *Meſſalina*, then *Agrippina*, and now *Nero*, who is called by the name of a man, but is in deede a very woman, as doth appeare by his voyce, his harp, and his womans attire: but I call vpon thee as a Goddeſſe which gouerneſt the Brytains, that haue learned not to till the fielde, nor to be handicraftes men, but to lead their liues in the warres after the beſt maner: who alſo as they haue all other things, ſo haue they likewiſe their wiues and children common, whereby the women haue the like audacitie with the men, and no leſſe boldneſſe in the warres than they. Therefore ſithence I haue obteyned a kingdom among ſuch a mightie people, I beſeeche thee to graunt them victorie, health, and libertie, againſt theſe contentious, wicked, and inſatiable men (if they may be called men, which vſe warme bathings, delicate fare, hote Wines, ſweete oyles, ſoft beds, fine Muſicke, and ſo vnkindely luſtes) who are altogither giuen to couetouſneſſe, and crueltie, as theyr doings doe declare. Let not I beſeeche thee, the Neronian or Domitian tyrannie anye more preuaile vpon me, or (to ſay truth) vppon thee, but let them rather ſerue thee, whoſe heauie oppreſſion thou haſt borne withall a long ſeaſon, and that thou wylte ſtyll be our helper onely, O noble Ladie, I heartily beſeech thee. This oration I haue borowed of W. Harriſō.

Finally, when ſhe had made an ende, forward ſhe ſetteth againſt hir enimies, which at that time were deſtitute in deede of theyr Lieutenaunt Paulinus Suetonius, being as then in Angleſey (as before ye haue heard.)

The Romaines that were in Camalodunum ſente for ayde vnto Catus Decianus the Procurator, that is the Emperours agent, treaſurer, or receyuer, for in that Citie, although it were inhabited by Romaines, there was no great gariſon of able men. *Cor. Tacit.* Catus Decianus Procurator.

The Procurator therefore ſent to them ſuch ayd as he thought he might wel ſpare, which was not paſt two hundred men, and thoſe not ſufficientlye furniſhed eyther wyth weapon or armour.

The Citie was not compaſſed with any rampire or ditch for defence, ſuch as happely were priuie to the cõſpiracie, hauing put into the heads of the Romains, that no fortification needed: neither were the aged men nor women ſent away, whereby the yong able perſonages might without trouble of them the better attende to the defence of the Citie: but euen as they had beene in all ſuretie of peace, and free from ſuſpition of any warre, they were ſodainly beſet with the huge armie of the Brytaynes, and ſo all went to ſpoyle and fyre that could be foũd without the encloſure of the temple, into the which the Romaine ſouldiers (ſtriken with ſoden feare by this ſoden comming of the enimies) had thronged themſelues. Where being aſſieged by the Brytaynes, within the ſpace of two dayes the place was wonne, and they that were founde within it, ſlaine euery mothers ſonne.

After this, the Brytaynes encouraged with this victorie, went to meete with Petus Cerialis Lieutenant of the legion, ſurnamed the ninth, and boldly encountering with the ſame Legion, gaue the Romains the ouerthrow, and ſlue all the footemen, ſo that Cerialis wyth muche adoe eſcaped with his Horſemen, and got him backe to the Campe, and ſaued himſelfe within the Trenches. Catus the Procurator being put in feare with this ouerthrow, and perceyuing what hatred the Brytains bare towardes him, hauing with hys couetouſneſſe thus brought the warre vpon the heade of the Romaines, got him ouer into Gallia.

But Suetonius aduertiſed of theſe doings, came back out of Angleſey, & with a meruelous

conſtancie

conſtancie marched thꝛough the middeſt of hys enimyes vnto London, beeing as then not greatly peopled with Romaines, though there was a Colonie of them, but full of Merchauntes, and well prouided of vytayles: hee was in great doubt at his comming thyther, whether hee myght beſt ſtaye there as in a place moſte conuenient, oꝛ rather ſeeke ſome other moꝛe eaſie to be defended.

It length conſidering the ſmall number of hys men of warre, and remembꝛing howe Cirialis had ſpedde by hys too much raſhneſſe, hee thought better wyth the loſing of one Towne to ſaue the whole, than to put all in daunger of irrecouerable loſſe.

And therewith nothing moued at the prayer and teares of them whiche beſought him of ayde and ſuccour, hee departed, and thoſe that woulde goe with him he receyued into his armie, thoſe that taryed behinde were oppreſſed by the enimyes: and the lyke deſtruction happened to them of Verolanium, a Towne in thoſe dayes of great fame, ſituate neare to the place where the towne of Saint Albons now ſtandeth.

The Bꝛytanes leauing the Caſtels and foꝛtreſſes vnaſſaulted, followe theyꝛ gaine in ſpoyling of thoſe places which were eaſie to get, and where greate plentie of ryches was to be founde, vſing their victoꝛie with ſuche crueltie, that they ſlue (as the repoꝛt went) to the number of .lxx. thouſande Romaines, and ſuche as toke theyꝛ parte in the ſayde places by the Bꝛytaynes thus wonne and conquered. Foꝛ there was nothing wyth the Bꝛytaynes, but ſlaughter, fire, gallowes and ſuch like, ſo earneſtly were they ſet on reuenge.

80000 ſayth Dion.

They ſpared neyther age noꝛ ſexe: women of great nobilitie and woꝛthie fame, they toke and hanged vp naked, and cutting off theyꝛ Pappes, ſowed them to theyꝛ mouthes, that they might ſeeme as if they ſucked and fedde on them, and ſome of theyꝛ bodies they ſtretched oute in length, and thꝛuſt them on ſharpe ſtakes.

All thoſe things they did in great deſpite whileſt they ſacrifyced in theyꝛ Temples, and made feaſtes, namely in the Wodde conſecrated to the honour of *Andates*, foꝛ ſo they called the Goddeſſe of victoꝛie whom they woꝛſhipped moſt reuerently.

In the meane time there came ouer to the ayde of Suetonius, the legion ſurnamed the. xiiij. and other bandes of Souldiers and men of warre to the number of ten thouſand in the whole, whereupon chiefely (becauſe vytayles began to fayle him) he preparеth to giue battaile to his enimies, and choſeth foꝛth a plotte of ground very ſtrong wythin ſtraytes, and backed with a Wodde, ſo that the enimies coulde not aſſault his campe but on the front: yet by reaſon of their great multitude and hope of victoꝛie conceyued by their late pꝛoſperous ſucceſſe, the Bꝛytaines vnder the conduct of Queene Uoadicia aduenture to giue battaile, hauing theyꝛ women there to be witneſſes of the victoꝛie, whom they placed in charets at the vttermoſt ſide of theyꝛ fielde. Uoadicia, oꝛ Boudicia (foꝛ ſo we finde hir wꝛitten by ſome copies, and Bonduica alſo by Dion) hauing hir daughters afoꝛe hir, beeing mounted into a Charet, as ſhe paſſed by the ſouldiers of eche ſundꝛie country, told them that it was a thing accuſtomed among the Bꝛytaynes to goe to the warres vnder the leading of women, but ſhee was not nowe come foꝛth as one boꝛne of ſuche noble auncеſters as ſhee was diſcended from, to fight foꝛ hir kingdome & riches, but as one of the meaner ſoꝛt, rather to defend hir loſt libertie, and to reuenge hir ſelfe of the enimies, foꝛ their crueltie ſhewed in ſcourging hir like a vagabond, & ſhameful deflouring of hir daughters: foꝛ the licencious luſt of the Romans was ſo farre ſpꝛed & increaſed, that they ſpared neither the bodies of old noꝛ yõg, but were redy moſt ſhamefully to abuſe thẽ, hauing whipped hir naked being an aged woman, & forced hir daughters to ſatiſfie their filthie cõcupiſcence: but (ſaith ſhe) the Gods are at hand ready to take iuſt reuenge. The legion that preſumed to encounter with vs is ſlaine & beaten down. The reſidue kepe them cloſe within their holds, oꝛ elſe ſeeke wayes howe to flie out of the countrey: they ſhall not bee once able ſo much as to abide the noiſe & clamoꝛ of ſo many thouſands as we are here aſſembled, much leſſe the foꝛce of our great puiſſãce & dꝛeadfull hands. If ye therefoꝛe (ſayd ſhe) would wegh and conſider with your ſelues your huge nũbers of men of warre, & the cauſes why ye haue moued this warre, ye woulde ſurely determine either in this battel to die with honoꝛ, oꝛ elſe to vãquiſh the enimie by plaine foꝛce, foꝛ ſo (quoth ſhe) I being a woman am fully reſolued, as foꝛ you men ye may (if ye liſt) liue and be bꝛought into bondage.

Tacit. Dion C.

Neither did Suetonius ceaſe to exhoꝛt his people: foꝛ although he truſted in their manhood, yet as he had deuided his army into thꝛee battails, ſo did he make vnto ech of thẽ a ſeuꝛal oꝛation, willing thẽ not to feare the ſhꝛill & vaine menacing threats of the Bꝛitains, that ther was among thẽ moꝛe womẽ thã mẽ, they hauing no ſkill in warlike diſcipline, & hereto being naked without furniture of armoꝛ, would foꝛthwith giue place whẽ they ſhould feele the ſharp points of the Romains weapõs, & the foꝛce of thẽ by whõ they had ſo oftẽ bin put to flight. In many legions (ſayth he) the nũber is ſmall of thẽ that win the battell. Theyꝛ gloꝛie therfoꝛe ſhuld be the moꝛe, foꝛ that they being a ſmall nũber ſhould win the fame due to the whole army, if they wold (thꝛonging togither) be-

ſtow

ſtow their weapons freely, and with their ſwoꝛde and targets preaſſe foꝛwarde vpon their enimies, continuing the ſlaughter without regarde to the ſpoyle, they might aſſure themſelues when the victoꝛie was once atchieued to haue all at theyꝛ pleaſures. Such foꝛwardneſſe in the ſouldiers followed vpon this exhoꝛtation of the Generall, that eurry one prepared himſelfe ſo redily to do his dutie, and that with ſuch a ſhew of ſkill and experience, that Suetonius hauing conceyued an aſſured hope of good lucke to follow, cauſed the trumpets to ſounde to the battaile.

The onſet was giuen in the ſtraytes, greatly to the aduantage of the Romaines, being but an handfull in compariſon to their enimies.

The fight in the beginning was verie ſharpe and cruell, but in the ende the Bꝛytaynes being a let one to another (by reaſon of the narrowneſſe of the place) were not able to ſuſtain the violẽt foꝛce of the Romaines theyꝛ enimies, ſo that they were conſtrayned to giue backe, and ſo being diſoꝛdred, were put to flight, and vtterly diſcomfited.



There were ſlaine of the Bꝛytaynes that day fewe leſſe than .lxxx. thouſande, as Tacitus wꝛiteth: Foꝛ the ſtraytes beeing ſtopped with the Charets, ſtayed the flight of the Bꝛytaynes, ſo as they could not eaſily eſcape: and the Romains were ſo ſet on reuenge, that they ſpared neyther man noꝛ woman, ſo that many were ſlain in the battaile, many amongeſt the Charettes, and a great number at the woode ſide, which way they made theyꝛ flight, and many were taken pꝛyſoners.

Thoſe that eſcaped, would haue foughten a newe battail, but in the meane time Uoadicia, oꝛ Bonuica deceaſſed of a natural infirmitie, as Dion Caſſius wꝛyteth, but other ſay, that ſhee poyſoned hirſelfe, and ſo dyed, bycauſe ſhe would not come into the handes of hir enimies.

There dyed of the Romaines part in this moſt notable battaile foure .C. and about the like number were hurt and wounded.

Penius Poſthumus maiſter of the campe of the ſeconde legion, vnderſtanding the pꝛoſperous ſucceſſe of the other Romaine Captains, bycauſe he had defrauded his legion of the like glozie, and had refuſed to obey the commaundements of the Generall, cõtrarie to the vſe of warre, ſlue himſelf.

After this, all the Romain armie was bꝛought into the field to make an ende of the reſidue of the warre. And the Emperoꝛ cauſed a ſupplie to be ſent out of Germanie of two .M. of legionarie ſouldiers, and .viij. bands of aydes, with .M. hoꝛſmen, by whoſe comming the bandes of the ninth legion were ſupplied with legionarie ſoldiers, and thoſe bands and wings of hoꝛſemen were appointed to places where they might winter, and ſuche people of the Bꝛytaynes as were either enimies, oꝛ elſe ſtoode in doubt whether to bee friendes oꝛ enimies in deede, were perſecuted with fire and ſwoꝛde.

But nothing moꝛe afflicted them than famin, foꝛ whileſt euerie man gaue himſelf to the warre, and purpoſed to haue liued vpon the pꝛouiſion of the Romains and other their enimies, they applied not themſelues to tyllage, noꝛ to any huſbanding of the groũd, and long it was ere they (being a fierce kinde of people) fell to embꝛace peace, by reaſon that Julius Claſſicianus, who was ſent into Bꝛitain as ſucceſſoꝛ to Catus, fell at ſquare with Suetonius, and by his pꝛiuate grudge hyndred the pꝛoſperous ſucceſſe of publike affayꝛes, he ſticked not to wꝛite vnto Rome, that except an other were ſent to ſucceede in the rowmeth that Suetonius bare, there woulde be no ende of the warres. Herebyõ one Poliſletus, which ſomtime had bene a bond man, was ſent into Bꝛitain, as a commiſſioner, to ſuruey the ſtate of the countrey, and to make the legate and pꝛocuratoꝛ friends, & alſo to pacifie all troubles within the Ile.

Iulius Claſsicianus Procurator.

The poꝛt which Policletus bare was great, he was furniſhed with no ſmall trayne that attented vpon him, ſo that his preſence ſeemed very dreadful to the Romains. But the Britains that were not yet pacified, thought great ſcorne, to ſee ſuche honourable captaines and men of warre as the Romaines were, to ſubmit themſelues to the oꝛder of ſuch a one as had beene a bondſlaue.

Petronius Turpilianus lieutenant.

In the end in place of Suetonius, was Petronius Turpilianus (which had lately bene Conſull) appoynted to haue the gouernance of the army in Brytain, the which neither troubling the enimie, noꝛ beeing of the enimie in any wiſe troubled oꝛ prouoked, did coloꝛ ſlouthfull reſt with the honeſt name of peace and quietneſſe, & ſo late ſtill without exploying any notable enterpriſe.

Trebellius Maximus lieutenant.



After Turpilianus, Trebellius Maximus was made Lieutenaunt of Brytayne, who likewyſe wyth courteous demeanour, ſoughte to keepe the Brytaynes in reſt, rather than by foꝛce to compell thē. And nowe beganne the people of the Ile to beare with pleaſaunt faultes and flattering vices, ſo that the ciuill warres that chaunced in thoſe dayes after the death of the Emperoꝛ Nero at home, might eaſily excuſe the ſlouthfulneſſe of the Romaine Lieutenants.

Moꝛeuer there roſe diſſention amongeſt theyꝛ men of warre, which being vſed to lye abꝛoade in the fielde, coulde not agree with the ydle lyfe, ſo that Trebellius Maximus was glad to hide him ſelfe from the ſight of the Souldiers being in an vnꝛoze agaynſte him, tyll at length humbling himſelf vnto them further than became his eſtate, he gouerned by way of intreatie, oꝛ rather at their courteſie. And ſo was the cōmotion ſtayed without bloudſhed, ẏ armie as it were, hauing by couenant obteyned to liue licenciouſly, and the captayne ſuretie to liue without daunger to be murthered.

Vectius Volamus lieutenāt.



NEither Vectius Volanus that ſucceeded Maximus whyleſt the time of the ciuill warres as yet endured, dyd trouble the Brytaynes, vſing the ſame ſlackneſſe and ſlouth that the other Lieutenants had vſed beꝛoze him, and permytted the like licence to the preſumptuous Souldiers: but yet was Volanus innocent as touchyng himſelfe, and not hated foꝛ any notable crymne oꝛ vice: ſo that hee purchaſed fauoure, althoughe auctoꝛitie wanted.

But after that the Emperour Veſpaſianus had ſubdued his aduerſaries, and attayned the Imperiall gouernment, as well ouer Brytaine as ouer other partes of the woꝛlde, there were ſent hither right noble Captaynes, with diuerſe notable bandes of Souldiers, and Petilius Cerialis being appoynted Lieutenant, put the Britaynes in greate feare by inuading the Brygantes the mightyeſt Nation of all the whole Ilande: and fighting many battayles, and ſome right bloudy with thoſe people, he ſubdued a great part of the countrey at the laſt. *Cor. Tac.*



Iulius Frontinus lieutenant.

After hym ſucceeded as Lieutenant of Brytaine, one Julius Frontinus, who bāquyſhed and bꝛought to the Romaine ſubiection by foꝛce of armes the people called *Silures*, ſtryuing not onely agaynſt the valiant reſiſtaunce of the men, but alſo wyth the hardneſſe and comberſome troubles of the places.

Thus may you peꝛceyue in what ſtate this Ile ſtoode in the time that Aruiragus raigned in the ſame, as is ſuppoſed by the Hyſtoꝛyes of the olde Brytaynes, ſo that it may be thought that he gouerned rather a part of this lande, than the whole, and bare the name of a king, the Romains not hauing ſo reduced the country into the foꝛme of a pꝛouince, but that the Brytaynes bare rule in dyuerſe partes thereof, and that by the permiſſion of the Romaines, whiche neuertheleſſe had theyꝛ Lieutenauntes and Pꝛocuratours here, that bare the greateſt rule vnder the afoꝛeſayde Emperours.

Marius, otherwiſe Meurig, or Maue.



After ẏ deceaſe of Arviragus, hys ſonne Marius ſucceeded him in the eſtate, and began his raigne in the yeare of oure Loꝛde. 73. In the olde Engliſhe

Marius.

Hector. us ſaith this Marius was a

kiſhe Chronicle, he is kondly called Weſtmer, and was an excellent wiſe man, gouerning the Brytains in great proſperitie, honor and wealth.

In the time of this mans raigne, the people called Picts inuaded this lande. They are iudged to be deſcended of the Nation of the Scithians, neare kinſmen to the Gothes, both by Countrey and maners, a cruell kind of men and much giuen to the warres.

They are thought to haue taken theyr name, 10 bycauſe they vſed to paint their ſelues with a certain blewiſh colour, or for that they were marked with printes in theyr viſages, ſo that the more honourable he was amongſt them, the deepelyer was he marked, & the more baſe he was, the leſſe his marks appeared. Some thinke that theſe were the ſame that were called Agathirſies, and named Picts bicauſe they painted their faces & limmes ſo that by no menes ẏ painting could be waſhed off: but howſoeuer they came by ẏ name, it is euident 20 inough that they were of the Scithian nation.

This people therfore with their leader Roderike, or as ſome name him Londorike, entring the Ocean ſea after the maner of rouers, arriued on ẏ coaſts of Ireland, where they required of ẏ Scots new ſeates to inhabite in, for the Scots which (as ſome think) were alſo diſcended of ẏ Scithians, did as thē inhabit in Ireland: but doubting ẏ it ſhuld not be for their profit to receiue ſo warlike a natiō into that Ile, feyning as it were a friendlhip, and excuſing the matter, by ẏ narowneſſe of the countrey, declared vnto the Picts, that the Ile of Brytain was not farre frō thence, being a large countrey & plentiful, and not greatly inhabited: wherfore they counſelled them to go thither, promiſing vnto them all the ayde that might be.

The Picts more deſirous of ſpoyle than of rule or gouernmēt, without delay returned to the ſea, and ſailed towards Britain, where being arriued, they firſt inuaded the north parts therof, & finding there but few inhabiters, they begin to waſt and forray the country, wherof when K. Marius was aduertiſed, with al ſpeed he aſſembled his people, & made towards his enimies, & giuing to the battel, obteyned the victorie, ſo that Roderike was there ſlain in the field, & his people banquiſhed.

Roderike king of Picters ſlaine.



Vnto thoſe that eſcaped with life, Marius graunted licence that they might inhabite in the north part of Scotlande called Catneſſe, being as then a Countrey in maner deſolate wythoute habitation: wherevpon they wythdrewe thither, and ſetled themſelues in thoſe partyes. And bycauſe the Brytaynes diſdeyned to graunt vnto them theyr daughters in maryage, they ſent vnto the Scots into Irelande, requyring to haue wiues of theyr nation.

The Scottes agreed to their requeſt, with this condition, that where there wanted lawfull iſſue of the kings lynage to ſucceede in the Kingdome of the Pictes, then ſhoulde they name one of the womans lyde to bee theyr king: whiche ordinaunce was receyued and obſerued euer after amongeſt the Pictes ſo long as their kingdome endured.

And thus the Pictes next after the Romains, were the firſt of any ſtraungers that came into this lande to inhabite as moſt writers affyrme, although the Scottiſhe Chronicles auouche the Picts to be inhabiters here before the incarnation of our ſauiour. But the victorie which Marius obteyned againſt their king Roderike, chaunced in the yeare after the incarnation. 87. *Polidor. Math. Weſt.*

In remembraunce of which victorie, Marius cauſed a ſtone to bee erected in the ſame place where the battayle was fought, in whiche ſtone was grauen theſe wordes, *Mary Victoria.* The Engliſhe Chronicle ſayeth that this ſtone was ſette vppe on Stanemoore, and that

the whole Countrey thereabout taking name of this Marius, as Weſtmaria, nowe cleped Weſtmerlande.

King Marius hauing thus ſubdued his enimies, and eſcaped the daunger of their dreadfull inuaſion, he gaue his minde to the good gouernment of his people, and the aduauncement of the common wealth of the realme, continuing the reſidue of his life in great tranquillitie, and finally departed this life, after he had raigned (after moſt *Mat. Weſt.* writers) liij or liiij. yeares. Howbeit there be that write, that hee dyed in the yeare of our Lorde 78. and ſo raigned not paſt fiue or ſixe yeares at the moſt.

He was buryed at Cairleil, leauing a ſonne behinde him called Coyll.

Thus finde we in the Britiſhe and Engliſh Hyſtories touching this Marius.

Humfrey Lhuyd ſeemeth to take this mã and his father Iuitragus to be all one perſon, whether moued therto by ſome Catologe of kings which he ſawe, or otherwiſe, I cannot affyrme: but ſpeaking of the time when the Pictes and Scots ſhould firſt come to ſettle themſelues in this land, he hath theſe words. Neither was there any writers of name, that made mention either of Scots or Pictes before Veſpaſianus time, about the yere of the incarnation. 72. At what time Meurig or Maw, or Iuuiragus raigned in Britaine. In which time our annales do report, that a certaine kind of people liuing by piracie and rouing on the ſea, came forth of Sueden, or Norway, vnder the guiding of one Rhythercus, who landed in Albania, waſting all the Countrey with robbing and ſpoyling ſo farre as Cairleil, where he was vanquiſhed in battaile, and ſlaine by Murigus, with a great part of his people. The reſidue that eſcaped by flight, fledde to their ſhippes, and ſo conueyed themſelues into the Iles of Orkney, and Scotlande, where they quietly abode a greate while after.

Thus farre haue I thought good to ſhew forth of the foreſayde Lhuyds booke, for that it ſeemeth to carie a great likelihode of truth with it, for the hyſtorie of the Picts, which vndoubtedly I think were not as yet inhabiting in Britaine, but rather firſt placing themſelues in the Iles of Orkney made inuaſion into the maine Ile of Britain afterwards, as occaſion ſeemed to be offred. In the Britiſh tong they are called *Phightiaid*, that is Phightians, and ſo likewiſe were they called in the Scottiſh, and in their owne tongue.

But nowe to ſhewe what chaunced in this Ile, during the time of ỹ ſayd Marius his ſuppoſed raigne, as is found in the Romain Hyſtories.

Iulius Agricola lieutenãt.

After Julius Frontinus, the Emperor Veſpaſian ſent Julius Agricola to ſucceed in the gouernment of Britain, who comming ouer about the middeſt of Sommer, founde the ſtate of warre through want of a lieutenant negligent ynough, as thoſe ỹ loking for no trouble, thought themſelues out of all daunger, where the enimies neuertheleſſe watched vpon the next occaſion to worke ſome diſpleaſure, and were readie on eche hand to moue rebellion. For the people called Ordouices, that inhabited in the countrey of Cheſſhire, Lancaſhire, & part of Shropſhire, had lately before ouerthrowne & in maner vtterly deſtroyed a wing of ſuch horſmen as ſoiourned in their parties, by reaſon whereof al ỹ prouince was brought almoſt into an aſſured hope to recouer libertie.

Cor. Tac. vit. Agric. *The firſt of Agricola his gouernment.*

Agricola vpon his comming ouer, though ſommer was nowe halfe paſt, and that the ſouldiers lodging here & there abrode in the countrey, were more diſpoſed to take reſt, than to ſet forward into the field againſt the enimies, determined yet to reſiſt the preſent danger: and therwith aſſembling the men of warre of the Romains, and ſuch other aydes as he might make, he inuadeth their cuntry that had done this foreſaid diſpleaſure, and ſlue downe the moſt part of all the inhabitants therof. And not thus contented, (for that he thought good to follow the ſteps of fauorable fortune, & knowing that as the beginning proued, ſo would the whole ſequele of his affayres by likelyhode come to paſſe) he purpoſed to make a ful conqueſt of the Ile of Angleſey, from the conqueſt whereof the Romain Lieutenant Paulinus was called backe by the Rebellion of other of the Britayns, as before ye haue heard.

The Ang.

But whereas he wanted ſhips for the furniſhing of his enterpriſe, his wit and policie founde a ſhift to ſupplie that defect: for chooſing forth a pyked number of ſuch Britaines as he had there with him in ayde, which knewe the fourds & ſhallow places of the ſtreames there, and withall were very ſkilfull in ſwimming (as the maner of the Countrey then was) he appoynted them to paſſe ouer on the ſodaine into the Ile, onelye with their Horſes, armour, and weapon: whiche enterpriſe they ſo ſpeedily, and with ſo good ſucceſſe atchieued, that the Inhabitantes ninch amaſed with that doing (which looked for a nauie of ſhippes to haue tranſported ouer their enimies by Sea, and therefore watched on the coaſt) beganne to thinke that nothing was able to bee defended againſt ſuche kynde of warriours that gotte ouer into the Ile after ſuche a ſorte and maner.

And therefore making ſute for peace, they deliuered the Ile into the handes of Agricola, whoſe fame by theſe victories daylye muche encreaſed, as of one that tooke pleaſure in trauayle, and attempting to atchieue daungerous enterpryſes, in ſteade whereof his predeceſſours had delighted to ſhewe the maieſties of their

Ang. ded. cola.

office,

office by vaine braggs, ſtately portes, and ambitious pomps. For Agricola turned not the proſperous ſucceſſe of his proceedings into vanitie, but rather with neglecting his fame, encreaſed it to the vttermoſte, amongeſt them that iudged what hope was to be loked for of things by him to be atchieued, which with ſilence kept ſecret theſe his ſo worthie doings.

Moreouer, perceyuing the nature of the people in this Ile of Brytain, and ſufficiently taught by other mens example, that armour ſhould little auaile, where iniuries followed to the diſquieting of the people, hee thought beſt to take away and remoue all occaſions of warre. And firſt beginning with himſelfe and his ſouldiers, toke order for a reformation to be had in his owne houſhold; yeelding nothing to fauour, but altogither in reſpect of vertue, accounting them moſt faythfull, which therein moſt excelled, he ſought to knowe all things, but not to doe otherwiſe than reaſon moued, pardoning ſmall faultes, and ſharpely puniſhing great and heynous offences, neyther yet deliting alwaies in puniſhment, but oftētimes rather in repentance of the offender. Exactions and tributes he leſſened, qualifying the ſame by reaſonable equitie. And thus in reforming the ſtate of things, he wanne him great praiſe in time of peace, the whiche eyther by negligence or ſufferaunce of the former Lieutenauntes, was euer feared, and accounted worſe than open warre.

This was his practiſe in the winter time of his firſt yeare, but when Sommer was come, he aſſembled his armie, and leading forth the ſame, trayned his ſouldiers in all honeſt warlike diſcipline, commending the good, and reforming the bad and vnruly.

He himſelfe to giue enſample, toke vpon him all daungers that came to hande, and ſuffred not the enimies to liue in reſt, but waſted their countreys with ſodaine inuaſions. And when he had ſufficiently chaſtiſed them, and put them in feare by ſuche maner of dealing, hee ſpareth them that they might againe conceyue ſome hope of peace. By which meanes many countreys which vnto thoſe dayes had kept themſelues out of bondage, layde rancour aſide, and deliuered pledges, and further were contented to ſuffer Caſtelles to be buylded within them, and to be kept with gariſons, ſo that no part of Brytayne was free from the Romain power, but ſtode ſtyll in daunger to be brought vnder more and more.

In the winter following, Agricola toke paynes to reduce the Brytains from their rude maners and cuſtomes, vnto a more ciuill ſorte and trade of liuing, that chaunging their naturall fiercenelle and apte diſpoſition to warre, they myght through taſting pleaſures, be ſo enured therewith, that they ſhoulde deſire to liue in reſt and quietneſſe: and therefore hee exhorted them priuily, and holpe them publikely to buyld temples, common halles where pleas of law might be kept, and other houſes, commending them that were diligent in ſuch doings, and blaming them that were negligent, ſo that of neceſſitie they were dryuen to ſtriue who ſhoulde preuent eche other in ciuilitie. He alſo procured that Noble mens ſonnes ſhoulde learne the liberall ſciences, and praiſed the nature of the Brytaynes, more than the people of Gallia, by cauſe they ſtudyed to attayne to the knowledge of the Romaine eloquence. By whiche meanes the Brytaynes in ſhort tyme were brought to the vſe of good and commendable maners, and ſorted themſelues to go in comely apparell after the Romain faſhion, and by little and little they fell to accuſtom themſelues to fine fare, and dilicate pleaſures, the ready prouokers of vices, as to walke in Galleries, to waſh themſelues in bathes, to vſe banketting and ſuch like, which amongſt the vnſkilfull was called humanity or curteſie, but in very deed it might be accounted a part of thraldome and ſeruitude, namely being to exceſſiuely vſed.

The worthie practiſes of Agricola to traine the Brytaynes to ciuilitie.

In the thirde yeare of Agricola his gouernment in Brytaine, he inuaded the north partes therof (vnknowne til thoſe days of the Romains) being the ſame where the Scots now inhabit: for he waſted the countrey vnto the water of Tay, in ſuch wyſe putting the Inhabitauntes in feare, that they durſt not once ſette vpon his armie, thoughe it were ſo that the ſame was very ſore diſquyeted and vexed by tempeſt and rage of weather.

The thirde yeare.

The water of Tay.

Wherevpon finding no greate let or hynderance by the enimyes, he buylded certain Caſtels and Fortreſſes, which he placed in ſuche conuenient ſteades, that they greatly annoyed his aduerſaries, and were ſo able to be defended, that ther was none of thoſe Caſtels which he builded, either wonne by force out of the Romains hands, or giuen ouer by compoſition, for feare to be taken: ſo that the ſame being furniſhed with competent numbers of men of warre, were ſafely kept from the enimies, the whiche were dayly vexed by the often iſſues made forth by the Souldiers that lay thus in gariſon within them: ſo that where in tymes paſt the ſayde enimies woulde recouer theyr loſſes ſuſteyned in Sommer by the Winters aduauntage, nowe they were put to the worſe, and kept backe as well in the Winter as in the Sommer.

In the fourth Sommer, after that Agricola was appoynted to the rule of this lande, he went about to bring vnder ſubiection thoſe people, the which before tyme hee had by incurſions and forreyes ſore vexed and diſquieted: and there-

The fourth yeare of Agricola his gouernment.

Clota. Bodotria.

vpon comming to the waters of Clide & Loughleuen, he buylt certaine foꝛtreſſes to defende the paſſages and entryes there, dꝛyuing the enimies beyond the ſame waters, as it had bin into a new Ilande.

The fifte yeare.

In the fifth Sommer, Agricola cauſing hys ſhippes to be bꝛought about, and appoynting thẽ to arriue on the noꝛth coaſts of Scotland, he paſſed with his army ouer the riuer of Clide, and ſubdued ſuche people as inhabited thoſe further partes of Scotland, which till thoſe daies had not bene diſcouered by the Romains.

And bycauſe he thought it ſhould ſerue wel to purpoſe, foꝛ ſome conqueſt to be made of Ireland, if that part of Scotlande which boꝛdereth on the Iriſhe Seas might be kept in due obedience, hee placed gariſons of Souldiers in thoſe parties, in hope verily vpon occaſion to paſſe ouer into Irelande, and foꝛ the moꝛe eaſie aduauncement of his purpoſe therein, hee entertayned wyth honourable pꝛouiſion one of the kings of Irelande, which by ciuill diſcoꝛde was expulſed and dꝛiuen out of his countrey.

An Iriſh king expulſed out of his country.

In deede Agricola perceyued, that with one Legion of Souldiers, and a ſmall ayde of other men of warre, it ſhoulde bee an eaſie matter to conquere Irelande, and to bꝛing it vnder the Dominion of the Romaines: which enterpꝛiſe he iudged verye neceſſarie to be exployted, foꝛ better keeping of the Bꝛytaynes in obedience, if they ſhoulde ſee the iuriſdiction of the Romaines euery where extended, and the libertie of theyꝛ neighbours ſuppꝛeſſed and turned to ſubiection.

The ſixt yeare of Agricola his gouernment.

In the ſixth Sommer of Agricola hys gouernment, he pꝛoceeded in ſubduing the furthermoſte partes of Scotlande Noꝛthwardes, cauſing his Nauie to keepe courſe anenſt hym by the coaſt as hee marched foꝛth by lande, ſo that the Bꝛytaynes perceyuing howe the ſecrete Hauens and Creekes of theyꝛ Countreyes were nowe diſcouered, and that all hope of refuge was in maner cutte off from them, were in a marueylous feare.

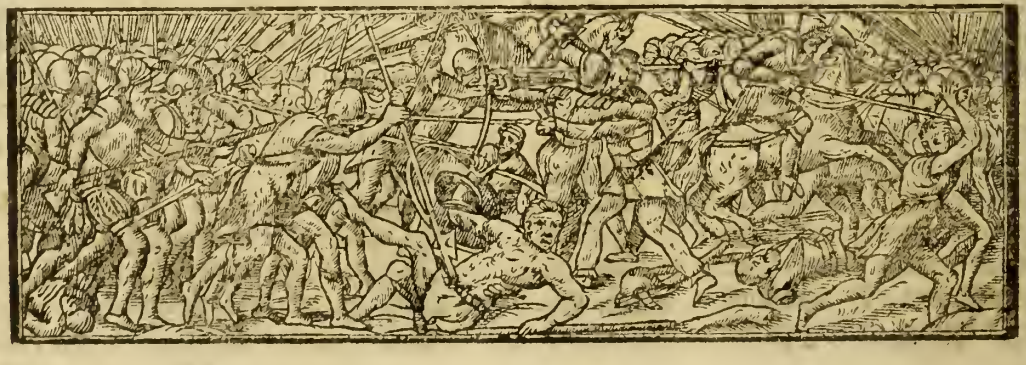
On the other part the Romaines were ſoꝛe troubled with the rough Mountaynes, and craggie Rockes, by the whiche they were conſtrayned to paſſe beſide the daungerous ryuers, lakes, woodes, ſtraytes, and other combꝛſome wayes and paſſages.

The danger alſo of them that were in the ſhips by ſea, was not ſmall by reaſon of winds & tempeſts, and high ſpꝛing tides, which toſſed & turmoyled their veſſels right cruelly: but by the painfull diligence of them that had bene bꝛought vp & enured with continuall trauaile and hardneſſe, all thoſe diſcõmodities were ouercome to their great reioyſing, when they met and fell in talke of theyꝛ paſſed perils, foꝛ oftentimes the armie by land encamped ſo by the ſhoꝛe, that thoſe which kept the ſea came a lande to make merie in the campe, and then eche one woulde recounte to others the aduentures that had happened, as the maner is in ſemblable caſes.

Calenwood.

The Bꝛytains that inhabited in thoſe dayes about the partes of Calender wood, perceyuing in what danger they were to be vtterly ſubdued, aſſembled themſelues togither in purpoſe, to trie the foꝛtune of battell: whereof Agricola being aduertiſed, marched foꝛth with his armie deuyded in thꝛee battailes, ſo that the enimyes doubting to trie the matter in open fielde, eſpye theyꝛ time in the night, and with all theyꝛ whole puiſſaunce ſet vpon one of the Romaine Legions, whiche they knewe to be moſt feeble and weake, truſting by a camiſado to diſtreſſe the ſame: and firſt ſleaing the watche, they enter the campe, where the ſayd legion lay, and finding the ſouldiers in great diſoꝛder, betwixt ſleepe and feare, begin the fight euen within the campe.

Agricola had knowledge of their purpoſed intent, and theꝛfoꝛe with all ſpeede haſted foꝛth to come to the ſuccours of his people, ſending firſt his light Hoꝛſemen, and certaine light armed ſoꝛtemen to aſſayle the enimies on theyꝛ backes, and ſhoꝛtly after appꝛocheth with his whole puiſſance, ſo that the Romaine ſtandards beginning to appeare in ſight by the light of the daye, that then beganne to ſpꝛing, the Bꝛytaynes were ſoꝛe diſcouraged, and the Romaines renuing theyꝛ foꝛce, fiercely pꝛeaſſed vpon them, ſo that euen in the entrye of the campe, there was a ſoꝛe conflicte, tyll at length the Bꝛytaynes were putte to flight, and chaſed, ſo that if



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the mariſhes and woddes had not ſaued them frō the purſute of the Romains, there had bin an end made of the whole warres euen by that one dayes worke. But the Bꝛytaynes eſcaping as well as they might, & reputing the victoꝛie to haue chanced not by the valiancie of the Romain ſouldiers, but by occaſion, & the ꝓudent policie of their captaine, were nothing abaſhed with ẏ their preſent loſſe, but ꝓpared to put their youth againe into armour: and therevpon they remoued their wiues and childꝛen into ſafe places, and then aſſembling the chiefeſt gouernoꝛs togither, cōcluded a league amongſt themſelues, eche to ayde other, confyꝛming theyꝛ articles with doing of ſacrifice (as the maner in thoſe dayes was.)

The ſame ſommer, a bande of ſuch Dutch oꝛ Germaine ſouldiers as had bene leuyed in Germanie and ſent ouer into Bꝛytayn to the ayde of the Romains, attempted a great and wonderfull act in ſleaing their captaine and ſuch other of the Romain ſouldiers which were appointed to haue the trayning and leading of them, as officers and inſtructoꝛs to them in the feates of warre: & when they had committed that murther, they got into thꝛee Pineſſes, and became rouers on the coaſtes of Bꝛitaine, and encountring with diuerſe of the Bꝛytains, that were readie to defend theyꝛ countrey from ſpoyle, oftentymes they got the vpper hand of them, and now and then they were chaſed away, inſomuch ẏ in the ende they were bꝛought to ſuch extremitie foꝛ want of vitailes, that they did eate ſuch amongſt them as were the weakeſt, and after, ſuch as the lot touched, beeing indifferently caſt amongſt them: and ſo being caried about the coaſtes of Bꝛytain, and loſing theyꝛ beſſels thꝛough want of ſkill to gouerne them, they were reputed foꝛ robbers, and therevpon were apꝛehended, firſt by the Suabeners, and ſhoꝛtly after by the Friſers, the which ſolde diuerſe of them to the Romains and other, whereby the true vnderſtanding of their aduentures came certainely to light.

In the ſommer next following, Agricola with his armie came to the Mountaine of Granzeben, where he vnderſtode that his enimies were enꝛamped, to the number of .xxx. thouſand & aboue, and dayly there came to them moꝛe companie of the Bꝛytiſh youth, and ſuch aged perſons alſo as were luſtie and in ſtrength, able to welde weapon and beare armour. The eight yeare of Agricola his gouernment.

Amongſt the captains ẏ chiefeſt was one Galgacus, whō the Scottiſh chꝛonicles name Gald. Calgagus whō the Scots name Gald and will needes haue him a Scottiſh man.

This man as chiefetaine and head captaine of all the Bꝛytaynes there aſſembled, made to them a pithie oꝛation, to encouꝛage them to fight manfully, and likewiſe did Agricola to his people: which being ended, the armies on both ſides were put in oꝛder of battaile.

Agricola placed .viij. thouſande fotemen of ſtrangers which he had there in ayde with him in the midſt, appoynting thꝛee .M. hoꝛſmen to ſtand on the ſides of thē as wings. The Romain legions ſtood at their backs in ſtead of a Bulwarke.

The Bꝛytains were embattayled in ſuch oꝛder, that their foꝛe ward ſtood in the plaine groūd, and the other on the ſide of an hill, as though they had riſen on heigth one ranke aboue another.

The middeſt of the fielde was couered wyth their charets and hoꝛſemen.

Agricola doubting by ẏ huge multitude of enimies, leaſt his people ſhoulde be aſſailed not onely afront, but alſo vpon euery ſide the battails, he cauſed the rankes ſo to place themſelues, as theyꝛ battails might ſtreteh farre further in bꝛedth than otherwiſe the oꝛder of warre requyꝛed: but he toke this to be a good remedie againſt ſuch inconuenience as might haue followed, if the enimie by the narrowneſſe of the fronts of his battailes ſhould haue hemmed them in on eche ſide. *Cor. Tacitus*

This done, and hauing conceyned good hope of victoꝛy, he alighted on foꝛt, & putting his hoꝛſe frō him, he ſtood befoꝛe the ſtādarts as one not caring foꝛ any danger ẏ might happen. At the firſt they beſtowed their ſhot, & dartes freely on both ſides.



The Brytains aswel with constant manhood, as skilful practise, with brode swords & little rounde bucklers, auoided & beat frō them the arrowes and darts that came from their enimies, & therwithall payd thē home againe with their shot & dartes, so that the Romains were nere hand oppressed therwith, by cause they came so thick in their faces, till at length Agricola caused three cohorts of Holāders, & two of Lukeners to preasse forwarde, and ioyne with them at hand strokes, so as the matter might come to be tried with the edge of the sword which thing as to them (being enured with ẏ kind of fight,) stood greatly with their aduantage, so to the Brytaynes it was verie daungerous, that were to defende themselues with their mightie huge swordes and small bucklers.

Betani.

Congri.

Also by reason their swordes were brode at the endes, and poyntlesse, they auayled little to hurt the armed enimie. Wherupon when the Hollanders came to ioyne with them, they made foule worke in sleaing and wounding them in right horrible wise.

The horsmen also that made resistaunce, they pulled from their horses, and began to climbe the hill upon the Britains. The other bands desirous to match their fellowes in helping to atchieue the victorie, folowed the Hollanders, and beat downe the Britains where they might approch to them: many were ouerrun & left half dead, and some not once touched with any weapon, were likewise oppressed, such hast the Romains made to folow upon the Brytains. Whilest the British horsmē fled, their Charets ioyned themselues with theyr footmē, and resisting the battel, put the Romains in such feare, that they were at a sodain stay: but the charets being troubled with preasse of enimies, and vneuennesse of the grounde, they coulde not worke their feat to any purpose. Neither had that fight any resemblance of a battel of horsmen, whē eche one so encōbred other, ẏ they had no rowmth to stur themselues. The charets oftentimes wanting their guiders, were caried awaye with the horses, that being put in feare with the noise and stur, ran hither & thither, bearing downe one an other, and whomsoeuer else they met with.

Holanders.

The Brytains now that kept the toppe of the hilles, and had not yet fought at all, despising the small number of the Romaines, began to come downwardes & to cast about, that they might set upō the backs of their enimies, in hope so to make an end of the battell, and to win the victorie: but Agricola doubting no lesse, but that some suche thing would come to passe, had afore hande foreseene the daunger, & hauing reserued foure wings of horsemen for such sodaine chaunces, sent them forth agaynst those Brytaines, the which horsemen with full randon, charging upon thē as they rashly came forwards, quickly disordred them & put thē all to flight, and so that purposed deuise & policie of the Brytains turned to their owne hinderance. For their horsmen by their captains appoyntment trauersing ouerthwart by the fronts of them that fought, set upon that battaile of the Brytaynes which they found before them. Then in those open and plain places a grieuous & heauy fight it was to behold, how they pursued, wounded and toke their enimies: & as they were aduised of other to slea those that they had before take, to the ende they might ouertake the other, there was nothing but fleeing, taking & chasing, slaughter, spilling of blod, scattring of weapōs, grūting, & groning of mē & horses ẏ lay on the ground, gasping for breath, and readie to die. The Brytains now and then as they sawe their aduantage, namely when they approched neare to the woods, gathered thēselues togither, and set upon the Romains as they followed vnaduisedly, & further through ignorance of the places) than stood with their surtie, insomuch that if Agricola had not prouided remedie, & sent forth mightie bands of light armed men both on foote & horseback to close in the enimies, & also to beat the woods, some greater losse would haue followed through too much boldnesse of them, that too rashly pursued upon the Brytains: who when they beheld the Romains thus to follow them in whole troupes and good order of battail, they slipt away & toke them to flight, eche one seeking to saue himselfe, and kept not togither in plumpes as before they had done.

The night made an end of the chase, which the Romains had followed till they were throughly awearied.

There were slain of the Britains that day ten M. & of the Romains 340. among whom Iulus Atticus, a captain of one of the cohorts or bands of footmen was one, who being mounted on horseback, (through his own too much youthfull courage & fierce vnrulinesse of his horse) was caryed into ẏ middle throng of his enimies, & there slain.

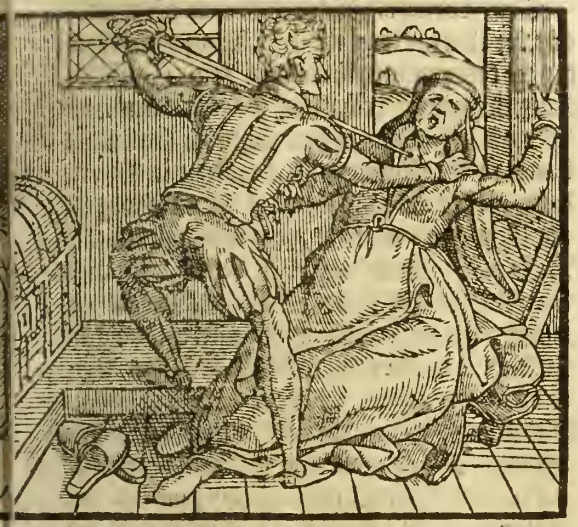
Ten M. Brytains.

Iulus Flaius.

The night ensuing, the Romains passed with great ioy and gladnesse for the victorie atchieued. But among the Brytaines there was nothing heard but mourning and lamentation: both of men & women that were mingled togither, some busie to beare away the wounded, to binde, and dresse their hurtes, other calling for their sonnes, kinsfolks and friends that were wanting. Many of them forsoke their houses, and in their desperate moode set them on fire, and choosing forth places for their better refuge and safegarde, forthwith misliking of the same, left them and sought others: herewith diuerse of them toke counsell togither what they were best to doe, one while they were in hope, an other while they reputed, as people cast into deepe dispayre: the beholding of their wyues and children, oftentymes moued them

Brytayns Scots ye. Pict.

them to attempte some newe enterpise for the preseruation of theyr countrey and liberties. And certayne it is that some of them slew their wiues and children, as moued thereto with a certayne fonde regard of pitie to ridde them out of further miserie and daunger of thraldome.



The nexte daye the certaintie of the victory more playnely was disclosed, for all was quiet about, and no noyse heard any where: the houses appeared brenning on each side, and such as were sente forthe to discouer the countrey into euery part thereof, sawe not a creature sturring, for all the people were auoyded and withdrawen a farre off.

But nowe of this battell, and other the doings of Agricola, in the Scottishe Chronicle ye may fynde more at large set forthe: for that which I haue written heere, is but to shew what in effect Cornelius Tacitus writeth of ỹ whiche Agricola dyd heere in Britayne, withoute making mencion eyther of Scottes or Pictes, onely naming them Britaynes, Hoxestians, and Caledonians, whiche inhabited in those dayes parte of this Ile which now we call Scotland.

After that Agricola hadde thus ouerthrowen hys enimies in a pight fielde at the mountayne of Granzebern, and that the countrey was quite ridde of all appearaunce of enimies: bycause the sommer of this eyght yeere of his gouernemente was nowe almost spente, he broughte hys army into the confynes of the Horestians, whyche inhabited the countreyes nowe cleped Angus and Merne, and there intended to Winter, and toke hostages of the people for assurance of theyr loyaltie and subiection.

This done, he appoynted the Admirall of the naule to sayle about the Isle, whiche accordingly to his commission in that poynte receyued, luckily accomplished his enterprise, and brought the naule about agayne into an hauen, called Trutulensis.

In this meane time, whilest Julius Agricola was thus occupyed in Britayne, both the Emperoure Vespasian, and also his brother Titus that succeeded hym, departed this life, and Domitian was elected Emperoure, the whiche hearing of suche prosperous successe as Agricola had against the Britaynes, did not so muche reioyce for the thing well done, as he enuied to consider what glory and renowme shoulde redounde to Agricola thereby, whiche hee perceyued should muche darken the glosse of hys fame, hauyng a priuate person vnder him, who in worthynesse of noble exployctes atchieued, farre excelled hys doyngs.

To fynde remedie herein therefore, he thought not good to vtter hys malice as yet whylst Agricola remayned in Britayne with an army, whych so muche fauoured him, and that with so good cause, sith by his policie and noble conduit, the same hadde obteyned so many victories, so much honor, and such plentie of spoyles and bootie. Whereuppon to dissemble hys intent, he appoynted to reuoke him forthe of Britaine, as it were to honor hym, not only with decreed tryumphes, but also with the Lieutenantshippe of Syria, which as then was voyde by the death of Atilius Rufus.

Thus Agricola being contermaunded home to Rome, delyuered his prouince vnto his successor Cneus Trebellius, appoynted thereto by the Emperour Domitianus, in good quiet and sauegarde. *Cneus Trebellius alias Salustius Lucullus* as some thinke.

Thus may you see in what state Britayne stoode in the dayes of King Marius, of whome yet Tacitus maketh no mention at all. Some haue written, that the City of Chester was builded by this Marius, though other as before I haue sayde, thinke rather that it was the worke of Ostorius Scapula their Legate. *Fabian.*

Coyllus.



COilus the Sonne of Marius was after his fathers decease made Kyng of Britayn, in the yere of our Lord. 125. *Coyllus.*

This Coyllus or Coyll was broughte vp in his youth amongst the Romaynes at Rome, where hee spente hys tyme not vnprofitably, 125

but applyed hymſelfe to learning and ſeruice in the warres, by reaſon whereof, hee was muche honored of the Romaynes, and he likewiſe honored and loued them, ſo that hee payed his tribute truly all the tyme of hys raigne, and therefore lyued in peace and good quiet. He was alſo a Prince of muche bountie, and very liberall, whereby hee obteyned great loue both of his nobles and commons. Some ſaye, that hee made the Towne of Colcheſter in Eſſex, but other write, that Coyll whych reigned next after Aſclepeodotus was the firſt founder of that Towne, but by other it ſhuld ſeeme to be built long before, being called Camalodunum. Finally, when thys Coyll had raigned the ſpace of. 54. yeares, hee departed this lyfe at Yorke, leauing after him a ſonne named Lucius, which ſucceeded in the Kingdome.

Colcheſter builte.

Lucius.



Lucius. LUcius the ſon of Coilus, whoſe ſurname (as ſayth William Harriſon) is not extant, began his raygne ouer ẏ Britaynes about the yeare of oure Lorde. 180. as Fabian following the authoritie of Peeter Pictauienſis hathe, although other writers ſeeme to diſagree in that accompt, as by the ſame Fabian in the table before his Booke partly appeareth, whereto *Mathæus VVeſtmonaſterienſis* affirmeth, that this Lucius was borne in the yeare of our Lord. 115. and was Crowned King in the yeare. 124. as ſucceſſor to his father Coilus, which dyed the ſame yeere, being of great age ere the ſaid Lucius was borne. William Harriſon in the ſecond part of his chronologie noteth his entraunce to be in the. 132. of the world. 916. after the buylding of Rome. 220. after the comming of Ceſar into Britayne, and. 165. after Chriſt, whoſe accomptes I followe (as before is ſayde) in this treatiſe. 165

This Lucius is highly renowmed of the writers, for that hee was the firſte King of the Britaynes that receyued the faith of Jeſus Chriſt: for being inſpired by the ſpirit of grace and truth euē from the beginning of hys raigne, he ſomewhat leaned to the fauoring of Chriſtian Religion, being moued with the manifeſt miracles whyche the Chriſtians dayly wroughte in witneſſe and proofe of their ſound and perfect doctrine: for euen from the dayes of Joſeph of Aramathia and hys fellowes, or what other godly men firſt taughte the Britaynes the Goſpell of our Sauiour, there remayned amongſt the ſame Britaynes ſome Chriſtians which ceaſſed not to teach & preache the word of God moſt ſincerely vnto them: but yet no king amongſt them openly profeſſed that Religion, till at length this Lucius perceyuyng not only ſome of the Romayne Lieutenantes in Britayne, as Trebellius and Pertinax, with other, to haue ſubmitted themſelues to that profeſſion, but alſo the Emperour himſelfe to begin to be fauorable to them that profeſſed it, hee tooke occaſiō by their good enſample to giue care more attentiuely to the Goſpell, and at length ſent vnto Eleutherius Biſhop of Rome, two learned men of the Brittiſh nation, Eluane and Meduin, requiring him to ſende ſome ſuche miniſters as might inſtruct him and his people in the true faith more plentifully, and to baptiſe them according to the rules of the Chriſtian Religion.

Herevpon were ſent from the ſayd Eleutherius two godly learned mē, ẏ one named Fugatius, and ẏother Damianus, the which baptiſed the King with all his family and people. And



therewith

therewith remoued the worſhipping of Idolles and falſe Gods, and taught the right meane and way howe to worſhippe the true and immortall God. There were in thoſe dayes within the boundes of Britayne. 28. Flamynes, and three Archflamynes, which were as Biſhops & Archbiſhops, or ſuperintendentes of the Pagane or Heathen religion, in whoſe place (they being remoued) were inſtituted. 28. Biſhops and three Archbiſhops of the Chriſtian Religion. One of the which Archbiſhops held his ſee at London, another at Yorke, and the third at Caerleion, Arwiſke in Glamorgan ſhire. To the Archbiſhop of London was ſubiect Cornewall, and all the middle part of England, euen vnto Humber. To the Archbiſhop of Yorke all the North partes of Britayne from the Riuer of Humber vnto the furtheſt partes of Scotlande: and to the Archbiſhop of Caerleon was ſubiect all Wales, within whiche countrey as then were ſeuen Biſhops, where nowe there are but foure. The Riuer of Seuerne in thoſe dayes deuided Wales (then called Cambria) from the other partes of Britayne. Thus Britayne partly by the meanes of Joſeph of Aramathia (of whome ye haue heard before) and partly by the wholeſome inſtructions & doctrine of Fugatius and Damianus, was the firſt of all other regions that openly receyued the Goſpell, and continued moſt ſtedfaſtly in ỹ profeſſion, till the cruell furie of Diocletian perſecuted the ſame in ſuche ſorte, that as well in Britayne as in all other places of ỹ world, the Chriſtian religion was in manner extinguiſhed, and vtterly deſtroyed.

Ther be that affirme, how this Lucius ſhould build the Church of Saint Peter at Weſtminſter, though many attribute that acte vnto Sibert King of the Eaſt Saxons, and write, howe the place was then ouergrowen with thornes & buſhes, and thereof toke the name, and was called Thorney. They adde moreouer (as Harriſon ſayeth) howe Thomas Archbiſhop of London preached, redde, and miniſtred the Sacraments there to ſuch as made reſorte vnto him. Howbeit by the tables hanging in the reuerſry of Sainte Paules at London, and alſo a table ſometyme hanging in Saint Peters Church in Cornehill, it ſhoulde ſeeme, that the ſayd Church of Saint Peter in Cornehill was the ſame that Lucius builded. But herein (ſayth Harriſon anno mundi 4174) doth lie a ſcruple, ſure Cornell might ſome be miſtaken for Thorney, eſpecially in ſuch olde recordes, as time, age, euill handling, hath oftentimes defaced. But howſoeuer this caſe ſtandeth, troth it is, that Lucius reioycing muche in that he had brought his people to the perfect light and vnderſtanding of the true God, that they needed not to bee deceyued any longer with the craftie temptations and feigned miracles of wicked ſpirites, he aboliſhed all prophane worſhippings of falſe Gods, and conuerted ſuche Temples as had bin dedicated to their ſeruice, vnto the vſe of the Chriſtian Religiõ: and thus ſtudying only howe to aduance the glory of the immortall God, and the knowledge of his worde, without ſeeking the vayne glory of worldly triumph whiche is gote with ſlaughter and bloudſhed of many a giltleſſe perſon, hee lefte his kingdome (though not enlarged with broder dominion than hee receyued it,) yet greatly augmented and enriched with quiet reſt, good ordinances, and (that which is more to be eſteemed than all the reſt) adorned with Chriſtes religion, and perfectly inſtructed with hys moſt holy worde and doctrine. He raigned as ſome write. 21. yeares, though as other affirme but twelue yeares. Agayne, ſome teſtifie that he raigned. 77. other ſay. 54. & Harriſon. 43. Moreouer, heere is to bee noted, that if he procured the faith of Chriſt to be planted within his Realme in the time of Eleutherius the Romayne Biſhop, the ſame chanced in the dayes of the Emperour Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. And about the time that Lucius Aurelius Commodus was ioyned & made partaker of the Empire wᵗʰ his father, which was ſeuen yeres after ỹ death of Lucius Aelius Aurelius Uerus, and in the. 177. after the birth of our Sauiour Jeſus Chriſt, as by Harriſons chronologie is eaſie to bee collected. For Eleutherius beganne to gouerne the ſea of Rome in the yeare. 169. according to the opinion of ỹ moſt diligent chronographers of our time, & gouerned fifteene yeeres and thirteene dayes. And yet there are that affirme, howe Lucius dyed at Glowceſter in the yeare of our Lorde. 156. other ſay that he dyed in the yeare. 201. and other. 208. So that the troth of this hiſtorie is brought into doubt by the diſcorde of writers, concerning the time and other circumſtances, although they all agree that in this kings dayes the Chriſtian faith was firſt by publique conſent openly receyued & profeſſed in this lande, whiche as ſome affirme, ſhould chance in the twelfth yeare of his raigne, and in the yeare of our Lord. 177. Other iudge, that it came to paſſe in the eyght yeare of his regiment, and in the yeare of our Lord. 188. where other (as before is ſayd) alledge that it was in the yeare. 179. Nauclerus ſayth, that this happened about the yeare of our Lord. 156. And Henricus de Erphordia ſuppoſeth, that it was in the yeare of our Lorde. 169. and in the nineteenth yeare of the Emperour Marcus Antonius Uerus: & after other, about the ſixth yeare of the Emperoure Comodus. But to proceede: King Lucius dyed without iſſue, by reaſon whereof, after his deceſſe the Britaynes fell at variance, whiche continued about the ſpace of fiftene yeares (as Fabian thinketh,)

Polidor. *Fabian.* *Iohn. Hard.* *Galfridus.* *Mat. VVeſt.* *Polidor.* *Nauclerus* *Henricus de Herford.* *Fabian.*

keth) howbeit, the olde engliſhe Chronicle affirmeth, that the contention betwixte them remained .50. yeares, though Harding affirmeth but 4. yeares. And thus much of the Britaynes, and their kings Coylus and Lucius. Now it reſteth to ſpeake ſomewhat of the Romaynes whyche gouerned here in the meane while. After that Agricola was called backe to Rome, the Britaines (& namely thoſe that inhabited beyond Twede) partly being weakened of their former ſtrength, and partly in conſideration of their pledges, whiche they had deliuered to the Romaynes, remayned in peace certayne yeres.

Caxton. Iohn. Hard.

Cn. Trebellius Lieutenãt.



IN the meane time, the Romayne Lieutenant Cn. Trebellius that ſucceded Julius Agricola, hee coulde not foreſee all things ſo preciſely, but that ẏ ſouldiers waxing vnruly by reaſon of long reſt, fell at variance amongſt themſelues, & would not in the ende obey the Lieutenante, but diſquieted the Britanes beyond meaſure. Wherfore the Britaynes perceyuing themſelues ſore oppreſſed with intollerable bondage, & that dayly the ſame increaſed, they conſpire togither, vppon hope to recouer libertie, and to defende their coũtrey by all meanes poſſible, and heerewith they take weapon in hand againſt the Romaines, and boldly aſſaile them: but this they did yet warely, and ſo, that they might flee vnto the Wooddes & bogges for refuge vpon neceſſitie, according to the manner of their countrey. Herevpon diuers ſlaughters were committed on both parties, and all the countrey was now ready to rebell: wherof, when the Emperour Adrian was aduertiſed from Trebellius the Lieutenant, with all conuenient ſpeede he paſſed ouer into Britayne, & quieted all the Ile, vſing great humanitie towardes the inhabitants, and making ſmall accompte of that part where the Scottes nowe inhabite, eyther bycauſe of the barrennelle thereof, or for that by reaſon of the nature of the coũtrey he thoughte it would be hard to be kept vnder ſubiection, hee deuiſed to deuide it from the reſidue of Britayne, and ſo cauſed a wall to be made from the mouth of Tyne vnto the water of Eſke, whyche wall conteyned in length. xxx. mile.

The wall of Adrian built. Spartianus.

After this, the Britaynes bearing a malicious hatred towardes the Romayne Souldiers, & repyning to be kepte vnder the bond of ſeruitude, eftſoones goe aboute to recouer libertie againe. Whereof aduertiſement being giuen, the Emperour Pius Antonius ſendeth ouer Lollius Vrbicus as Lieutenant into Britaine, who by ſundry battayles ſtryken, conſtreyned the Britaines to remaine in quiet, and cauſing thoſe that inhabited in the Northe partes to remoue further off from the confines of the Romaine prouince, reyſed another wall beyond that whiche the Emperour Adrian had made, as is to be ſuppoſed, for ẏ more ſuretie of the Romayne ſubiectes againſte the inuaſion of the enimies. But yet Lollius dyd not ſo make an end of the war, but that the Britaynes ſhortly after attempted of newe, eyther to reduce their ſtate into libertie, or to bring the ſame into further daunger.

Lollius Vrbicus Lieutenãt

Iulius Anoth built.



WHerevpõ Marcus Antonius that ſucceeded Pius, ſendeth Calphurnius Agricola to ſucceede Lollius in the gouernemente of Britayne, the which eaſily ouercame and ſubdued all his enimies. After this, there chanced ſome trouble in the dayes of the Emperoure Commodus the ſonne of Marcus Antonius and his ſucceſſor in the Empire: for the Britaynes ẏ dwelled Northwardes beyond Adrians wall, brake through the ſame, and ſpoyled a great part of the countrey, againſt whom the Romayne Lieutenant for that time being come forthe, gaue them battell: but both he and the Romayne Souldiers that were with him, were beaten downe and ſlayne.

Iulius Calphurnius. Of this Calphurnius Britayne may read more in Scottiſh nicle.

Dion.

With whiche newes Commodus being ſore amaſed, ſent againſt the Britaynes one Vlpius Marcellus, a man of great diligence & temperancy, but therwith rough & nothing gentle. He vſed the ſame kinde of diet that the common ſouldiers did vſe. He was a Captayne much watchfull, as one contented with very little ſleepe, & deſirous to haue his ſouldiers alſo vigilante and carefull to keepe ſure watch in the night ſeaſon. Euery euening hee would write twelue tables, ſuch as they vſed to make of ẏ linde tree, & deliuering them to one of his ſeruants, appointed him to beare them at ſeuerall houres of ẏ night to ſundry ſouldiers, whereby ſuppoſing that their Generall was ſtyll watching and not gone to bed, they might be in doubt to ſleepe. And although of nature he could wel abſteyne from ſleepe, yet to be the better able to forbeare it, he vſed a marueilous ſpare kinde of dyet: for to the end ẏ he would not fil himſelfe too much with bread, he woulde eate none but ſuche as was brought to him frõ Rome, ſo that more than neceſſitie compelled him, he could not eate, by reaſon that the ſtalneſſe toke away ẏ pleaſant taſt therof, & leſſe prouoked his appetite. He was a marueilous cõtener of money, ſo ẏ bribes might not moue him to do otherwiſe thã dutie required.

Vlpius Marcellus naunte.

Thus

Thus Marcellus being of ſuch diſpoſition, ſore afflicted the Britaynes, and put them oftentimes to greate loſſes, through fame whereof, Commodus enuying his renoune, was after in minde to haue made him away, but yet ſpared him for a further purpoſe, and ſuffered hym to departe.

After he was remoued from the gouernment of Britaynie, one Perhennis Captayne of the Emperours garde (or Pretorian Souldiers, as they were then called) bearing all the rule vnder the Emperour Commodus, appoynted certaine Gentlemen of meane calling to gouerne the army in Britaine. The Souldiers therefore in the ſame army repining to be gouerned by mennes of baſe degree, in reſpect of thoſe that had borne rule ouer them before, being honorable perſonages, as Senators, and of the conſuler dignitie, they fel at ſquare among themſelues, and about fifteene hundred of them departed towardes Rome to exhibite their complaynte againſte Perhennis: for whatſoeuer was amiſſe, the blame was ſtill layd to him. They paſſed forthe without impeachmente at all, and comming to Rome, the Emperour himſelfe came forth to underſtande what they meant by this their comming in ſuche ſorte from the place where they were appoynted to ſerue. Their aunſwer was, that they were come to informe him of the treaſon which Perhennis had deuiſed to his deſtruction, that hee might make his ſonne Emperoure. To the whiche accuſation, when Commodus too lightly gaue care, and beleeued it to be true, namely, through the ſetting on of one Cleander, who hated Perhennis, for that he withheld hym from doyng diuers vnlawfull actes, which he went about vpon a wilfull minde, (without all reaſon or modeſtie) to practiſe: The matter was ſo handled in the ende, that Perhennis was deliuered to the Souldiers, who cruelly mangled him, and preſently put him to death.



Pertinax Lieftenant of Britayne.

But nowe to the tumultes in Britayne. It was thought needeful to ſende ſome ſufficiente Captayne of authoritie thither, & therefore was one Pertinax that hadde bin Conſul and ruler ouer ſoute ſeuerall conſuler prouinces, appointed by Commodus, to goe as Lieutenat into that Ile, both for that he was thought a mā moſt meete for ſuch a charge, and alſo to ſatiſfie his credite, for that hee had bin diſcharged by Perhennis of bearing any rule, & ſent home into Liguria where hee was borne, & there appoynted to remayne.

This Pertinax comming into Britayne, pacifyed the army, but not without danger to haue bin ſlayne by a mutinie reyſed by one of the Legions: for he was ſtriken downe, and left for dead

The Lieutenant in danger.





among the ſlayne carcaſſes. But he worthily reuenged himſelfe of this iniurie. At length, hauing chaſtiſed the Rebels, and brought the Ile into meetely good quiet, hee ſued and obteyned to bee diſcharged of that rowme, becauſe as he alledged, the Souldiers could not brooke him, for that hee kept them in dutifull obedience, by correcting ſuch as offended the lawes of Armes.



Clodius Albinus Lieutenāt.

Then was Clodius Albinus appoynted to haue the rule of the Romayn army in Britayne: whoſe deſtruction whē Seuerus the Emperoure ſought, Albinus eſteemed it quickly: and therefore chooſing forth a greate power of Britaynes, paſſed with the ſame

ſame ouer into Fraunce to encounter with Seuerus, who was come thither towards him, ſo that neere to the Citie of Lions, they ioyned in battell & fought right ſore, in ſo much that Seuerus was at poynt to haue receyued ẏ ouerthrow by the high proweſſe and manhode of the Bꝛitaynes: but yet in the ende, Albinus loſt ẏ fielde, & was ſlayne. Then Heraclitus as Lieutenant began to gouerne Bꝛitayne (as writeth Sparcianus) being ſent thither by Seuerus for that purpoſe before. And ſuch was the ſtate of this Ile about the yere of our Lord. 195. In which ſeaſon, bycauſe that King Lucius was dead, and hadde left no iſſue to ſucceede him, the Bꝛitaynes (as before ye haue heard) were at variance amongſt themſelues, and ſo continued till the commyng of Seuerus, whom the Bꝛitiſh Chꝛonographers affirme to raigne as King in this Ile, and that by righte of ſucceſſion in bloud, as diſcended of Indꝛogeus the Bꝛitaine, which went to Rome with Julius Ceſar, as before ye haue heard.

Seuerus.



This Seuerus as then Emperoure of Rome, began to rule this Ile (as authors affirme) in ẏ yere of oure Lorde 207. & gouerned the ſame 4. yeres & odde moneths. At length, hearing that one Fulgẽtius as then a leader of the Pictes was entred into the bordures of his countrey on this ſyde Durham, he rayſed an hoſt of Bꝛitaynes & Romans, with the which he marched towards his enimies: and meeting with the ſaid Fulgentius in a place neere vnto Yorke, in the ende after ſore fighte, Seuerus was ſlayne, when he hadde ruled thys

Seuer



land for the ſpace almoſt of fiue yeeres as before is ſayd, and was after buried at Yorke, leauyng behinde him two ſonnes, the one named Geta, & the other Baſſianus. This Baſſianus beeyng borne of a Bꝛittiſh woman, ſucceeded his father in the gouernemente of Bꝛitayne, in the yeare of the incarnation of our Lord. 211. The Romanes would haue had Geta created King of Bꝛitaine, bearing more fauoure to him bycauſe he hadde a Romane Lady to his mother: but the Bꝛitaines moued with the like reſpect, helde with Baſſianus. And therevpon warre was rayſed betwixte the two bꝛethren, & comming to trie their quarrell by battell, Geta was ſlayne, and Baſſianus with ayde of the Bꝛitaynes, remayned victor, & ſo continued King, till at length he was ſlayne by one Carauſius a Bꝛitaine, borne but of lowe birth, howbeit right valiant in armes, and therefore well eſteemed: In ſomuch that obteynyng of the Senate of Rome the keeping of the coaſts of Bꝛitayne, that he might defend the ſame from the malice of ſtraungers as Pictes and other, he drew to him a great number of Souldiers & ſpecially of Bꝛitaines, to whome hee promiſed that if they would make him king, hee would clerely deliuer them from the oppreſſion of the Romaine ſeruitude. Wherevpon the Bꝛitaynes rebellyng againſt Baſſianus, ioined themſelues to Carauſius, who by their ſuppoꝛt, vanquiſhed and ſlewe the ſayd Baſſianus, after he had raigned ſixe, oꝛ as ſome affirme. xxx. yeares.

211

Thus farre out of the Engliſhe and Bꝛittiſhe writers, the whiche howe farre they vary from a likelyhood of troth, yee ſhall heare what the ẏ approwed hiſtoꝛiographers, Greekes, and Latines, writing of theſe matters, haue recoꝛded. Herodia

The Emperour Seuerus receiuing aduertiſement from the Lieutenant of Bꝛitayne that the people there moued Rebellion, and waſted the countrey with roades & foꝛrayes, ſo that it was needefull to haue the prince himſelfe to come thither with a greate power to reſiſt ẏ enimies, he of an ambitious mind reioyced not a little for thoſe newes, bycauſe hee ſawe occaſion offered to aduãce his renoume and fame with increaſe of new victoꝛies nowe in the Weſt, after ſo many triumphes purchaſed & got by him in the Eaſt and Noꝛth partes of the woꝛld. Herevpon though he was of great age, yet the deſire that he had ſtil to winne honoꝛ, cauſed him to take in hand to make a iourney into this land, and ſo being furniſhed of al things neceſſary, he ſet foꝛwards, being carried

foꝛ

for the more part in a litter for his more eaſe: for ẏ beſide his feebleneſſe of age, he was alſo troubled with ẏ goute. He toke with him his two ſonnes, Antonius Baſſianus and Geta, vpon purpoſe as was thought, to auoyde occaſions of ſuche inconuenience as he perceyued might grow by diſcord, moued betwixte thẽ through flatterers and malicious ſycophants whiche ſoughte to ſet them at variance: whiche to bring to paſſe, he perceyued there ſhould want no meane whileſt they continued in Rome, amid ſuch pleaſures and idle paſtimes as were dayly there frequented: and therfore he cauſed them to attend him in this iourney into Britayne, that they might learne to liue ſoberly, and after the manner of warre.

Seuerus being thus on his iourney towardes Britayne, ſtayed not by the way, but with all diligence ſpedde him forthe, and paſſing the Sea very ſwiftly, entred this Ile, and aſſembled a mightie power togither, meaning to aſſayle hys enimies, and to purſue the warre againſte them to the vttermoſt. The Britaynes greatly amaſed with this ſodayne arriuall of the Emperoure, and hearing that ſuch preparation was made againſt them, ſent Imbaſſadors to him to intreat of peace, & to excuſe their rebellious doings. But Seuerus delaying time for anſwere, as he that was deſirous to atchieue ſome high enterpriſe againſt the Britaines, for the which he might deſerue ẏ ſurname of Britannicus, which he greatly coueted, ſtill was buſie to prepare all thyngs neceſſary for the warre, and namely, cauſed a great number of bridges to bee made to lay ouer the bogges and mariſhes, ſo that his ſouldiers might haue place to ſtand vppon, and not to bee encõbred for lacke of firme groũd whẽ they ſhuld cope with their enimies: for the more parte of Britaine in thoſe dayes (as Herodianus writeth) was full of fennes, and marres grounds, by reaſon of the often flowings and waſhing of the ſea tides: by the whiche marres grounds the enimies being therto accuſtomed, wold runne & ſwimme in the waters, and wade vp to the middle at their pleaſure, going for the more parte naked, ſo that they paſſed not on the mudde and myres, for they knewe not the vſe of wearing clothes, but ware hoopes of Iron about their middles and neckes, eſteeming the ſame as an ornamente and token of riches, as other barbarous people did golde.

Moreouer, they marked, or (as it were) paynted their bodies in diuers ſortes and with ſundry ſhapes and figures of beaſtes and foules, & therefore they vſed not to weare any garmentes, that ſuche paynting of their bodyes might the more appearantly be ſeene, which they eſteemed a great brauerie.

They were as the ſame Herodianus writeth, a people giuen muche to the warre, and delighted in ſlaughter and bloudſhed, vſing none other weapons or armure but a ſlender buckler, a Jaueline, and a ſworde tyed to their naked bodyes: for as for headpeece or Habergeon, they eſteemed not, bicauſe they thought the ſame ſhuld be an hinderance to them when they ſhould paſſe ouer any marres, or be driuen to ſwimme anye waters, or flee to the bogges. The furniture of the ſauage Britaynes.

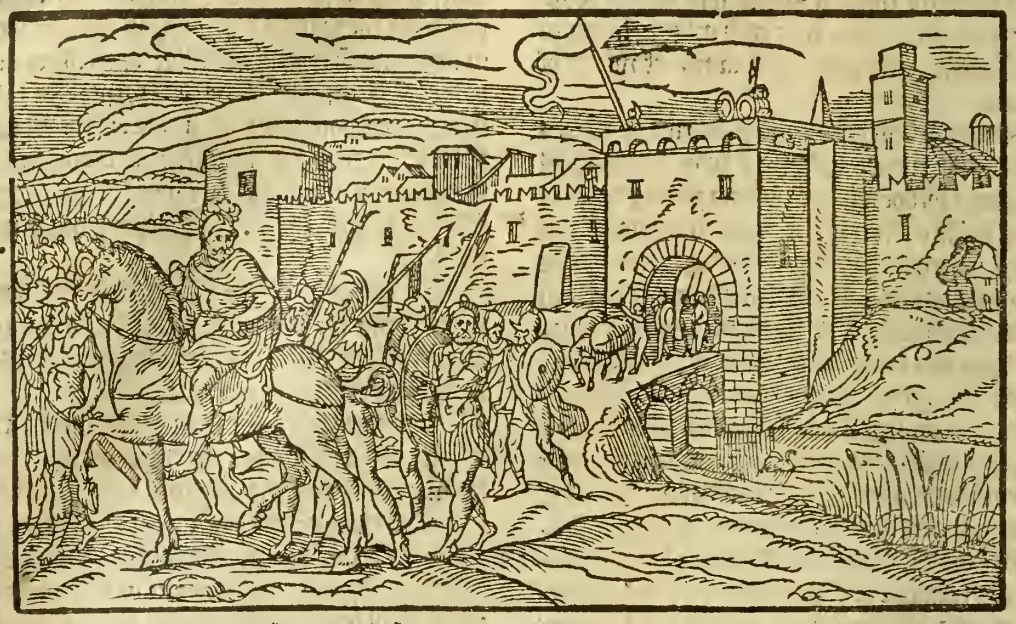
Moreouer, to ſuffer hunger, colde, and trauell, they were ſo vſed and enured therwith, that they would not paſſe to lie in the bogges and myres, couered vp to the chynne, without caring for meate for the ſpace of diuers dayes togither: and in the woddes they would liue vpon rootes and barkes of trees. Alſo they vſed to prepare for theſelues a certayne kynde of meate, of the whiche if they receyued but ſo muche as amounted to the quantitie of a beane, they would thinke themſelues ſatisfyed, and feele neyther hunger nor thirſt.

The one halfe of the Ile or little Ieſſe was ſubiect vnto the Romaynes, the other were gouerned of themſelues, the people for the moſt part hauing the rule in their handes.

Seuerus therefore meaning to ſubdue the whole, and vnderſtandyng theyr nature, and the manner of their making warre, prouided him ſelfe of all things expedient for the annoyance of them and help of his own ſouldiers, and appointing his ſonne Geta to remayne in that parte of the Ile which was ſubiect to the Romaynes, he toke with him his other ſonne Antoninus, and with his army marched forthe, and entred into the confynes of the enimies, and there beganne to waſt and forrey the countrey, whereby there enſued diuers conflictes and ſkirmiſhes betwixte the Romaynes and the inhabitantes, the victory ſtill remayning with the Romaynes ſide: but the enimies eaſily eſcaped withoute any greate loſſe, vnto the woddes, Mountaynes, bogges, and ſuch other places of refuge, as they knew to be at hand, whither the Romaynes durſt not followe, nor once approche, for feare to bee entrapped and enclofed by the Britaynes that were ready to returne and aſſayle their enimies vppon euery occaſion of aduauntage that myghte bee offered.

This manner of dealing ſore troubled the Romaynes, and ſo hindred them in their proceedings, that no ſpeedy ende coulde bee made of that war: the Britaynes woulde oftentimes of purpoſe lay their Cattell, as Oxen, Kyne, Sheepe, and ſuche like, in places conueniente, to bee as a ſtale to the Romaynes, and when the Romaynes ſhoulde make to them to fetche the ſame away, being diſtant from the reſidue of the army a good ſpace, they would fall vpõ them and *Dion Caſſius.*

and diſtreſſe them. Beſide this, the Romaynes were muche anoyed with the vnwholeſomneſſe of the waters whiche they were forced to drinke, and if they chanced to ſtray abrode, they were snapped vp by ambuſhes which the Calidonians layde for them, and when they were ſo feeble that they could not through wante of ſtrength keepe pace with their fellowes as they marched in order of battell, they were ſlayne by their owne fellowes, leaſt they ſhould be left behinde for a pray to the enimies. Hereby there died in this iourney of the Romaine army, at the point of fiftie thouſand men: but yet woulde not Seuerus returne, till he had gone through the whole Ile, and ſo came to the vttermoſt partes of all the Countrey now called Scotland, and finally came backe agayne to the other parte of the Ile ſubiect to the Romaynes, the inhabitantes whereof, named by Dion Caſſius *Meatæ*: but firſt he cõſtreyned the other whome the ſame Dion nameth *Caledonij*, to conclude a league with him, with ſuch conditions as they were compelled to departe with no ſmall portion of the countrey, and to deliuer vnto him their armour and weapons.



In the meane time, the Emperoure Seuerus being worne with age fell ſicke, ſo that hee was conſtreyned to abide at home within that part of the Ile which obeyed ẏ Romans, and to appoint his ſon Antoninus to take charge of the army abrode. But Antoninus not regarding ẏ enimies, attempted little or nothing againſte them, but ſoughte wayes howe to winne the fauoure of the ſouldiers and men of war, that after his fathers death (for which he dayly loked) he might haue their aide & aſſiſtance to be admitted Emperoure in his place. Nowe when hee ſaw that his father bare out his ſickneſſe longer time than he would haue wiſhed, he practiſed with Phiſitions and other of his fathers ſeruaunts to diſpatche him by one meane or other.

Whileſt Antoninus thus negligẽtly loked to his charge, the Britaynes began a new Rebellion, not only thoſe ẏ were lately ioyned in league with the Emperoure, but the other alſo whiche were ſubiects to the Romane Empire. Seuerus toke ſuche diſpleaſure, that he called togither the Souldiers, and commaunded them to inuade the countrey, and to kill al ſuch as they might meete with in any place without reſpect, and that hys cruell commaundement he expreſſed in theſe verſes taken out of Homer.

Nemo manus fugiat veſtros, cædemq; cruentam, Iliad.
Nonfœtus grauida mater quem geſſit in aluo,
Horrendam effugiat cædem.

Let none eſcape your bloudy handes,
nor direſome ſlaughter flie,
No not the babe vnborne, which in
the mothers wombe doth lie.

But whileſt he is thus diſquieted with ẏ Rebellion of the Britaynes, & the diſloyall practiſes of his ſon Antoninus, which to him were not vnknowen. For the wicked ſonne had by diuers attempts diſcouered his trayterous and vnnatural meanings. At lẽgth, rather through ſorrow and griefe, than by force of ſickneſſe, he waſted away, & departed this life at Yorke the third day before ẏ Nones of Februarie, after he had gouerned the Empire by the ſpace of. 17. yeeres. 8. moneths &. 3. daies. He liued. 65. yeres. 9. moneths &. 15. days: he was borne the third Ides of Aprill, by that which before is recited out of Herodyan & Dion Caſſius of ẏ maners & vſages of thoſe people, againſt whome Seuerus helde warre heere in Britayne: it may be coniectured, ẏ they were the Pictes, the whiche poſſeſſed in thoſe dayes a greate parte of Scotland, and with continual incurſiõs & roodes waſted & deſtroied ẏ borders of thoſe countreys which

Hero. Dion. Eutr. Dion.

which were subiect to the Romains. To kepe the back therfore & to represse their inuasions Seuerus (as some write) either restored ẏ former wall made by Adrian, or else newely buylt an other ouerthwarte the yle from the east sea to the west, conteining in length. 232. miles. This wall was not made of stone, but of turfe & earth supported with stakes & pyles of wood, and defended on the back with a deepe trenche or ditche, & also fortified with diuers toures & turrets buylt and erected vpon ẏ same wall or rampire so nere together, that the soũd of trumpets being placed in the same, might be heard betwixte, and so warning giuen from one to an other vpon the fyrste descrying of the enimies.

Seuerus being departed out of this life in the yere of our lord. 211. his son Anteninus otherwise called also Bassianus, wold fayn haue vsurped ẏ whole gouernment into his own hands, attempting with bribes & large promises, to corrupt the mindes of the souldiors: but when he perceiued ẏ his purpose wold not forward as he wished in ẏ behalf, he concluded a league with the enimies, & making peace with thẽ, returned back towardes Yorke, and came to his mother & brother Geta, with whom he took order for the burial of his father. And first his body being brent (as the maner was) the ashes were put into a vessel of gold, and so conueyed to Rome by the two brethren and the empresse Julia, that was mother to Geta the yonger brother, & mother in law to the elder, Antoninus Bassianus, and by all meanes possible sought to maintayn loue & concorde betwixt the brethren, which now at the first toke vpon them to rule the empire equally togither: but the ambition of Bassianus was such, that finally vpon desire to haue the whole rule himselfe, he founde meanes to dispatche his brother Geta, breaking one day into his chãber, & slaying him cuẽ in his mothers lap, & so possessed the gouernmẽt alone,



til at lẽgth he was slain at Edessa a citie in Mesopotamia by one of his own soldiors, as he was about to vntrusse his poinctes to doe the office of nature, after he had reigned the space of. vj. yeares as is aforesayde. *Sextus Aurelius.*

Caraũsius.



CAraũsius, a Briton of vnknowen birth, as witnesseth the Britishe histories, after he had vãquisht & slain Bassianus (as ẏ same histories make mẽtiõ, was of the Britayns made kyng and ruler ouer them, in the yeare of oure Lorde. 218. as Galfr. hath: but W. Harrison noteth it to be in an. 286. This Caraũsius either to haue the ayd and support of the Picts, as in the Britishe historie is conteined, either elſe to be at quietnes with them, being not otherwise able to resist thẽ, gaue to them the coũtreis in the south partes of Scotlande, which ioyne to England on the east marches, as Mers, Louthian, and others. *Caraũsius.* 218. *Galfrid.* *Polycron.* *Fabian.*

But here is to be noted, that the Britishe writers affirme, that these Picts ẏ were thus placed in the south parts of Scotland at this time, were brought ouer out of Scythia by Fulgentius, to ayd him against Seuerus, & that after the death of Seuerus and Fulgentius, which both died of hurtes receyued in the batayle fought betwixt thẽ at Yorke: the Picts toke part with Bassianus, & at length betrayed him in the battaile which he fought against this Caraũsius: for by corrupting them by such practises as he vsed, they turned to his side, to the ouerthrow & vtter destruction of Bassianus: for the which traiterous part they had those south countreys of Scotland giuen vnto them for their habitation. But by the Scottish writers it should appere, that those Pictes whiche ayded Fulgentius and also Caraũsius, were the same that long before had inhabited in the north parts of Britayne, nowe called Scotland. But whatsoeuer they were, trouth it it is (as the Britishe histories record) that at lẽgth one Alectus was sent from Rome by the senate with. iij. legions of souldiors to subdue Caraũsius, which he did, and slewe him in the fielde, as the same histories make mẽtion after he had reigned the space of. vij. or. viij. yeares: and in ẏ yeare of oure saluation. 293. as William Harison accompteth. *Galfridus.* 193.

Alectus.

ALectus in hauing vanquished and slayn Caraũsius toke vpon him the rule and gouernment of Britayn, in the yeare of our Lorde. 293. *Alectus* Of whom our British histories write after this maner. 293.

This Alectus whenne he had restored the lande to the subiection of the Romayns, diede the

greate crueltie againſt ſuche of the Britaynes, as hadde maynteined the parte of Carauſſius, by reaſon whereof, he purchaſed muche euill will of the Britons, the which at length conſpires againſt him, and purpoſing to chaſe the Romaines altogether out of their countrey, they procured one Aſclepiodotus, whom(the Britiſh chronicles name Duke of Cornewall) to take vpon him as chiefe capitaine of that enterpriſe. Whervpon the ſame Aſclepiodotus aſſembling a great armie togither, made ſuch ſharpe warres on the Romains, that they being chaſed from place to place, at length withdrewe to the citie of London, and there held them til Aſclepiodotus came thither, and prouoked Alectus and his Romains ſo muche, that in the end they iſſued forth of the Citie, and gaue bataple to the Britons, in the whiche muche people on both partes were ſlayn,



but the greateſt number dyed on the Romaines ſyde: and amongeſt other, Alectus himſelf was ſlayne. The reſidue of the Romains that were lefte alyue, retired backe into the Citie with a captayn of theirs named Liuius Gallus, and defended themſelues within the walles for a tyme right valiantly.

Thus was Alectus ſlayne of the Britons, after he had reigned (as ſome ſuppoſe) aboute the terme of ſixe yeres (or as ſome other write) three yeares. *Fabian. Mat. VVeſt.*

Aſclepiodotus duke of Cornewall.



Aſclepiodotus Galfr. Mon. Mat. VVeſt.

Aſclepiodotus, Duke of Cornewall, began his reign ouer the Britons in ỳ yeare of oure Lorde 232.

After he had vanquiſhed the Romaynes in bataple, as before is recited, he layd his ſiege aboute the citie of London, and finally by knightly force entred the ſame, and ſlew the forenamed Liuius Gallus neere vnto a broke, whiche in thoſe dayes ranne through the citie, and threwe him into the ſame broke: By reaſon whereof long after it was called Gallus or Wallus broke. And at this preſente the ſtreet where the ſame broke did runne, is called Walbroke. VVall

Then after that Aſclepiodotus had ouercome all his enimyes, hee helde this lande a certayne ſpace in good reſt and quiet, and miniſtred iuſtice vprightly, in rewarding the good, and puniſhing the euyll. Till at lengthe through ſlaunderous toungs of malicious perſons, diſcorde was reyſed betwixte the king and one Coyll or Coylus, that was gouernoure of Colcheſter: the occaſion wherof appeareth not by writers.

But whatſoeuer the matter was, there enſued ſuch hatred betwixt thē, that on both partes great armies were rayſed, and meetyng in the fielde, they fought a ſore and myghtie battayle, in the whiche Aſclepiodotus was ſlayn, after he had reigned .xxx. yeares. Aſclepiodotus ſlayne. *Mat. hath.*

Thus hath Geffrey of Monmouth, and our common Chroniclers written of Carauſſius, Alectus, and Aſclepiodotus, whyche gouerned her in Britayne. *Eutro.*

But Eutropius that famous writer of the Romayne hiſtories, in the Actes of Diocletian hath in effecte theſe wordes.

About the ſame tyme Carauſſius, the whiche being borne of moſte baſe offspring, atteyned to highe honour and dignitie by order of renowmed Chiualrie and ſeruice in the warres, receiued charge at Bolein, to kepe the ſeas quiet alongſt ỳ coaſts of Britain, Frāce, and Flaunders, & other countreys

countreys thereaboutes, bycauſe the Frenchemen, whiche yet inhabited within the bounder of Germanye) and the Saxons ſore troubled thoſe ſeas. Carauſius taking oftentymes many of the enimies, neyther reſtored the goodes to them of the countreye from whom the enimies had bereft the ſame, nor yet ſent any parte therof to the Emperours, but kept the whole to his owne vſe. Wherupon when ſuſpition roſe, that he ſhoulde of purpoſe ſuffer the enimies to paſſe by hym, tyll they had taken ſome pryſes, that in their returne with the ſame, he myght encounter with them, and take that from them whyche they hadde gotten, (by whiche ſubtile practiſe he was thought greatly to haue enriched himſelf) Maximianus that was fellowe in gouernement of the Empire with Diocleſianus, remayning then in Gallia, and aduertiſed of theſe doinges, commaunded that Carauſius ſhoulde be ſlayn, but he hauing warning thereof rebelled, and vſurping the imperiall ornamentes and title, got poſſeſſion of Britayne, againſt whom (being a man of greate experience in all warlyke knowledge) when warres had ben attempted and folowed in vayn, at lengthe a peace was concluded with him, and ſo he enioyed the poſſeſſion of Britayn by the ſpace of. vij. yeares, and then was ſlaine by his companion Alectus, the whiche after him ruled Britayn for the ſpace of. iij. yeares, and was in the end oppreſſed by the guyle of Aſclepiodotus gouernour of the Pretorie, (or as I may call him) lord Lieutenant of ſome precinct and iuriſdiction pertayning to the Romayne empire. And ſo was Britayn recouered by the foreſaid Aſclepiodotus about. x. yeres after that Carauſius had firſt vſurped the gouernment there, and about the yere of our Lord. 300. as Polydor iudgeth, wherin he varieth muche from Fabian and others.

But to ſhew what we fynde further written of the ſubduing of Alectus, I think it not amiſſe to ſette downe what Mamertinus in his Oration written in prayſe of Maximianus doth report of this matter: After he hath reckened vp diuers noble victories by the ſayde Maximianus atchieued, & ſundry nations by his force ſubdued, he beginneth with Britayn in this wyſe.

Now then all the compaſſe of the earth being recouered through your noble prowes, not onely ſo farre as the limittes of the Romayne empire hadde before extended, but alſo the enimyes bordures being ſubdewed, when Almayne had ben ſo often vanquiſhed, and Sarmatia ſo often reſtreyned and broughte vnder, the people called *Vitungi, Quadi, Carpi*, ſo often put to flighte, the Gothe ſubmitting himſelfe, ỹ king of Perſia by offering giftes, ſuing for peace, one deſpiteful reproche of ſo myghtie an Empire and gouernment ouer the whole, grieued vs to the hearte, as nowe at lengthe we will not ſticke to confeſſe, and to vs it ſeemed the more intollerable, bycauſe it onely remayned to the accompliſhing of your perfecte renoume and glorie: and verily not lyke as there is but one name of Britayne, ſo was the loſſe to be eſteemed ſmall to the cõmen wealth of a lande ſo plentyfull of corne, ſo abundant with ſtore of paſtures, ſo flowing wyth vaynes of mettall, ſo gaynefull with reuenues, riſing of cuſtomes and tributes, ſo enuironned with hauens, ſo huge in circuite, the which when Ceſar, the founder of this your honourable title, being the firſt that entred into it, writte that he had founde an other worlde, ſuppoſing it to bee ſo bigge, that it was not compaſſed with the ſea, but that rather by reſemblaunce, the greate Ocean was compaſſed with it: and at that time Britayn was nothyng furniſhed with ſhippes of warre, and the Romains nowe after the warres of Carthage and Aſia, had lately bene exerciſed by ſea againſt Pyrates, and afterwardes by reaſon of the warres againſte Mithridates, were practiſed as well to fighte by ſea as lande: beſyde thys the Britiſhe nation then alone was accuſtomed but onely to the Pictes and Iriſhmen, enimies halfe naked as yet, and not vſed to weare armour, ſo that the Britons for lacke of ſkill, eaſylye gaue place to the Romayne puiſſaunce, in ſo muche that Ceſar myght by that voyage onely glorye in this, that he had ſayled and paſſed ouer the Ocean ſea. But in thys wycked rebellious robberie, firſte the nauie that in tymes paſte defended the coaſtes of Gallia was ledde awaye by the Pyrate, when he fled his wayes: and beſide this, a great number of other ſhyppes were buylt after the mould of oures, the Legion of Romayne Souldioures was wonne, and broughte to take parte with the enimie, and dyuers bandes of ſtraungers that were alſo Souldioures, were ſhutte vp in the Shippes to ſerue alſo againſt vs. The merchauntes of the parties of Gallia were aſſembled and broughte togyther to the muſters, and no ſmall numbers of barbarous nations, procured to come in ayde of the Rebelles, truſtyng to enryche themſelues by the ſpoyle of the prouinces: and all theſe were trayned in the warres by ſea, thorough the inſtruction of the firſte attemptours of this miſchieuous practiſe. And althoughe oure armyes were inuincible in force and manhode, yet were they rawe and not accuſtomed to the ſeas, ſo that the fame of a greeuous and greate trouble by warre that was towarde by this ſhamefull rebellyous robberye, was blowen and ſounded in eche mans eare, although we hoped well of the end. Vnto the enimies forces was added a long ſuffrence of theyr

Pictes and Iriſh men.

Long ſufferāce of euill, increaſeth boldneſſe in the authors.

wicked practiſes without puniſhement whyche had puffed vp the preſumptuous boldneſſe of deſperate people, that they bragged of our flay, as if it had bin for feare of them, where the diſaduauntage whiche wee hadde by ſea, ſeemed as it were by a fatall neceſſitie to deferre our victorie: neyther dydde they beleeue that the warre was put off for a tyme by aduyſe and counſell, but rather to be omitted through deſpayre to doe any good againſt them, in ſo much that now the feare of common puniſhment being layd aſide, one of the mates ſlew the archpyrate or capitayn rouer as I may call him, hoping in reward of ſo great an exployte to obteyne the whole gouernemente into his handes. This warre then being bothe ſo neceſſarie, ſo hard to enter vpon, ſo growne in tyme to a ſtubburne ſtiffneſſe, and ſo wel prouided for of the enimies part, you noble Emperor, did ſo take it in hand, that ſo ſoon as you bent the thūdring force of your imperiall maieſtie againſt that enimie, eche mā made accompt that the enterpriſe was already atchieued: for firſt of al, to ẏ end ẏ your diuine power being abſent, the barbarous nations ſhould not attempt any new trouble (a thing chiefly to be forſene) it was prouided for aforehand by interceſſiō made vnto your maieſtie: for you your ſelfe, you I ſay mightie lord Maximian eternall emperor, vouchedſafe to aduāce the cōming of your diuine excellēcie by the neereſt way that might be, which to you was not vnknowne: you therefore ſodeynly came to the Rhine, and not with any armie of horſemen or footmen, but with the terrour of your preſence, did preſerue & defend al that frontier: for Maximian once being there vpon the riuage, counteruayled any the greateſt armies that were to bee founde. For you (moſt inuincible Emperor) furniſhing & arming diuers nauies, made the enimie ſo vncertain of his own doings and voyd of cōſel, that then at length he might perceyue that he was not defended but enclofed with the Ocean ſea. Here cōmeth it to mynde how pleaſant and eaſefull the good lucke of thoſe princes in gouerning the cōmon wealth with praiſe was, whiche ſitting ſtil in Rome had triumphs and ſurnames appointed them of ſuch nations as their captains did vanquiſhe. Fronto therefore, not the ſeconde, but matche with the firſt honour of the Romaine eloquence, when he yelded vnto the emperor Antoninus the renome of the warre brought to end in Britayn, although he ſitting at home in his palace within the citie, had cōmitted the cōduct & ſucceſſe of that war ouer vnto the ſame Fronto, it was cōfeſſed by him, ẏ the Emperor ſitting as it were at the helme of the ſhip, deſerued ẏ prayſe by giuing of perfect order to the full accōpliſhing of the enterpriſe. But you moſt inuincible Emperour, haue bin not onely the appointer forth howe all this voyage by ſea, and proſecuting the warre by lande ſhoulde be demeaned, as appertayned to you by vertue of your Imperiall rule and dignitie, but alſo you haue bene an exhorter and ſetter forward in the things themſelues, and through example of your aſſured conſtancie, the victorie was atchieued. For you taking the Sea at Sluyce, didde put an irreuocable deſire into their heartes that were readye to take ſhippe the ſame tyme in the mouth of the ryuer of Sayne, in ſo muche that when the Capitaynes of that armie were about to linger tyme, by reaſon the ſeas and ayre was troubled, they cryed to haue the ſayles hoyſed vp, and ſigne giuen to launche forth that they myght paſſe forwarde on theyr iourney, deſpiſing certayne tokens which threatned theyr wrecke, and ſo ſet forward on a raynie and tempeſtuous daye, ſayling with a croſſe-wynde, for no forewynde myghte ſerue theyr tourne. But what was hee that durſt not committe him ſelfe vnto the ſea were the ſame neuer ſo vnquiet, when you were once vnder ſayle, and ſette forwarde? One voyce and exhortation was amonge them all (as reporte hathe gone thereof) when they hearde that you were once got forth vppon the water, what doe wee doubte? what meane we to ſtaye? hee is nowe lewſed from lande, he is forwarde on his way, and peraduenture is alreadie got ouer: let vs put all thynges in proke, lette vs venture thorough anye daungers of ſea whatſoeuer, what is there that we may ſtand in fear of? we folow the emperour: neyther diddethe opinion of your good happe deceyue them: for as by reporte of themſelues, wee doe vnderſtande, at that ſelfe tyme there fell ſuche a myſte and thycke fogge vpon the Seas, that the enimyes Nauie layde at the Iſle of Wyghte, watchyng for theyr aduerſaries and lurkyng as it were in awayte, theſe your ſhippes paſſed by, and were not once perceyued, neyther did the enimie then ſtaye, although he coulde not reſiſte. But nowe as concerning that the ſame armye vnvanquiſhable fyghting vnder your enſignes and name, ſtreight wayes after it came to lande, ſet fyre on theyr ſhippes: what moued them ſo to doe, excepte the admonitions of your diuine motion? or what other reaſon perſwaded them to reſerue no furtheraunce for theyr flight if neede were, nor to feare the doubtfull chaunces of warre, nor as the Prouerbe ſayeth, to thinke the hazarde of martiall dealyngs to be common, but that by contemplation of your proſperous happe, it was verie certayne that there needed no doubte to bee caſte, for victorie to be obteined? There were no ſufficiēt forces at that preſent amōg them, no mighty puiſſant ſtrength of Romains, but they had only conſideration of your vnſpeakable for-

Caramſius ſlayne.

Fronto compared Ciceros matche.

tunate

tunate succesſe commyng from the heauens aboue, for what so euer battaile doth chaunce to be offered, to make ful accompt of victorie, resteth not so muche in the assuraunce of the souldiours, as in the good lucke and felicitie of the Capitaine generall. That same ringleader of the ingratious faction, what mente he to depart frō that shore whiche he possessed? Why did he forsake bothe his nauie and the hauen? but that (moste inuincible Emperour) hee stoode in feare of your commyng, whose sayles hee beholde readie to approche towards him, howesoeuer the matter shoulde fall out, he chose rather to trye his fortune wyth your capitaynes than to abyde the present force of your maiestie: a madde man that vnderstoode not, that whether so euer he fled, the power of your diuine maiestie to be present, in all places where your countenance and banners are had in reuerence. But hee fleeing from your presence, fell into the handes of youre people, of you was he ouercome, of youre armies was he oppressed. To be short, he was brought into suche feare, and as it were still looking behynde him, for doubte of your comming after him, that as one out of his remembrance amazed what to do, he hasted forward to his death, so that he neyther sette his men in order of battayle, nor marshalled suche power as hee had about him, but onely with the olde authors of that conspiracie, & the hired bands of the barbarous nations, as one forgetful of so great preparation which he had made, ran hedlong forwards to his destruction, insomuch (noble emperor) your felicitie yeldeth this good hap to the cōmon welth, that the victorie being atchieued in the behalfe of the Romain empire, there almost died not one Romain: for as I heare, all those fields and hilles laye couered with none but only with the bodies of moste wicked enimies, the same beeing of the barbarous nations, or at the lest wise apparelled in the cōterfait shapes of barbarous garments, glistering with their long yealow heares, but nowe with gashes of wounds & blood all deformed, and lying in sundry maners, as the pangs of death occasioned by their wounds, had caused them to stretch forth or draw in their maymed limmes and mangled parts of their dying bodies. And among these, the chiefe ringleader of the theeues was founde, who had put off those robes which in his life time he had vsurped & dishonored, so as vneth was he couered wyth one piece of apparell wherby he might be knowen, so neare were his wordes true vttered at the houre of his death, whiche he saw at hand, that he would not haue it vnderstoode howe he was slayn. Thus verily (moste inuincible emperour) so greate a victorie was appointed to you by consent of the immortall gods ouer al the enemies whom you assayled, but namely the slaughter of the Frankeners & those youre souldiours also, which as before I haue sayd, *Francones sine Franci.* through missyng their course by reason of the myst that lay on the seas, were nowe come to the citie of London, where they slewe downe right in eche parte of the same citie, what multitude soeuer remayned of those hyred barbarous people, which escaping from the batayle, mente after they had spoyled the citie to haue got away by flight. But now being thus slain by your souldiours, the subiects of your prouince were both preserued from further daunger, and toke pleasure to beholde the slaughter of suche cruell enimies. O what a manyfolde victorie was this? worthie vndoubtedly of innumerable triumphes, by which victorie Britayne is restored to the Empire, by which victorie the nation of the Frankeners is vtterlye destroyed, and by whiche many other nations found accessaries in the cōspiracie of that wicked practise, are compelled to obedience. To conclude, the seas are purged and brought to perpetuall quietnes. Glorie you therfore, inuincible Emperor, for that you haue, as it were, gote an other worlde, and in restoring to the Romain puissaunce the glorie of conquest by sea, haue added to the Romain empire an element greater then al the compasse of the earth, that is, the mightie mayne Ocean. You haue made an ende of the warre, inuincible Emperour, that seemed as present to threaten all prouinces, and might haue spreade abroade, and burst out in flame, euen so largely, as ỳ Ocean Seas stretche, and the Mediterrane gulfes do reache: neither are we ignorant although thorough feare of you that infection did fester within the bowels of Britayn only, and proceeded no further, & what furie it would haue auanced it selfe elsewhere if it might haue bin assured of meane to haue raunged abroade so farre as it wished. For it was bounded in with no bordure of mountayne, nor ryuer, wherin garnisons appoynted, were garded and defended but euen so as the shippes although we had your martiall prowes and prosperous fortune readye to relieue vs, was still at oure elbowes to put vs in feare, so farre as eyther seas reache or wynde bloweth: for that incredible boldenesse and vnworthy good happe of a few captiues of the Frankeners in time of ỳ Emperour Probus came to our remembrance whiche Frankeners in that season, conueying away certayn vessels from the coastes of Pontus, walked both Grecia & Asia, and not without great hurt & damage arising vpon diuers

London in danger to be spoyled.

The piracy of the Frankeners called Franci or Francones.

partes of the ſhore of Libya, at length toke the Citye of Saragoſe in Sicile (an hauen towne in tymes paſte hyghely renowmed for victories gotten by ſea:) and after this, paſſyng thorough the ſtreytes of Gibralterra, came into the Ocean, & ſo with the fortunate ſucceſſe of their raſhe preſumptuous attempte, ſhewed how nothing is ſhut vp in ſafety from the deſperate boldneſſe of pyrates, where ſhips may come and haue acceſſe. And ſo therfore by this your victorie, not Britain alone is deliuered from bondage, but vnto all nations is ſafetie reſtored, which might by the vſe of the ſeas come to as great perils in time of warre, as to gayne of commodities in tyme of peace. Now Spayne (to let paſſe the coaſtes of Gallia) with hir ſhores almoſt in ſight is in ſuretie: now Italy, now Afrike, nowe all nations euen vnto the fennes of Meotis are voyde of perpetuall cares. Neyther therfore are they leſſe ioyful, the feare of danger being taken away, which to feele as yet, the neceſſitie had not brought thē: but they reioyce ſo muche the more for this, that both in the guiding of your good prouidence, and alſo furtheraunce of fortune, ſo great a force of rebellion by ſea men, is calmed vpon the entring into their bordures, and Britayne it ſelfe whiche had giuen harburgh to ſo long a miſchief, is euidently knowne to haue taſted of your victorie, with hir only reſtitutiō to quietneſſe. Not without good cauſe therefore immediatly, when you hir long wiſhed reuenger and deliuerer were once arriued, your Maieſtie was met with greate triumph, and the Britayns repleniſhed with all inwarde gladneſſe, came forth and offered themſelues to youre preſence, with their wyues and children, reuerencing not onely youre ſelfe (on whome they ſette their eyes, as on one deſcended downe them to from heauen) but alſo euen the ſayles and tagle of that ſhippe whiche hadde brought your diuine preſence vnto their coaſtes: and when you ſhould ſette foote on lande, they were readie to lye downe at your feete, that you might (as it were) march ouer them, ſo deſirous were they of you. Neither was it any meruaile if they ſhewed them ſelues ſo ioyfull, ſithe after their miſerable captiuitie ſo many yeres continued after ſo long abuſing of their wiues, and filthie bondage of their children, at lengthe yet were they nowe reſtored to libertie, at lengthe made Romaynes, at lengthe refreſhed with the true lighte of the Imperiall rule and gouernement: for beſide the fame of your clemencie and pitie whiche was ſet forth by the report of all nations, in your countenaunce (Ceſar) they perceiued the tokens of all vertues, in your face grauitie, in your eyes myldeneſſe, in your ruddie cheekes baſhfulnes, in your words iuſtice: All which thinges as by regarde they acknowledged, ſo with voyces of gladneſſe they ſignifyed on high. To you they bounde them ſelues by bowe, to you they bounde their children: yea and to your children they vowed all the poſteritie of their race and ofſpring. We truely (O perpetuall parentes and lordes of mankinde) require this of the immortall gods with moſt earneſt ſupplication and heartie prayer, that our children and their children, and ſuche other as ſhall come of them for euer hereafter, may be dedicate vnto you and to thoſe whome you nowe bring vp, or ſhal bring vp hereafter. For what better hap can wee wiſhe to them that ſhall ſucceede vs, than to bee enioyers of that felicitie which now we our ſelues enioy? The Romaine common wealth doth now comprehende in one coniunction of peace, al that whatſoeuer at ſundry times hath belonged to the Romaines, and that huge power whyche wyth to great a burdeyn was ſhronke downe, and riuen in ſunder, is nowe brought to ioyne agayn in the aſſured ioyntes of the imperiall gouernement. For there is no parte of the earth nor region vnder heauen, but that eyther it remayneth quiet through feare, or ſubdued by force of armes, or elſe at the leaſt wyſe bounde by clemencie. And is there any other thing elſe in other partes, whych if wyll and reaſon ſhould moue men therto, that might bee obteyned? beyond the Ocean, what is there more than Brytaine, which is ſo recouered by you, that thoſe nations which are neare adioyning to the bounds of that Ile, are obedient to your commaundementes? There is no occaſion that maye moue you to paſſe further, excepte the endes of the Ocean ſea (which nature forbiddeth) ſhoulde bee ſought for. All is yours (moſte inuincible Princes whiche are accounted worthie of you, and thereof commeth it, that you may equally prouide for euery one, ſithe you haue the whole in your hands: and therfore as heretofore (moſte excellent Emperoure) Diocleſian, by thy commaundemente Alſia dyd ſupplye the deſerte places of Thracia with inhabitauntes tranſported thyther, as afterwarde moſte excellente Emperour Maximian, by your appoyntementement, the Frankeners at length brought to a pleaſant ſubiection, and admitted to lyue vnder lawes, hath peopled and manured the vacante fieldes of the Neruians, and thoſe about the citie of Trier: And ſo nowe by youre victories (inuincible Conſtantius Ceſar) what ſoeuer did lye vacant aboute Amiens, Beauuoys, Troys, and Langres, beginneth to flouriſhe with inhabitauntes of ſundrye nations: yea and moreouer that your moſt obedient Citie of Autun, for whoſe ſake I haue a peculiar cauſe to reioyce, by meanes of thys tryumphaunt victorie in Brytayne, it hathe receyued manye and diuers Artificers, of whome thoſe

Britayne reſtored to quietneſſe.

The Britaynes receyue Maximian with great ioy and humbleneſſe.

Diocleſian Maximian

Nations to Britayne obedient

The hath I take be the for n.

rth thoſe prouinces were full, and nowe by theyr worckmanſhip the ſame Citie reiſeth vp by repairing of auncient houſes and reſtoryng of publique buyldings and temples, ſo that now it accompteth that the olde name of brotherlike incorporation to Rome, is again to hir reſtored, when ſhe hath you eftſones for hir founder. I haue ſayd (inuincible Emperor) almoſt more than I haue bin able, and not ſo muche as I ought, that I may haue moſte iuſt cauſe by your clemencies licence, both now to end, and often heereafter to ſpeake: & thus I ceaſſe.

Here haue you the ſubſtance of that whiche is written touching Britayn in that Panegerike oration aſcribed to *Mamertinus*, whiche he ſet forth in prayſe of the emperors Diocletian and Maximian: it is entitled only to Maximianus, whereas neuertheleſſe both the Emperours are prayſed. And lykewyſe as ye maye perceiue, Conſtantius that was father vnto the great Conſtantine, is here ſpoke of, being choſen by the two foreſayde Emperours to aſſiſte them by the name of Ceſar in rule of the Empire: of whome hereafter more ſhall be ſayde.

But now to conſider what is to bee noted forth of this part of the ſame oration: It ſhuld ſeeme that when the emperor Maximian was ſent into Gallia by appoyntemente taken betwixt him and Diocletian after he had quieted things there, he ſet his mynde forthwith to reduce Britayn vnder the obedience of the Empire, the which was at that preſent kept vnder ſubiection of ſuch priuces as mayntayned their ſtate, by the mightie forces of ſuche number of ſhips, as thei had got togither, furniſhed with al things neceſſarie, & namely of able ſeamē, as well Britons as ſtrangers, among whom the Frankeners wer as chief, a nation of Germanie, as then hyghly renoumed for their puiſſance by ſea, nere to the which they inhabited, ſo that there were no rouers comparable to them. And bycauſe none durſte ſtirre on theſe our ſeas for feare of the Britiſhe fleet that paſſed to and fro at pleaſure, to the greate anoyance of the Romayne ſubiectes inhabiting alongeſt the coaſtes of Gallia, Maximian both to recouer agayne ſo wealthy and profitable a land vnto the obeyſance of the empire, as Britayne then was, & alſo to deliuer the people of Gallia ſubiects to ỳ Romains, frō danger of being dayly ſpoyled by thoſe rouers that were mayntained here in Britayn, he prouided with all diligence ſuche numbers of ſhips as were thought requiſite for ſo great an enterpriſe, and rigging them in ſundry places, toke order for their ſetting forward to the moſt aduauntage for the eaſy atcheuing of his enterpriſe. He appointed to paſſe himſelfe frō the coaſts of Flanders, at what time other of his capitains with their fleetes from other parts, ſhould likewyſe make ſayle towards Britayn. By this meane Alectus that had vſurped the title and dignitie of king or rather emperor ouer the Britains, knew not where to take heede, but yet vnderſtanding of the nauie that was made ready in the mouth of Sayn, he ment by ỳ which may be cōiectured, to intercept that fleet as it ſhuld come forth and make ſayle forewardes: and for that purpoſe he lay with a great number of ſhips about the Ile of Wight. But whether Aſclepiodotus came ouer wᵗ that nauie which was rigged on the coaſts of Flanders, or with ſome other, I will not preſume to affirme eyther to or fro, bicauſe in deed Mamertinus maketh no expreſſe mention either of Alectus, or Aſclepiodotus: but notwithſtanding it is euident by that which is cōteined in his oration, that not Maximian, but ſome other of his capitains gouerned ỳ armie, whiche ſlewe Alectus, ſo that we may ſuppoſe that Aſclepiodotus was chiefetain ouer ſome number of ſhips directed by Maximinians appointment to paſſe ouer into this ile againſt the ſame Alectus: and ſo may this which Mamertinus writeth, agree with the truth of that whiche we fynd in Eutropius. Here is to be remēbred, ỳ after Maximianus had thus recouered Britain out of ther hands that vſurped the rule therof frō the Romans, it ſhuld ſeem ỳ not only great numbers of artificers & other people were conueyed ouer into Gallia, there to inhabite and furniſh ſuch cities as were run into decay, but alſo a power of warlike youthes was tranſported thither to defend the countrey from the inuaſion of barbarous nations. For we fynd that in the dayes of this Maximian, the Britons expulſing the Meruiās out of the citie of Mons in Henaud, held a caſtell there, whiche was called *Bretaimons* after them, wherevpon the citie was afterwarde called Mons, reteyning the laſt ſillable only, as in ſuch caſes it hath oftē hapned.

Eutropius.

Moreouer this is not to be forgotten, ỳ as Hunt. Alhuyd hath very wel noted in his book intitled *Fragmenta hiſtoriæ Britannicæ*, Mamertinus in this parcell of his panegerike oration doth make firſt mētion of the nation of Picts, of al other the ancient Roman writers: ſo that not one before his tyme, once nameth eyther Picts or Scots. But now to returne wher we left. After that Britain was thus recouered by the Romains, Diocletian & Maximiā ruling the Empire, the Ile taſted of the cruelitie, that Diocleſian exerciſed agaynſte the Chriſtians, in perſecutyng them wyth all extremityes,

continually for the ſpace of ten yeeres.

Amongſt other, one Alban a citizen of Werlamcheſter, a towne now bearing his name, was the firſt that ſuffred here in Britayn, in this perſecution, being conuerted to the faith of Chriſte by the zealous chriſtian Amphibalus, whome he hadde receyued into his houſe: in ſo muche that when there came Sergeants or officers to ſeeke for the ſame Amphibalus, the aforeſayd Albane to preſerue Amphibalus out of daunger, preſented hymſelfe in the apparell of the ſayde Amphibalus, and ſo being apprehended in his ſtead, was brought before the iudge, and examined: and for that he refuſed to doe ſacrifice to the falſe goddes, he was beheaded on the toppe of an hill ouer a-

Beda & Gildas.



gaynſt the towne of Werlamcheſter aforeſayd, where afterwardes was buylded a churche and monaſterie in the remembrãce of his martirdom, inſomuch that the towne there reſtored after that Werlamcheſter was deſtroyed, toke name of him, and ſo is vnto this day called ſaint Albons. It is reported by writers, that diuers miracles were wroughte at the tyme of his death, in ſo muche that one whiche was appointed to do the execution, was conuerted, and refuſing to do that office, ſuffered alſo with him: but he that toke vpon him to doe it, reioyced nothing thereat, for his eyes fel out of his head, downe to the ground together with the head of that holy man whirhe he had then cut off. There were alſo martyred about the ſame tyme two conſtant witneſſes of Chriſt his Religion, Iaron and Julius, citizens of Caerleon arwiſk.

Bede. See the booke of acts and monuments ſette forth by maſter Foxe.

Io. Roſſus VVarwicenſ. in li. de VVigornienſ. Epiſcopis. Lichfielde vvherof it toke name.

Moreouer a great nũber of Chriſtians which were aſſembled togither to heare the word of lyfe preached by that vertuous manne Amphibalus, were ſlayn by the wicked Pagans at Lychfield, wherof that towne toke name, as you wold ſay, The field of dead corpſes.

Gildas.

To be briefe, this perſecution was ſo greate & greuous, and therto ſo vniuerſall; that in maner the Chriſtiã religion was therby deſtroyed. The faithfull people were ſlayne, their bookes brent, & churches ouerthrown. It is recorded, that within one monethes ſpace in diuers places of the worlde there were .xvij. M. godlye menne and women put to death for profeſſing the chriſtian faith in the dayes of that tyrant Diocletian and his fellowe Maximian.

Ranulphus Ceſtrenſis. Mat. VV. Conſtant.

Coellus.



COellus, Earle of Colcheſter, began hys dominion ouer the Britons in the yeare of our Lord. 262. This Coellus or Coill ruled the lande for a certayne tyme, ſo as the Britons were well contented with his gouernement, and lyued the longer in reſt from inuaſion of the Romains, becauſe they were occupied in other places: but finally they findyng tyme for their purpoſe, apointed one Conſtantius to paſſe ouer into this Ile with an armie, the which Conſtantius put Coelus in ſuche dread, that immediatly vpon his arriuall Coellus ſent to him an ambaſſade and cõcluded a peace with him, couenãting to pay ỹ accuſtomed tribute, and gaue to Conſtantius his daughter in mariage called Helene, a noble Lady and a lerned. Shortly after king Coell dyed, after he had reigned (as ſome write). 27. yeares, or as other haue, but. 13. yeares. Of the regiment of thys Prince, Harriſon maketh no mention in his Chronologie.

Coellus

261.

Fabian.

Caxton. Galfrid.

Fabian. Caxton.

But verily if I ſhall ſpeake what I thinke, I will not denye but aſſuredly ſuche a Prince there was: howbeit that he had a daughter named Helene, whome hee maried vnto Conſtantius the Romain lieutenant that was after Emperour, I leaue that to be decided of the learned: For if the whole courſe of the lyues, as well of the father and ſonne, Conſtantius and Conſtantine, as lykewyſe of the mother Helena bee conſiderately marked from tyme to tyme, and yeare to yeare, as out of authors both Greeke and latine, ỹ ſame may be gathered, I feare leaſt ſuch doubt may ryſe in this matter, that it wil be harder to proue Helene a Britayne, than Conſtantine to be borne in Bithynia (as Nicephorus auoucheth) but for ſomuche as I meane not to ſteppe from the courſe of oure countreye writers in ſuche poynts, where the receyued opinion maye ſeeme to warrant the credite of the hiſtorie, I wil with other admit bothe the mother and ſonne to be Britons in the whole diſcourſe of the hiſtorie following, as thoughe I hadde forgot what in this place I haue ſayd.

Lib. 7.

Con-

Constantius.



CONstantius, a Senatoure of Rome begã to reigne ouer the Britons, in ỹ yeare of oure Lorde. 289. as oure Histories reporte. Thys Cõstãtius, as before ye haue heard, hadde to wyfe Helene the daughter of the forsayd king Coyll, of whome he begat a son named Constantinus, which afterwarde was Emperour, and for his worthy doings surnamed Constantine the great. S. Ambrose folowing the common report, writeth, that this Helene was a mayde in an Inne: and some agayne write, that she was concubine to Constantius, and not his wyfe. But whatsoeuer she was, it appeareth by the writers of the Romain histories, that Constantius being the daughters sonne of one Crispus, that was brother to the Emperour Claudius, came into Britayne, and quieted the troubles that were rayled by the Britons, and there (as some write) maryed the forsayd Helen being a woman of an excellent beautie, whom yet (after) he was constrayned to forsake, & to marrie Theodora, the daughter in law of Herculeus Maximianus, by whom he hadde sixe sons, & finally was created Emperor togither with ỹ said Galerius Maximianus, at what tyme Diocletianus and his fellowe Herculeus Maximianus renounced the rule of the empire, and committed the same vnto them. The Empire was then deuided betwixte them, so that to Constantius the regiõs of Italy, Affrik, France, Spayne and Britayne were assigned, and to Galerius, Illyzium, Grecia, and all the Easte partes. But Constantine being a man voyde of ambition, was contented to leaue Italy and Affrike, supposing his charge to be great inough to haue the gouernment in his hands of France, Spayn, and Britayn (as Eutropius hath.)

But as touching his reigne ouer the Britons wee haue not to saye further than as we fynde in our owne writers recorded: but for his gouernment in the empire: it is to be considered, that first he was admitted to rule as an assistãt to Maximian vnder ỹ title of Cesar: & so from that time if you shall accompt his reigne, it may comprehend .xj. xij. or. xiij. yeares, yea more or lesse, according to the diuersitie founde in writers.

But if we shal recken his reign from the time onely that Diocletian and Maximian resigned their title to the Empire, we shall fynde that he reigned not fully. iij. yeares. For where as betweene the slaughter of Alectus, and the comming of Constantius, are accompted .8. yeeres and odde monethes, not only those .8. yeeres, but also some space of tyme before maye be ascribed vnto Constantius: for although before his comming ouer into Britayn now this last tyme (for he had bin here afore, as it well appeareth) Asclepiodotus gouerned as Legate, albeit vnder Constantius, who had a greate portion of the west parties of the empire vnder his regiment, by the title, as I haue sayd of Cesar, although he was not sayde to reigne absolutelye, till Diocletian and Maximian resigned, wherof it is not amisse to giue this briefe aduertisement, according as in William Harrisons Chronologie is sufficiently proued. But now to cõclude with the doings of Constãtius, at lẽgth he fel sick at Yorke, and there dyed about the yeare of our Lord. 306. 306.

This is not to be forgotten, that whylest hee lay on his death bed, somewhat before he departed this life, hearing that his sonne Constantine was come, & escaped from the emperours Diocletian & Maximianus, with whome he remained as a pledge, as after shall be partly touched: he receyued him with all ioye, and raising himselfe vp in his bed, in presence of his other sonnes and counsellours, with a greate number of other people and strangers that wer come to visit him, he set the crowne vpon his sonnes head, and adorned him with other imperiall roabes and garmentes, executing as it were himselfe, the office of an heralde, and withall spake these wordes vnto his sayd sonne, and to his counsellors there about him. *Niceph.*

Nowe is my death to me more welcome, and my departure hence more pleasant. I haue heere a large epitaphe and monumente of burial, to witte, myne owne sonne, and one whome in earth I leaue to be Emperor in my place, which by Gods good helpe shall wipe awaye the teares of the Christians, and reuenge the crueltie exercised by tyrants. This I recken to chaunce vnto me in stede of moste felicitie. After this, turning himselfe to the multitude, he commaunded them all to be of good comforte, meaning those that had not forsaken true vertue & godlinesse in Christe, which Christ he vndertooke should continue with his sonne Constantine in al enterprises, which in warres or otherwyse he should take in hande. *Tripartit. historia.*

That deuise also is worthie to be had in memorie, which he put in practise in his lyfe time, to vnderstand what true & sincere Christians were remaynyng in his courte: for where as he hadde bin firste a persecuter, and after was conuerted, it was a matter easy to perswade the world, that he was no earneste Christian: and so the policie whiche hee thoughte to worke, was the sooner

brought to paſſe, whiche was this: He called together al his officers and ſeruants, feyning himſelfe to chooſe out ſuche as would doe ſacrifice to deuils, and that thoſe only ſhould remayne with hym, and keepe their office, and the reſte that refuſed ſo to doe, ſhoulde be thruſt out, and baniſhed the courte.

Herebpon all the Courtyers deuided themſelues into companies: and when ſome offred willingly to do ſacrifice, & other ſome boldly refuſed: the Emperoure marking their dealings, ſharply rebuked thoſe which were ſo ready to diſhonor the liuing God, accompting them as traytors to his diuine maieſtie, and not worthy to remayne within the Court gates: but thoſe that conſtantly ſtood in the profeſſion of the chriſtian fayth, he greatly commended, as men worthie to be about a prince: and withall declared, that from thenceforth they ſhould be as chiefe counſellours and defendors both of his perſon and kingdom, eſteeming more of them than of al the treaſure he had in his coffers.

To conclude, hee was a prince graue, ſober, vpright, courteous and liberall, as he which kept his mynde euer free from couetous deſire of great riches: inſomuch that when he ſhould make any great feaſt to his frendes, he was not aſhamed to borrow plate and ſyluer veſſell to ſerue his turne, and to furniſhe his cupboorde for the tyme, beyng contented for himſelfe to be ſerued in cruſes and earthen veſſell. He was wonte to haue this ſaying in his mouth, that better it was that the ſubiectes ſhould haue ſtore of money and riches, thã the Prince to keepe it cloſe in his treaſorie, where it ſerued to no vſe. By ſuche curteous dealyng the prouinces whiche were in his charge flouriſhed in greate wealth and quietneſſe. He was a right wiſe and politike Prince in the ordering of all weightie matters, & verie skilfull in the practiſe of warres, ſo that he ſtoode the Romane empire in great ſtead, and was therfore highly beloued of the Souldiours, in ſo muche that immediatly after his deceaſe, they proclaymed his ſon Conſtantine Emperour.

That the Chriſtian faithe was imbraced of the Britons in this ſeaſon, it may appeare, in that Hillarius biſhop of Poictiers writeth to his brethren in Britayne, and Conſtantine in an Epiſtle, as Theodoretus hath in his firſte boke and tenth chapiter maketh mencion of the churches in Britayne: Which alſo Sozomenus doth affirme. For the Britons after they had receyued the faithe, defended the ſame euen with the ſheading of their bloud, as Amphibalus who in this Conſtantius days being apprehended, ſuffered at Redburne nere to Werlaimcheſter, about xb. yeares after the martirdome of his hoſte S. Albane.

Pomponius Letus.

He dyed in the yere. 306 as Matth. V Weſt. hath note d, and reigned ouer the Britaynes, but. xi. yeares as Gal. hath.

291.

John Bale.

Conſtantine.



COnſtantine beyng the ſonne of the forenamed Conſtantius, begot of his firſte wyfe Helene, the daughter (as ſome affirme) of Coell late king of the Britons, begonne his reigne in the yeare of our Lord. 306. This worthie prince begot of a britiſhe woman, and borne of hir in Britayne (as our writers doe affirme,) and created certainely Emperour in Britayne, doubtleſſe made his native countrey partaker of his high glorie and renoume, which by his great prowes, politike wiſedome, worthie gouernemente, and other his Princely qualities meſſe abundantlye planted in his noble perſon, he purchaſed and got through the circuit of the whole earth, inſomuch that for the highe enterpriſes and noble actes by him happily broughte to paſſe and atchieued, he was ſurnamed (as before is ſayd) the great Cõſtantine.

Conſtantine. 306.

Conſtantine created Emperor in Britayne.

Whileſt this Cõſtantine remained at Rome in manner as he had bin a pledge with Galerius in his fathers life time, he beeing then but yong, ſtedde from thence, and with all poſt haſte returned to his father into Britain, killing & hewghing by the way all ſuch horſſes as were appointed to ſtande at Innes readie for ſuche as ſhould ryde in poſte, leaſt being purſued, he ſhould haue bene ouertaken, and broughte backe agayne by ſuche as myght be ſent to purſue him.

Eutropius Sextus Aurelius Victor.

At his comming into Britayne, he found his father ſore vexed with ſickneſſe, whereof ſhortly after hee dyed, and then was he by helpe of ſuch as were aboute him, encouraged to take vppon him as Emperour: And namely one Erocus, king of the Almaynes whiche had accompanied his father thither, aſſiſted him therto, ſo that being proclaymed Emperor, he toke vpon him the rule of thoſe countreys whiche his father had in gouernement, that is to ſay, Fraunce, Spayne, the Alpes, and Britayne, with other prouinces here in the weſt: and ruling the ſame with great equitie and wyſedome, hee greately wanne the fauour of the people, inſomuch that the fame of his politike gouernemente and curteous dealing being ſpread abroade, when Maxentius the tiraunt that occupied the rule of the Empire at Rome, and in Italy by wrongful vſurping and

Erocus king of the Almains.

Maxentius the tyrant.

abu-

abusing the same, was growne into the hatred of the Romans and other Italians, Constantine was earnestly by them requested to come into Italy, and to helpe to subdue Maxentius, that he might reforme the state of things there. Maxentius was sonne to Herculeus Maximinianus, Constantine had married Fausta the daughter of the sayde Maximinianus. Nowe so it was, that Maximinianus immediatly after that his sonne Maxentius hadde taken the rule vpon hym, sought meanes to haue deposed hym, & to haue resumed and taken ettsoones into his owne handes the gouernement of the empire. But solliciting Diocletian to do the like, he was much reproued of him for his vnreasonable & ambicious purpose: so ỳ when he perceiued that neither Diocletian woulde be therto agreeable, nor induce the souldiours to admit him, they hauing already established his sonne, he began to deuyse wayes howe to assure the state more strongly to his sayde sonne: and hearyng that his sonne in law Constantine was mynded to come into Italy against him, he purposed to practise Constantines destruction, in somuch that it was iudged by this which followed, ỳ Herculeus Maximinus did but for a colour seme to mislyke with that whiche his son Maxentius had done, to the ende he might the sonet accomplishe his entente for the dispatching of Constantine oute of the waye. Hereupon (as it were) fleing out of Italy, he came to Constantine, who as then hauing appointed lieutenants vnder him in Britayn, remayned in France, and with all ioy and honor that might bee, receiued his father in lawe: the which being earnestly bent to compasse his purpose, made his daughter Fausta priuie therto: whiche ladie, either for feare least the concealyng therof might turne hir to displesure, either else for the entier loue whiche she bare to hir husbande) reueled hir fathers wicked purpose. Whereupon whilest Constantine goeth about to be reuenged of suche a trayterous practise, Herculeus fleeth to Mersiles, purposing there to take the sea, and so to retire to his sonne Maxentius into Italye. But ere he coulde get away from thence, he was strangled by commaundemente of his sonne in lawe Constantine, and so ended his lyfe, whiche he had spotted with many cruell actes, as well in persecutyng the professours of the Christian name, as others.

In this mean time had Maximinus adopted one Licinius to assiste hym in gouernaunce of the empire, proclayming hym Cesar. So that nowe at one selfe tyme Constantine gouerned Fraunce and the weast partes of the Empire, Maxentius helde Italy, Affrike, and Egypte: And Maximinus whyche lykewyse had ben elected Cesar, ruled the Easte partes, and Licinius Illyrium and Grecia.

But shortly after, the Emperour Constantine ioyned in league with Licinius, and gaue to him his sister in marriage, named Constantia, for more suretie of faithfull friendshyp to endure betwixt them. He sent him also against Maximinus, who gouerning in the East parte of the Empire, purposed the destruction of Constantine and all his partakers: but being vanquished by Licinius at Tarsus, he shortly after dyed, being eaten with lice. Constantine after this, was called into Italy to deliuer the Romaynes and Italians from the tyrannie of Maxentius, whiche occasion so offered, Constantine gladly accepting, passed into Italy, and after certaine victories gote against Maxentius, at length slewe him. And after this, when Maximinus was dead, whiche prepared to make warre against Licinius, that hadde married Constantia, the sister of Constantine, hee finally made warre against his brother in lawe the sayde Licinius, by reason of suche quarrels as fell out betwixt thē: In the whiche warre, Licinius was putte to the worse, and at length comming into the handes of Constantine, was put to deathe, so that Constantine by this meanes gote the whole Empire vnder his rule and subiection. Hee was a greate fauorer of the Christian Religion, in somuche that to aduance the same, hee toke order for the conuerting of the Temples dedicated in the honors of Idols, vnto the seruice of the true and Almightie God. Hee commaunded also, that none should be admitted to serue as a Souldiour in the warres, excepte hee were a Christian, nor yet to haue rule of any countrey or armie. Hee also ordeyned, the weeke before Easter, and that whiche followed, to be kept as holy, and no person to doe any bodily workes during the same. He was muche counsailed by that noble & most vertuous ladie his mother, the Empresse Helene, the whiche being a godly and deuoute woman, did what in hir laye, to moue him to the setting forth of Gods honour and encrease of the christian faith, wherein as yet he was not fully instructed. Some writers alledge, that she beeing at Jerusalem, made diligent search to finde out the place of the Sepulchre of our Lorde, and at length founde it, thoughe with muche adoe: for the infidels had stopped it vp, and couered it with a heape of filthie earth, and buylded aloft vpon the place, a chappell dedicated to Uenus, where yong women vsed to sing songes in honoure of that vnchaste Goddesse. Helene caused the same to be ouerthrowne, and the earth to be remoued, and the place clensed, so that at length the sepulchre appeared, and fast by were founde there buried in the earth .iij. crosses and the nailes, but the crosse whereupon our Sauiour was crucifyed, was

Christians honoured & cherished.

Easter holydaye made.

Polydore.

The prayse of the Empresse Helena.

320.

Crosse founde by Helena.

The Croſſe founde.

was knowen by the title written vpon it, though almoſt worne out, in letters of Hebrew, greke, and Latine: the inſcription was this: *Ieſus Nazarenus rex Iudæorum.* It was alſo perceyued which was that Croſſe by a miracle, (as it is reported, but how truly I can not tell), that ſhuld be wrought thereby: For being layde to a ſicke woman, only with the touching therof, ſhe was healed. It was alſo layde, that a dead man was rayſed from death to lyfe, his bodie onely being touched therwith. Wherupon Conſtantine moued with theſe things, forbade that from thenceforth any ſhould be put to death on the Croſſe, to the ende that the thing which afore tyme was accompted infamous and reprochefull, myghte nowe be had in honour and reuerence.

The Empreſſe Helen hauing thus found the Croſſe, buylded a temple there, and taking wyth hir the nayles, returned with the ſame to hir ſon Conſtantine, who ſet one of them in the creſt of his helmet, an other in the brydell of his horſſe, and the thirde he caſt into the ſea, to aſſuage and pacifie the furious tempeſtes and rage therof.

Polidorus.

She alſo brought with hir a parcell of that holy Croſſe, and gaue it to hir ſonne the ſayd Conſtantine, the whiche he cauſed to be cloſed within an Image that repreſented his perſon, ſtanding vppon a piller in the market place of Conſtantine, (or as ſome late writers haue) he cauſed it to be enclоſed in a coffer of golde, adorned with ryche ſtones and Pearles, placing it in a Churche called Sеſſoriana, the which church he endued with many great giftes and precious ornamentes.

Polidorus

Many workes of greate zeale and vertue are remembred by writers to haue bin done by thys Conſtantine and his mother Helene, to the ſetting forth of Gods glorie, and the aduauncing of the faith of Chriſte.

The commendation of Conſtantine.

But to be briefe, he was a manne in whome many excellent vertues and good qualities bothe of mynde and bodie manifeſtly appeared, chiefly he was a prince of great knowledge and experience in warre, and therewith verie fortunate, an earneſt louer of iuſtice, and to conclude, borne to all honour.

But nowe to ſpeake ſomewhat of the ſtate of Britayne in his tyme, ye ſhall vnderſtande, that as beefore is recorded, at his going ouer into into Fraunce, after that he was proclaimed emperour, he lefte beehynde hym in Britayne certayne gouernours to rule the land, amongſt other one Maximinus a right valiãt captayne. He toke with him a great part of the youth of Britayn, & diuers of the chiefe men amongſt the Nobilitie, in whole approued manhode, loyaltie and conſtancie, he conceyued a great hope to goe through with al his enterpriſes, as with ỹ which being accompanied and compaſſed about, he paſſed ouer into Gallia, entred into Italye, and in euery place ouercame his enimies.

There be that write how that Conſtantin thus conueying ouer the ſea with him a great armye of Britons, by whoſe induſtrie obteyning victorie as he wiſhed, hee placed a greate number of ſuche as were diſcharged out of wages, and licenced to giue ouer the warre, in a parte of Gallia towardes the Weſt ſea coaſt, where theyr poſteritie remayn vnto this daye, meruailouſly encreaſed afterwardes, and ſomewhat differyng from our Britons, the Welchmen, in manners and language. *Wilhelm. Malmeſ.* Britaynes ſuing in the warres vnder Conſtantine.

Amongſt thoſe noble men which he took with him when he departed out of this lande (as oure writers do teſtifie, were. iii. vncles of his mother Helene, that is to witte, Hoelmus, Traherus, & Marius, whom he made Senators of Rome. *Galfrid. Mat. W.*

In the meane tyme that Conſtantine had obteyned and ruled the whole empire, Britain as it were hauing recouered libertie, in that one of hir children being her king, had got the gouernment of the whole earthe, remayned in better quiete than afore time ſhe had done: but yet in the meane ſeaſon, if we ſhall credite the Britiſhe Chronicle and Geffrey of Monmouth the interpreter thereof, There was a Britiſh lord, named Octauius or Octauian, as the olde Engliſhe Chronicle nameth hym, that was Duke of the Gewiſſes, and appoynted by Conſtantine to be ruler of the lande in his abſence, the whiche Octauius (after that Conſtantiue had recouered Rome, and Italy, and was ſo buſied in the affaires of the empire in thoſe parts, that as was thought, he could not returne backe into Britayn,) ſeyſed into his handes the whole dominion of Britayne, and held himſelfe for king. Octauius. *Caxton.* Gewiſſe habited countrey che the Saxons helde: The new wiſſes ſo in with Saxons Geruy. &

Octauius.



THis Octauius then beginning his reigne ouer the Britons in the yeare of our Lorde, 329. prouoked Conſtantine to ſend againſt him one of his mothers vncles, the forſayd Trahern This Trahernes, or as ſome name him Traherne, entred this lande with three Legions of ſouldiours, and in a fielde neere vnto Winchеſter, was encountred by Octauius and his Britons *Galfrid.* 329 *Fabian.* *Galfrid.*

tons, by whome after a ſore battayle there ſtriken betwixte them, in the ende Traherne was put to flight and chaſed, in ſomuche that he was conſtrained to forſake that part of the lande, and



tayle, Octauius was put to the worſſe, and conſtrayned to forſake the lande, fled into Norway, there to purchaſe ayde: and being redy with ſuch power as he there gathered, what of Britons and Norweygians, to returne into Britayn. Before his landing, he was aduertiſed, that an Earle of Britayne whiche bare him heartie good will, had by treaſon ſlayne Traherne. Octauius then cõming to lande, eſtſones got poſſeſſion of Britayne, whiche ſhould be as Fabian gathereth) about the yeere of our Lorde. 329. in the. 20. yeere of the reigne of the Emperour Conſtantine, and about two yeares after that the ſayd Octauius firſt toke vpon him as king.

After this, (as the Britiſhe Chronicle affirmeth) Octauius gouerneth the lande right nobly and greatly to the contentation of the Britons. At length when he was fallen in age, and had no iſſue but one daughter, he was coũſayled to ſend vnto Rome for one Maximianus, a noble yong man, couſin to the Emperour Conſtantine, on the part of his mother Helene, to come into Britayne, and to take to wyfe the ſaide daughter of Octauius, and ſo with hir to haue the kingdome.

Octauius at the firſt mente to haue giuen hir in mariage vnto one Conan Meridoc Duke of Cornewall, whiche was his nephue: but when the Lordes would not therto agree, at length he apointed one Maurice ſonne to the forſaid Conan to goe vnto Rome to fetche the forenamed Maximian. Maurice according to his commiſſion & inſtructions in that behalf receyued, came to Rome, and declared his meſſage in ſuch effectuall ſorte, that Maximianus conſented to go with him into Britayne, and ſo taking with him a conuenient number ſet forwarde, and did ſo muche by his iourneys, that finally he landed here in Britayn and notwithſtanding that Conan Meridock pait not much to haue bin doing with him, for malice that he conceyued towards him, bicauſe he ſaw that by his meanes he ſhuld be put beſide the crowne, yet at length was Maximianus ſafely brought to the kinges preſence, and of him honourably receyued, and finally the mariage was knitte vp, and ſolemniſed in all princely maner.

Maximianus commeth into Britayne.

Shortly after, Octauius departed out of this lyfe, after he had reigned the terme of fyftie and foure yeares, as Fabian gathereth by that that diuers authors doe write, howe he reigned till the dayes that Gratian and Valentinian ruled the Romaine Empire, whiche began to gouerne in the yeare of our Lord (as he ſayth) 382. which is to bee vnderſtode of Gratian his reigne after the deceaſe of his vncle Valens, for otherwyſe a doubt may ryſe, bicauſe that Valentine the father of Gratian admitted the ſayde Gratian to the title of Auguſtus in the yeare of our Lorde CCCLxxj.

Octauius departeth this life.

382.

But to leaue the credite of the long reigne of Octauius, with all his and others gouernement and rule ouer the Britains ſith the time of Conſtantius, vnto our Britiſhe and Scottiſh writers, lette vs make an ende with the Gouernement of that noble Emperour Conſtantine, an aſſured braunche of the Britons race, as borne of that worthie Ladye the Empreſſe Helene, daughter to Coell Earle of Colcheſter, and after king of Britayn (as our hiſtories doe witneſſe. Vnto the whiche Empreſſe Conſtantine

bare

bare ſuche dutifull reuerence, that he did not only honour hir with the name of Empreſſe, but alſo made hir as it were partaker with him of all his wealth, and in many things was led and ruled by hir vertuous and godlye admonitions, to the aduancement of Gods honour, and maintenance of thoſe that profeſſed the true Chriſtian religion. For the loue that ſhe bare vnto Colcheſter and London, ſhe walled them aboute, and cauſed great huge bricke and tyles to be made for the performaunce of the ſame, whereof there is great ſtore to be ſeene euen yet to this preſente, both in the walles of the towne and caſtel of Colcheſter, as a teſtimonie of the workemanſhip of thoſe dayes. She lyued. lxxix. yeares, and then departed this lyfe about the. xxj. yeare of hir ſonnes reigne. Firſt ſhe was buried at Rome without the walles of the Citie with all funerall pompe, as to hir eſtate appertayned: but after hir corps was remoued and brought to Conſtantinople, where it was eftſoones enterred. Hir ſon the Emperour Conſtantine lyued tyll about the yeare of Chriſte. 340. and then deceaſſed at Nicomedia in Aſia, after he had ruled the Empire xxxj. yeares and odde monethes. 341

Harison.

Nicephorus.

The Empreſſe Helene departeth this lyfe

The death of the Emperor Conſtantine.

We fynde not in the Romain writers of any greate ſturre here in Britayne during his reigne more than that whiche the Britiſhe and Scottiſhe writers haue recorded: ſo that after Traherne had reduced this land to quietneſſe, it may be ſuppoſed, that the Brytons liued in reſte vnder his gouernement, and lykewyſe after vnder his ſonnes that ſucceeded him in the Empire, till about the yeare. 360. at what tyme the Pictes and Scottes inuaded the ſouth partes of the land, as hereafter in place ſhall further appeare. 361

Harriſon.

But now to ende with Octauius. That the Chriſtian faith remayned ſtill in Britayne, during the ſuppoſed tyme of this pretenced kings reigne, it may appere in that amongſt the. xxxbj. prouinces, out of the whiche there were aſſembled aboue. iij. C. Biſhops in the citie of Sardica in Dacia, at a Synode holden there agaynſte the Eutchians, Britayne is numbred by Athanaſius in his ſeconde Apologie to be one. And agayn, the ſayd Athanaſius in an Epiſtle whiche he writeth to the Emperor Iouinianus reciteth, that the Churches in Britayne did conſent with the Churches of other nations in the Confeſſion of faith articled in the Nicene councell.



Synodus an. 351.

Alſo there is mencion made by writers of certaine godlie learned men, whiche liued in offices in the Churche in theſe dayes, as Reſtitutus biſhop of London, whiche wente ouer to the Synode holden at Arles in France, and alſo one Kybius Cornnius that was ſon to Salomon duke of Cornewall, and biſhop of Angleſey, and inſtructed the people whiche inhabited in the partes now called Northwales, and them of Angleſey afore ſayd verie diligently,

But now to ſpeake ſomwhat of things chancing in Britain about this ſeaſon (as we find recorded by ỹ Romain writers) ſome trouble was likely to haue grown vnto the Britons by receiuing certain men of warre that fled out of Italie into Britayn, whom the Emperor Conſtantius would haue puniſhed, becauſe they had take part with Maxentius his aduerſarie. Paulus a Spaniard and Notarie was ſente ouer by him with cõmiſſion to make enquirie of them, and to ſee them brought to light to anſwer their tranſgreſſions: which Paulus began to deale roughly in the matter, wherof he was called Catena, and to rage againſt the Britons and partakers with the fugitiues, in that they had receiued & maynteyned them, as he alledged: but in the end being certified by Martinus the lieutenant of their innocencie, and fearing leaſt his extreme rigoure

Marc. lib. 14.

Paulus Catena.

Martinus lieutenant.

might

nuighte alienate the heartes of the inhabitauntes altogither, and dide cause them to withdrawe their obedience from the Romaine Empire, hee tourned the execution of hys furie from them vnto the Romaines, and made hauocke of those whiche he suspected, till the said Martinus fell at square with him, and thinking on a tyme to kill him, he drew his sword & smote at him, but such was his age & weakenes, ẏ he was not able to kil or giue him any deadly wound: wherfore he turned ẏ point of his sword against himself, & so ended his life, being contēted rather to die than see his countreymen & subiects of the empire so to be abused. After this, the said Paulus returned backe again into Italy frō whēce he came, after whose departure, it was not long ere he also was slain, and then al the Scots & Picts sore disquieted the Romain subiects, for the suppressing of whose attempts Lupicinus was sent ouer out of Gallia by Julianus, as shal be declared out of Amianus Marcellinus, after wee haue firste shewed what we find written in our owne writers concerning the Scots & Picts, who nowe began to robbe & spoile the Britishe inhabitants within the Romain prouinces here in this yle, & that euen in most outragious maner.

Maximianus, or rather Maximus.



AFter the decease of Octauius or Octauiā (as the old Englishe chronicle nameth him) Maximianus or Maximus, as the Romain writers name him begā to rule the Britōs in ẏ yere of our Lord. 383. he was ẏ son of one Leonine, & cousin germain to Constantine the great, a valiant personage, & hardie of stomacke: but yet bicause he was cruell of nature, (and as Fabian saith) somwhat persecuted the christians, he was infamed by writers: but the chief cause that he was euil reported, was for that he slew his soueraign Lord, the emperor Gratianus, as after shall appeare, for otherwise he is supposed worthie to haue hadde the rule of the empire cōmitted to his handes in eche respect.

Betwixte him and the abouenamed Conan Meridoc duke of Cornwall, chaunced strife and debate, so that Conan got him into Scotlande, and there purchasing ayde, returned, and cōming ouer Humber, wasted the countrey on eche side. Maximianus therof hauing aduertisement, reysed his power and went against him, and so fighting with him diuers batayles, sometime departed away with victorie, and somtime with losse. At length through mediation of frends, a peace was accorded betwixt the. Finally this Maximianus, or as the Romaine histories haue, Maximus, was by the souldioures chosen and proclaimed Emperour here in Britayne: although some write, that this was done in Spayn.

Galfr. Mon. Fabian. Caxton. Mat. VVest.

After he had taken vpon him the imperial dignitie, vpon desire to haue enlarged his dominion, hee assembled togyther all the chosen youthe of thys lande meete to doe seruice in the warres, with the whiche hee passed ouer into Fraunce, and there (as our writers recorde) he first subdued the countrey anncientlly called Armorica, & slew in batayle the king therof called Iniball. This done he gaue ẏ country vnto Conan Meridock, the whiche was there with hym, to hold the same of him, & of the kings of great Britayne for euer. He also commaunded that the sayde countrey from thencefoorth should be called *Little Britaine*, and so was the name changed. What people so euer inhabited there before, the ancient name arguethy that they were rather Britons than anye other: for *Armorica* in the Britishe tong signifieth as muche as a countrey lying vpon the sea.

The British youth led forth of the realme by Maximianus.

Britayne in France.

Conan then placing himself and his Britons in ẏ quarter of Gallia, auoyded all the old inhabitāts, peopling ẏ coūtry only wᵗʰ Britōs, which abhorring to ioyn themselues with women born in Gallia, Conan was counsailed to sende into Britayn for maydes to be coupled with his people in mariage. Herevpon a messenger was dispatched vnto Dionethus at that tyme Duke of Cornewal & gouernor of Britayn vnder Maximianus, requiring him to sende ouer into little Britaine. xj. thousand maydes, that is to witte, viij. M. to be bestowed vpon the meaner sorte of Conans people, and. iij. thousand to be ioyned in mariage with the nobles and Gentlemen. Dionethus to satisfie the Conans request, assembled the appoynted number of maydes, and amongst them, he also appointed his daughter *Vrsula*, a lady of excellēt beautie, to go ouer to be giuen in mariage vnto the foresayd Conan Meridock, as he had earnestly requested.

Dionethus duke of Cornvvall.

Maydes sente foorth

These number of maydes were shipped in Thames, and passing forewarde toward Britayne, were by force of wether and rage of winde scattered abrode, and part of them drowned, & the residue (amongst whom was the forsayd Vrsula) were slayn by Guanius king of the Hunnes, and Melga king of the Picts, into whose hands they fell, the which Guanius and Melga were sent by the emperor Gratian to the sea coasts of Germanye, to oppresse & subdue all such as were frendes & maynteyners of the parts of Maximus.

Vrsula the daughter of Dionethus.

We fynde in some bookes that there were sent ouer at that tyme. lj. M. maydes, that is to say, xj M. of Gentlewomen, and. xl. M. of others.

After that Guanius and Melga had murthered the foresayd Virgins, they entred into the

Guanius and Melga.

noꝛth partes of Bꝛitayn, where the Scots now inhabite, and beganne to make ſoꝛe warre on the Bꝛitons, whereof when Maximus was aduertiſed, hee ſente into Bꝛitayne one Gratianus, with thꝛee Legions of Souldiours, the whiche bare himſelf ſo manfully againſt the enimies, that he conſtrayned the ſaid Guanius and Melga to flee out of the land, and to withdꝛaw into Irelande.

In this meane while, Maximus hauing ſlain the Emperour Gratian at Lyon in Fraunce, and after entring into Italy, was ſlain himſelf at Aquileia, (after he had gouerned the Bꝛitons eight yeares) by the Emperour Theodoſius, whyche came in ayde of Valentinian, bꝛother to the ſaid Emperoꝛ Gratian, as in the Abꝛidgement of the hiſtoꝛies of Italy ye may fynde recoꝛded.

But heere yet befoꝛe wee make an ende with this Maximus oꝛ Maximianus, I haue thoughte good to ſet downe the woꝛdes whiche wee fynde in Gildas, where he wꝛiteth of the ſame Maximus, vndoubtedly a Bꝛiton boꝛn, nephew to the empꝛeſſe Helena, and begot by a Romain. At length (ſayth Gildas) the ſpꝛing of Tyꝛants budding vp, and nowe increaſing into an huge woodde, the Iſle being called after the name of Rome: but holding neyther maners noꝛ lawes accoꝛding to that name, but rather caſtyng the ſame from it, ſendeth foꝛthe a bꝛaunche of hir moſt bitter planting, to witte Maximus, accompanied with a great number of warꝛioꝛs to gard him, and apparelled in the imperiall robes, whiche he neuer ware as beeame him, noꝛ put them on in lawful wiſe, but (after the cuſtome of tyꝛants) was put into them by the mutening ſouldiours: whiche Maximus at the firſt by a craftie policie rather than by true manhood winding in (as nets of his periurie and falſe ſuggeſtion) vnto his wicked gouernement, the countreys and pꝛouinces next adioyning, gainſte the Imperiall ſtate of Rome, ſtretching one of his wings into Spayn, & the other into Italy, placed the thꝛone of his moſte vniuſt empire at Trier, and ſhewed ſuche rage in his woodde dealing againſt his ſoueraine loꝛdes, that the one of the lawfull Emperoꝛs he expulſed fꝛoꝛth of Rome, and the other hee bereft of his moſte religious and godly lyfe. And without long tariance, compaſſed aboute with ſuche a furious and bolde garde as he hadde got togeather, at the Citie of Aquileia hee loſeth his wicked head, whiche had caſt downe the moſte honourable heades of all the woꝛlde from theyꝛ kingdome and Empire.

Conſobrinus. Helenæ imperatricis. *Gildas.*

From thenceꝛoꝛth Bꝛitayne being depꝛiued of all hir warlyke ſouldiours and armies, of hir gouernours alſo, though cruell, and of an huge number of hir youthe (the whiche following the ſteppes of the foꝛeſayde tyꝛaunt, neuer retourned home agayne, ſuche as remayned beyng vtterly vnſkilfull in feates of warre, were trodden downe by two nations of beyonde the ſeas, the Scots from the Weaſt, and the Pictes from the Noꝛth. And as men thus quite diſmayed, lamente theiꝛ myſerable caſe, not knowing what elſe to doe foꝛ the ſpace of manye yeares togyther. By reaſon of whoſe greeuous inuaſion and cruell oppꝛeſſion wherewith ſhe was miſerably diſquieted, ſhe ſendeth hir Ambaſſadours vnto Rome, makyng lamentable ſute euen with teares to haue ſome powꝛer of men of warre ſent to defend hir againſt the enimies, pꝛomiſing to be true ſubiects with all faithfulneſſe of mynd, if the enimie might be kept off and remoued.

Scotorum a Circio. Pictis ab aquilone.

Thus farre Gildas and moꝛe, as in place hereafter ye ſhall fynde recited.

But nowe where the Bꝛitiſhe hiſtoꝛies, and ſuche of our Engliſhe wꝛiters as followe them, make mention of one Gratianus a Romayne ſente ouer with thꝛee Legions of ſouldiours by Maximus, as befoꝛe ye haue hearde: We may ſuppoſe that it was Gratianus the Bꝛiton, that afterwardes vſurped the imperial dignitie here in Bꝛitayn, in the dayes of the emperoꝛ Honoꝛius: foꝛ it ſtandeth neyther with the concurrence of tyme, noꝛ yet with reaſon of the hiſtoꝛie, that it ſhould be Gratianus, ſurnamed Funarius, father to Valentinian, and grandfather to the Emperour Gratianus, agaynſt whome Maximus rebelled. And yet I remember not that any of the Romayn wꝛiters maketh mention of any other Gratianus, beeyng a ſtraunger, that ſhould be ſent hither as lieutenant to gouerne the Romain armie, except of the foꝛeſayd Gratianus Funarius, who as appeareth by Am. Marcellinus was generall of ỹ Romain army here in this yle, and at lengthe being diſcharged, returned home (into Hungarie, were he was boꝛne) with honour, and there remayning in reſt, was at length ſpoyled of his goodes by the Emperoure Conſtantius as confiſcate, foꝛ that in tyme of the ciuill warres, he had receyued Magnentius, as he paſt thꝛough his countrey.

Sextus Aurelius.

Lib. xv.

But lette vs graunte, that eyther Gratianus the Bꝛiton, oꝛ ſome other of that name, was ſente ouer into Bꝛitayne (as befoꝛe is ſayd) by Maximus, leaſt otherwyſe ſome errour maye bee doubted in the wꝛiters of the Bꝛitiſh hiſtoꝛies, as hauyng haply myſtaken the tyme, and matter, bꝛinging Gratianus Funarius to ſeꝛue vnder Maximus, where peraduenture that whiche they haue redde oꝛ hearde of hym, chaunced long befoꝛe that tyme by them ſuppoſed: And ſo thoꝛough myſtaking the thyng, haue made a wꝛong repoꝛte, where neuertheleſſe it ſtandeth with greate lykelyhoode of trouthe, that ſome not able ſeruice of Chyualrie was atchieued by the

the ſame Gratianus Funarius whileſt he remayned heere in this Ile, if ẏ troth might be knowē of that whiche hathe bin writtē by authoꝛs, and happily by the ſame Am. Marcellinus, if his firſt thirteene Bookes might once come to lighte and be extāt. But now to end with Maximus. William of Malmeſburie (as yee haue hearde) writeth, that not Maximus, but rather Conſtantine the Great firſte peopled Armoꝛica: but yet hee agreeth, that both Maximus, and alſo Conſtantinus the vſurper, of whome after yee ſhall heare, leadde with them a great number of the Britaines out of this lande, the which Maximus oꝛ Maximianus and Conſtantinus afterwardes beeyng ſlayne, the one by Theodoſius, and the other by Honoꝛius, the Britaynes that followed them to the warres, parte of them were killed, and the reſidue eſcaping by flighte, withdꝛewe vnto the other Britaynes whiche Conſtantine the Greate had firſt placed in Armoꝛica. And ſo when the Tyꝛantes had left none in the countrey but rude people, noꝛ any in the Townes but ſuch as were giuen to ſlouth and glutony, Britayne beeyng voyde of all ayde of hir valiant youth, became a pꝛay to hir next neyghboꝛs the Scottes & Pictes.

Here is yet to bee conſidered in what pꝛice the Souldiers of the Brittiſh nation were hadde in thoſe dayes, with whoſe onely puiſſance Maximus durſt take vpon him to goe againſt all other the foꝛces of the whole Romayne Empire: and how he pꝛoſpered in that daungerous aduenture, it is expꝛeſſed ſufficiently in the Romayne Hiſtoꝛies, by whoſe repoꝛt it appeareth, that hee dyd not only conquere all the hither partes of France and Germany, namely on this ſide the Rhine, but alſo founde meanes to entrappe the Emperoure Gratian by this kind of policie. He had a faithfull friend called Andꝛagatius, who was Admirall of the Seas pertеyning to the Empire. It was therefoꝛe agreed betwixte them, that this Andꝛagatius (with a choſen company of the armie) ſhould be carried in ſecret wiſe in a coch towards Lions, as if it hadde bin Conſtantia Poſthumia the Empꝛeſſe, wife to the Emperoure Gratian, bꝛuting abꝛode therewithall, that the ſayd Empꝛeſſe was comming foꝛwardes on hir way to Lions, there to meete with hir huſbande, foꝛ that vpō occaſion ſhe was very deſirous to commune with him about certayne earneſt buſineſſe.

When Gracian heарde heereof, as one miſtruſting no ſuche diſſimulation, he made haſt to meete his wife, and comming at length without any great gard about hym, as one not in doubte of any treaſon, approched the coche, where ſuppoſing to find his wife, he found thoſe that ſtraightwayes murthered him: and ſo was hee there diſpatched out of life by the ſayd Andꝛagatius, who leapte foꝛthe of the coche to woꝛke that feate when he had him once within his daunger.

Thus did the Emperoure Gracian finiſh hys life in the. 29. yeare of his age, on the. 25. of Auguſt, in the yeare of Chꝛiſt. 383. and then dyed. 383

Maximus ſucceeded him (making his ſonne Flauius Victoꝛ Nobiliſſimus aſſiſtante with hym in the Empire) raigning fiue yeares and two dayes. In the beginning of his raigne Valentinian the yonger made great ſuite to him to haue his fathers body, but it woulde not be graunted. Afterwardes alſo Maximus was earneſtly requeſted to come to an enterviewe with the ſame Valentinian, who pꝛomiſed him not only a ſafe conduct, but alſo many other beneficiall good turnes beſyde. Yet Maximus durſt not putte himſelfe in any ſuch hazard, but rather meant to purſue Valentinian as an vſurper, and ſo at length chaſed hym into Slauonie, where he was dꝛiuen to ſuch a ſtreight, that if Theodoſius had not come to releeue him, Maximus hadde dꝛiuen him thence alſo, oꝛ elſe by ſlaughter ridde hym out of the way. But when Maximus thoughte himſelfe moſt aſſured, and ſo eſtabliſhed in the Empire, as hee doubted no perils, hee lined careleſſe of his owne ſafegard, and therefoꝛe diſmiſſed hys Brittiſhe Souldiers, who retiring into the Noꝛthweſt partes of Gallia, placed themſelues there among theyꝛ countreymen whiche were bꝛoughte ouer by the Emperoure Conſtantius, whileſt Maximus paſſing the reſidue of hys time in delites and pleaſures, was ſurpꝛiſed in the ende and ſlayne by Theodoſius neere vnto Aquileia the. 27. of Auguſt in the yeare of grace 388. and in the beginning of the ſixth yeare of hys raigne, oꝛ rather vſurpation, as moꝛe rightly it may be tearmed. 388

This Flauius Victor he begate of his wife Helena the daughter of Eudes. *H. Llhuyd.*

Valentinian put in danger by Maximus. *VV. Harison.*

Eutropius.

His ſonne Flauius Victoꝛ ſurnamed Nobiliſſimus was alſo diſpatched and bꝛought to hys ende, not farre from the place where his father was ſlayne, by the pꝛactiſe of one Arbogaſtes a Goth, whiche Flauius Victoꝛ was by the ſayde Maximus made Regente of the Frankeyners, and partaker (as befoꝛe is ſayde) with him in the Empire. Arbogaſtes.

After this, the Ile of Britayne remayned in meetely good quiet by the ſpace of twentie yeares, till one Marcus (that was then Legate oꝛ as we may call him Loꝛde Lieutenante oꝛ deputie of Britayne foꝛ the Romaynes) was by the Souldiers heere pꝛoclaymed Emperour againſt Honoꝛius, whiche Marcus was ſone after killed in a tumult rayſed among the people within few dayes after his begunne vſurpation.

Then one Gratianus a Britaine boꝛne, ſucceeded in his place, who was alſo ſlayne in the fourth moneth after he had taken vppon hym the imperiall oꝛnamentes. Gracianus a Britayne. He raigned four yeares if we ſhall beleeue the Brittiſh hiſtorie.

The Souldiers not yet heerewith pacifyed,

proceeded to the election of an other Emperoure, or rather vſurper, and ſo pronounced a noble Gentleman called Conſtantine, borne alſo in Britayne, to be Emperoure, who toke that ho-
409 nour vpon him in the.409.yeare after the birth of our Sauiour, continuing his raigne by the ſpace of two yeares and odde monethes, as the Romayne hiſtories make mention. Some repoꝛte this Conſtantine to be of no great towardly diſpoſition woꝛthy to gouerne an Empire, and that the Souldiers choſe him rather foꝛ the names ſake, bycauſe they would haue another Conſtantine, moꝛe than foꝛ anye vertues oꝛ ſufficiente qualities found in his perſon. But other commẽd him, both foꝛ manhode and wiſedome, wherein to ſpeake a troth, hee deſerued ſingular commendation, if this one note of vſurpation of the Imperiall dignitie had not ſtayned his other noble qualities. But heerein he did no moꝛe than many other would haue done, neyther yet after his inueſture he did ſo muche as was loked foꝛ at hys handes. Beeyng placed in the Imperial thꝛone, he gathereth an army with all poſſible endeuour, purpoſing out of hande to goe ouer therewith into France, and ſo did, thinking thereby to winne the poſſeſſion of that countrey out of the handes of Honoꝛius, oꝛ at the leaſt to woꝛke ſo as hee ſhoulde not haue the Souldiers and people there to be againſt him if he miſſed to ioyne in league with the Suabeyners, Alanes, and Vandales, which he ſought to perfoꝛme: but in the ende, whẽ neyther of theſe his deuiſes coulde take place, hee ſendeth ouer foꝛ his ſonne Conſtans, (whome in his ableẽce his aduerſaries had ſhoꝛn a Monke) and making him partaker with him in the Empire, hee cauſed him to bꝛing ouer with him another army, whiche vnder the conduct of the ſame Conſtans hee ſente into Spayne to bꝛing that countrey vnder his obeyſance. This Conſtans therefoꝛe comming vnto the paſſages that leade ouer the Pyrenine Mountaynes, Dindimus and Verianianus two bꝛethren, vnto whom the keeping of thoſe paſſages was committed to defende the ſame againſte the Vandalles and all other enemies of the Empire, were ready to reſiſt hym with their ſeruants and countreymen that inhabited thereabouttes, giuing him a right ſharpe encounter, and at the firſt putting him in great danger of an ouerthꝛow, but yet at lengthe by the valiant pꝛowes of his Bꝛittiſhe Souldiers Conſtans put his aduerſaries to flighte, and killed the two Captaynes with diuers other men of name that were partakers with him in the neceſſary defence of the countrey againſt the enimies.

His Sol... were ſl... and p... mong... mence... that le... vnder... ſigne... Empi... were... after... us, H... cian... Blon...





When Conſtans had thus repulſed thoſe that reſiſted him, the cuſtodie of the paſſages in the Pirenine Mountaynes was committed vnto ſuche bandes of Pictes and other as were appoynted to to goe with him about the atchiuing of this enterpꝛiſe, who hauing the poſſeſſiõ of thoſe ſtreites oꝛ paſſages in their handes, gaue entrie vnto other barbarous nations to inuade Spayne, who being once entred, purſued the foꝛmer inhabitants with fire and ſwoꝛde, ſettled themſelues in that coũtrey, and dꝛoue out the Romaines. The Emperoꝛ Honoꝛius perceyuing the reeling ſtate of ẏ Empire, determined foꝛthwith to recouer it befoꝛe it fell altogither into ruine: & therefoꝛe he ſent one Conſtantius an Earle to dꝛiue Conſtantine out of Gallia, which he acoꝛdingly perfoꝛmed: foꝛ after certayne bickerings, he ſlew ẏ ſayd Conſtãtine at Arles, although not without great bloudſhed. He purſued alſo ẏ reſidue of ẏ Bꝛitains, dꝛiuing thẽ to ẏ very Sea coaſts, where they ſhꝛouded thẽſelues amõg the other Bꝛitayns, ẏ beſoꝛe wer ſettled in the countrey there, anciently called (as beſoꝛe we ſayd) Armoꝛica, ẏ is, a region lying on ẏ ſea coaſt: foꝛ *Ar* in the Bꝛittiſh tong ſignifieth vpon, & *Moure* pertcining to the Sea. And as this Conſtantine ẏ father was ſlayn by Cõſtantius, ſo was Cõſtans ẏ ſon killed at Vienna by one of his owne Captaynes named Gerontius, wherby it came to paſſe, ẏ Honoꝛius ſhoꝛtlyafter hauing thus obteined ẏ victoꝛy of both theſe vſurpers,

pers recouered the Isle, but yet not till the yeare next following, and that by the high industrie & great diligence of that valiant Gentleman Earle Constantius. The slaughter of Constantine and his sonne hapned in the first yeare of the 297. Olympiade. 465. after the comming of Cesar. 1062. after the building of Rome, the dominicall letter being I. and the golden number 13: so that the recouering of the Islande fell in the yeare of oure Lord. 411.

Heere also is ertsoones to bee considered the valure of the Brittishe Souldiers, who following this last remembred Constantine the usurper, did put the Romayne state in great daunger, and by force brake through into Spayne, vanquishing those that kept the streights of ỹ mountaynes betwixt Spayne and Gallia, nowe called France, an exployt of no small consequence, sith thereby the number of Barbarous nations gote free passage to enter into Spayne, whereof ensued many battayles, sackings of Cities and townes, and walking of the countreys accordingly as the furious rage of those fierce people was moued to put their crueltie in practise. If therefore the Britayne writers hadde considered and marked the valiant exployts and noble enterprises which the Brittish aydes, armyes and legions atchieued in service of the Romayne Emperours (by whome whilest they had the gouernement ouer thys Isle, there were at sundry times notable numbers conueyed forth into the parties of beyonde the Seas, as by Albinus and Constantius, also by his sonne Constantine the great, by Maximus, and by this Constantine, both of them usurpers) if (I say) the Brittish writers had taken good note of the numbers of the Brittishe youth thus conueyed ouer from hence, and what notable exployts they boldly attempted, and no lesse manfully atchieued, they needed not to haue giuen care vnto the fabulous reportes forged by their Bardes of Arthur and other their Princes worthy indeede of high cõmendation. And pitie it is, that they fame shoulde bee brought by suche meanes out of credite by the incredible and fonde fables whyche haue bin deuised of their actes so vnlike to be true, as the tales of Robin Hood, or the iestes written by Ariost the Italian in his booke entituled *Orlando Furioso*, sith the same writers had otherwise true matter ynough to write of concerning the worthy feates by their countreymen in those dayes in forraine parties boldly enterprised and no lesse valiantly accomplished, as also ỹ warres whyche nowe and then they mayntayned against the Romaynes here at home, in times whe they felte themselues oppressed by their tyrannical gouernement, as by ỹ which is written before of Caratacus, Boadicia, Cartimãdua, Venusius, Galgagus or Galdus (as some name him) and diuers other, who for their noble valiancies deserue as much prayse, as by tong or pen is able to be expressed. But nowe to returne vnto the Brittish historie: we will proceede in order with theyr Kings as wee fynde them in the same mentioned, and therefore we haue thought good to speake somewhat further of Gracian from whome wee haue digressed.

Gracianus.



Gracianus.

GRacianus then cyuil, Maximus or Maximianus had sente into Britayne (as before ye haue heard) hearing that his master was slain, toke vpon him the rule of this our Britaine, and made himselfe King thereof in the yeare. 390. Hee was a Britaine borne, as Polydore writeth, construing so by that hee is named by Authors to be *Municeps*, that is to say, a free man of ỹ countrey or citie wher he inhabiteth. For his sternenesse & rough manner of gouernement, he was of the Britaines (as the histories alledge) slayne and dispatched out of the way after he hadde raigned the space of foure yeares, or rather foure monethes, as shoulde seeme by that whiche is founde in autentike writers, and as Harrison in his Chronologie hath full well noted. Then the forenamed Kings Granius and Melga, which (as some write were brethren) returned into thys lande with their armies encreased with newe supplyes of menne of warre, as Scottes, Danes, and Norwegians, and destroyed the countrey from side to syde. For the Britaynes in this season were sore enfeebled, and were not able to make anye greate numbers of Souldiers, by reason that Maximus hadde ledde forthe of the lande the floure and chiefest choise of all the Brittish youth into Gallia, as before ye haue hearde.

390

Of the Romayne Souldiers as Blondus hath.

Caxton.

Galfrid.

Galfrid.

Mat. VVest.

Caxton.

Gildas maketh no mention of these two Kings Guanius and Melganor of the Hunnes, but rehearsing this great destruction of the lande, declareth (as before yee haue heard) that the Scottes and Pictes were the same that dyd all the mischiefe, whome hee calleth two nations of beyonde the Seas, the Scottes comming out of the Northwest, and the Pictes out of the Northeast, by whome (as hee sayeth) the lande was ouerrunne, and brought vnder sore manye yeeres after. Therefore the Britaines beeyng thus vexed, spoyled, and cruelly persecuted

Gildas.

by the Scottes and Pictes (if wee shall so take them) sente messengers with all speede vnto Rome to make suite for some ayde of menne of warre to bee sente into Britayne: whereupon immediately a legion of Souldiers was sente thyther Anno. 414. the whiche easily repulsed the enimies, and chased them backe with greate slaughter, to the great comfort of the Britaines, ẏ which by this meanes were delivered from present danger of vtter destruction as they thought. But the Romaynes beeing occasioned to depart agayne out of the lande, appointed ẏ Britaynes to make a wall (as had bin made aforetime by the Emperors Adrian, Antoninus & Seuerus) ouerthwart the countrey from sea to sea, stretching from Penuelton vnto the Citie of Iclud, whereby the enimies might be stayed from entring the lande: but this wall being made of turfe and soddes, rather than with stones, after the departure of the Romanes was easily ouerthrowen by the Scottes & Pictes, which retsones returned to inuade the cõfines of the Britaines, and so entring the countrey, wasted and destroyed all afore them, according to their former custome. Herevpõ were messengers with lamentable letters agayn dispatched towards Rome for new ayde against those cruell enimies, with promise, that if the Romaynes would now in this great necessitie help to deliuer the land, they should be assured to finde the Britaynes euermore obediente subiectes, and ready at their commaundement. Valentinianus (pitying the case of the poore Britaynes) appoynted another legion of Souldiers (of the which one Gallio of Rauenna had the leading) to goe to theyr succours, the which arriuing in Britayne set on ẏ enimies, and giuing them the ouerthrowe, slewe a great number of them, & chased ẏ residue out of the countrey.

414

Beda & Policro.

Gildas. Policron. Beda. Mat. ẏ

Blondus.

Gallio Ranas sent Britayn



The Romanes thus hauing obteyned the victory, declare to the Britaynes, that from thencefoorth they would not take vppon them for euery light occasion so paynefull a iourney, alledgyng, how there was no reason why the Romayne ensignes with such a number of men of warre shuld be put to trauell so farre by sea and lande, for the repulsing and beating backe of a sort of scattering rouers and pilfering theeues: wherefore they aduised the Britaynes to looke to their duties, & lyke men to endeuor themselues to defende their countrey by their owne force from the enimies inuasions. And bicause they iudged that this might bee an help to ẏ Britaynes, they set in hande to build a wall yet once againe ouerthwart the Ile in ẏ same place where the Emperour Seuerus caused his trench & rampire to be cast. This wall whiche the Romanes nowe builte with help of the Britaynes, conteyned in breadth eyght foote, and in heigth twelue foote, trauersing the land from East to West, and was made of stone. After that thys wall was finished, the Romaynes giuing good exhortations to the Britaynes to play the men, they shewed also vnto thẽ the way how to make armour and weapon. And besydes this, on the coast of the East sea where their Shippes lay at roade, and where it was doubted that the enimies woulde lande, they caused towers to bee erected with spaces betwixt, out of the whiche the Seas might be discouered. These things ordered in this wise, the Romanes bade the Britaynes farewel, as not minding to returne thither agayne. The Romanes then being departed out of the land, the Scottes and Pictes hauing knowledge thereof, straight wayes returne againe by Sea, and being more emboldned than before, bycause of the denyall made by the Romaynes to come any more to the succoure of the Britaynes, they take into possession all the Northe and vttermost boundes of the Ile, euen vnto the foresayde wall, therein to remayne

Gildas. Beda.

Gildas.

A wall built ouerthwart the Ilande. *Beda.*

remayne as inhabitants. And whereas the Britaynes gote them to their wal to defend the same, that the enimies should not passe further into the country, they were in the ende beaten from it, and diuers of them slayne, so that the Scottes and Pictes entred vppon them and pursued them in more cruell manner than before, so that the Britaynes being chased out of their Cities, Townes, and dwelling houses, were constreyned to flee into desert places, and there to remayne and lyue after the manner of sauage people, & in the ende, began to robbe and spoyle one another, so to auoyde the daunger of sterning for lacke of foode: and thus at the last the countrey was so destroyed and wasted, that there was no other shifte for them that were left aliue to line by, except only by hunting and taking of wilde beasts and foules. And to augment their miserie, the commons imputing the faulte to rest in the Lordes and gouernoures, rose against them in armes, but were vanquished and easily put to flight at two seuerall times, being beaten downe and slayne throgh

Hecto. Boetius Rebellion.



lacke of skill in such number, especially the latter time, that the residue whiche escaped, withdrewe into the craggy Mountaines, where within the bushes and caues they kepte themselues close, sometimes comming downe and fetching away from the heardes of beastes and flockes of Sheepe whiche belonged to the nobles and Gentlemen of the countrey great bootes to relieue them withall, but at length oppressed with extreame famine when neyther parte coulde long remayne in this state, as needing one anothers help, necessitie made peace betwixt the Lordes and commons of the lande, all iniuries being pardoned and clerely forgiuen. This ciuill warre decayed the force of ỹ Britaynes, little lesse than the Tyrannicall practises of Maximus, for by the auoyding of the commons thus out of their houses, the grounde lay vntilled, whereof ensued suche famine for the space of three yeares togither, that a wonderfull number of people dyed for wante of sustenance.

Thus the Britaynes being brought generally into suche extreame miserie, they thought good to trie if they might purchase some ayde of that noble man Aetius, whiche at that time remayned in Fraunce as yet called Gallia, gouerning the same as Lieutenant vnder the Emperour Honorius: and herevpon taking counsel togither, they wrote a letter to him, the tenor whereof ensueth. To Aetius thrice Consull. The lamentable request of vs the Britaynes beseecheth you of ayde to bee ministred vnto the prouince of the Romane Empire, vnto our countrey, vnto our wiues & children at this presente, the whiche stande in most extreame perill. For the barbarous people driue vs to the Sea, and the Sea driueth vs backe vnto them agayne: herof rise two kindes of deathe, for eyther are we slayne, or drowned, and agaynste such euils haue we no remedie nor help at all. Therefore in respect of your clemencie, succoure youre owne wee most instantly require you. &c. But notwithstanding that the Britaines thus sought for ayde at the handes of Aetius, as then the Emperours Lieutenaunte, yet coulde they none get, either for that Aetius woulde not, as he that passed little howe things wente, bicause he bare displeasure in his mind against Valentinianus as the Emperour, or else for that he could not, being otherwise constreyned to employ al his forces in other places against such barbarous nations as then inuaded the Romane Empire. And so by ỹ meanes was Britayne lost, & the tribute whiche the Britaynes were accustomed to paye vnto the Romaynes ceassed, iust a fiue hundred yeares after that Julius Cesar firste entred the Ile.

The Britaynes could get no ayde from the Romaynes.

The Britaynes being thus put to their shifts, many of them as hunger starued were constreyned to yeelde themselues into the hãds of their enimies, where other yet keeping within the Mountaynes, woodes and caues, brake out as occasion serued vpon their aduersaries, and then first (saith Gildas) did the Britaynes not putting their trust in man but in God (according to the saying of Philo, where mans help faileth, it is needeful that Gods help be present) make slaughter of their enimies that hadde bin accustomed many yeares to robbe and spoyle them in manner as before is recited, and so the bolde attemptes of the enimies ceassed for a time, but the wickednesse of the Britishe people ceassed not at all. The enimies departed out of the lande, but the

Punishment ceaseth but sin encreaseth.

inhabitantes departed not from their naughtye doings, beeyng not so ready to putte backe the common enimies, as to exercise ciuill warre and discord amongst themselues. The wicked Irishe people departed home, to make returne againe within a while after. But the Pictes settled themselues firste in that seaton in the vttermost bounder of the Ile, and there continued, making reyses oftentimes vppon theyr neyghbours, and spoyling them of their goodes.



This with more also hath Gildas and lykewise Beda written of this great desolation of the Brittish people: wherein if the wordes of Gildas be well wayed and consydered of, it may leade vs to thinke that the Scottes hadde no habitacions heere in Britayne, but only in Irelande, till after this seaton, and that at this presente time the Pictes whiche before inhabited within the Iles of Orkney, now placed themselues in the North partes of Scotland, and after by processe of time came and nestled themselues in Louthian, in the Mers and other countreys more neere to our bordures. But to procede: The Brittish histories affirme, that whilest the Britaynes were thus persecuted by those two most cruell and fierce nations the Scottes and Pictes, the noble and chiefest men amongst them consulted togither, and concluded to sende an honorable Ambassade vnto Aldroenus as then King of little Britayne in Gallia, which Aldroenus was the fourth from Conan Meriadoc the first King there of the Britishe nation.

Of this Ambassade the Archbishop of London named Eutheline or Gosseleyne was appoynted for chiefe and principall, the whiche passing ouer into little Britaine, and comming before the presence of Aldroenus, so declared the effect of hys message, that his suite was graunted.

For Aldroenus agreed to send his brother Constantine ouer into great Britayne with a conuenient power, vppon condition, that the victory beeing obteyned againste the enimies, the Britaynes should make hym King of greate Britayne.

Galfridus. Gildas his words are to be considered.

An ambassade sent from the Britaynes vnto Aldroenus King of Britaine in Fraunce.

Constantine the brother of Aldroenus.

Thus it is apparant that this lande of Britayne was without any certayne gouernoure, after that Gracian the vsurper was dispatched certaine yeares togither, but how many yeares, writers in their accompt varry.

Fabian gathereth by sundry coniectures, that the space betwixte the deathe of Gracian and the beginning of the raigne of the sayd Constantine, brother to Aldroenus, continued nine and thirtie yeares, during whiche time the Britaynes were sore and miserably afflicted by the inuasions of the Scottes and Pictes, as before ye haue heard by testimonies taken out of Beda, Gildas, Geffrey of Monmouth, and other writers of the Brittishe and English hystories.

But nowe sith no mention is made of the Scottes in oure hystories till the dayes of Marinus the vsurper or Tyrante, as some call him, whyche beganne hys raigne here in Britaine about the yeare of oure Lorde. 383. and that tyll after hee had bereft the lande of the chiefest forces thereof in taking the most parte of the youth ouer with him: wee fynde not in the same hystories of any troubles wrought to the Britaynes by that nation. Therefore we haue thought good heere to come backe to the former tymes, that wee maye shewe what is found mentioned in the Romaine hystories, both before that time and after, as well concerning the Scottes and Pictes, as also the Saxons, and especially in Ammianus Marcellinus, where in the beginning of his twentith booke entreating of the doyngs of the Emperoure Julianus,

A digr

Fabian

Maxim

38

Ammi Marcel lib. 20. The Em Julianu

Julianus, hee hathe theſe wordes in effect as folowe.

In this ſame ſeaſon thynges in *Illiricum* or *Slauonia*, and in the Eaſt partes, at what tyme Cõſtantius bare the office of Conſull the tenth time, and Julianus the thirde tyme, that is to witte, in the yeare of our Lord. 360. when in Britaine quietneſſe beeing diſturbed by roades made by the Scottes and Pictes which are wilde and ſauage people, the frountiers of the contrey were waſted, and ſeare oppreſſed the prouinces awearied, with the heape of paſſed loſſes.

The Emperour (hee meaneth Julianus) as then remayning at Paris, and hauing his minde troubled with many cares, doubted to goe to the ayde of them beyond the Sea, as we haue ſhewed that Conſtantius dyd, leaſt hee ſhoulde leaue them in Gallia withoute a Ruler, the Almaynes beeyng euen then prouoked and ſtirred vp to crueltie and warre. Hee thoughte good therefore to ſende Lupicinus vnto theſe places to bring things into frame and order, whiche Lupicinus was at that time maſter of the armory, a warlike perſon and ſkilfull in all poyntes of chiualrie, but proude and high minded beyonde meaſure, and ſuch one as it was doubted long whether he was more couetous or cruell.

Hereupon, the ſayde Lupicinus ſetting forwarde the lighte armed menne of the *Heruli* and *Batani*, with diuers companies alſo of the people of Meſia now called Bulgarie: When winter was well entred and come on, hee came himſelfe to Bulleigne, and there prouiding Shippes and embarquing his men when the winde ſerued hys purpoſe, hee tranſported ouer vnto Sandwiche, and ſo marched forth vnto London, from thence purpoſing to ſet forward, as vppon aduice taken according to the qualitie of his buſineſſe, he ſhould thinke meete and expedient.

In the meane time, whileſt Lupicinus was buſie here in Britaine to repreſſe the enimies, the Emperour Conſtantius diſplaced certayne officers, and among other he depriued the ſame Lupicinus of the office of Maſter of the armory, appoynting one Gumobaudus to ſucceede hym in that rowmth before any ſuche thing was knowen in theſe parties: and where it was doubted leaſt that Lupicinus (if hee hadde vnderſtoode ſo much whileſt hee was yet in Britayne) woulde haue attempted ſome newe trouble, as he was a man of a ſtoute and loftie mynde, he was called backe from thence, and withall there was ſente a notarie vnto Bulleyne to watche that none ſhoulde paſſe the Seas ouer into Britayne till Lupicinus were returned: and ſo returning ouer from thence ere hee hadde anye knowledge what was done by the Emperoure, hee coulde make no ſturre, hauyng no ſuche aſſiſters in Gallia, as it was thoughte he myght haue hadde in Britayne if he ſhould haue moued Rebellion there. Beſide this alſo the ſame Marcellinus ſpeaking of the doings about the time that Valentinianus being elected Emperour, had admitted his brother Valens as fellowe with him in gouernemente, hathe theſe wordes. In this ſeaſon as though trumpets had blowen the ſounde to battell throughout the whole Romayne Empire, moſt cruell nations being ſtyred vp inuaded the bordures nexte to them adioyning, the Almaynes waſted and deſtroyed the partes of Gallia and Rhetia, as the Sarmatians and Quadi did Pannonia. The Pictes, the Saxons, the Scottes, and the Attacottes vexed the Britaynes with continuall troubles, and greeuous domages. The Auſtoriani, and the people of the Moores ouerranne the countrey of Affrike more sharply than in time paſt they had done. The pilfering troupes of the Gothes ſpoyled Thracia. The King of Perſia ſette in hande to ſubdue the Armenians, and ſoughte to bring them vnder his obeyſance, haſting with all ſpeede towardes Numonia, pretending (though vniuſtly) that now after the deceaſe of Iouianus with whome hee hadde contracted a league and bonde of peace, there was no cauſe of let why hee ought not recouer thoſe things which (as he alledged) did belong to his auncetours, and ſo forthe.

Lib. 26.

Ammianus Marcellinus lib. 26.

The Almanes.

The Sarmatæ.

The Quadi.

Picts & Saxõs

Auſtoriani.

The Gothes.

Moreouer, the ſame Marcellinus in another place writeth in this wiſe, where hee ſpeaketh of the ſayde Valentinianus. Departing therefore from Amiens, and haſting to Trier, hee was troubled with greeuous newes that were brought hym, gyuing hym to vnderſtand, that Britayne by a conſpiracie of the Barbarous nations was broughte to vtter pouertie, that Nectaridus one of the Emperours houſe Earle of the Sea coaſt hauyng charge of the partyes towardes the Sea, was ſlayne, and that the generall Bulchobaudes was circumuented by traynes of the enimies. Theſe thyngs with greate horror beeyng knowen, hee ſent Seuerus as then Earle, or (as I may call hym Lorde Stewarde of his houſeholde) to reforme things that were amiſſe if happe woulde ſo permitte, who beeyng ſhortly called backe, Iouinius goyng thyther, and with ſpeede haſting forwarde, ſent for more ayde and a greater power of menne, as the inſtant neceſſitie then required. At lengthe, for many cauſes, and the ſame greatly to be feared, the which were reported and aduertiſed out of that Ile, Theodoſius was elected and appoynted to goe thyther, a man of approued ſkill in warlike affayres, and calling togyther an hardy youthfull number of the legions and cohortes of men of warre, hee wente forthe, no ſmall hope beeyng conceyued of hys good ſpeede: the ſame whereof

Lib. 27.

Comes maritimi tractus.

Comes domeſticorum.

Theodoſius ſente into Britaine.

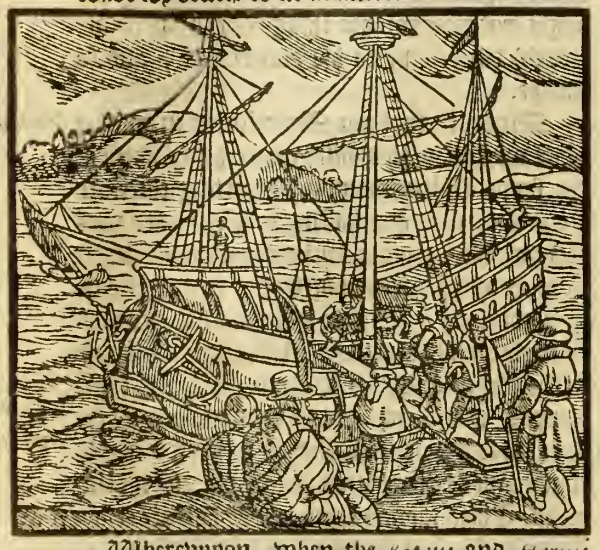
ſpied and went afore him, and a little after Marcellinus adding what maner of people they were that troubled the Britaynes in this wiſe, he ſayth thus: This ſhall ſuffice to be ſayde, that in thys ſeaſon the Pictes deuided into two nations, *Dicalidones*, and *Vecturiones*, and in like maner the *Attacotti* a right warlike nation, and the Scots wandering heere and there, made foule worke in places where they came.

Pictes deuided into two nations. Attacotti.

The confines of Fraunce were diſquieted by the Frankeyners and Saxons borderers vnto them, euery one as they could breake forth, doing great harme by cruell ſpoyle, fyre, and taking of priſoners.

To withſtande thoſe doynges if good fortune would giue hym leaue, that moſt able Captayne going vnto the vttermoſt boundes of the earthe, when hee came to the coaſt of Bulleyne whyche is ſeparated from the contrary coaſt on the other ſide by the Sea, with a narrowe ſtreighte, where ſometime the water goeth very high and rough, and ſhortly after becommeth calme and pleaſant without hurt to thoſe that paſſe the ſame, he tranſporting ouer at leyſure, arriued at Sandwiche (or rather Rextacheſter) where there is a quiete roade for veſſels to lie at ancre.

Theodoſius paſſeth ouer into Britayne.



Whereuppon, when the *Batui* and *Hermi* with the Souldiers of the legions cleped *Iouij*, and *Victores*, being companies that truſted well to their owne ſtrengthe, marched forthe and drew towardes London, an auntient citie, whiche now of late hath bin called Auguſta.

Batani Hollanders.

London called Auguſta.

Herwith deuiding his army into ſundry parts, he ſet vppon the troupes of the enimies as they were abroade to forrey the countrey, ye red with burdens of their ſpoyles and pillage, and ſpeedily putting them to flighte as they were leading away thoſe priſoners whiche they had taken with their bootes of cattell, hee bereſte them of theyr pray, the whiche the poore Britaynes that were tributaries had loſt.

To bee briefe, reſtoring the whole except a ſmall portion beſtowed amongſt the weery ſouldiers, he entred the Citie which before was ouerſet with troubles, but nowe ſodainly refreſhed, becauſe there was hope of reliefe, and aſſured preſeruation.

After this, when Theodoſius was comforted with proſperous ſucceſſe to attempte things of greater importance, and ſearching wayes howe with good aduice to worke ſurely: whileſt hee remayned doubtfull what would enſue, he learned as wel by the confeſſion of priſoners taken, as alſo by the information of ſuch as were ſtolne from the enimies, that the ſcattered people of ſundry nations which with practiſe of great crueltie were become fierce and vndanted, could not be ſubdued but by policie ſecretly contriued, and ſuddayne inuaſions. At length therefore ſetting forthe hys Proclamations, and promiſing pardon to thoſe that were gone away from their Captaynes or charge, he called them backe againe to ſeruice: and alſo thoſe that by licence were departed and lay ſcattered here and there in places abroade. By this meanes, when many were returned, he being on the one ſide earneſtly prouoked, and on the other holden backe with thoughtfull cares, required to haue one Ciuilis by name ſent to hym to haue the rule of the prouinces in Britayne in ſteede of the other gouernours, a man of ſharpe witte, and an earneſt mayntayner of iuſtice. Hee likewiſe required that one Dulcitius a Captayne renoumed in knowledge of warlike affayres, might bee ſente ouer to him for his better aſſiſtance. Theſe things were done in Britayne.

Theod requir haue C ſent to

Dulci

Againe in hys eyght and twentie booke, the ſame Marcellinus reciting further what the ſame Theodoſius dyd atchieue in Britaine, hath in effect theſe wordes, Theodoſius verily a Captayne of worthy fame, taking a valiant courage to hym, and departing from Auguſta, whyche men of olde tyme called London, with Souldiers aſſembled by greate diligence, did ſuccoure and releeue greatly the decayed and troubled ſtate of the Britaynes, preuenting euery conuenient place where the barbarous people myghte lye in wayte to doe miſchiefe, and nothing hee commanded the mean Souldiers to doe, but that which he with a cheerefull mind would firſte take in hand to ſhew them an example.

Lond Augu

By this meanes accompliſhing the roomth of a valiant Souldier, and fulfilling the charge of a noble Captayne, hee diſcomfyted and putte to flight ſundry nations, whome preſumption (nouriſhed by ſecuritie) emboldned to inuade the Romayne prouinces: And ſo the Cities and Caſtels that had bin ſore endomaged by manyfolde loſſes and diſpleaſures, were reſtored to their former ſtate of welth, ẏ foundation of reſt and quietneſſe being layde for a long ſeaſon after to enſue.

But

But as theſe things were a doing a wicked practiſe was in hande lyke to haue burſt forth, to the grieuous daunger of ſetting things in broyle, if it had not beene ſtayed euen in the beginning of the firſt attempt.

There was one Valentinus, borne in the parties of Valeria adioyning to Pannonia, now called Stiermarke, a man of a prowde and loftie ſtomacke, brother to the wyfe of Maximinus, which Valentinus for ſome notable offence had beene baniſhed into Bryttayne, where the naughtie man that coulde not reſt in quiet, deuiſed how by ſome commotion hee might deſtroy Theodoſius, who as he ſawe was onely able to reſiſt his wicked purpoſes. And going about many things both priuily and apertly, the forze of his vnmeaſurable deſire to miſchiefe ſtil encreaſing, he ſought to procure aſwell other that were in ſemblable wiſe baniſhed men, and inclined to miſchiefe lyke to him ſelfe, as alſo diuerſe of the ſouldiers, alluring them as the time ſerued, with large promiſes of great wealth, if they would ioyne with hym in that enterpryſe. But euen now in the verie nicke when they ſhould haue gone in hande with their vngracious exployt, Theodoſius warned of theyr intent, boldly aduaunced himſelfe to ſee due puniſhmẽt executed of the offenders that were forthwith taken and knowne to be guiltie in that conſpiracie.

Theodoſius committed Valentine with a few other of his truſtie complices vnto the Captaine Dulcitius, commaunding him to ſee them put to death: but coniecturing by his warlike ſkill (wherin he paſſed all other in thoſe dayes) what might follow, he woulde not in any wiſe haue any further enquirie made of the other conſpirators, leaſt through feare that might be ſpread abrode in many, the troubles of the Prouinces now well quieted, ſhould be againe renued.

After this, Theodoſius diſpoſing himſelfe to redreſſe many things as neede requyred, all danger was quite removed, ſo that it was moſte apparant, that fortune fauoured him in ſuche wiſe, that ſhe left him not deſtitute of hir furtheraunce in any one of all his attempts: he therefore reſtored the Cities and Caſtels that were appoynted to be kept with gariſons, and the borders he cauſed to be defended and garded with ſufficient nũbers to keepe watch and warde in places neceſſarie. And hauing recouered the Prouince whiche the enimies had gotten into their poſſeſſion, hee ſo reſtored it to the former ſtate, that vpon his motion to haue it ſo, a lawfull gouernour was aſſigned to rule it, and the name was chaunged ſo, as from thenceforth it ſhould be called Valentia for the Princes pleaſure.

The *Areani*, a kinde of men ordeyned in tymes paſt by our elders, (of whom ſomwhat we haue ſpoken in the actes of the Emperour Conſtance) being now by little & little fallen into vices, he remoued from theyr places of abyding, being openly conuicted, that allured wyth bribes and fayre promyſes, they had oftentymes bewrayed vnto the barbarous Nations what was done among the Romaines: for this was theyr charge, to runne vp and downe by long iourneys, and to giue warning to oure Captaines, what ſturre the people of the next confines were about to make.

Theodoſius therfore hauing ordred theſe and other like things, moſt worthily to his high fame, was called home to the Emperours Court, who leauing the Prouinces in moſt triumphant ſtate, was highly renowmed for his often and moſte profitable victories, as if he had bene an other Camillus, or Curſor Papyrius: and with the fauor and loue of all men was conueyed vnto the Sea ſide, and paſſing ouer with a gentle winde, came to the Court, where he was receyued wyth great gladneſſe and commendation, being immediately appoynted to ſucceed in rowmth of Valence Iouinus that was maiſter of the horſes. The prayſe of Theodoſius.

Finally, he was called by the Emperor Gratianus, to be aſſociate with him in the Imperiall eſtate, after the death of Valence, in the yeare after the incarnation of our ſauiour. 379. and raigned Emperor ſurnamed Theodoſius the great, about xbj. yeares and two dayes. *VVil. Har.*

But now to our former matter. Hereto alſo may that be applyed which the foreſayd Marcellinus wryteth after in the ſame booke, touching the inuaſion of the Saxons, the which (as Wolf. Lazius taketh it) entred then firſt into great Britaine, but were repulſed of the Emperour Valentinianus the fyrſt, by the conduct of Seuerus. *VVolf. Lazi.* Seuerus.

The ſame yeare (ſayth he) that the Emperours were the thirde tyme Conſuls, there brake forth a multitude of Saxons, and paſſing the ſeas, entred ſtrongly into the Romain confines: a natiõ fed oftentimes with ỹ ſlaughter of our people, the brunt of whoſe firſt inuaſion, Erle Nanneus ſuſteyned, ỹ which was appointed to defend thoſe partyes, & an approued captain, with continuall trauaile in warres verie expert: but then encountring with deſperate and forlorne people, when he perceyued ſome of his ſouldiers to be ouerthrowne and beaten downe, and himſelf wõded, not able to abyde the often aſſaults of his enimies, he obteyned this by enforcing the Emperour what was neceſſarie and ought to be done, inſomuch that Seuerus, maiſter (or as I may call him Coronell of the footemen) was ſent to helpe and releue things that ſtode in daunger: the which bringing a ſufficient power with him for the ſtate of that buſineſſe, when he came to thoſe Nonneus Comes. Seuerus Coronell of the footemen.

places, he deuiding his armie into partes, put the Saxons in ſuche feare and trouble before they fought, that they did not ſo muche as take weapon in hande to make reſiſtaunce, but being amaſed wyth the ſight of the glyttering enſignes and Eagles figured in the Romaine ſtandardes, they ſtreight made ſute for peace, and at length after the matter was debated in ſundrie wiſe (bycauſe it was iudged that it ſhoulde be profitable for the Romaine common wealth) truce was graunted vnto them, and many yong men (able for ſeruice in the warres) deliuered to the Romaines according to the couenants concluded.

After this the Saxons were permitted to depart without impechment, ſo to returne from whence they came, the which being now out of al feare, and preparing to goe their wayes, dyuerſe bands of footmen were ſent to lie priuily in a certaine hid valley, ſo embuſhed as they might eaſily breake forth vpon the enimies as they paſſed by them. But it chaunced farre otherwiſe than they ſuppoſed: for certaine of thoſe footemen ſtyred with the noyſe of them as they were comming, brake forth out of time, and being ſodenly diſcouered whileſt they haſted to vnite and knit themſelues togither, by the hideous crie and ſhoute of the Saxons, they were put to flight. Yet by and by cloſing togither againe, they ſtayed, and the extremitie of the chaunce miniſtring to them force (though not ſufficient) they were dryuen to fight it oute, and beeing beaten downe wyth great ſlaughter, had dyed euery mothers ſonne, if a troupe of Horſemen armed at all poyntes (beeing in like maner placed in an other ſyde at the parting of the way to aſſayle the enimies as they ſhoulde paſſe) aduertyſed by the dolefull noyſe of them that foughte, had not ſpeedilye come in to the ſuccours of theyr fellowes.

Then ranne they togyther more cruellye than before, and the Romaines bending themſelues towardes theyr enimies, compaſſed them in on eche ſyde, and with theyr drawne ſwordes ſlue them downe right, ſo that there was not one of them left to returne home to theyr natiue Countrey to bryng newes howe they had ſpedde, nor one ſuffred to liue after the death of his fellowes.



And although an indifferent man that ſhoulde iudge hereof, might with cauſe reproue ſo vniuſt and diſhonorable dealing: yet the thing being well weyed and conſidered, he would not thinke euill of it, that a wicked knotte of theeues and Robbers ſhoulde at length paye after the pryce of the Market.

Thus were the limittes of the Romain Empyre preſerued at that time in Brytaine, whiche ſhould ſeeme to be about the yere of our lord. 399.

Honorius the Emperour.

After this in the time of the Emperour Honorius, alſo the Scottes, Pictes, and Saxons, did eftſoones inuade the frontiers of the Romaine Prouince in Brytaine, as appeareth by that which the Poet Claudianus wryteth, in attributing the honour of preſeruing the ſame frontyers vnto the ſayde Emperour, in his booke intituled *Panegericus terty Conſolatus*, (which fell in the yeare. 396. as thus:

Ille leues Mauros nec falſo nomine Pictos Clau.
Edomuit, Scotumq́ vago mucrone ſecutus,
Fregit Hyperboreas remis audacibus vndas.
Et geminus fulgens vtroq́ ſub axe trophei,
Tethyos alternæ reſluas calcauit arenas.

The nimble Mores and Pictes by right
ſo callde, he hath ſubdude,
And with his wandring ſworde likewiſe
the Scottes he hath purſude:
He brake with bolde courageous oare
the Hyperborean waue,

And

And shyning vnder both the Poles
with double trophyes braue,
He marcht vpon the bubling sandes
of either swelling seas.

The same Claudian vpon the fourth Consulship of Honorius, sayth.

Quid rigor æternus, cæli? quid frigora prosunt,
Ignotumq; fretum? maduerunt Saxone fuso
Orcades, incaluit, Pictorum sanguine Thule,
Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Hiberna.

VVhat lasting colde? what did to them
the frostie Clymates gaine?
And sea vnknowne? bemoysted all
with bloud of Saxons slaine
The Orkneys were: with bloud of Picts
hath Thule waxed warme,
And yse Irelande hath bewaylde
the heapes of Scottish harme.

The same prayse gyueth he to Stelico the sonne in lawe of Honorius, and maketh mention of a Legion of Souldiers sent for oute of Brytayne in the Peripheates of the Scottish warres.

Venit & extremis legio prætenta Britannis,
Quæ Scoto dat frena truci ferroq; notatas,
Perleget exanimes Picto moriente figuras.

A legion eke there came from out
the farthest Brytaines bent,
VVhich brideled hath the Scots so sterne
and markes with yron brent
Vpon their liueles limmes doth reade,
whyles Pictes their liues relent.

He rehearseth the like in his second *Panegericus* of Stilico.

Inde Caledonio velata Britannia monstro,
Ferre Pictagenas, cuius vestigia verrit
Caerulus, Oceani æstum mentitur amictus.
Me quoq; vicinis erescentem gentibus inquit,
Munivit Stilico scutata quum Scotus Hibernam
Mouit, & infesto spumantis remige Thetis,
Illius effectum curæ, ne bella timerem
Scotica, ne Pictum tremerem, ne littore toto,
Prospicerem dubijs venturum Saxona ventis.

Then Brytaine whom the monsters did
of Calidone surrounde,
VVhose cheekes were scorcht with steele,
whose garments swept the ground,
Resembling much the marble hew
of Ocean seas that bolle,
Sayd, she whom neighbour nations did
conspire to bring to spoile,
Hath Stilico munited strong, when
rayse by Scots entise
All Ireland was, and endles dares
the salt sea some did slide,
His care hath causde, that all feares
of Scottish broyles haue bard,
Ne do I dread the Picts, ne looke
my countrey coasts to gard,
Gainst Saxon troupes, who chaunging winds
sent sayling hither wardes.

Thus may it appeare, that in the tyme when the Romaine Empyre beganne to decay, in like maner as other partes of the same Empyre were inuaded by barbarous nations, so was that part of Brytayne which was subiect to the Romaine Emperours grieuously assayled by the Scottes and Pictes, and also by the Saxons, the whiche in those dayes inhabiting all alongst the Sea coastes of lowe Germanie, euen from the Elbe vnto the Rhine, did not onely trouble the seate by continuall rouing, but also bled comming a land into dyuerse partes of Brytayne, and Gallia, inuading the countreys, and robbing the same with great rage and crueltie. Brytayne afflicted by inuasion of barbarous nations.

To the which Sidonius Apollinaris thus alludeth, wryting to Namatius. *Sidon. Apol. li. 8. Epist.*

The Messenger did assuredly affyrme, that lately ye blewe the trumpet to warre in your nauie, and betwixt the office one while of a mariner, and another while of a souldier, wafted about the crooked shores of the Ocean Sea agaynste the fleete of the Saxons, of whome as many Rouers as ye beholde, so many Archpyrates ye suppose to see: so doe they altogyther with one accorde commaund, obey, teach, and learne to play the partes of Rouers, that euen now there is good occasion to warne you to beware. This enimie is more cruell than all other enimyes. Her assayleth at vnwares, hee escapeth foreseeing the daunger afore hande, he despyseth those that stand agaynst him, he throweth downe the vnware: if he be followed he snappeth them vp that pursue him, if he flee he escapeth. The piracie of the Saxons.

Of like effect for proufe hereof be those verses which he wrote vnto Maiorianus in his Panegerike Oration.

Tot Maria intraui duce te, longeq; remotas,
Sole sub occiduo gentes, victricia Cæsar
Signa Caledonios transuexit ad vsq; Britannos
Fuderet, & quanquã Scotũ, & cũ Saxone Pictũ
Hostes quæsiuit enim quæ iam natura negabat,
Quærere plus hominis.

Which is Englished thus.

So many seas I entred haue,
and nations farre by west,
By thy conduct, and Cæsar hath
his banners borne full prest,
Vnto the furthest Brytish coast,
where Caledonians dwell,
The Scot and Pict with Saxons eke,
though he subdued fell,
Yet would he seeke enmies vnknowne
whom nature had forbid. &c.

Thus

Thus farre haue we thought good to gather out of the Romaine and other wryters, that yee might perceyue the ſtate of Bꝛytayne the better in that time of the decay of the Romain Empire, and that ye might haue occaſion to marke by the way, how not only the Scots, but alſo the Saxons had attempted to inuade the Bꝛytaines before any mention is made of the ſame theyr attempts by the Bꝛytiſh and Engliſh wꝛyters.

But whether the Scottes had any habitation within the boundes of Bꝛytaine, til the time ſuppoſed by the Bꝛytaine wꝛyters, wee leaue that poynt to the iudgement of others that be trauayled in the ſearch of ſuche antiquities, onely admoniſhing you, that in the Scottiſhe Chꝛonicle you ſhall finde the opinion whiche their wꝛiters haue conceyued of this matter, and alſo manye things touching the actes of the Romaines, done agaynſt diuerſe of the Bꝛytayns, which they preſume to be done againſt their nation, though ſhadowed vnder the generall name of Bꝛytaines, or of other particular names, at this day to moſt mẽ vnknowne. But whenſoeuer the Scottes came into this Ile, they made the thirde nation that inhabited the ſame, cõming firſt out of Scithia, or rather out of Spaine (as ſome ſuppoſe) into Irelande, and from thence into Bꝛytayne, next after the Pictes, though their wꝛyters fetche a farre more ancient beginning (as in their Chꝛonicle at large appeareth) referring them to the reading thereof, that deſire to vnderſtande that matter as they ſet it forth.

Polidor.

But now to returne where we left, touching the ſucceſſion of the Bꝛytiſh kings, as their Hyſtories make mention: thus we finde, though carying great ſuſpition withall, as ſome thinke.

Conſtantinus.



COnſtantinus, the brother of Aldꝛoenus king of little Bꝛytaine, at the ſute and earneſt requeſt of the Archbiſhop of London, made in name of all the Bꝛytaines in the Ile of great Bꝛytaine, was ſent into the ſame Ile by his ſayde brother Aldꝛoenus vpon couenants ratified in maner as before is recited, and bꝛought with him a conuenient power, landing with the ſame at Totnes in Deuonſhire. Immediatelye after his comming a lande, he gathered to him a great power of Bꝛytaynes, the which before his landing were hyd in diuerſe places of the Ile.

Then went hee forth with them, and gaue battaile to the enimies, whom he diſcomfited: and ſlue that tyrãt king Guanius there in the field (as ſome bookes haue.)



But this agreeth not with the Scottiſh wꝛiters, the which affyrme that they got the field, but yet loſt their king named Dongarde, (as in theyr Hyſtorie ye may reade.)

But to proceed as our wꝛiters repoꝛt the matter. When the Bꝛitains had thus ouercome their enimies, they conueyed their captaine the ſayde Conſtantine vnto Cicelter, and there in fulfilling their promiſe and couenant made to his brother, crowned him K. of great Bꝛitain, in the yeare of our lord. 433. which was about the .6. yeare of the Emperoꝛ Valentinianus the ſecond, & third yere of Clodius K. of ỹ Frãkmen after called Frenchmẽ, which thẽ began to ſettle thẽſelues in Gallia, wherby the name of that cuntry was afterwards changed & called France. Conſtantine being thus eſtabliſhed king, ruled the land wel & nobly, & defended it frõ all inuaſiõ of enimies during his life.

He

He begat of his wife three sonnes (as the British Historie affyrmeth) Constantius, Aurelius Ambrosius, and Uter surnamed Pendragon.

The eldest, because hee perceyued him to bee but dull of witte, and not verie towarde, he made a Monke, placing him within the Abbay of Amphibalus in Winchester.

Finally, this Constantine, after he had raigned ten yeares, was trayterously slaine one day



in his owne chamber (as some write) by a Pict, the which was in such fauour with him, that hee might at all tymes haue free accesse to him at his pleasure. Neither the Romaine writers, nor Beda, make any mention of this Constantine, but of the other Constantine they write, which immediately after that the vsurper Gracian was dispatched out of the way (as before ye haue heard) was aduaunced to the rule of this land, and title of Emperor, onely in hope of his name, and for no other respect of towardnesse in him, afore time being but a meane souldier, without any degree of honor.

The same Constantine (as writers recorde) going ouer into Gallia, adourned his sonne Constantius with the title and dignitie of Cesar, the which before was a Monke, and finally as well the one as the other were slain, the father at Arles by Earle Constantius that was sent against him by the Emperor Honorius, and the sonne at Vienna (as before ye haue heard) by one of his owne Court cleped Gerontius (as in the Italian Hystorie ye may see more at large.)

This chaunced about the yeare of our lord. 415.

This haue wee thought good to repeate in this place, for that some maye suppose that thys Constantine is the same whom our writers take to be the brother of Aldroenus king of little Britayne, as the circumstaunce of the time and other things to be cõsidered may giue the occasion to thinke, for that there is not so much credit to be yelded to the that haue writen the British hystories, but that in some part men may with iust cause doubt of sundrye matters conteyned in the same: therfore haue we in this boke bin the more diligent to shewe what the Romaine and other forreyne writers haue regystred in their bookes of hystories touching the affayres of Britain, that the reader may bee the better satisfied in the truth.

But now to returne to the sequele of the Hystorie as we finde the same written by the British Chronicles.

After that Constantine was murthered (as before ye haue heard) one Vortigerus, or Vortigernus, a man of great authoritie amongs the Britaynes, wrought so with the residue of the British nobilitie, that Constantius the eldest sonne of their king the forerememberd Constantine, was taken out of the Abbey of Winchester, where hee remayned, and was streyght wayes created king, as lawfull inheritor to his father.

This Vortigern was duke of the Geuisses and Cornwall, as Rad. Cestr. reporteth. *Galf. Mon.*

Ye haue heard howe Constantius was made a Monke in his fathers lyfe time, because he was thought to be too soft and childish in wit, to haue any publike rule committed to his handes: but for that cause specially did Vorteger seeke to aduaunce him, to the ende that the King beeing not able to gouerne of himselfe, he might haue the chiefest sway, and so rule all things as it were vnder him, preparing thereby a way for hymselfe to attayne at length to the Kingdome, as by that which followed was more apparauntly perceyued.

Constantius.



Constãtius.

THis Constãtius then the sonne of Constãtine, by the helpe (as before ye haue heard) of Vortigerne, was made king of Britaine, in the yeare of our Lorde. 443. But Constantius bare but the name of king: for Vortigerne abusing his innocencie and simple discretion to order things as was requisite, had all the rule of the lande, and did what pleased him. Whereupon first where there had beene a league concluded betwixt the Britaynes, Scottes and Pictes, in the dayes of the late King Constantine, Vortiger caused the same league to bee renued, and waged an hundred Pictes, and as manye Scottes to bee attendaunt as a garde vpon the kings person, diuerse of the whiche (corrupting them with fayre promises) he procured by subtile meanes in the ende to murther the King, and immediately vpon the deede done, he caused the murtherers to be strangled, that they shoulde not afterwardes disclose by whose procurement they did that deed?

445. hath Math. West.

Hector. Bo.

Constantius murthered.

Then caused he all the residue of the Scottes and Pictes to bee apprehended, and as it had beene

The subtile dealing of Vortigerne.

beene vpon a zeale to see the death of Constantius seuerely punished, he framed such inditements and accusations agaynst them, that chiefely by his meanes (as appeared) the guyltlesse persons were condemned and hanged, the multitude of the Brytishe people beeing wonderfully pleased therewith, & giuing great cõmendations to Uortigerne for that deede.



Thus Constantius was made away in maner as before ye haue heard, after he had raigned (as most writers affyrme) the space of fiue yeares.

Then after that his death was knowne, those that had the bringing vp and custodie of his two yonger brethren, Aurelius Ambrose, and Uter Pendragon, mistrusting the wicked intent of Uortigerne, whose dissimulatiõ and mischieuous meaning by some great likelihoods they suspected, with all speede they got them to the sea, & fled into little Brytaine, there keeping them till it pleased God otherwise to prouide for them.

Aurelius Ambrosius. Uter Pendragon.

But Uortigerne couldo so well dissimule his craftie workings, and with such conueyance and cloked maner couldo shadow and colour the matter, that most men thought and iudged him most innocent and voyd of all euil meaning: insomuch that he obteyned so greatly the fauour of the people, that hee was reputed for the onely stay and defender of the common wealth.

Hereupon came it to passe, that when the Counsell was assembled to elect a new king, for so much as the other sonnes of king Constantine were not of age sufficient to rule, Uortigerne himselfe was chosen, diuerse of the nobles (whom hee had procured thereto) giuing their voyces to this his preferment, as to one best deseruing the same in their opinion and iudgement.

Vortigerne is chosen king of Brytaynes.

Vortigerne.

Vortigerne 446

Thus was Uortigerne chosen and made king of Brytain, in the yere of our Lord. 446. third Consulship of Aetius, 1097. of Rome. 4. of the 205. Olympiade, 4112. of the worlde, the Dominicall letter going by F, the Prime by ten, when he fell about the .xij. yeare of the Emperour Valentinianus, the same yeare that Pharamus began to raigne ouer the Frenchmen.

Before hee was made king, he was Earle or Duke of the Gewisses, a people which helde that part of Brytaine where afterwardes the west Saxons inhabited.

Nowe after that Uortigerne had with treason, fraude, and greate deceyte, at length atteyned that for the which hee had long loked, hee fyrste of all furnished the Tower of London with a strong garrison of menne of warre.

Hell

Then studying to aduaunce onely such as he knewe to be his especiall frendes and fauourers, he sought by all meanes howe to oppresse other, of whose good will hee had neuer so little mistrust, namely those that were affectionate towardes the lynage of Constantine he hated deadly, and deuised by secrete meanes which way he might best destroy them: but these his practises being at the first perceyued, caused suche as had the gouernaunce of the two yong Gentlemen with all speede to get them ouer (as yee haue heard) into Brytayne Armorike, there to remaine out of daunger with their Uncle the King of that lande, and daply did diuerse of the Brytaynes, that knewe themselues to bee in Uortigerne his displeasure saile ouer vnto them, whiche thyng brought Uortigerne into great doubt and feare of his estate.

Fabia

It chaunced also the same tyme, that there was greate plentye of corne, and store of fruite, the lyke whereof had not beene seene in manye

Gild.

yeares

yeares before, and thereupon enſued ryote, ſtrife, lecherie, and other vyces right heynous, and yet accounted as then for ſmall or rather none offences at all.

Theſe abuſes and great enormities, raigned not onely in the temporaltie, but alſo in the ſpiritualtie and chiefe Rulers of the ſame: ſo that euerye man turned the poynt of his ſpeare (euen as if he had conſented of purpoſe) agaynſt the true and innocent perſon.

The Commons alſo gaue themſelues to voluptuous luſt, drunkennelle, and vile loytering, whereof followed fighting, contention, enuie, and much debate.

Of this plentie therfore inſued great pride, and of this abundaunce no leſſe hautineſſe of minde, wherupon followed great wickednelle, lacke of good gouernment and ſober temperancie, and in the necke of theſe as a iuſt puniſhment, death and mortalitie, ſo that in ſome Countreys vneth the quicke ſuffiſed to burie the dead.

And for an augmentation of more miſchiefe, the Scottes and Pictes hearing howe theyr Countreymen through the falſe ſuggeſtion of Vortigerne had beene wrongfully and moſt cruelly put to death at London, beganne wyth fyre and ſworde to make ſharpe and cruell warre agaynſt the Brytains, waſting their Countrey, *Hector. Bo.*

Scottes and Pictes inuade the Brytayns.



ſpoyling and burning their townes, and giuing them the ouerthrowe in a pight fielde, as in the Scottiſh hyſtorie more plainly appeareth.

To be briefe, the Brytaynes were brought into ſuch daunger and miſerie, that they knewe not what way to take for remedie in ſuch preſent perill, likely to bee ouerrunne and vtterlye vanquyſhed of their enimies.

In the meane tyme Vortigerne not onlye troubled with theſe imminent enilles, but fearing alſo the return of the two brethren, Aurelius Ambroſe, and Uther Pendragon, began to conſider of the ſtate of things, and eſteeming it moſt ſure to worke by aduice, called togither the Lordes and chiefe men of the Realme to haue theyr counſaile and opinion howe to proceede in ſuch a weightie buſineſſe: and ſo debating the matter with them, meaſured both his own force, and alſo the force of his enimies, and according to the condition and ſtate of the tyme, diligently conſidered & ſearched out what remedy was to be had and prouided.

At length after they had throughly pondered al things, the more part of the nobles with the king alſo were of this minde, that there could be no better way deuiſed, than to ſende into Germanie for the Saxons to come to theyr ayde: The whiche Saxons in that ſeaſon were highly renowmed for theyr valyauncie in armes, and manifolde aduentures heretofore atchieued. And ſo forthwith Meſſengers were diſpatched into Germanie, the which with money, giftes, and promiſes, might procure the Saxons to come to the ayde of the Brytaynes agaynſt the Scottes and Pictes. *Gilda. VVil. Malm. Beda.*

The Saxons ſent for.

The Saxons glad of this meſſage, as people deſirous of entertaynment to ſerue in warres, chooſing forth a piked companie of luſtie yong mẽ vnder the leading of two brethren Hengiſt and Horſus, got them abourde into certain veſſels appointed for the purpoſe, and ſo with all ſpeede directed their courſe towardes great Britain.

10000. hath Hector Bo. Gildas & Beda mention onely but of 3. plates or galles, but Hector Bo. hath 30.

This was in the yeare of our Lorde. 449. and in the ſecond yeare of Vortigerns raigne, as the moſt auntentike writers both Britiſh and Engliſhe ſeeme to gather, although the Scottiſhe writers, and namely Hector Boetius doe varie herein, touching the iuſt accounte of yeares, as to the perſons of the writings alwel of the one as the other may appeare. But William Harriſon taketh it to bee in the fourth yeare of his raigne:

449

VVil. Malm.

raigne whereto Beda seemeth to agree, who noteth it in the same yere that Martianus the Emperour beganne to rule the Empyre, which was (as appeareth by the consularie table) in the Consulshippe of Protogenes and Austerius, and thirde yere of Merouens king of France.

These Saxons thus arryuing in Brytayne, were curteously receyued, and heartily welcomed of King Uortigerne, who assigned to them places in Kent to inhabite, and forthwith leade them agaynst the Scots and Pictes, which were entred into Brytaine, wasting and destroying the Countrey before them.

Herebpon comming to ioyne in battail, there was a sore fight betwixt the parties for a while, but at length when the Saxons called to remembraunce that the same was the day whiche shoulde eyther purchase to them an euerlasting name of manhode by victorie, or else of reproche by repulse, beganne to renew the fight with suche violence, that the enimies not able to abyde theyr fierce charge, were scattered and beaten down on

Scottes vanquished by the Saxons.





eche side with great slaughter.

The King hauing got this victorie, highlye rewarded the straungers according to their well deserunges, as by whose prowes he had thus banquished his enimyes, whiche as some write were come as farre as Stanfourde, and vsed at that tyme to fight wyth long Dartes, and Speares, whereas the Saxons fought onelye wyth long swordes and Axes.

Henric. Hut.

There bee that haue written howe the Saxons, were not sent for, but came by chaunce into the Ile, and the occasion to be this: There was an auncient custome amongst the English Saxons a people in Germanie, as was also at the first among other Nations, that when the multitude of them was so increased, that the Countrey was not able to sustayne and finde them, by commaundement of their Princes, they shoulde chose out by lottes a number of yong and able personages, fitte for the warres, which should go forth to seeke them newe habitations: and so it chaunced to these, that they came into great Britaine, and promised to serue the king for wages in his warres. But by what meane soeuer they came hither, truth is, that Hengistus being a man of great wit, rare policie, and high wisdome, was their Captaine, who vnderstanding this Kings minde, which now wholy trusted to the valiancie of the Saxons, and herewith perceiuing the fruitfulnesse of the Countrey, streight wayes began to

Galf. Mon.

Hengist purposeth at the first to conquere the Brytaynes.

consider with himselfe, by what wyles and craft he might by little and little settle here, and obtaine a kingdome in the Ile, and to establish the same to him and to his for euer.

Therefore first he indeuoured with all speede possible to fence that part of the Countrey which was giuen to him and his people, and to enlarge and furnish it with garisons appointed in places most conuenient.

Polidor.

After this he did what he could to perswade the king, that a great power of men might be brought ouer out of Germanie, that ỹ land being fortified with such a strength, the enimies might be put in feare, and his subiects holden in rest.

The King not foreseeing the happe that was to come, did not despise this counsell contrined to the destruction of his Kingdome, and so was more ayde sent for into Germanie: whereupon now at this seconde tyme there arriued here. xvj. vessels fraught with people, and at the same time came the Ladie Rowen or Ronix, daughter to Hengyst, a Mayde of excellent beautie and comelynesse able to delite the eyes of them that shoulde behold hir, and specially to win the heart of Uortigerne with the dart of concupiscence, whereunto he was of nature much inclyned, and that did Hengest well perceyue.

VVil. Mal. 18. Foysts plates saye the Scottish wryters, and M. men in fame.

The Saxons call these vessels Ceoles, and Keeles, and old hystories Cogiones.

There came ouer into thys lande at that tyme and sone after, three manner of people of the Germaine Nation, as Saxons, *Vitæ* (or Iutes,)

Jutes, and Angles, ouer the whiche the sayde Hengist and Horsa beeing brethren, were Captaines and rulers, men of right noble parentage in theyr Countrey, as discended of that auncient Prince Woden, of whom the English Saxon kings doe for the more part fetche theyr pedegree, as lineally discended from him, vnto whom also the English people (falsely reputing him for a God) consecrated the fourth day of the weeke, as they did the firth to his wyfe Frea, so that the same dayes tooke name of them, the one beeing called Wodensday, and the other Freaday, which wordes after in continuance of time by corruption of speech were somewhat altred, though not much, as from Wodensday, to Wednesday, and from Freaday to Fryday.

The forsayde Woden was father to Wecta, father to Wetgilus, that was father to the forsayd Hengistus and Horsus.

But nowe to rehearse further touching those three people whiche at this time came ouer into Brytayne oute of Germanie of the Vites, or Jutes, (as Beda recordeth) are the Kentishmen discended, and the people of the Ile of Wight, with those also that inhabite ouer agaynste the same Ile.

Of the Saxons, came the East Saxons, the South Saxons, and West Saxons.

Moreouer, of the Angles proceeded the East Angles, the middle Angles, or Mercies, and the Northren men.

That these Angles were a people of Germanie, it appeareth also by Cornelius Tacitus, who calling them *Angly*, which worde is of three sillables, (as Polidore sayth:) But some write it *Angli*, with two sillables.

And that these *Angli*, or *Angly* were of no small force and authoritie in Germanie before their comming into this lande, may appeare in that they are numbred amongest the twelue nations there, whiche had lawes and auncient ordinaunces a part by them selues, according to the whiche the state of theyr common wealth was gouerned, they beeing the same, and one people with the Thorningers, as in the tytle of the olde Thuringers lawes wee finde recorded, whiche is thus, *Lex Anglorum & VVerinorum, hoc est, Thuringorum.* The law of the Angles and VVerinians (that is to witte the Thuringers, whiche Thuringers are a people in Saxonie, as in the description of that Countrey it may appeare) is this.

But nowe to the matter. Hengist perceyuing that his people were highly in Mortigernes fauour, beganne to handle him craftily, deuysing by what meanes hee might bring him in loue with his daughter Rowr, or Rowen, or Ronowen (as some write) which he beleeued wel would easily be brought to passe, bycause he vnderstoode that the King was much giuen to sensuall lust, which is the thing that often blindeth wise mens vnderstanding, and maketh them to dote, and to lose theyr perfite wittes, yea, and oftentymes bringeth them to destruction, though by suche pleasant poyson, as they feele no bytter taste tyll they be brought to the extreeme poynt of confusion in deede. *VVil. Malm.*

A greate Supper therefore was prepared by Hengist, at the whiche it pleased the King to be present.

Hengist appoynted his daughter when euerie man beganne to bee somewhat merrie wyth drinke, to bring in a Cuppe of Golde full of good and pleasant wine, and to present it to the King saying, *Vvassail.* Which shee did in such comely and decent maner, as she that knewe howe to doe it well ynough, so as the King marueyled greatlye thereat, and not vnderstanding what shee ment by that salutation, demaunded what it signified. To whom it was aunswered by Hengist, that she wished him well, and the meaning of it was, that he should drinke after hir, ioyning thervnto this answere, drinke haile. Whereupon the king (as he was enformed) tooke the cuppe at the Damsels hand, and dranke. *Gal. Mon.* Wassail, what it signifieth.

Finally this yong Ladie behaued hirselfe with such pleasant wordes, comely countenaunce, and amiable grace, that the king beholde hir so long, till he felt himselfe so farre in loue with hir person, that he burned in continuall desyre to enioy the same: insomuch that shortly after he forsooke his owne wife, by the which he had three sonnes, named Mortimerus, Catagrinus, and Pascentius, and requyred of Hengist to haue his daughter, the sayde Rowen, or Ronowen in mariage. *Polidor. Fabian.*

Hengist at the firste seemed straunge to graunt to his request, and excused the matter, for that his daughter was not of estate and dignitie meete to be matched with his maiestie. But at length as it had beene halfe against his will hee consented, and so the mariage was concluded and solemnized, all Kent beeing assigned vnto Hengist in rewarde, the whiche Countrey was before that tyme gouerned by one Guorongus, (though not with most equall iustice) which Guorongus was subiect vnto Mortigerne, as all other the Potentates of the Ile were. *VVil. Malm.*

This maryage and liberalitie of the King towardes the Straungers, muche offended the myndes of his subiectes, and hastened the finall destruction of the lande. For the Saxons nowe vnderstanding the affynitie had betwixte the King and Hengist, came so fast ouer to inhabite here, that it was wonder to consider in howe shorte a tyme suche a multitude coulde come togyther: so that bycause of theyr greate

b, number

number and approued puiſſaunce in warres, they began to be a terrour to the former inhabitants the Brytaynes.

Wil. Malm. But Hengiſt being no leſſe politike in counſaile than valiaunt in armes, abuſing the kings lacke of diſcretion, to ſerue his owne turne, perſwaded him to call out of Germanie his brother Occa and his ſonne named Ebuſa, beeing men of great valure, to the ende, that as Hengiſt defended the lande in the South parte: ſo mighte they keepe backe the Scottes in the North.

Gal. ſayth he was Hengiſts ſonne, and Ebuſa his vncles ſonne. Occa and Ebuſa leaders of Saxons.

Herevpon by the Kings conſent, they came with a power out of Germanie, and coaſting aboute the lande, they ſayled to the Iles of Orkney, and ſore vexed the people there, and likewyſe the Scottes and Pictes alſo, and finally arriued in the North partes of the Realme, nowe called Northumberlande, where they ſetled themſelues at that preſent, and ſo continued there euer after: but none of them taking vppon him the tytle of King, till about.99. yeares after their firſt comming into that Countrey, but in the meane time remayning as ſubiects vnto the Saxon kings of Kent.

Wil. Malm. de Regib.

After their arryuall in that Prouince, they oftentymes fought with the olde Inhabitaunts there, and ouercame them, chaſing away ſuch as made reſiſtance, and appeaſed the reſidue by receyuing them vnder allegiance.

Fabian. The great nũbers of ſtraungers ſuſpected to the Brytaynes.

When the Nobles of Brytayne ſaw and perceyued in what daunger the lande ſtode, by the dayly repayre of the huge number of Saxons into the ſame, they firſt conſulted togither, and after reſorting to the King, mooued him that ſome order might be taken for the auoyding of them, or the more part of them, leaſte they ſhoulde with their power and great multitude vtterly oppreſſe the Britiſh Nation. But all was in vayne, for Wortigerne ſo eſteemed and highly fauoured the Saxons, and namely by reaſon of the great loue which he bare to his wife, that hee lyttle regarded his owne Nation, no nor yet anye thing eſteemed hys owne naturall kinneſmen and chiefe friendes, by reaſon wherof the Brytains in fine deprsiued him of all kingly honor, after that he had raigned.xbj. yeares, and in his ſtead crowned his ſonne Wortimer.

Vortiger depriued.

Gildas and Beda make no mention of Wortimer, but declare howe after that the Saxons were receyued into thys lande, there was a couenaunt made betwixte them and the Brytaynes, that the Saxons ſhoulde defende the Countrey from the inuaſion of enimyes by their Knightly force: and that in conſideration thereof, the Brytaynes ſhould finde them prouiſion of victayles: wherewith they helde them contented for a time.

Gildas. Beda. H. Hunt.

But afterwardes they beganne to pyke quarelles, as thoughe they were not ſufficiently furniſhed of their due proportion of victayles, threatening that if they were not prouided more largely thereof, they would ſurely ſpoyle the Countrey.

And without deferring time, they performed their wordes with effect of deedes, beginning in the Eaſt part of the Ile, and with fire & ſword paſſed forth waſting and deſtroying the Countrey tyll they came to the vttermoſte parte of the Weſt: ſo that from Sea to Sea, the lande was waſted and deſtroyed in ſuche cruell and outragious manner, that neyther Citie, towne, nor Churche was regarded, but all committed to the fyre: the Prieſtes ſlaine and murthered euen afore the Aulters, and the Prelates with the people without any reuerence of their eſtate or degree



The miſerable deſtruction made by the Saxons in this lande.

degree, diſpatched with fire and ſworde, moſt lamentably to beholde.

Many of the Brytaynes ſeeing the demeanour of the Saxons, fledde to the Mountaynes, of the whiche dyuerſe beeing apprehended, were cruelly ſlaine, and other were glad to come forth and yeelde themſelues to eternall bondage, for to haue reliefe of meate and drinke to aſſwage theyr extremitie of hunger.

Some other got them out of the realme into ſtraunge landes, ſo to ſaue themſelues, and others abyding ſtill in theyr Countrey, kept them within the thicke Woodes, and craggie Rockes, whether they were fledde, lyuing there a more wretched lyfe, in great feare and vnquietneſſe of mynde.

But after that the Saxons were departed and withdrawne to theyr houſes, the Brytaynes began to take courage to thē againe, iſſuing forth of thoſe places where they had lyen hid, and with one conſent calling for ayde at Gods hande, that they might bee preſerued from vtter deſtruction, they beganne vnder the conduict of theyr leader Aurelius Ambroſe, to prouoke the Saxons to battaile, and by the helpe of God they obteyned the victorie, according to theyr owne deſyres. And from thence forth, one while the Brytaynes, and an other while the Saxons were victors, ſo that in this Brytiſh people, God (according to hys accuſtomed maner) as it were preſent Iſraell, tryed them from tyme to tyme, whether they loued him or no, vnto the yeare of the ſiege of Badon hill, where afterwardes no ſmall ſlaughter was made of the enimies: whiche chaunced the ſame yeare in the whiche Gildas was borne, (as he himſelfe witneſſeth, being aboute the .xliij. yeare after the comming of the Saxons into Brytaine.

Thus hath Gildas and alſo Beda (following by likelyhode the authoritie of the ſame Gildas) written of theſe firſt warres begonne betweene the Saxons and Brytains.

But nowe to goe forth with the Hyſtorie: according to the order of oure Chronicles, thus wee finde recorded touching the doings of Vortimer that was elected King (as yee haue hearde) to gouerne in place of his father Vortigerne.

Vortimer.



Vortimer.

This Vortimer being eldeſt ſon to Vortigern, by the common aſſent of the Brytaines was made K. of Brytayne, in the yeare of our Lorde 464. which was in the fourth yeare of the Emperour Leo the fifth, and about the ſixth yeare of Childericus King of Fraunce, as our common account runneth, which is farre diſagreeing from that whereof William Harriſon doth ſpeake in his Chronologie, who noteth Vortigerne to be depoſed in the .viij. after his exaltation to the crowne, 454. of Chriſt, and .5. currant after the comming of the Saxons, which concurreth with the .4420. of the worlde, .8. of Heroueus, as by his Chronologie doth more at large appeare.

Fabian. Galf. Mon.

Math. Weſt. hath 454. 464.

But to proceed, Vortimer being thus aduanced to the gouernment of the realme, in all haſt made forth warre againſt the Saxons, & gaue vnto them a great battel vpon the riuer of Derwēt, where he had of thē the vpper hand: And the ſecōd time he fought with them at a place called Epiforde, or Aglisthorp, in which encoūter Catagrine

The riuer of Derwent.

Epiforde.



or Catigernus the brother of Uortimer, and Horſus the brother of Hengiſt, after long combate betwixt them two, either of them ſlue other:



But the Brytaynes obteyned the fielde (as ſayth the Britiſh hyſtorie.) The thirde battail Uortimer fought with them neare to the ſea ſide, where alſo the Brytaynes chaſed the Saxons, & droue them into the Ile of Tenet.

The Ile of Tenet.

The fourth battaile was ſtryken neare to a Moore called Colemoore, the whiche was ſore fought by the Saxons, and long continued with great daunger to the Brytayns, bycauſe that the foreſayde Moore encloſed a part of their hoſt ſo ſtrongly, that the Brytaynes could not approch to them, being beaten off with the enimies ſhot, albeit in the ende the Saxons were put to flight, and many of them drowned and ſwalowed vp in the ſame Moore.

H. Hunt. Colemoore.

Beſide theſe foure principall battailes, Uortimer had diuerſe other conflictes with the Saxons, as in Kent and at Tetford in Norffolk, alſo neare to Colcheſter in Eſſex: for he left not till he had bereft them the more part of all ſuch poſſeſſions as before time they had got, ſo that they were conſtrayned to keepe them within the Ile of Tenet, where he oftentymes aſſayled them with ſuch ſhippes as he then had.

Fabian. Tetford in Norffolke. Colcheſter.

When Ronowen the daughter of Hengiſt perceyued the great loſſe that the Saxons ſuſtreyned by the martiall prowes of Uortimer, ſhee found meanes that within a while the ſayd Uortimer was poyſoned, after he had ruled the Brytayns by the ſpace of ſixe or ſeuen yeres and odde Moncthes, (as William Har. reporteth.)

By the Britiſh Hyſtorie it ſhould ſeeme that Uortimer before his death handled the Saxons ſo hardly, keeping them beſieged within the Ile of Tenet, till at length they were conſtrayned to ſue for licence to depart home into Germanie in ſafetie: and the better to bring this to paſſe, they ſent Uortigerne (whome they had kept ſtyll with them in all theſe battayles) vnto his ſonne Uortimer, to be a meane for the obteining of their ſute. But whileſt this treatie was in hande, they got them into theyr ſhippes, and leauing theyr wyues and children behinde them, returned into Germanie. Thus farre Gal. Mon.

But howe vnlikely this is to be true, I will not make any further diſcourſe, but onely referre euery man to that whiche in olde autentique Hyſtoriographers of the Engliſhe Nation is found recorded, as in William Malmeſ. Henrie Hunt. Marianus, and others. Vnto whome in theſe matters concerning the doings betwixt the Saxons and Brytaynes, we may vndoubtedly ſafely giue moſt credite.

William Malmeſ. wryting of this Uortimer, or Guortigerne, and of the warres whith he made againſt the Saxons, varyeth in a maner altogither from Geffrey of Monmouth, as by his wordes here following ye may perceyue. *Will. Malm.*

Guortimer, the ſonne of Uortimer (ſayth he) thinking not good long to diſſemble the matter, for that he ſawe himſelfe and his Countreymen the Brytayns preuented by the craft of the Engliſhe Saxons, ſetteth his full purpoſe to dryue them out of the Realme, and kyndleth his father to the like attempt.

He being therefore the Authour and procurer, ſeuen yeares after their firſt comming into thys land, the league was broken, and by the ſpace of xx. yeres they fought oftentymes togither in many light encounters, but foure times they fought puiſſance againſte puiſſaunce in open fielde: in the firſt battayle they departed with like fortune, whileſt the one part, that is to meane, the Saxons, loſt their Captain Horſ that was brother to Hengiſt, and the Brytaynes loſt Categerne, an other of Uortigernes ſonnes.

Hengiſt had the victorie this battaile ſayth Ra. Hig. 458

Horſ and Categerne ſlayn

In the other battails, when the Engliſhmen went euer away with the vpper hand, at length a peace was concluded, Guortimer being taken out of this worlde by courſe of fatall death, the which muche differing from the ſofte and milde nature of his father, right nobly would haue gouerned the realme, if God had ſuffred him to haue liued.

But theſe battailes which Uortimer gaue to the Saxons (as before is mentioned) ſhould appeare by that which ſome writers haue recorded, to haue chaũced before the ſuppoſed time of Uortimers or Guortimers attayning to the crowne, about the ſixt or ſeuenth yeare after the firſt comming of the Saxons into this realme with Hengiſt. And hereunto William Harilon giueth his conſent alſo in his Chronologie, referring the mutuall ſlaughter of Horſus and Catigerne, to the ſixth yeare of Martianus, and. 455. of Chriſt.

Howbeit Pol. Virg. ſayth, that Uortimer ſucceded his father, and that after his fathers deceaſſe *Polidor.*

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the Engliſh Saxons, of whom there was a great number as then in the Ile, comming ouer dayly like ſwarmes of Bees, and hauing in poſſeſſion not onely Kent, but alſo the Northy partes of the Realme towardes Scotlande, togither with a great part of the weſt Countrey, thought it now a fit tyme to attempt the fortune of warre: and firſt therfore concluding a league with the Scots and Picts, vpon the ſodaine they turne their weapon poynts agaynſt the Brytaines, and moſte cruelly purſue them, as though they had receyued ſome great iniurie at their handes, and no benefit at all. The Brytaynes were marueylouſly abaſhed herewith, perceyuing that they ſhoulde haue to do with Hengiſt, a captain of ſo high renowm, and alſo with their auncient enimies the Scottes and Picts, thus all at one time, and that there was no remedie but eyther they muſt fight or elſe become ſlaues. Wherfore at length dread of bondage ſtyred vp manhod in them, ſo that they aſſembled togither, and boldly began to reſiſt theyr enimies on eche ſide: but beeing too weake, they were eaſily diſcomfited and put to flight, ſo that all hope of defence by force of armes being vtterly taken awaye, as menne in diſpayre to preuaile agaynſt theyr enmyes, they fled as ſheepe ſcat-

The Brytaynes diſcomfited by the Saxons.





tered abroade, ſome following one Captaine and ſome another, getting them into deſart places, woodes, and marriſh groundes, and moreouer left ſuch townes and fortreſſes as were of no notable ſtrength, as a pray vnto their enimies.

Thus hath Polidore Virgile of the firſt breaking of the warres betwixt the Saxons and Britayns, which chaunced not (as ſhould appeare by that which he writeth therof,) till after the death of Vortigerne. Howbeit he denieth not ỹ Hengiſt at his firſt comming got ſeates for him and hys people within the Country of Kent, and there began to inhabite.

This ought not to bee forgotten, that king Vortimer (as Sigebertus hath written) reſtored the chriſtian religion after he had banquiſhed the Saxons, in ſuch places where the ſame was decayed by the enimies inuaſion.

Vortigerne the ſeconde time.

THen was Vortigerne agayne reſtored to the Kingdome of Brytayne, in the yeare of our Lorde. 471.

All the tyme of his ſonnes raigne, he had remayned in the partyes nowe called Wales, where (as ſome wryte) in that meane tyme hee buylded a ſtrong Caſtell called Generon, or Guaneren, in the Weſt ſide of Wales neare to the ryuer of Guana, vpon a Mountayne called Cloaricus, which ſome referre to be buylded in his ſecond returne into Wales, as ſhall be ſhewed hereafter. And it is ſo much the more likely, for that an olde Chronicle, which Fabian had ſight of, affyrmeth, that Vortigerne was kept vnder the rule of certayne Gouernours to hym appointed in the towne of Caerlegion, and behaued himſelfe in ſuch commendable ſort towardes his ſonne in ayding him with his counſail, and otherwiſe, in the meane ſeaſon whileſt his ſonne raigned, that the Brytayns by reaſon therof began ſo to fauour him, that after the death of Vortimer they made him againe king.

Caerleon Arwiske.

Shortly after that Vortigerne was reſtored to the rule of the Kingdome, Hengiſt aduertiſed thereof, returned into the lande with a mightye armie of Saxons, whereof Vortigerne being aduertiſed, aſſembled his Brytaines, and with all ſpeede made towardes him.

4000. hath Math. Weſt. He might eaſily returne, for except I be deceyued he was neuer driuen out after he had once got foot within this Ile.

When Hengiſt had knowledge of the huge hoſt of the Brytains that was comming againſt him, he required to come to a cõmunication with Vortigerne, which requeſt was graunted, ſo that it was concluded, that on May day a certain nũber of Britains, & as many of the Saxons ſhould meete togither vpon the plaine of Salisburie.

Hengist hauing deuised a newe kind of treason, when the daye of theyr appoynted meeting was come, caused euery one of his allowed number secretely to put into his Hose a long knyfe (where it was ordeined that no man should bring any weapon with him at all) and that at the verie instant when this watchworde shoulde be vttered by him, *Nempt your sexes*, then should euery of them plucke out his knife, and slea the Brytayne that chaunced to be next to him, except the same shoulde bee Vortigerne, whom he willed to be apprehended, but not slaine.

Nempt your sexes, what if it were meises.

At the day assigned, the king with his appointed number of Brytaynes, nothing mistrusting lesse than any such maner of vnkaythfull dealing, came to the place in order before prescribed, without armour or weapon, where hee founde readie Hengist with his Saxons, the whiche receyued the king with amiable countenance, in moste louing sort: but after they were entred a little into communication, Hengist meaning to accomplish hys deuysed purpose, gaue the watchworde, immediately whereupon the Saxons drewe oute theyr knyues, and sodainly fell on the Brytayns, and slue them as sheepe being fallen within the daunger of wolues.

There died the nobles Brytaine, as Gal. hath.



For the Brytaines had no weapons to defend themselues, except any of them by his strength & manhood got the knife of his enimie.

Amongst other of the Brytaynes, there was one Edol Earle of Gloucester, or (as other haue) Chester, which got a stake out of an hedge, or else where, and with the same so defended himselfe and layde aboute him, that he slue. xvij. of the Saxons, and escaped to the Towne of Ambrie, nowe called Salesburie, and so saued his owne lyfe.

Ran. Cestren. Fabian.

Gal. hath. Math. West. Ran. Cestren.

Vortiger was taken and kept as prisoner by Hengist, till he was constrayned to delyuer vnto Hengist three Prouinces or Countreys of thys Realme, that is to witte, Kent, and Esser, or as some write, that parte where the south Saxons after did inhabite, as Sussex and other: the thirde was the Countrey where the Eastangles planted themselues, whiche was in Norffolke, and Suffolke.

Then Hengist being in possession of those three Prouinces, suffred Vortigerne to depart, and to to be at his libertie.

William Malmesb. writeth somewhat otherwise of this taking of Vortigerne, during whose raigne, after the decease of his sonne Vortimer, nothing (as should appeare by that which the same Malmesb. writeth) was attempted agaynst the Saxons, but in the meane tyme (sayeth hee) Hengist according to the default of mannes nature, whiche the more he hath the more hee desyreth, by a colourable craft procureth his sonne in lawe Vortigerne to come to a banket to his house, wyth three hundred other Brytaynes, and when hee had made them well and warme with often quaffing and emptying of Cuppes, and of purpose touched euerye of them wyth one bytter taunte or other, they first fell to multiplying of malicious wordes, and after to blowes, so that the Brytaynes were slaine euery mothers sonne, so yeelding vp their ghostes euen amongst their pottes.

Vvil. Malm.

The King himselfe was taken, and to redeeme himselfe out of prison, gaue to the Saxons three Prouinces, and so escaped oute of bondage.

Thus by what meane soeuer it came to passe, truth it is (as all writers agree) that Hengist got possession of Kent, and of other Countreys in this Realme, and beganne to raigne there as absolute Lorde and Gouernour in the yeare of oure Lorde (as some write,) 476. aboute

476

the

the fifth yeare of Wortigerns laſt raigne: but after other which take the begynning of this kingdome of Kent, to be when Hengiſt had firſt gyft thereof, the ſame Kingdome begane in the yeare.455.

This Kingdome or Lordſhip of Kent conteyned the countrey that ſtretcheth from the Eaſt Ocean, vnto the ryuer of Thames, hauing on the Southeaſt Southerie, and vpon the Weſt London, vppon the Northeaſt the Ryuer of Thames afore ſayde, and the Countrey of Eſſex.

Hengiſt and all other the Saxon kings which ruled (as after ſhall appeare) in.vij. partes of this Realme, are called by writers *Reguli*, that is to ſay, little kings or rulers of ſome ſmal dominion: ſo that Hengiſt is accounted as a little king. And when he had got into his handes the foreſayde three Prouinces, he cauſed more number of Saxons to come into Britayne, and beſtowed them in places abroade in the Countrey, by reaſon whereof, the Chriſtian Religion greatlye decayed within the lande: for the Saxons being Pagans, did what they coulde to extinguiſh the fayth of Chriſt, and to plant againe in all places theyr heatheniſh Religion, and worſhipping of falſe Goddes: and not onely hereby was the true fayth of the Chriſtians brought in daunger dayly to decay, but alſo the erronious opinion of the Pelagians greatly preuayled here amongeſt the Britaynes, by meanes of ſuche vnſounde Preachers, as in that troubleſome ſeaſon did ſet forth erronious doctrine amongſt the people, without all maner of reprehenſion.

Certayne yeares before the comming of the Saxons, that hereſie began to ſpreade within this land very much, by the lewde induſtrie of one Leporius Africola, the ſonne of Seuerus Sulpitius (as Bale ſayth) a Biſhop of that lore. But Pelagius the author of this hereſie was borne in Wales, and held opinion that a man might obteyne ſaluation by his owne free wil & merit, & without aſſiſtance of grace, as he that was borne without originall ſinne. &c. *Beda.*

This erronious doctrine being taught therfore, & mainteyned in this troubleſome time of warres with the Saxons, ſore diſquieted the godly minded men amongeſt the Britaines, the which not meaning to receyue it, nor yet able wel to confute the craftie and wicked perſwaſions vſed by the profeſſors therof, thought good to ſend ouer into Gallia, requiring of the Biſhops there, that ſome godly & profound learned men might be ſent from thence into this lande, to defende the cauſe of the true doctrine againſt the naughtie teachers of ſo blaſphemous an error. Wherupon the Biſhops of Gallia ſore lamenting the miſerable ſtate of the Britains, & deſirous to relieue their preſent neede, ſpecially in that caſe of religion, called a Sinode, *Beda.* A Sinode called in Gallia.



and therin taking counſail to conſider, who were moſt meeteſt to be ſent, it was decreed by al their conſents in the ende, that one Germaine the Biſhop of Iuxerre, and Lupus Biſhop of Troyes ſhould paſſe ouer into Britayne to confirme the Chriſtians there in the fayth of the celeſtial grace. And ſo thoſe two vertuous learned men taking their iourney, finally arriued in Britayn, though not without ſome daunger by ſea, through ſtormes and rage of windes, ſtyred (as hath beene thought) of the ſuperſtitious, by the malice of wicked ſpirites, who purpoſed to haue hindered theyr proceeding in this theyr good and well purpoſed iourney.

After they were come ouer, they did ſo much what with confuincing the wicked argumunts of the aduerſaries of the truth, by the inuincible power of the worde of God, and holyneſſe of lyfe, that thoſe whiche were out of the right way, were ſone brought into the right path againe.

About the ſame time alſo, one Palladius was ſent from Celeſtinus Biſhop of Rome, vnto the Scottes, to inſtruct them in the fayth of Chriſt, and to purge them from the Hereſie of the ſayde Pelagius. *Beda.* Palladius.

This Paladius exhorted Conſtantinus the king of Scottes, that in no wiſe he ſhoulde ayde the Saxons beeing infidelles agaynſt the Brytaines: and his exhortation toke ſo good effect, that the ſayd Conſtantinus did not only forbeare to aſſyſt the Saxons, but contrarily holpe the Brytaynes in theyr warres agaynſt them, the which thing did mainteyne the ſtate of the Brytaynes for a tyme from falling into vtter ruine and decay. Conſtantine king of Scots.

In the meane time, the Saxons renued their league with the Pictes, ſo that their powers being ioyned togither, they beginne a freſh to make fore warres vpon the Brytaynes, the which of neceſſitie were conſtrayned to aſſemble an armie, and miſtruſting their owne ſtrength, required ayde of the two Biſhops, Germaine and Lupus. The which haſting forwarde with all ſpeede came into the army, bringing with them no ſmall hope of good lucke to all the Brytaynes there beeing aſſembled. *H. Hunt.* *Beda.*

This was done in Lent, and ſuch was the diligence of the Biſhops, that (the people being inſtructed with continuall preaching) in renouncing the erroꝛ of the Pelagians, earneſtly came by troupes to receyue the grace of God offered in baptiſme, ſo that on Eaſter day which then enſued, the more part of the army was baptiſed, and ſo went forth againſt the enimies, the which hearing thereof, made haſt towards the Brytaynes, in hope to ouercome them at pleaſure. But theyr approche being knowne, Byſhoppe Germaine taketh vpon him the leading of the Brytiſh hoſt, and ouer agaynſt the paſſage throughe the which the enimies were appoynted to come, he choſe forth a valley encloſed with high Mountaynes, and within the ſame he placeth his newe waſhen armie. The armie of the Brytaines newly chriſtened.

And when he ſaw the enimies now at hande, he commaunded that euery man with one generall voyce ſhoulde aunſwere him, crying alowde the ſame crie that he ſhould begin.

And euen as the enimies were readie to giue the charge vpon the Brytaynes, ſuppoſing that they ſhould haue taken them at vnwares, and before any warning had beene giuen, ſodainly Biſhop Germaine and the Prieſtes, with a lowde and ſhrill voyce cryed *Alleluia* thrice: and therewith all the multitude of the Brytaynes wyth whole voyce cryed the ſame crie, with ſuch a lowd ſteauen, that the Saxons were ſo therewith amaſed and aſtonyed, (the echo from the rocks and hilles adioyning, redoubling in ſuche wiſe the crie,) that they thought that not onely the rockes and clyfes had fallen vpon them, but that euen the ſkie it ſelfe had broken in peeces and come tumbling downe vpon their heades: herewith therefore throwing away their weapons, they toke them to their feete, that glad was he that might get to be formoſt in running awaye. Many of them for haſt were drowned in a Riuer whiche they had to paſſe. Polidore taketh that Riuer to be Trent. *Alleluia.*



The Brytayns hauing thus banquiſhed their enimies, gathered the ſpoyle at good leyſure, and gaue God thanks for the victorie thus got without bloud, for the which the holy biſhops alſo triumphed as beſt became them. And after they had ſetled all things in good quiet within the Ile, as was thought expedient, they returned into Gallia or France, frō whence they came (as is before reherſed.) By one author it ſhould appeare that this battell was wonne againſt the Scots and Picts *Mat. VV.*

about

about the yeare of our Lord. 448. a little before ẏ comming of the Saxons into this lande vnder Hengiſt, whereto William Harriſon accordeth, in which yeare S. Germane firſte came hither to weede out the hereſie of Pelagius, as by the ſame author more at large is affirmed. Howbeit, William Harriſon in his Chronologie out of Proſper, & other writers of time, noteth ẏ firſt cõming of Germanus in the. 429. of Chriſt, and vnder ẏ Conſulſhip of Florentius and Dioniſius: & thys ſhoulde ſeeme to agree with the trouth, for that after ſome, ẏ foreſaid Germane ſhould dye at Rauenna about the yeare of our Lord. 450. as Vincentius noteth, whiche was the very yeare of the comming of the Saxons: notwithſtanding whẽ, or whereſoeuer he dyed, it was not long after hys returne into Gallia, vpon his firſt iourney made hither into this land, & obteyning of ẏ victory before mentioned, but ẏ word was brought againe vnto him, that eſtſoones the hereſie of the Pelagians was ſpred abrode in Britayne, & therefore al the Prieſts or Cleargie made requeſt to him ẏ it might ſtande with his pleaſure to come ouer againe, and defend the cauſe of true Religion whiche he had before confirmed. Hereupon Biſhop German granteth ſo to do, and therefore taking with him one Seuerus (that was diſciple vnto Lupus, & ordeyned at ẏ tyme Biſhop of Tryer) he toke the Sea, and came againe into Britaine, where he founde the multitude of the people ſtedfaſt in the ſame beliefe wherein he had left them, & perceyued the fault to reſt in a fewe: whereupon enquiring out the authors, he condemneth them to exile (as it is written) and with a manifeſt miracle by reſtoring a yong man that was lame (as they ſay) vnto the right vſe of his limmes, he confirmeth his doctrine. Then followeth preaching to perſwade amendmente of errors, and by the generall conſente of all men, the authors of the wicked doctrine being baniſhed the land, were deliuered vnto Biſhop Germane and to his fellowe Seuerus, to conuey them forth in their company vnto the parties of beyond the Sea, that the Region might ſo be deliuered of further daunger, and they receyue the benefite of due amendmente.

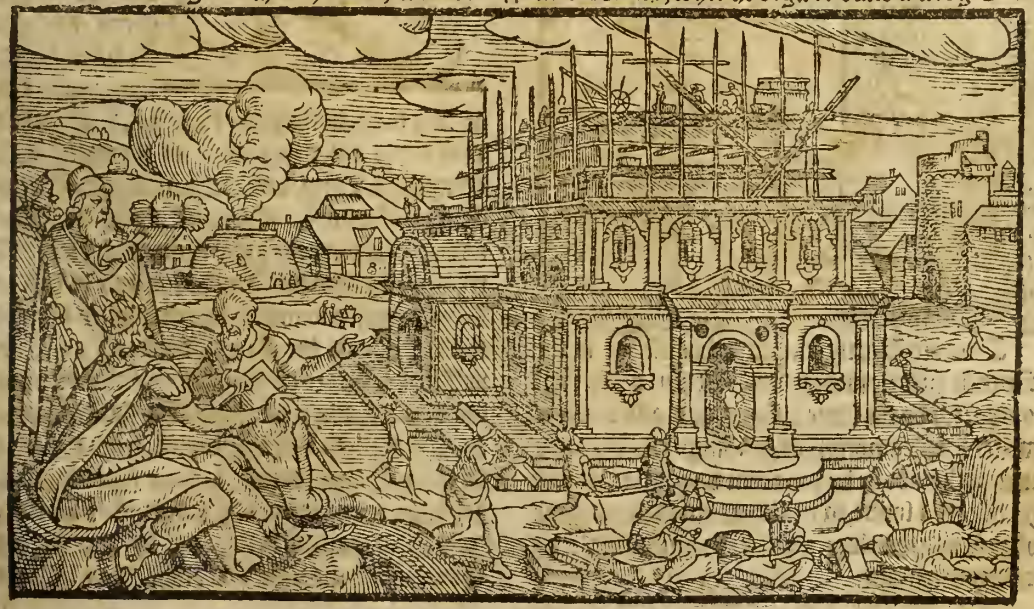
By this meanes it came to paſſe, that the true faith continued in Britayne ſounde and perfect a long time after. And thus things beeing ſet in good order, thoſe holy men returned into theyr countreys. And ſo after this ſeconde time of hys being here, the forenamed Biſhop German went to Rauenna for to ſew for peace to bee graunted vnto the people of Armorike Britayne, and there being receyued of the Emperour Valentinian, & his mother Placida in moſt reuerend manner, he departed in that Citie out of this tranſitory life, to the eternall ioyes of heauen. His body was afterwardes conueyed vnto the Citie of Auxerre, where he had bin Biſhop with great opinion of holineſſe for his ſincere doctrine and pure and innocent life. Shortly after was the Emperoure Valentinian ſlayne by the friendes of that noble man named Aetius, whom he had before cauſed to be put to death. By this it may appeare, that Biſhop German came into this Realm both the firſt and ſeconde time, whileſt as well Hengiſt, as alſo Vortigerne were liuing: for the ſayde Valentinian was murthered about ẏ yeare of our Lord 454, where the ſayde Kings liued & reigned long after that time, as may appeare both before & after in this preſent booke. To returne then to Vortigerne. We find in the Britiſh hiſtorie, that after the Saxons had conſtreyned him to delyuer into their handes a greate parte of the ſouth & eaſt partes of the Realme, ſo that they had in poſſeſſion London, Yorke, Lincolne, & Wincheſter, & other Cities & townes, he not only fearing theyr puiſſãce, but alſo ẏ returne of Aurelius Ambroſius, & his brother Vtherpẽdragon, withdrew him into Wales, wher he begã to build a ſtrõg Caſtel

Anno 450 as Vincentius noteth lib. 20. Cap. 15.

The Emperor Valentinian ſlayne.

454

Galfrid.



ẏ. v. vpon

Caxton. Fabian. Policron.

vpon a Mountayne called Breigh, or after other Cloaric, neere to the riuer of Guana, whiche is in the Weſt ſide of Wales in a place within the compaſſe of the ſame hill called Generon or Gueyneren. Of the building of this Caſtell, and of the hinderance in erecting the ſame, with the monſtrous birth of Merlin and his knowlege in prophelying, the Britiſhe hiſtories tell a long proceſſe, the whiche in Caxton, and in Galfrides bookes is alſo ſet forthe, as there yee may ſee: but for that the ſame ſeemeth not of ſuche credite as deſerueth to be regiſtred in any ſound hiſtorie, we haue with ſilence paſſed it ouer. Whileſt Vortigerne was buſied in building of this Caſtel, the two forſayde brethren Aurelius and Uter prepared a nauie of Shippes, and an army of men, by helpe of ſuche their kinſmen and friendes as they founde in Armorike Britayne, and ſo paſſed the Sea, and landed at Totneſſe: whereof when the Britaynes were aduertiſed, the which were ſcattered abrode and ſeuered in diuers parties & countreys, they drewe vnto the ſayde two brethren with all ſpeede that might be. When Aurelius and his brother Uter perceyued that they were ſufficiently furniſhed of people, they marched forth towardes Wales againſt Vortigerne, the which hauing knowledge of their approche, had fortifyed his Caſtell right ſtrongly with men, munition and victayles, but yet all that nothing auayled him, for in the ende after his enimies had gyuen diuers aſſaultes to the ſayde Caſtell, they found meanes with wilde fire to brenne it downe to the earth, and ſo conſumed it by fire togither with the King, and all other that were within it.

Mount Erir he calleth it in one place of his booke.

Aurelius and Uter brethren returne into Britayne.

Vortigerne brent to death

Wilde fire not yet inuented as ſome think



Thus did Vortigerne ende his life (as in the Britiſh hiſtorie is recorded.) Of him much euill is reported by the ſame hiſtorie, and alſo by other writers, and amongſt other things it is written, that he ſhoulde lie by his owne daughter, and of hir begote a ſonne, in truſt that kings ſhuld come of him, and therefore was he excommunicate by Saint Germane.

Polychron. A fayned tale of S. Germa.

It is alſo ſayde, that when the ſame Sainte Germane came into Britayne (as before ye haue heard) this Vortigerne on a time ſhoulde denie the ſame Saint Germane harbourrowe: but one that kept the Kings heardes of Cattell receyued him into his houſe, and lodged him, and ſlewe a Calfe for his ſupper, the which Calfe (after ſupper was ended) Sainte Germane reſtored againe to life: and on the morrow by the ordinance of God, hee cauſed Vortigerne to bee depoſed from hys Kingly eſtate, and toke the heardman and made him King.

A calfiſhe ora- ration.

But Ranulfus Higden in his booke entitled *Polychronicon*, alledging Gildas for his author, ſayth, that this chaunced to a king that ruled in Powſey, whoſe name was Buly, and not to Vortigerne: ſo that the ſucceſſours of that Buly reigning in that ſide of Wales, came of the lignage of the ſame herdman. Moreouer it hath bin ſayd as one writer recordeth, that when Vortigerne refuſed to heare the preaching of S. German, & fled from him as he followed to haue inſtructed him, one night there fell fyre from heauē vpon the caſtel wherin the king was lodged, and ſo the king being deſtroyed with the fall of the houſe and the fyre togyther, was neuer after ſeene. But theſe are fables, and therfore I paſſe them ouer, hoping that it ſhall ſuffiſe to ſhewe here with what ſtuffe our olde hiſtoriographers haue farced vp their huge volumes.

H. Hunt.

Aurelius Ambroſius.



Aurelius Ambroſius

AVrelius Ambroſius, ye ſecond ſon of king Conſtantine, & brother to Conſtātius, murthered by the treaſon of Vortigerne (as before ye haue heard) was made king of Brytons, in the yere of our Lord. 481. which was about the thirde yeare of the reigne of the Emperour Zeno, and the xxiij. of Childericus, King of Fraunce. Odocer King of the *Heruli* as then vſurping the gouernement of Italy. After that this Aurelius Ambroſius had diſpatched Vortigerne, and was nowe eſtabliſhed Kyng of the Britaynes, hee made towardes Yorke, and paſſing the Riuer of Humber, encountred with the Saxons at a place called Maelbell, and ouerthrewe them in a ſtrong battell, from the which as Hengiſt was fleeing to haue ſaued himſelfe, hee was taken by Edoll Earle of Glowceſter (or as ſome haue Cheſter) and by him ledde to Conningeſbourrowe and was there beheaded by

Mat. VV. hath. 466.

Galfr. Mon.

Hengiſt taken & beheaded.

by the counſell of Eldade then Biſhop of Col-
Veſt. cheſter. But ther be that write how Hengiſt was taken at an other battell fought vpon the Riuer of Dune, in the yeare of our Lord. 489. and not in the chaſe of the battell whiche was foughte at Maelbelle in the yeare. 487. as the ſame authors do alledge. Occa the ſonne of Hengiſt, by flight eſcaped to Yorke, and being there beſieged, at length was conſtreyned to yeelde hymſelfe to Aurelius: the which dealing fauorably with him, aſſigned forth to him and other of the Saxons a countrey bordering neere to the Scottes, whych (as ſome affirme) was Galloway, where the ſayd Occa and the Saxons began to inhabite. Then did Aurelius Ambroſius put the Saxons out of all other partes of the land, and repared ſuche Cities, Townes, and alſo Churches, as by them had bin deſtroyed or defaced, and placed agayne Prieſtes, and ſuch other as ſhoulde attende to the miniſterie and ſeruice of God in the ſame Churches.

Alſo for a perpetuall memorie of thoſe Britaynes that were ſlayne on the playne of Saliſburie by the treaſon of Hengiſt, he cauſed ſtones to bee fetched out of Irelande, and to be ſet vp in the ſame place where that ſlaughter was committed, and called the place Stonheng, whiche name continueth vnto this day. There were ſent fifteene thouſand men as Galfride ſaith, for thoſe ſtones, vnder the leading of Uter Pendragon the Kings brother, the whiche giuing battell vnto Gillomanus King of Ireland that went about to reſiſt the Britaynes, and would not permitte them to fetche away the ſame ſtones out of hys countrey, diſcomfyted him and his people, and ſo maugre his will brought the ſtones away with him. *Galfrid.*

Shortly after Paſcentius that was Vortigernes yongeſt ſonne, and had eſcaped into Irelande (when Aurelius Ambroſius came into Britayne) returned with a greate power of ſtraunge nations, and toke ẏ Citie of Menenia in Wales, afterwardes called Saint Dauid, and did much hurt in the countrey with fire and ſworde. At whiche time the ſame Aurelius Ambroſius laye ſicke at Wincheſter, and beeing not able to goe forth himſelfe, deſired his brother Uter Pendragon to aſſemble an army of Britaines, and to goe againſt Paſcentius and his adherents. Uter according to his brothers requeſt, gathering hys people, wente forthe, and encountring with the enimies, gaue them the ouerthrowe, ſlew Paſcentius and Gillomare or Gilloman King of Irelande that was come ouer with him in ayde a-



gainſt the Britaynes.

In the meane while, a Saxon, or ſome other
M. ſtranger, whoſe name was Eopa or Copa, not long before procured thereto by Paſcentius, fayned himſelfe to be a Britayne, and for a couloure counterfeyting himſelfe a Monke, and to haue great knowledge in Phiſicke, was admitted to miniſter as it were medicines vnto Aurelius: but in ſtead of that whiche ſhoulde haue brought him health, he gaue him poyſon, whereof hee dyed ſhortly after at Wincheſter afore ſayde, when hee had raigned after moſt accorde of writers nineteene yeares: his body was conueyhed to Stoneheng and there buried.

Thus finde wee in the Britiſhe and common Engliſh hiſtories of the doings of Aurelius Ambroſius, which as ye haue heard make him a Britayne borne, and diſcended of the bloud of the ancient Britaynes. But Gildas and Beda reporte him to be a Romayne by diſcent as before is mentioned.

Polydore Virgill writeth in this ſorte of the *Polidor.* victorious actes atchieued by the foreſayde Aurelius Ambroſius. Then ſaith he, the Saxons hauing

ning already gotten the whole rule of the Iſle, practiſe their outragious cruelty ſpecially againſt the Princes of the Britaynes, to the end, that the ſayde Princes beeing ouercome and deſtroyed, they might with more eaſe obteyne poſſeſſion of the whole Iſle, whiche thing they only ſoughte for. But the fauor of almightie God was not wanting to the miſerable Britaynes in that greate neceſſitie, for beholde, Aurelius Ambroſius was at hande, the which had no ſooner cauſed the Trumpet to blowe to armour, but euery man for himſelfe prepareth and reſorteth to him, praying and beſeeching him to help to defende them, and that it might ſtand with his pleaſure to goe forth with them againſt the enimies with all ſpeede.

Thus an army beeyng aſſembled, Aurelius Ambroſius goeth againſte them, and valiantly aſſayleth them, ſo that within the ſpace of a fewe dayes, they foughte three battayles with greate fiercenesſe on both ſydes in triall of their high diſpleaſures and vttermoſt forces, in which at length the Britaynes put the Saxons to flight, Horſus the brother of Hengiſt being ſlayne with a greate number of his people. But yet notwithſtanding the enimies rage was little abated heereby, for within a fewe dayes after receyuing out of Germany a newe ſupply of menne, they brake forth vpon the Britaynes with greate confidence of victory. Aurelius Ambroſius was no ſooner aduertiſed thereof, but that withoute delay he ſette forwarde towardes Yorke from whence the enimies ſhould come, and hearing by the way that Hengiſt was encamped about ſeuen and twentie miles diſtante from that Citie, neere to the banke of a Riuer at this day called Dune, in the place where Doncaſter now ſtandeth, he returneth out of his way and marcheth towards that place, and the nexte daye ſetteth on the enimie and vanquiſheth him, Hengiſt at the firſt meeting of the battels beeyng ſlayne, with a greate number of the Germanes. Hengiſt ſlayne.

The fame of this victory (ſaith Polidore) is had in memory with the inhabitantes of thoſe parties euen vnto this day, the which victory did ſore diminiſh the power of the Saxons, in ſomuch that they began now to thinke it ſhoulde be more for their profit to ſit in reſt with that diſhonor, than to make any newe warres to their great diſaduantage and likelyhod of preſent loſſe.

Hengiſt lefte behynde him two ſonnes, Oſca and Otha, the which as menne moſt ſorrowfull for the ouerthrowe of late receyued, aſſembled ſuche power as they could togither, and remoued therewith towardes the Weſt parte of the Iſle, ſuppoſing it to bee better for them to drawe that way forth, than to returne into Kent, where they thought was already a ſufficient number of their people to reſiſt the Britaynes on that ſyde.

Nowe therefore, when they were come into the Weſt partes of the land, they waſt the countrey, brenne Villages, and abſtayne from no ma-



ner of crueltie that might be ſhewed.

Theſe things beeing reported vnto Aurelius Ambroſius, hee ſtraightwayes haſteth thither to reſiſt thoſe enimies, and ſo giuing them battell, eftſoones diſcomfiteth them: but he himſelfe receyuing a wounde, dyed thereof within a fewe dayes after. Aurelius dieth of a wounde.

The Engliſh Saxons hauing thus ſuſteined ſo many loſſes within a fewe monethes togither, were contented to bee quiet nowe that the Britaynes ſtirred nothing againſte them, by reaſon they were brought into ſome trouble by the death of ſuch a noble Captayne as they had nowe loſt. In the meane time Voxtimer died, after whome ſucceeded Uter ſurnamed Pendragon. Thus hath Polidore written of the foreſayde Aurelius Vortimer parteth this life.

Ambroſius

Ambroſius, not naming him to be King of Britayne, and differing indeede in ſundry poyntes in this behalfe from diuers auncient writers of the Engliſh hiſtories, for wher he attributeth the victory to the Britaynes in the battel fought, wherin Horſus the brother of Hengiſt was ſlayne by the reporte of *Polychronicon*, and other, the Saxons hadde the victory in that rencounter, and William of Malmeſburie ſayeth, that they departed from that battell with egall fortune, the Saxons loſing their Captayne Horſus, and the Britaynes their Captayne Katigerne (as before yee haue heard) but there is ſuche contrarietie in writers touching the doings betwixte the Britaynes and Saxons in thoſe dayes, as well in accompte of yeares, as in the reporte of thynges done, that letting affection aſide, hard it is to iudge to which part a man ſhould giue credite. Where Fabian and other authors write, that Aurelius Ambroſius began his raigne ouer the Britaines about the yeare of our Lord. 481. Horſus was ſlayne about the yeare. 458. during the raigne of Vortimer, as aboue is mentioned, ſo that it cannot ſtande with the troth of the Britiſh hiſtories (the whiche Fabian followeth) that Horſus was ſlayne by Aurelius Ambroſius, if according to the ſame hiſtories hee returned not into Britayne, till the time there ſuppoſed. But diuers ſuch manner of contrarieties ſhall ye finde in peruſing of thoſe writers that haue written the Chronicles of the Britaynes and Saxons, the which in euery point to recite would be to tedious and comberſome a matter, and therefore we are forced to paſſe ẏ ſame ouer, not knowing how to bring them to any iuſt accorde for the ſatiſfying of all mens mindes, and namely the curious, whiche may with diligente ſearche ſatisfye themſelues happily muche better than any other ſhall be able to doe in vttering his opinion neuer ſo much at large, and agreeable to a troth: onely therefore haue we thought good as it were by the way to touch what diuers authors do write, leauing it ſo to euery mans iudgemente to conſtrue therof, as his affection leadeth him. We fynde in the writings of thoſe that haue regiſtred the doings of theſe times, that Aurelius hauing vanquiſhed the Saxons, reſtored Churches to the furtherance of the Chriſtian Religion, which by the inuaſion of the Saxons was greatly decayed in diuers partes of Britayne, and thys chanced in the dayes of the Emperour Theodoſius ẏ yonger.

The beginning of the Kingdome of Suſſex.

IN the time of the forſayd Aurelius Ambroſius one Ella a Saxon with his three ſonnes Cymen, Wlettinger, & Ciſſa, came out of Germany with three Shippes, and landed in the South partes of Britayne, and being encountred with a power of Britaynes at a place called Cuneueſhore, diſcomfited them, and chaſed them vnto a wood then called Andredeſwold, and ſo toke that countrey, and inhabited there with his people the Saxons which he brought with him, and made himſelfe King and Lord thereof, in ſomuche that afterwardes the ſame countrey was named the kingdome of the South Saxons, whiche had for limittes on the Eaſt ſide Kent, on the South, the Sea and Iſle of Wight, on the weſt Hamſhire, and on the North part Southerie. This Kyngdome (after ſome) began vnder the forſayd Ella, aboute the. 32. yeare after the firſte commyng of the Saxons into this lād, which by following that accompt, ſhould be about the ſecond yeare of the raigne of Aurelius Ambroſius, and about the yeare of oure Lord. 482. But other write, that it did begin about the. 30. yeare after the firſte comming of Hengiſt, which ſhould be two yeares ſooner. William Harriſon differing from al other, noteth it to begin in the fourth yeare after ẏ death of Hengiſt. 4458. of the worlde. 2. of the. 317. Olympiad. 1243. of Rome. 492. of Chriſte, and. 43. after the comming of the Saxons: his words are theſe. Ella erecteth the Kingdome of the South Saxons, in the. 15. after his arriuall, and raigned 32. yeares, the chiefe Citie of his Kingdome alſo was Chicheſter, & after hee had enioyed the ſame his Kingdome awhile, he ouerthrew ẏ Citie called Andredeceſter, whiche as then was taken for one of the moſt famous in all the South ſide of England. For my parte I thinke my dutie diſcharged, if I ſhew the opinions of ẏ writers: for if I ſhould thereto adde mine owne, I ſhould but increaſe coniectures, whereof already we haue ſuperfluous ſtore. To proceede therfore as I fynde.

The kingdom of the South Saxons doth begin.

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About the ninth yeare after the comming of Elle, the Britaynes perceyuing that he with hys Saxons ſtill enlarged the boundes of his Lordſhip by entring further into the lande, aſſembled themſelues togither vnder their Kings and Rulers, and gaue battell to Elle and his ſonnes at Wecredeſbourne, where they departed with doutfull victory, the armies on both ſides being ſore diminiſhed, and ſo returned to their homes. Elle after this battell ſente into his countrey for more ayde. But nowe touching Hengiſt which as yee haue heard, reigned as King in the prouince of Kente, the writers of the Engliſhe Kings varie ſomewhat from the Britiſhe hiſtories, bothe in reporte of the battels by him foughte againſte the Britaynes, and alſo for the manner of his deathe: as thus. After that Vortimerus was dead, which departed this life (as ſome write) in the firſt yeare of the Emperour Leo, ſurnamed the greate, and firſt of that name that gouerned the Empire, who began to rule in the yeare of our Lorde. 457. wee fynde that Hengiſt and his ſonne Oeca or Oſca

Policron.

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gathe-

H. Hunt. W. Mal. gathered their people togither that were before ſparkled, and hauing alſo receyued new ayde out of Germany, fought with ẏ Britaynes at a place called Crekenforde, wher were ſlayne of the Britaynes foure Dukes or Captaynes, and foure thouſand of other men, and the reſidue were chaſed by Hengiſt out of Kent vnto London, ſo that they neuer returned afterwards againe into Ket: and ſo the Kingdome of Kent began vnder Hengiſt the twelfth yeare after the comming of the Saxons into Britayne, and Hengiſt raigned in Kent after this (as the ſame writers agree) foure and twentie yeares. It is remembred that thoſe Germanes whiche lately were come ouer to the ayde of Hengiſt, beeing choſen men, mightie and ſtrong of body, with their axes and ſwords made great ſlaughter of the Britaynes in that battell at Crekenford or Creyforde, whiche Britaynes were aranged in foure battayles vnder their aforeſayd foure Dukes or Captaynes, and were (as before is mentioned) ſlayne in the ſame battel. About the ſixth yere of the ſayd Emperour Leo, which was in the. 17. yeare after the comming of the Saxons. Hengiſt and his ſonne Occa or Oſca fought at Wyptiſhe fielde in Kent, neere to a place called Tong with the Britaynes, & ſlewe of them twelue Dukes or Captaynes, and on the parte of the Saxons was ſlayne beſyde common Souldiers but onely one Captayne that highte Vipet, of whome ẏ place after ẏ day toke name.

Creyfourd.

Britaynes ouerthrowen.

Polychron.

H. Hunt.

VVipets field. *Mat. VVeſt.* This battell was fought anno. 473. as the ſame Mat. VVeſt noteth Wipet.

Hen. Hunt.

This victory was nothing pleaſaunte to the Saxons, by reaſon of the great loſſe whiche they ſuſteyned, as well by the death of the ſayd Vipet, as of a greate number of others: and ſo of a long time neyther did the Saxons enter into the confynes of the Britaynes, nor the Britaynes preſumed to come into Kent. But whileſt outward warres ceaſſe among the Britaynes, they exerciſe ciuill battell, falling togither by the eares among themſelues, one ſtriuing againſt another. Finally, Hengiſt departed this life by courſe of nature, in the. 39. yeare after his firſte comming into Britayne, hauing proceeded in his buſineſſe no leſſe with craft and guyle than with force and ſtrength, following therewith his natiue crueltie, ſo that he rather did all things with rigoure than with gentleneſſe. After him ſucceeded a ſonne whiche hee left behinde him, who beeing attentiue rather to defende than to enlarge his Kingdome, neuer ſet foote out of his fathers boundes, durying the ſpace of. 24. yeares, in the whiche hee raigned.

Fortie yeares hath H. Hunt.

By this it is euident that he was not driuen out of the lande after he had once got foote within it.

Mat. VVeſt. Hen. Hunt.

About three yeares after the deceſſe of Hengiſt, a new ſupply of men of warre came out of Germany vnto the ayde of Elle King of Suſſex, the which hauing his power ſo encreaſſed, beſieged the Citie of Andredeceſtre, which was very ſtrõg & well furniſhed with men & all things neceſſary.

The Citie of Andredeceſtre.

The Britaynes alſo aſſembling togither in companies, greatly annoyed the Saxons as they lay there at ſiege, laying ambuſhes to deſtroy ſuche as wente abrode, and ceaſſing not to giue alarmes to the campe in the night ſeaſon: & the Saxons could no ſooner prepare themſelues to giue the aſſault, but the Britaynes were ready to aſſayle them on the backes, till at length the Saxons deuiding themſelues into two companies, appoynted the one to giue the aſſault, and the other to encounter with the army of the Britaynes without, and ſo finally by that meanes preuayled, toke the Citie, and deſtroyed manne, woman and childe. Neyther ſo contented, they did alſo vtterly raſe the ſayde Citie, ſo as it was neuer after that daye builded or reedified agayne.

The Kingdome of the Eaſtangles.



The Kingdom of the Eaſtangles begi. This Kingdome as Harriſon noteth began not till Aurelius Conanus raigned. 561

MOreouer, in the dayes of the foreſayd named Aurelius Ambroſius about the yeare of our Lorde. 561. the kingdome of the Eaſtangles began vnder a Saxon named Uffa. This Kingdome conteyned Northfolke and Suffolke, hauing on the Eaſt and North partes the Sea, on the Northweſt Cambridge ſhire, and on the Weſt Sainte Edmonds ditch with a part of Hertfordſhire, and on the South ſide lieth Eſſex. This Kingdome at the firſte was called Uffines dominion, and the Kings that raigned, or the people that inhabited there, were at the firſte named Uffines, but at length they were called Eaſtangles.



Cerdic. VVil. Mal. 495

FVrthermore about ẏ yere of oure Lorde 495. and in the eyght yeare after that Hengiſt was dead, one Cerdicus, and his ſonne Kenricus came out of Germany with fiue Shippes, and landed at a place called Cerdicesore, whiche as ſome thinke is nowe called Yermouth in Northfolke. Hee was at the firſt receyued with battell by the Britaynes, but beeing an olde ſkilfull warriour, hee eaſily beate backe and repulſed the inconſtante multitude of his enimies, and cauſed them to flee: by whyche good ſucceſſe hee procured for the time to come, both vndoubted aſſurance to himſelfe, and to the inhabi-

Fabian. Polieron.

VVil. Mal.

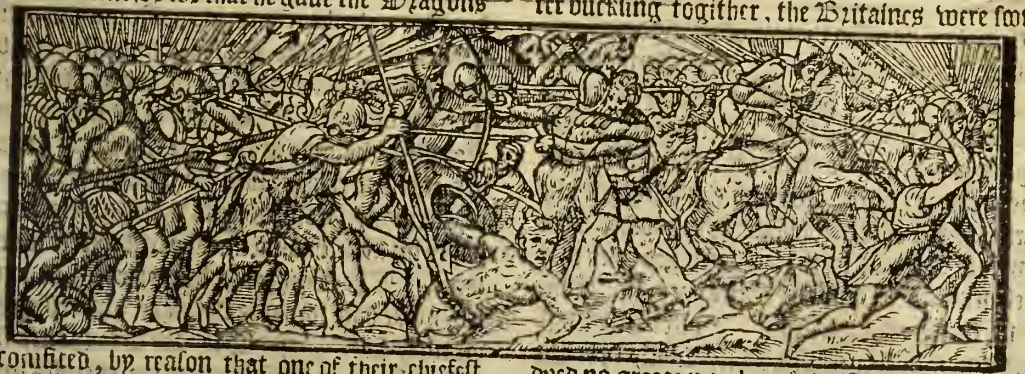
inhabitantes good and perfect quietneſſe, for they thinking good neuer after to prouoke him more by reſiſtãce, ſubmitted themſelues to his pleaſure: but yet did not he then gyue himſelfe to ſlouthful reſt, but rather extending his often atchieued victories on eache ſyde, in the foure and twentith yeare after his comming into this land, he obteyned the rule of the Weſt partes thereof, and gouerned there as King, ſo that the Kingdome of Weſt Saxons began vnder the ſayde Cerdicus in the. 519. of Chriſt as after ſhall be ſhewed.

Thus may yee ſee that if Aurelius Ambroſius did ſucceede after Vortigerne, and raigned in the tyme ſuppoſed by the Brittiſh hiſtories, as before is alledged, the lande euen in his dayes was full of trouble, and the olde inhabitauntes the Britaynes ſore vexed by the Saxons that entred the ſame, ſo that the Britaynes dayly were hampered, and brought vnder ſubiection to the valiante Saxons, or elſe driuen to remoue further off, and to giue place to the victorers. But nowe to proceede with the ſucceſſion of the Brittiſhe Kings as in their Hiſtories wee fynde them regiſtred, whiche I delyuer ſuche as I fynde, but not ſuche as I do wiſhe, being written with no ſuche couloure of credite as we may ſafely put forthe the ſame for an vndoubted truth.

Vter Pendragon.

AFter that Aurelius Ambroſius was dead, his brother Uter Pendragon (whome Harriſon calleth, Aurelius Uterius Ambroſianus) was made King in the yeare of our Lorde. 500. in the ſeuenth yeare of the Emperour Anaſtaſius, and in the ſixteene yeare of Clodoueus King of the Frenchmen. The cauſe why hee was ſurnamed Pendragon, was, for that Merlyne the greate Prophete likened him to a Dragons head, that at the tyme of his natiuitie marueilouſly appeared in the firmamente at the corner of a blaſing Starre as is reported. But Harriſon ſuppoſeth that hee was ſo called of his wiſedome and ſurpaſſing ſubtiltie, or for that he gaue the Dragons head in his Banner.

Thys Uter, hearing that the Saxons with their Captaynes Occa or Octa the ſonne of Hengiſt, and his brother Oſca hadde beſieged the Citie of Yorke, haſted thither, and giuing them battell diſcomfited their power, and toke the ſayd Occa and Oſca priſoners. From this variety Hector Boetius in his Chronicle of Scotland, writing of theſe doings in Britaine: for he affirmeth, that the counterfet Monke whiche poyſoned Aurelius Ambroſius, was ſubornate, and ſent to worke that feate by Occa, and not by his brother Paſcentius: and further, that about the very ſelfe time of Aurelius his deathe, his brother Uter Pendragon lay in Wales, not as yet fully recouered of a ſore ſickneſſe, wherewith of late he had bin greeuouſly vexed. Yet the Lords of Britayne after the Buriall of Aurelius Ambroſius, came vnto him, and crowned him king: ℞ though he was not able to goe againſt ỹ Saxons (which as then by reaſon of Aurelius Ambroſius hys death were very buſie, and more earneſt in purſuing the war than before) an army was yet prepared and ſente forth with all conuenient ſpeede vnder ỹ leading of one Mathaliod, a mã neyther of any greate auntiente houſe, nor yet of ſkill in warlike affaires. The noble men were nothyng pleaſed heerewith, as miſliking altogither ỹ lack of diſcretion in their new king, and doubted ſore, leaſt in time to come he would haue more delight to aduance the baſe degree, than ſuch as were diſcended of noble parentage. Yet bicauſe they wold not put the ſtate of the common wealth in daunger through any mutiny, they agreed to goe forth with him in that iourney. Occa had aduertiſemente giuen by ſecrete letters ſente to him from ſome cloſe friendes amongſt the Britaines of the whole matter, and therefore in hope of the better ſpeed he haſted forth to encounter the Britaines, and ſo the one army comming within ſight of ỹ other, they prepare to the battell, and ſhortly after buckling togither, the Britaines were ſone



diſcomfited, by reaſon that one of their chiefeſt Captaines called Gothlois diſdeyning to bee at the appointemente of Mathaliod, gote him vp to the next hill with the battell which he led, leauing the other Britaines in al the daunger: which they perceyuing ſtraight wayes began to flee. There dyed no greate number of the Britaines, except thoſe that were killed in the fighte: for Occa miſtruſting what Gothlois meant by his withdrawing aſide, wouldc not ſuffer the Saxons to followe the chaſe, but in the nyghte followyng, Gothlois gote hym away, and reſted not till he was

Hec. Boetius.

hee was out of daunger. Occa then perceiuing himſelfe to haue the vpper hand, ſent an Herrauld vnto King Uter with a certayne meſſage, threatning deſtruction to him and to his people, if he refuſed to do that which he ſhould appoynt.

Uter perceyuing what diſloyaltie reſted in the harts of his owne ſubiectes, agreed that the matter might be committed to eyght graue and wiſe Counſellers, foure Britaines and foure Saxons, which might haue full power to make an ende of all controuerſies and variaunces depending betwixt the two nations. Occa was likewiſe contented therewith, wherevppon were named on eyther part four perſons, of ſuch wiſedom, knowledge and experience, as were thought meeteſt to take direction for the ordering of ſuch a weightie buſineſſe. By the arbitrement, warde and dome then of thoſe eighte perſons ſufficiently authoriſed thereto, a league was concluded vppon certaine articles of agreement, amongſt the whyche the chiefeſt was, that the Saxons from thenceforth ſhould quietly enioy all that part of Britayne whiche lyeth fore aneynſt the Almayne Seas, the ſame to bee called euer after Engiſtlaund, and all the reſidue ſhoulde remayne to the Britaines as their owne rightfull and auncient inheritance. Thus hathe Hector Boetius, but now to returne vnto Uter according to that wee finde in the Britiſh hiſtories: but to proceede after our owne writers, that when he had vanquiſhed the Saxons and taken their two chiefetaines priſoners, in proceſſe of time, he fell in loue with a righte beautifull Lady called Igwarne or Igerna, wife to one Gorolus or Gorloys Duke of Cornewaile, the which Duke he ſlew at length neere to his owne Caſtell called Diuulioc in Cornewaile, to the ende that he mighte enioy the ſayd Lady the which he afterwards married, and begate on hir that noble Knighte Arthur, and a daughter named Amye or Anna. Occa and Oſſa eſcaping alſo out of priſon aſſembled eftſoones a power of Saxons, and made warre againſte the Britaynes, whereof Uter hauing aduertiſement prepared to reſiſt them, and finally went himſelfe in perſon againſte them, and at Saint Albanes (as ſome write) gaue them battel and ſlew them both in the fielde. By that which Polydore Uergill writeth it ſhoulde ſeeme that Germane the Biſhop of Auxerre came into Britayne in the dayes of this Uter, by whoſe preſence the Brytaynes had victory againſte the Saxons (as before yee haue heard) after whiche victory bothe parties reſted from troubling eyther other for a time, the Saxons as it were aſtonied with that preſente miracle, and the Britaynes not following their good ſucceſſe ſhortly after fell at diſcord amongſt themſelues, which finally brought them to vtter decay, as after ſhall appeare. But ỹ Saxons being deſirous to ſpoyle the Britaines of the whole poſſeſſion of that parte of the Iſle which they held, whereas they accompted the Cities and Townes of ſmall ſtrength to be diſcended, they gote them to an high Mountaine called Badon hill, whiche Polidore ſuppoſeth to bee Blackamore ỹ lieth neere to the water of Thriſe, which deuideth the Biſhoprike of Durham from Yorkſhire, hauing at the mouth thereof an hauen meete to receyue ſuch Shippes as come out of Germany, from whence the Saxons looked dayly for ayde, hauing already ſent thither for the ſame. The Britaynes being thereof aduertiſed, make haſt towards the place, and beſieged it on euery ſide. They alſo lay the Sea coaſtes full of Souldiers to keepe ſuche of the enemies from landing as ſhoulde come out of Germany. The Saxons kept themſelues for a certayne ſpace aloft vpon the high grounde, but in the ende conſtreyned through wante of vittayles, they came downe

Gorolus Duke of Cornewaile

Harding

Badon hill.



downe with their armie in order of bataile to the next plaines, and offering to fight, the batayl was anon begun, which continued from the morning till farre in the day, with suche slaughter, that the earth on euery side flowed with bloud: but ẏ Saxons susteyned the greater losse, their capitaines Occa and Osca beyng bothe slayne, so that the Britons might seme quite deliuered of al danger of those enimies: but the fatall destenie could not be auoided, as hereafter may apere. And this was the slaughter made of the Saxons at Badon hil, wherof Gildas maketh mention, and chanced the same yere that he was borne, which was in the 44. yere after the first cõming of the Saxons into this land, the yere of grace. 492. & 15. indiction (as Harison also noteth.)

About the same time Uter departed out of this life (saith Polydore) so that his accompte agreeth nothing with the cõmon accompte of those authors, whom Fabiã and other haue folowed. For either must we presuppose, that Uter reigned before the time apointed to him by the said authors, either elsse that the siege of Badon hill was before he began to reigne, as it should seeme in deede by that which Will. Malmsbury writeth therof, as hereafter shal be also shewed. Finally, according to the agreemente of the Englishe writers, Uter Pendragon died of poyson when he had gouerned this land by the ful terme of 16. yeres, & was after buried by his brother Aurelius at Stonhẽg otherwyse called *Chorea Gigantũ*, leauing his son Arthur to succede him. Here must ye note that the scottish chronicles declare, that in al the warres for the more parte wherein the Britons obteyned victorie against the Saxons, the Scots ayded them in the same warres, and so likewyse did the Picts, but the same chronicles do not only varie from the Brytish writers in accompt of yeres, but also in the order of things done, as in the same Chronicles more playnly may appere, and namely in the discourse of the incidẽts which chanced during the reign of this Uter. For wher as the Britih historiens, as ye haue heard, attribute great praise vnto the same Uter for his victories atchieued against the Saxons and theyr king Occa, whom he slew in battaile, and obteined a greate victorie, the Scottishe writers make other report, affirming in deed that by the prelẽce of bishop Germane hee obteyned victorie in one battaile against them: but shortly after the Britons fought again with the Saxons, & were discomfited, although Occa in following the chase ouer rashly chaunced to be slaine: after whose decease the Saxons ordeyned his sonne named also Occa to succede in his place, who to make himselfe strong against all his enimies, sent into Germanie for one Colgerne, the whiche with a greate power of Teutshmen came ouer into this our Britayne, and conquered by Occas appointment, the countrey of Northumberland, situate betwene Tyne & Tweede, as in the Scottish chronicles it may further appeare.

Also this is to be remembred that the victorie which was got against the Saxons by the Brytons, at what time Germane bishop of Auxerre was present: Hector Boetius affirmeth (by the authoritie of Ueremond that wrote ẏ Scottishe chronicles) to haue chanced the secõd time of his cõming ouer into this lande, where Beda auoucheth it to be at his first being here. Againe, the same Boetius writeth, that ẏ same victory chãced in the dayes of Uter Pendragon, whiche can not be if it be true that Beda writeth, touchyng the tyme of ẏ death of ẏ sayd German: for where he departed this life before the yere of oure Lorde 459. as aboue is noted, Uter Pendragon began not his reigne till the yere of our Lord. 500. or as the same Hector Boetius hath. 501. so that bishop Germane was dead long before that Uter began to reign. In deede some writers haue noted that the third bataile which Vortimer fought against the Saxons, was the same wherin S. Germane was present, and procured the victorie with the crie of *Alleluya*, as before ye haue heard, whiche seemeth to be more agreeable to a truthe, and to stand also with that which holie Bede hath written, touching the time of the beeing heere of the sayd German, than the opinion of other, whiche affirme that it was in the tyme of the reigne of Uter. The like is to bee founde in the residue of Hector Boetius his booke, touching the tyme specially of the reignes of the Brytish kings that gouerned Brytaine aboute that seaton. For as he affirmeth, Aurelius Ambrosius beganne his reigne in the yeare of our Lorde. 498. and ruled but seuen yeres, and then succeeded Uter, whiche reigned xviij. yeres, and departed this life in the yeare of our Lorde. 521.

475. sayth Harison.

But here is to be remẽbred, that whatsoeuer the Britih writers haue recorded touching the victories of this Uter had against ẏ Saxõs, and how that Osca the sonne of Hengist should be slaine in battayle by him and his power: In those olde writers whiche haue registred the Actes of the Englishe Saxon kyngs wee fynde no suche matter, but wee fynde that after the deceasse of Hengist, hys sonne Osca or Occa reygned in Kente. 24. yeares, defendyng hys kyngdome onely, and not seekyng to enlarge it (as before is touched.)

Osca.

34. hath Henry Hunt. in corrupted copies.

After whose death his sonne Oth, and Irmentike sonne to the same Oth succeeded, more resemblyng their father than their grandfather or greate grandfather. To their reignes are assigned fiftie and three yeares by the Chronicles: but whether they reigned ioyntely together, or

ſeuerally a parte, eyther after other, it is not certaynly perceyued.

But nowe to the incidentes whiche happened during the reigne of Uter Pendragon, we fynde that one Porth a Saxon with his .ij. ſonnes Me-



Port entred this land about the yeere of our Lord. 501. as Math. VVeſt. noteth.

gla and Beda, came a lande at Portſmouth in Suſſex, about the beginning of the ſayde Uters reigne, and ſlewe a noble yong man of the Bry-tons, and many other of the meaner ſorte with him. Of this Porth the towne and hauen of Portelmouth toke the name as ſome haue thought. Moreouer about .lx. yeres after the coming of the Saxons into this lande with their leader Hengiſt, one Mazaleod, a mightie king amongſt the Britons, aſſembled all the power hee coulde make to fight with Certicus king of the Weſt-ſaxons, who vnderſtandyng the greate power of his enimies, required ayde of Oſca King of Kent, alſo of Elle king of Suſſex, and of Porth and his ſonnes whiche were lately before arriued as ye haue heard. Certicus being then furniſhed with a conuenient armie, deuided the ſame into two batayls, reſeruing the one to himſelf, and the other he appointed to his ſonne Kenrike. King Mazaleod perceiuing that the wing which Certicus ledde was of more ſtrength than the other whiche Kenrike gouerned, he ſet fyrſt vpon Certicus, thinking that if he might diſtreſſe that part of the enimies armie, he ſhould eaſily ouercome the other.

Harison ſuppoſeth the ryuer to bee called Ports, as for the vvorde mouth is the ſal o freſh riuer the ſea.

Herevpon he gaue ſuch a fierce charge vppon that wing that by pure force he opened the ſame, and ſo ouerthrew the Saxons on that ſide, making great ſlaughter of them as they were ſcattered, the whiche maner of dealing when Kenrike ſawe, he made forwarde with all ſpeed, to ſuccor



his father, and ruſhing in amongſt the Bry tons on their backs, he brake their armie in peeces, and ſlew their king Mazaleod, and with all put his people to flight.

The Brytons ouerthrovven.

There died of the Brytons that daye .b. M. men and the reſidue eſcaped by fleeing as wel as they might.

Mat. VVeſt.
Hen. Hunt.

In the .vj. yeare after this battayle Stuff and Wightgar. ỹ were nephues to Certicus, came

Stuff and VVightgar. Math. VVeſt. noteth the yere of their riual to be .514.

wyth three ſhippes, and landed at Certicesſhore, and ouerthrew a number of Britons that came againſte them in order of battayle, and ſo by the comming of thoſe his nephewes being right valyant and hardie capitaines, the part of Certicus became much ſtronger. About the ſame time Elle king of the Southſaxons departed this lyfe, after whome ſucceeded his ſonne Ciſſa, of whom wee fynde little leſte in writing to bee made accompte of.

H. Hunt.

About the yeare of our Lorde .519. and in the yeare after the commyng of the Saxons .71.

Brytons ouerthrovven by Saxons.

whyche was in the .xxbj. yeare of the Emperor Anaſtaſius, the Brytons fought with Certicus and his ſonne Kenrike at Certicesſhore, where the Captaynes of the Brytons ſtoode to it manfully: but in the ende they were diſcomfyted, and greate ſlaughter was made there of them by the Saxons, and greater had bene, if the nyghte commyng on, had not parted them, and ſo many were ſaued.

From that daye forewarde Certicus was reputed and taken for king of Weſtſaxon, and ſo the ſame kyngdome at that tyme, whyche was as Harriſon noteth it (whoſe orderly proceedyng in this behalfe, for the accoumpte of tyme, giueth greate lyght to our hiſtorie) the yeare of Chriſte fiue hundred and nineteene: after the buylding of Rome, a thouſande, two hundred and ſeuentie, of the worlde, foure thouſande foure hundred eyghtie and fiue: of the commyng of the Saxons ſeuentie: of Juſtinus Anicius Emperoure of the Eaſte, the fyrſte

The kingdome of VVeſtſaxon.

and

and thirde of the renoumed prince Patricius Arthurus then reygnyng ouer the Brytaynes. The ſayd kingdom alſo conteyned the countreys of Wiltſhire, Somerſetſhire, Berkeſhire, Dorſetſhyre, Deuonſhire, and Cornewall, hauing on the Eaſt Hamſhire, on the Northy the riuer of Thames, and on the South and Weaſt the Ocean ſea: Howbeit at the firſte the kinges of the Weaſtſaxons had not ſo large dominion, but they dayly wanne grounde vpon the Brytons, & ſo in the ende by enlarging their confines they came to enioy all the ſayde countreys, and the whole at the laſt.

In the nynthe yeare of the reigne of Certicus, he eftſoons fought with the Saxons at Certicesforde aforeſayde, where great ſlaughter was made on bothe partes. This Certicesforde was in times paſt called Nazaleoy of the late remembred Nazaleod king of the Brytons.

Aboute this ſeaſon at ſundry tymes diuerſe greate companies of the Saxons came ouer into Britayne out of Germanie, and got poſſeſſion of the countreys of Mercie and Eaſtangle: but as yet thoſe of Mercie had no one king that gouerned them, but were vnder certayne noble men that got poſſeſſion of diuers partes in that countrey, by meanes wherof great warres and many encounters enſued.

The kingdome of the Eaſtſaxons.



Erchenwyn.

The kingdom of the Eaſtſaxons.

In thoſe dayes alſo the kyngdome of the Eaſtſaxons began, the chiefe Citie whereof was London. It conteyned in effect ſo much as at this preſente belongeth to the Dioceſſe of London. One Erchenwyn a Saxon was the fyrſt king thereof, the whiche was ſonne to one Offa, the ſixte in lineall deſcent from one Saxnot, from whom the kings of that countrey fetched their originall.

Harſon noteth the eraſte yeare of the erection of the kingdom of the Eaſtſaxons to begin with the end of the eight of Cerdicius K. of the Weſtſaxons that is, the. 527. of Chriſte, and. 78. after the commyng of the Saxons.

In the. xiij. yeare of the reigne of Cerdicius, he with his ſonne Kenrike, and other of the Saxon capitayns fought with the Brytons, in the Iſle of Wight at Witgarcburidge, where they ſlewe a greate number of Brytons, and ſo conquered the Iſle, the whiche aboute foure yeares after, was giuen by Cerdicius vnto hys nephues Stuff and Wigar.



Arthure.



After the deceaſe of Uter Pendragon (as we finde in the Britiſhe hiſtories, his ſonne Arthur, a yong towardly Gentleman, of the age of. xv. yeares, or therabeutes, began his reigne ouer the Britons in the yere of our lord. 516. or as Math. Weſt. hath. 517. in ỹ. 18. yere of the emperor Anaſtaſius, & in the. iij. yere of the reignes of Childebert, Clothare, Clodamire, & Theodorik brethre, ỹ were kings of the Frenchmē. Of this Arthure many things are writen beyond credite, for that there is no ancient author of authoritie that confirmeth the ſame: But ſurely as may be thought he was ſome worthie man, and by all likelyhod a great enimie to the Saxons, by reaſon wherof the Welſhemen which are the very Brytons indeed haue him in famous remembrance. He fought as the common report of him goeth. xij. notable batayles agaynſt the Saxons, and in euery of them wente awaye with the victorie. But yet hee myghte not vtterlye dryue them oute of

516. Math. V Weſt. hath noted. 518

the lande, but that they kepte ſtill the countreys whiche they had in poſſeſſion, as Kent, Southrey, Northfolke, and others: howbeit ſome writers teſtifie, that they helde theſe countreyes as tributaries to Arthure. But trouth it is (as dyuers authours agree) that hee helde continuall warre agaynſt them, and alſo agaynſt the Pictes, the whiche were alyed wyth the Saxons: For as in the Scottiſhe hiſtories is conteyned, euen at the fyrſte beginning of hys reigne, the two kings of Scottes and Pictes ſeemed to enuie hys aduauncemente to the crowne of Bryttayne, bycauſe that they had maryed the two ſyſters of the two brethren, Aurelius Ambroſius, and Uter Pendragon, that is to witte, Loth kyng of Pictes hadde maryed Anne theyr eldeſt ſyſter, and Conran kyng of Scottes had in marryage Alda theyr yonger ſiſter, ſo that bicauſe Arthur was begot out of wedlocke, they thoughte it ſtoode wyth more reaſon, that the kyngdome of the Bryttons ſhould haue deſcended vnto the ſiſters ſonnes rather than to a baſtarde, namely Loth the Pictiſhe king, whyche had iſſue by his wyfe Anna, ſore repined at the matter: and therefore at the fyrſt when he ſawe that by ſuite he coulde not preuayle, hee ioyned in league wyth the Saxons, and ayding them agaynſte Arthure, loſte many of his menne of warre being ouerthrowen in battayle, which he had ſent vnto the ſuccours of Colgerne the Saxon Prince that ruled as then in the north partes. But fynallye a league was concluded betwixte Arthur and the foreſayde Lothe kyng of Pictes, vpon certain conditions, as in the Scottiſhe hiſtory is expreſſed, where ye may read the ſame, with many other things touching the acts of Arthure, ſomewhat in other order, than oure writers haue recorded.

The Britiſhe authors declare, that Arthure immediately after he had receyued the Crowne of Dubrighte Biſhoppe of Caerlleon, wente wyth his power of Brytons agaynſt the Saxons of Northumberlande, whiche had to their Capitayne, as before is ſayde one Colgrime or Colgerne, whome Arthure diſcomfited and chaſed into the Citie of Yorke, within which place Arthur beſieged him, til at length the ſame Colgrime eſcaped out of the Citie, and leauing it in charge with his brother called Bladulfe paſſed ouer into Germanie vnto Cheldrike kyng of that Countrey, of whome he obteyned ſuccors, ſo that the ſayde Cheldrike made prouiſion of menne and ſhippes, and came hymſelfe ouer into Scotlande, hauing in his company. xv. hundred ſayles of one and other.

Yorke beſieged.

Cheldrike cometh in ayde of Colgrime.

Math. VVeſt. hath but vij. hundred.

When Arthur was aduertiſed thereof, he reyſed his ſiege, and withdrewe to London, ſending letters with all ſpeede vnto Howell king of little Britayne in Fraunce, that was his ſiſters ſonne, requiring hym in moſte earneſt wyſe of ayde. Howell incontinently aſſembled hys people, to the number of xv. thouſande men, and taking the ſea, landed with them at Southampton, where Arthure was ready to receyue hym with great ioye and gladneſſe. From thence they drewe Northewardes, where both the hoſtes of Arthur and Howell being aſſembled together, marched forewarde to Lyncolne, whiche Citie Cheldrike did as then beſiege.

Howell kyng of Britayne cometh ouer to ayde of Arthur.

Heere Arthur and Howell aſſayling the Saxons with greate force and manhoode, and at lengthe after greate ſlaughter made of the enimyes, they obteyned the victorye, and chaſed Cheldrike) wyth the reſidewe of the Saxons that were lefte alyue) vnto a woode, where they compaſſed them aboute wythin the ſame, in ſuche wyſe, that in the ende they were conſtreyned to yeelde themſelues, wyth condition



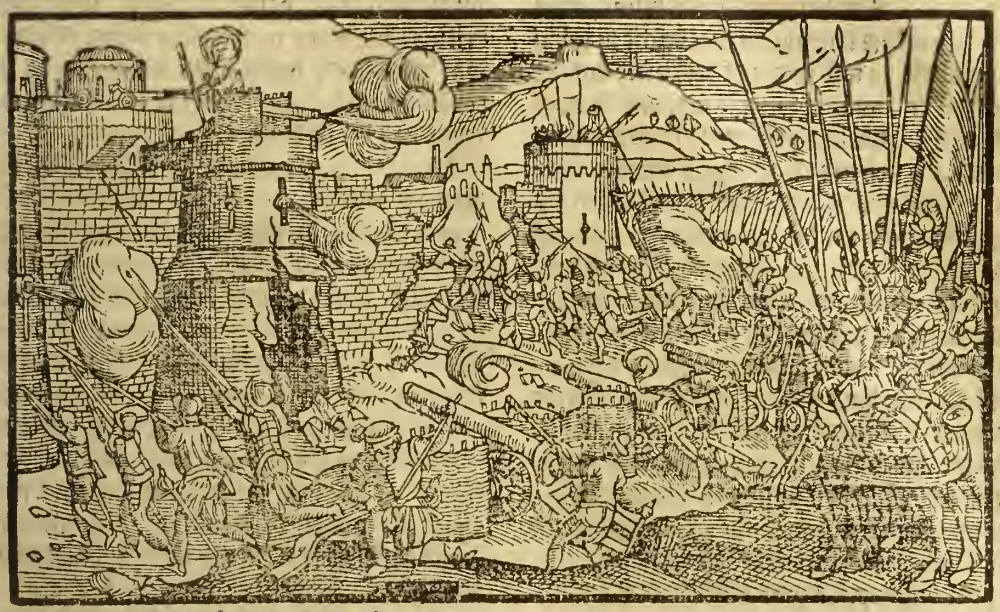
Cheldrike ouerthrowen in batayle.

that

that they myghte bee ſuffred to departe a foote to their ſhippes, and ſo auoyde the lande, leauyng theyr horſe, armour, and other furniture vnto the Brytons.

Heerevpon the Brytons takyng good hoſtages for aſſuraunce, permitted the Saxons to go their ways, and ſo Cheldrike and his people got them to theyr ſhippes, in purpoſe to returne into their countrey: but being on the ſea, they were forced by wynde to chaunge theyr courſe, and comming on the coaſtes of the Weaſt partes of Britayne, they arriued at Totneſſe, and contrarye to the couenaunted articles of theyr laſte compoſition wyth Arthure, inuade the countrey of newe, and taking ſuch armure as they could fynde, marched forth in robbing and ſpoyling the people, til they came to Bathe, which towne the Brytons kepte and defended againſt them, not ſuffryng them by any meanes to enter there, wherevppon the Saxons enuironed it with a ſtrong ſiege. Bathe beſieged

Arthur enfourmed hereof, with all ſpeede ha-



ſted thyther, & giuyng the enimies battayle, ſlew the moſte parte of Cheldrikes men.

There were ſlayne both Colgrime and Bladulfe, howbeit Cheldrike himſelfe fled out of the fielde towardes his ſhippes, but being purſued by Cador Earle of Cornewall (that had with him. x. thouſande men) by Arthures appoyntement, he was ouertaken and in fight ſlayn with all his people.

Arthur himſelfe returned from this battayle foughten at Bathe with all ſpeede towardes the marches of Scotlande, for that he hadde receyued aduertiſement, howe the Scottes had beſieged Howell kyng of Brytayne there, as hee laye ſicke.

Alſo when Cador had accompliſhed his enterpryſe and ſlayne Chelderike, hee returned with as muche ſpeede as was poſſible towardes Arthure, and founde him in Scotlande, where he reſkued Howell, and afterwarde purſued the Scottes which fled before him by heapes.

About the ſame tyme one Guillomer king of Ireland arriued in Scotlande with a myghtie power of Iriſhmen (neare to the place where Arthur lodged) to healpe the Scottes againſte the Britons: wherevpon Arthur turning his forces towardes the ſame Guillomer, banquiſhed him, and chaſed him into Irelande.

This don, he cõtinued in purſute of the Scots til he cauſed thẽ to ſue for pardon, and to ſubmit themſelues wholly to him, and ſo receiuing them to mercie, and taking homage of them, hee returned to Yorke, and ſhortly after toke to wyfe one Guenhera a right beautifull Lady, that was neere kinſwoman to Cador Erle of Cornwall. Guenever.

In the yeare folowing, which Harriſon noteth to be. 525. he went into Irelande, and diſcomfiting king Guillomere in battayle, hee conſtrayned him to yelde, and to acknowledge by doing his fealtie to holde the realme of Ireland of him. VVil. Harriſon noteth it to be 525.

It is further remembred in thoſe Britiſhe hiſtories, that hee ſubdued Gutlande and Iſeland with all the Iſles in and about thoſe ſeas. Gotlande.

Alſo that hee ouercame the Romaines in the countrey aboute Parys wyth theyr capitayne Lucius, and walted the moſte parte of all Fraunce, and ſlewe in ſyngular combates certayne Gyauntes that were of paſſyng force and hugeneſſe of ſtature.

And if he had not bene reuoked home to reſiſt his couſin Mordred that was ſon to Loth king of Nightlande that rebelled in his countrey, he had paſſed to Rome, intending to make himſelfe Emperour, and afterwarde to banquiſhe the other Emperoure, that then ruled the Empire: but for ſo muche as there is not anye appro-

ted authour dothe ſpeake of any ſuche doings, the Britons are thoughte to haue regiſtred mere fables in ſtede of true matter, vpon a vayne deſire to aduaunce moze than reaſon woulde, thys Arthur theyr noble champion, as the Frenchemen haue done by their Roulande, and others. But to proceede.

Rather Cerdick, as Io Leland thinketh.

At his returne into Britayne, he founde that Mozdred had cauſed himſelfe to be made kyng, and hauing alyed himſelf with Cheldzike a Saxon, not hym whome Galfride (as yee haue heard,) ſuppoſeth to haue ben ſlaine before, was ready to reſiſt his landing, ſo that before he could come a lande, he loſt many of his men: but yet at lengthe hee repulſed the enimies, and ſo toke lande at Sandwiche, where he fyrſte arriued: and then ioyning in battayle wyth his enimies, diſcomfited them, but not without great loſſe of his people: ſpecially hee ſore lamented the death of Gawayn the brother of Mozdred, whyche lyke a faythfull gentleman, regarding more his honour and loyall truthe than nearenelle of bloud and couſinage, choſe rather to fight in the quarell of his liege king and louing maiſter, than to take parte with his naturall brother in an vniuſt cauſe, and ſo there in the battaile was ſlayn, together alſo with Anguſſell, to whome Arthur afore tyme had committed the gouernemente of Scotland. Mozdred fled from this battayle, and getting ſhippes, ſayled Weſtwarde, and fynally landed in Cornewall.

Gawayn buried at Douer.

King Arthur cauſed the corps of Gawayn to be buryed at Douer, (as ſome holde opinion:) But Willyam Malmeſburie ſuppoſeth, he was buryed in Wales, as after ſhall be ſhewed.

The dead bodie of Anguſſell was conueyed into Scotlande, and was there buryed.

After that Arthur hadde put his enimies to flight, and had knowledge into what part Mozdred was withdrawne, wyth all ſpeede he reenforced his armie with newe ſupplyes of ſouldiours called out of diuers parties, and with hys whole puiſſaunce, haſted forwarde, not reſting tyll hee came neere to the place where Mozdred was encamped, wyth ſuche an Armye as hee coulde aſſemble togither oute of all ſuch parties where he had any frendes.

Here (as it appeareth by Iohn Leylande, in his booke entitled, *The Aſſertion of Arthure*,) it may be doubted in what place Mozdred was encamped: but Geffrey of Monmouthe ſheweth, that after Arthure hadde diſcomfyted Mozdred in Kent at the firſte landyng, it chaunced ſo that Mozdred eſcaped, and fledde to Wincheſter, whyther Arthure followed hym, and there gyuyng hym battayle the ſeconde tyme, didde alſo put hym to flyght. And following him from thence, foughte eftſoones wyth hym at a place called Camblan, or Kemelene in Cornewall, (or as ſome Authours haue neere vnto Glaſtenbury.)

This battayle was foughte ſo to the vtte- Richarde Ne ner.



rance, that finally Mozdred was ſlayne, wyth the more parte of his whole armie, and Arthur receyuyng diuers mortall woundes dyed of the ſame ſhortly after, when he had reigned ouer the Britons by the terme of .xxvj. yeares. His corps was buryed at Glaſtenburye afore ſayde, in the Churche yarde, betwixte two pillers: where it was founde in the dayes of kyng Henry the ſeconde, about the yeare of our Lorde .1191. which was in the laſte yeare of the reigne of the ſame Henry, more than ſixe hundred yeeres after the buryal therof. He was layd .xvj. foot deepe vnder grounde, for doubte that his enimies the Saxons ſhoulde haue founde hym. But thoſe that digged the grounde there to fynde his bodye, after they had entred aboute ſeuen foote deepe into the earth,

earth, they founde a mightie broade ſtone with a leaden croſſe faſtned to that parte whiche laye downewardes towarde the corps, conteynyng this inſcription.

Hic iacet ſepultus inclytus rex Arthurius in inſula Aualonia.

Thys inſcription was grauen on that ſyde of the Croſſe whiche was nexte to the ſtone: ſo that till the Croſſe was taken from the ſtone, it was not ſeene. His body was founde, not encloſed within a tombe of marble or other ſtone curiouſly wrought, but within a greate tree made hollow for the nonce lyke a trounke, the whych being founde and digged vp, was opened, and therein were founde the kyngs bones, of ſuche maruellous bignelle, that the ſhinne bone of his legge being ſette on the grounde, reached vp to the middle thighe of a ryghte tall manne: As a Monke of that Abbey hath written, whyche did lyue in thoſe dayes, and ſawe it. But Giraldus Cambrenſis, whyche alſo lyued in thoſe dayes, and ſpake with the Abbot of the place, by whome the boanes of thys Arthure were then founde, affirmeth, that by reporte of the ſame Abbotte, hee learned, that the ſhinne boane of the ſayd Arthur being ſette vp by the legge of a very tall manne, (the whiche the Abbot ſhewed to the ſame Giraldus) came aboue the knee of the ſame man the length of three fingers breadth, whiche is a greate deale more lykely than the other. The ſkull of his head was alſo of a wonderfull largeneſſe, ſo that the ſpace of his forheade betwixt his two eyes was a ſpanne broade. There appeared in his heade the ſignes and printes of tenne woundes or moe: All the whyche were growen into one wemme, excepte onely that whereof it ſhould ſeeme hee dyed, whiche beyng greater than the reſidue, appeared very playne. Alſo in openyng the Tombe of his wyfe queene Guenhera, that was buryed wyth hym, they founde the treſſes of hir haire whole and perfect, and fynely platted, of colour lyke to the burniſhed golde, the whiche beeing touched, immediatly fell to duſte. The Abbotte, whyche then was gouernour of the houſe, hyght Stephan, or Henry de Blois, otherwyſe de Sullie, nephewe to king Henry the ſecond (by whoſe commaundemente he hadde ſearched for the graue of Arthure) tranſlated the boanes as well of him as of Queene Guenuer, beyng ſo founde, into the greate Churche, and there buryed them in a fayre double Tombe of Marble, laying the bodye of the kyng at the head of the Tombe, and the bodye of the Queene at his feete towardes the weaſt parte.

Iohn Lelande in his booke entitled *Aſſertio Arthuri*, hath for the worthie memorie of ſo noble a prince, honored him with a learned Epitaph, as heere followeth.

Saxonicas toties qui fudit marte truento
Turmas, & peperit ſpoliis ſibi nomen opimis.
Fulmineo toties Pictos qui contudit enſe,
Impoſuitq; iugum Scotti ceruicibus ingens:
Qui tumidos Gallos, Germanos quiq; feroceis
Perculit, & Dacos bello confregit aperto:
Deniq; Mordredum è media qui ſuſtulit illud
Monſtrũ, horrendũ ingẽs, dirum, ſeuũq; tyrannũ,
Hoc iacet extinctus monumento Arturius alto,
Militiæ clarum decus, & virtutis alumnus.
Gloria nunc cuius, terram circumuolat omnem,
Aetheriq; petit ſublimia tecta Tonantis.
Vos igitur gentis proles generoſa Britannæ,
Induperatori ter magno aſſurgite veſtro,
Et tumulo ſacro roſeas inferte corollas,
Officij teſtes redolentia munera veſtri.

Theſe verſes I haue the more willyngly inſerted, for that I had the ſame deliuered to mee turned into Engliſhe by maiſter Nicholas Roſcarock, both right aptly yelding the ſenſe, & alſo properly anſwering the Latine, verſe for verſe.

VVho vanquiſht Saxon troupes, with battayles bloudie broyles,
And purchaſte to hymſelfe a name with warlyke wealthie ſpoyles,
VVho hath with ſhiuering ſhining ſworde, the Picts ſo oft diſmayde,
And eke vnweldie ſeruile yoke on neck of Scots hath layde:
VVho Frenchmen pufft with pride, & who the Germaines fierce in fight
Diſcomfited, and daunted Danes with mayne and martiall might:
VVho of that murdring *Mordred* did the vitall breath expell,
That monſter griſly, lothſom, huge, that direſom tyrant fell,
Here lyueleſſe Arthur lies entombde, within this ſtately hearſe,
Of chiualrie the brighte renoume, and vertues nurſlyng fierce:
VVhoſe glorie great, nowe ouer all the worlde doth compaſſe flye,
And of the ayry thunder skales, the loftie buylding hye.
Therfore you noble progenie of Brytayne lyne and race,
Aryſe vnto your Emprour great, of thryce renoumed grace,
And caſte vpon his ſacred tombe, the roſeal garlandes gaye,
That fragrant ſmell may witneſſe well, your duties you diſplay,

The occaſion that moued kyng Henry the ſeconde to cauſe his nephew the ſayd Abbotte to ſearche for the graue of kyng Arthur was, for that hee vnderſtode by a Welche minſtrell or Barde (as they call him) that coulde ſing manye hiſtories in the Welche language of the acts of the auncient Britons, that in the foreſayde Churcheyarde at Glaſtenburye, betwixte the ſayde two pillers the bodye of Arthur was to bee founde buryed ſixteene foote deepe vnder the grounde. Giraldus Cambrenſis affirmeth, that the tree in the whyche Arthurs bodie was founde ſo incloſed, was an oke, but other ſuppoſe, that it was an Alder tree, becauſe that in the ſame place a great number of that kynde of trees doe growe, and alſo for that it is knowne, that an Alder lying vnder grounde where moyſture is, will long continue without rotting.

By the fynding thus of the bodie of Arthure buryed (as before ye haue heard,) ſuche as hitherto beleeued that he was not dead, but conueyed away by the Fairies into ſome pleaſaunt place, where he ſhoulde remayne till a tyme, and then to returne agayne, and reigne in as great authoritie as euer he didde before, mighte well perceiue themſelues deceyued in crediting ſo vayne a fable: but yet (where it myghte otherwyſe be doubted whether any ſuche Arthur was at all, as the Britiſhe hiſtories mencion, bicauſe neyther Gildas nor Beda in their workes ſpeake any thyng of hym) it maye appeare, the circumſtaunces conſidered, that ſurely ſuche one there was of that name hardie and valiaunt in armes, though not in diuers poyntes ſo famous as ſome writers paint him out.

As for example in a caue neere a water called Ponde perilous at Salisburye, where he and his knights ſhould ſlepe armed, till an other knighte ſhould be born that ſhoulde come and awake them.

William Malmeſburie a writer of good credite and authoritie amongeſt the learned hathe theſe wordes in his fyrſte booke entitled *De regibus Anglorum*, ſaying: But he being dead (meaning Mortimer) the force of the Britons waxed feeble, their decayed hope went backewarde apace: and euen then ſurely hadde they gone to deſtruction, if Ambroſius (whiche alone of the Romaynes remayned yet alyue, and was king after Mortigerne) hadde not kepte vnder, and ſtayed the loftye Barbarous people, that is to meane the Saxons, by the notable ayde and aſſiſtaunce of the valiaunt Arthur.

VVil. Mal. lib. 1. de regibus Ang.

This is the ſame Arthur, of whome the trifling tales of the Britons euen to this day fantaſtically doe deſcante and repoꝛte wonders: but worthie was he doubtleſſe of whome feigned fables ſhoulde not haue ſo dreamed, but rather that true Hiſtories myghte haue ſette forth hys worthye prayſes, as he that dyd for a long ſeaſon ſuſteyne and holde vp hys Countrey that was readie to goe to vtter ruyne and decaye, encouraging the bolde hearts of the Britons vnto the warre, and finally in the ſiege of Badon hyll, hee ſette vppon nyne hundred of the enimyes, and with incredible ſlaughter didde putte them all to flighte.

On the contrarye parte, the Engliſhe Saxons, althoughe they were toſſed with ſundrye happes of Fortune, yet ſtill they renued theyr bandes wyth newe ſupplyes of their countreymenne that came out of Germany, and ſo with bolder courage aſſayled their enemies, and by little and little cauſyng them to giue place, ſpred themſelues ouer the whole Ile. For althoughe there were manye battayles in the whiche ſometyme the Saxons and ſometyme the Britons got the better, yet the greater number of Saxons that was ſlayne, the greater number of them ſtill came ouer to the ſuccour of their countreymen, being called in and ſente for out of euery quarter about them.

Here is alſo to be noted, that where the Britiſhe hiſtorie declareth, that Gawen or Galowyn being ſlayne in the battayle foughte betwixte Arthure and Mordred in Kent, was buryed at Douer, ſo that his boanes remayned there to be ſhewed of long time after: yet by that whyche the foreſayde Willyam Malmeſburye writeth in the thirde booke of his volume entituled *De regibus Anglorum*, the contrarie may ſeeme true: his wordes are theſe. Then (ſayth he) in the prouince of Wales, whiche is called Roſſe, the ſepulture of Walwyne was founde, the whyche was nephue to Arthur by his ſiſter, not going out of kind from ſo worthy an vncle. He reigned in that part of Britaine whiche vnto this daye is called *VValwithia*, a knighte for hys high prowes moſt highly renoumed, but expulſed out of his kingdome by the brother & nephew of Hengiſt, of whome in the firſte booke we haue made mention, firſte requiting his baniſhemente with greate detrimente and loſſe to thoſe his enimies, wherein he was partaker by iuſt deſerte of his vncles worthy praiſe, for that he ſtayed for a great many yeres, the deſtruction of his countrey which was now running headlong into vtter ruine and decay. But Arthurs graue no where appeareth: but the others tombe (as I haue ſayde) was founde in the dayes of William the Conqueror, king of England, vpon the ſea ſide, and conteyned in length fourteene foote, where he was (as ſome ſay) wounded by his enimies, and caſt vp by ſhipwrack. But other write, that he was ſlayne at a publike feaſte or banket by his owne countreymen. Thus hathe William Malmeſburye.

Gawan vvhe he is buryed.

VVil. Mal. li. 3. de regibus.

But here you muſte conſider, that the ſayde Malmeſburie departed this lyfe about the beginnyng of the reigne of kyng Henry the ſeconde, certayne yeres before the boanes of Arthur were

founde

found (as before ye haue heard).

But now to ſpeak ſomwhat of queene Guenhera or Guennever, ſome iudge that ſhe toke the name of hir excellent beautie, becauſe Guynne or Guenne in the Welch toung ſignifieth fayre, ſo that ſhe was named Guennere or rather Guellean: euen (as you would ſay) the faire or beautyfull Leonore or Helene. She was brought vp in the houſe of Cador Earle of Cornewall before Arthur maryed hir: and as it appeareth by writers, ſhe was euill reported of, as noted of incontinencie and breache of faith to hir husbande, in ſorte as for the more parte women of excellente beautie hardly eſcape the venimous blaſt of euill toungs, and the ſharpe aſſaultes of the followers of Venus. The Britiſhe hiſtorie affirmeth, that ſhe did not onely abuſe hir ſelfe by vnlawfull cõpanying with Mordred, but that alſo in Arthurs abſence, ſhe conſented to take him to husbande.

It is likewyſe founde recorded by an olde writer, that Arthure beſieged on a tyme the marriſhes neere to Glaſtenburye, for diſpleaſure that he bare vnto a certayne Lorde that highte Melua: whiche had raviſhed Guennere and ledde hir into thoſe Marſhes, and there dydde keepe hir. Hir corps notwithſtanding (as before is recited) was enterred together with Arthurs, ſo that it is thought ſhe liued not long after his deceaſſe.

Arthur had two wyues, as Giraldus Cambrenſis affirmeth, of whiche the latter (ſayth hee) was buryed with him, and his boanes founde with his in one Sepulchre, ſo deuided yet, that two partes of the Tombe towardes the heade were appointed to receyue the bones of the man, and the thyrde parte towardes the feete, conteyned the womans boanes, a parte by them ſelues.

Here is to bee remembred, that Hector Boetius writeth otherwyſe of the death of Arthure than before in thys booke is mencioned, and alſo that Guenuere beeyng taken priſoner by the Pictes, was conueyed into Scotlande, where finally ſhee dyed, and was there buryed in Angus, as in the Scottiſhe Chronicle further appeareth.

And thys may be true, if he hadde three ſundrye wyues, eche of them bearing the name of Guenhere, as ſir John Price doth auouche that hee had.

Becauſe of the contrarietie in writers touchyng the greate actes atchieued by this Arthur, and alſo for that ſome difference there is amongeſt them, aboute the tyme in whyche he ſhould reigne, many haue doubted of the truthe of the whole hiſtorie whyche of hym is written (as before ye haue heard.)

The Britiſhe hiſtories and alſo the Scottiſhe Chronicles doe agree, that he lyued in the dayes of the Emperour Juſtinian, about the fifteenth yeare of whole reigne hee dyed, whiche was in the yeare of oure Lorde. 542. as Harriſon alſo confirmeth. Howbeit ſome write farther from all lykelyhoode, that he was aboute the tyme of the Emperor Zeno, who began his reign about the yeare of our Lord. 474.

542.

The writer of the booke entitled *Aurea hiſtoria* affirmeth, that in the tenth yeare of Cerdicus king of Weaſt Saxons, Arthur the warriour roſe amongeſt the Brytons. Alſo Diobionenſis writeth, that Cerdicius fyghtyng ofttymes with Arthur, if he were ouercome in one moneth, he roſe in an other moneth more fierce and ſtrong to giue battayle than before. *Aurea hiſtoria.* *Leland.*

At lengthe Arthure awearyed with yrkſomneſſe, after the twelfth yeare of the comming of Cerdicius, gaue vnto him vpon his homage don and feaultie receyued the ſhyres of Southampton and Somerſet, the whiche countreys Cerdicius named Weſt ſaxon. VVeſt ſexon.

This Cerdicius or Cerdicus came into Britayne aboute the yeare of oure Lorde. 495. and xviij. yere after his commyng hither, that is to witte, about the yeare of out Lorde. 519. he begaine his reigne ouer the Weaſt Saxons, and gouerned them as kyng by the ſpace of. xv. yeares, as before ye haue heard.

But to followe the courſe of oure Chronicles accordingly as we haue begunne, we muſte allowe of their accompte herein as in other places, and ſo proceede.

In this meane whyle that the Realme was diſquieted with ſore and continuall warres betwixte the Brytons and Saxons, (as before you haue heard) the chriſtian religion was not only aboliſhed in places where the Saxons got habitations, but alſo amongſt the Britons, the right faithe was brought into daunger by the remnaunt of the Pelagian hereſye whiche begaine agayne to be broched by dyuers naughtie perſones. But Dubritius that was fyrſte Biſhoppe of Landaffe, and after Archbiſhoppe of Caerleon Arwiſtle, and hys ſucceſſoure David, with other lerned men earneſtlye bothe by preaching and writing defended the contrarye cauſe, to the confuting of thoſe errours, and reſtabliſhing of the truth. The hereſie of the Pelagians reuiued



Hiſt. Mag. Dubritius and David learned Biſhops.

Conſtãtine.

Conſtantine.



After the death of Arthur, his couſin Cõſtantine the ſon of Cadoꝛ, duke oꝛ earle of Cornwall beganne his reigne ouer the Bꝛytayns, in yeare of our Loꝛde. 542. whiche was aboute the. xb. yeare of the Emperour Juſtinianus almoſt ended, the. 29. of Childebert K. of Fraunce, and the firſt yeare wherein complete of the reigne of Totilas kyng of the Gothes in Italy. 542

Arthur when he perceyued that he ſhould dye, ordeyned this Conſtantine to ſucceede him, and ſo by the conſent of the moꝛe parte of the Bꝛytons, he was crowned kyng: but the ſonnes of Moꝛdꝛed ſoꝛe repined thereat, as they that claymed the rule of the land by iuſte title and clayme of inheritaunce to them from theyꝛ father deſcended. *Galfrid. Mal. VV.*



Herevpon followed ciuill warre, ſo that dyuers batayles were ſtricken betwene them, and in the ende the two bꝛethꝛen were conſtrayned to withdꝛawe foꝛ refuge, the one to London, and the other to Wincheſter: but Conſtantine purſewing them, firſte came to Wyncheſter, and by foꝛce entred the Citie, and ſlewe the one bꝛother that was fledde thyther within the churche of Saincte Amphibalus: And after commyng to London, entred that Citie alſo, and findyng the other bꝛother within a Churche, there ſlewe hym in lyke maner as he had done the other. And ſo hauing diſpatched his aduerſaries, he thoughte to haue purchaſed to himſelfe ſaftie: but ſhoꝛtly after, his owꝛ kinſman, one Aurelius Conanus arreared warre agaynſt him, who ioyning with him in battaile, ſlew him in the field, after he had reigned foure yeares. His body was conueyed to Stonehenge, and there buryed beſyde his auncell our Uter Pendꝛagon.

Ciuill warre.

Aurelius Conanus.

Conſtantine ſlayne.

Of this Conſtantine that ſeemeth to be ment whiche Gildas wꝛiteth in his booke entitled *De excidio Bꝛytanniæ*, where inueying agaynſte the rulers of the Bꝛytons in his tyme, hee wꝛiteth thus:

Gildas.

Bꝛitayn hath kings, but the ſame be tyꝛants: Judges it hath, but they be wicked, oftentymes pilling and harmyng the innocent people, reuenging and defending, but whome? ſuche as bee giltie perſons and robbers. Hauing many wyues, but yet bꝛeakyng wedlocke: Oftentymes ſwearyng and yet foꝛſwearing themſelues: bowing, and foꝛ the moꝛe parte lying: Warring, but mayntenyng ciuill and vniuſt warres, purſuyng in deede theeues that are abꝛoade in the countreye, and yet not onely cheriſhyng thoſe that ſitte euen at table with them, but alſo highly rewarding them: giuing almes largely, but on the other parte heaping vp a myghtie mount of ſynnes: Sitting in the ſeate of ſentence, but ſeldom ſeeking the rule of righteous iudgement: deſpiſing the innocent and humble perſons, and exalting ſo farre as in them lyeth, euen vp to the heauens, the bloudy and pꝛoud murtherers, theeues and adulterers, yea the verye expꝛeſſe enimies of God, if he woulde ſo permitte: keeping many in pꝛiſon, whom they oppꝛeſſe in lodging them with pꝛons thꝛough craſte, rather to ſerue their owne purpoſe, than foꝛ any guilte of the perſons ſo impꝛiſoned: takyng ſolemne othes afoꝛe the aultars, and ſhoꝛtly after, deſpiſing the ſame aulters as vile and filthie ſtones, of whiche heynous and wicked offence, Conſtantine the tyꝛannicall whelpe of the Lyoneſſe of Deuonſhire, is not ignoꝛãt, who this yeare after the receyuing of his dꝛeadfull othe whereby he bounde himſelf that in no wiſe he ſhould hurt his ſubiectꝛs, (God fyꝛſt, and then his othe, with the companie of Saincts, and his mother beeing there preſente) did notwithſtanding in the reuerente laps of the two mothers, as the Church, & their carnall mother, vnder the coule of the holy Abbotte, deuoure with ſwoꝛde and ſpeare in ſtead of teeth, the tender ſides, yea and the entrayles of two chyldꝛen of noble and kyngly race, and likewiſe of their two gouernours, yea and that

that (as I ſayde) amongeſt the ſacred aultares: the armes of whyche perſones ſo ſlayne, not ſtretched forth to defend themſelues with weapons) the whyche fewe in thoſe dayes handled more valyauntly than they) but ſtretched forth I ſaye to God and to his altare in the daye of Iudgemente, ſhall ſette vp theyr reuerente enſignes of their pacience and fayth at the gates of the Citie of Chriſte, whyche ſo haue couered the ſeate of the Celeſtiall ſacrifice, as it were wyth the redde mantell of their cluttered bloud.

And theſe thinges he didde not after any good deedes donne by hym deſerueng prayſe: for manye yeares before ouercome wyth the often and chaungeable fylthes of adulterie, forſakyng his lawfull wyfe contrarye to the Lawes of God &c. hee nowe brought forthe thys cryme of quellyng hys owne kinſemenne, and violatyng the Churche, but neyther being lewſed from the ſnares of his former euyls, he encreaſeth the new with the olde.

Thus in effecte hathe Gildas written of thys Conſtantine with more, for tourning his tale to him by way of calling to hym, he reproueth him of his faultes, and counſelleth hym to repente.

Conanus.



AFter that Aurelius Conanus had ſlayn the forſayd Conſtãtine, as in the Britiſh hiſtories is mẽcioned, the ſame Conan was made king of Britayn in the yeare of our Lord. 546. in the. 20. yere of ỹ emperor Iuſtinianus, & in the. 33. of the reigne of Childeberte king of the Frenchmen.

Thys Aurelius Conanus (as is recorded by ſome writers) was of a noble hearte, free, and liberall, but giuen muche to the mayntenaunce of ſtryfe and diſcorde amongſt his people, lyghte of credite, and namely had an open eare to receiue and heare the reportes of ſuche as accuſed other.

Moreouer, hee was noted of crueltie, as hee that toke his vncle, who of righte ſhoulde haue bene kyng, and kepte hym in priſon, and not ſo ſatiſfyed, ſlewe in tyrannous manner the two ſonnes of his ſayde vncle. But God wouldе not ſuffer hym long to enioye the rule of the lande in ſuche vniuſt dealyng, for he dyed after he hadde reigned the ſpace of two yeares, and left a ſonne behynde hym called Vortipor us, which ſucceeded him in the kingdom, as authours do record.

Of this Aurelius Conanus Gildas writeth, calling vnto him after he hath made an end with his predeceſſor Conſtantin, in this wiſe, ſaying: And thou Lyons whelpe, as ſayeth the Prophet, Aurelius Conanus what doeſt thou? arte thou not ſwallowed vp in the fylthie myre of murthering thy kinſemen, of committyng fornications and adulteries lyke to the other before mencioned, if not more deadlye? as it were wyth the waues and ſurges of the drenching ſeas, ouerwhelmyng thee wyth hir vnmercyfull rage? Doeſt thou not in hating the peace of thy countrey as a deadly ſerpente, and thirſtyng after ciuill warres and ſpoyles, (oftentymes vniuſtly gotten) ſhutte vp againſte thy ſoule, the gates of celeſtiall peace and refreſhement? Thou being lefte alone as a wytheryng tree in the myddle of the fielde, call to remembraunce, I praye thee, the vayne youthefull fantaſy and ouertymely death of thy fathers and thy bretherne: ſhalte thou being ſette a parte, and choſen forth of all thy lynage for thy godly deſertes, bee reſerued to liue an hundred yeares, or remayne on earthe tyll thou bee as olde as Mathuſalem? No no. And after theſe reprehẽſions, with further thretnyngs of Gods vengeaunce, he exhorteth him to amendemente of life, and ſo proceedeth to talke with Vortipor us, whome he nameth the kyng, or rather the tyraunt of Southwales, as after ſhall be reherſed.

The beginning of the kingdom of Brenitia.



Ida.

IN the yeare of oure Lord 547. which was about the firſte yeare of the reygne of Aurelius Conanus, the kingdom of Brenitia began vnder a Saxon ruler there called Ida, the whiche deſcended of Woden, for where ỹ ſame Woden had three ſonnes, Weldecius, Withlegris, and Beldegius, of the firſte, the kings of Kente were lyneally extracted: of the ſeconde the kings of Mertia: and of the thirde ſonne came the kings of Weſtſaxon, and alſo of him was this Ida deſcended, being the nynth in lineall ſucceſſion from the ſayd Beldicius and the tenth from Woden.

547.

H. Hunt.

The kingdome of Brenitia begaune.

The ſame Ida was vndoubtedly a right noble perſonage, and chaunged fyrſt that dukedom into a kyngdome, where before that tyme the Saxons that ruled there were, ſubiectes vnto the kings of Kente. Whether he toke vpon him of his owne accord to vſurpe the kingly title and royall authority, or whether that the ſame was giuen to hym by conſent of other, the certaynty appea-

apeareth not. But ſure it is, that he beyng a worthie Prince, didde nothing degenerate from his noble auncestours inuincible in warre abrode and at home, qualifying his kingly seuritie with a certayne naturall kinde of curteous humanitie. The boundes of his kingdome called(as is ſaid)Brenitia, began in the ſouth at the riuer of Tyne,& ended in the North at the Forth in Scotland,in the Britiſh tong called *Werd.*

The kingdome of Deira beginneth.

Ella.

561.

The beginning of the kingdom of Deira.

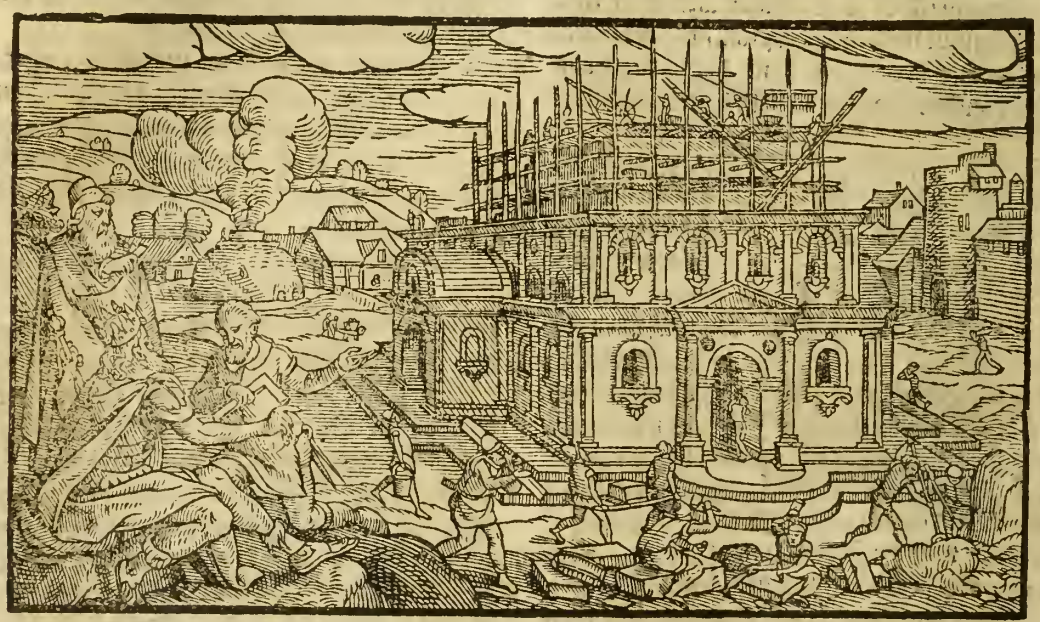


ABoute the ſame time, or rather about 14. yeeres after (as Harryſon ſayth) one Ella a Saxon alſo reygned as king in Deira, whyche kyngdome beganne at the ſaide ryuer of Tyne in the North, and ended at the riuer of Hũber toward the ſouth. Theſe two kingdomes were ſometime gouerned by two ſeuerall kings, and afterwards at other times they were ioyned in one, and gouerned by one onely king, and named the kingdome of Northumberland, the whiche in proces of tyme was muche enlarged, ſo that it included the ſhires of Yorke, Notingham,Derby, Lancaſter, the Biſhoprike of Durham, Copland, and other countreys which lye betwixt the eaſt and the weſt ſeas euen vnto the ryuer of Merſee. The foreſayd Ella was ſon to Iffus, being deſcended from Woden, as the xij. in ſucceſſion from him, though not by right lyne,as Will. Malmeſbury hath noted. Ida (as the ſame Malmeſbury dothe teſtifie) reigned.14. yeares.

The riuer Merſee.

And Ella,which was ſucceſſour to Ida (as he ſayeth) reigned thirtie yeares, and right valiantly enlarged his kingdome. But one author writeth howe Ida reigned but. xij. yeares, and that he buylded the Caſtell of Bamburc, firſte fen-

Mat.VVeſt.



cing it wyth pales , and after wyth a wall of ſtone.

H.Hunt.

Mat.VVeſt.

The ſame Ida had by his wyfe ſixe ſonnes, begot in lawfull bedde, Ida, Ebric, Theodoric, Athelric, Oſmer, and Theofred. Moreouer he begat of certaine concubines (which he kept) ſixe baſtarde ſonnes, Oga, Aleric, Ettha, Odbalde, Segor, and Segother. Theſe came altogether into this land,& arriued at Flemeſburk with fortie ſhippes, as *Mathew VVeſtmonaſterienſis* hath recorded.

The partition of the kingdome of Northumberlande chaunced after the deceaſe of Ida,as the ſame Author ſignifieth: for Ida the ſonne of the foreſaid Ida,ſucceded his father in the kingdom of Bernitia, reignyng therein ſeuen yeares:and Ella the ſonne of Hiſtria,a moſt valiant Duke, began to gouerne Deira, as both the ſayd Mat. Weſtm. and other doe affirme.

Vortiporus.



Vortiporus.

VOrtiporus, ỹ ſonne of Aurelius Conanus ſucceeded his father, and began to reygne ouer the Britons, in the yeare of oure Lorde fiue hundred ſeuentie and ſixe, in the eleuenth yeare of the Emperoure Flauius Anicius Juſtinus, in the fourthe yeare of the reigne of Chil-

Math.VVeſt. noteth.578.

Childerike king of Fraunce, and in the fourth yeare of Clephis the Gotiſhe king in Italy. This Uortipozus vanquiſhed the Saxons in batayle, as the Britiſhe hiſtozies make mention, and valiantly defended his lande and ſubiectes the Brytons, from the daunger of them & other their alies. In the tyme of this kyngs reigne the fozeſayde Ella began to rule in the ſouth parte of the kingdome of Nozthumberlande called Deira, as bekoze is mencioned, accozding to the accõpt of ſome authozs, who alſo take this Uortipozus to begin his reigne in the yeare. 548. Fynally after that Uortipozus hadde ruled the Britons the ſpace of. iiij. yeares, he departed this lyfe, and left no iſſue behynde him to ſuccede him in the kingdome: Againſt whome alſo Gildas turning his tale beginneth with him thus: And why ſtandeſt thou as one ſtarke amazed, thou (I ſay) Uortipozus, the tyzaunt of Southwales, lyke to the Panther in manners and wickednelle, dyuerſly ſpotted as it were with many colours, with thy hoze head in thy thzone full of decepytes, craftes, and wyles, and defiled euen from the loweſt part of thy bodie vp to the crowne of the heade, with diuers ſundzye murthers committed in thyne owne kinne, and filthye adulteries, thus pzouing a naughtie ſonne of a good king, as Manaſſes was to Ezechias: how chanceth it that the violente ſtreames of ſinnes, which thou ſwalloweſt vp lyke pleaſant wyne, oz rather arte deuoured of them, (the ende of thy lyfe by little and little nowe dzawyng neere,) can not yet ſatiſfye thee? What meaneſt thou that with foznication of all euyls, as it were the ful heape, thyne owne wyfe being putte awaye, and by hir honeſte death doeſt oppzeſſe thy ſoule wyth a certayne burdeyn that can not bee auoyded, of thyne vnſhamefaſt daughter? Conſume not (I pzay thee) the relydue of thy dayes to the offence of God, and ſo fozth, exhozting him to repentaunce, wyth admonitions taken oute of the Scriptures, bothe foz his comfozte and warnyng.

If the circumſtaunce of thys that Gildas wziteth of Uortipozus bee marked, it maye bee perceyued, that Geffrey of Monmouthe, and alſo Mathewe of Weſtminſter, the Authour of the Floures of hiſtozies, are deceyued in that they take hym to bee the ſonne of Aurelius Conanus: and rather it maye bee gathered, that not onely the ſame Aurelius Conanus and Uortipozus, but alſo Conſtantinus, yea and Cuneglaſus, and Maglocunus, of the whiche he alſo intreateth (as partly ſhall bee hereafter touched) liued, and reigned all at one tyme in ſeuerall partes of thys Ile, and not as Monarkes of the whole Britiſhe nation, but as rulers eche of them in his quarter, after the manner as the ſtate of Irelande hath bin in tymes paſte bekoze the countrey came vnder the Engliſhe ſubiection, if my coniecture herein doe not deceyue me.

Malgo.



Malgo.

AFter the deceaſſe of Uortipozus, Malgo that was nephewe to Aurelius Conanus, (as ſome wzite) was made king of Britayne, and began his reigne ouer the Britons, in the yeare of our Lozd. 580. in the. xv. yeere of the Emperoz Juſtinian, and in the. 37. yeere of the reigne of Childerick king of the Frenchmen.

Math. VVeſt. hath noted. 581.

580.

This Malgo is repozted to haue beene the comelyeſt Gentleman in beautie and ſhape of perſonage that was to be founde in thoſe dayes amongeſt all the Brytons, and therewith of a bolde and hardie courage. Hee manfully defended the countrey which he had in gouernaunce, from the malice of the Saxons, & ſubdued the out Iles, as Dzkeneye and others. But notwithſtãding the noble qualities with the whiche his perſone was adozned, yet hee ſpotted them all with the foule filthie ſynne of Sodomie, ſo that he fell into the hatred of Almightie God, and being purſued of the Saxons, receyued many ouerthzowes at their handes, as by the repozte of the Engliſhe wziters is gathered moze at large. Finallye when hee had reigned fiue yeeres and odde moneths, hee departed this lyfe.

Gal. Mon.

Iſt ſeemeth that this Malgo is named by Gildas Maglocunus, the whiche Gildas bekoze he ſpeaketh of him, inueyeth againſt one Cuneglaſus, whom he repzoueth, foz that he warred both againſt God and man: againſt God with greuous ſins, as namely adulterie, in foꝛſaking the companie of his lauful wife, and keeping to concubine a ſyſter of hirs, that hadde pzofeſſed chaſtitie: and againſte man with materiall armoz and weapons, whiche hee vſed to the diſtruction of his owne countreymen, with whome he kept warres, and not againſt the enimies of the common wealth. From Cuneglaſus he commeth to the fozſayde Maglocune, whome hee nameth the Dzagon of the

Math. VVeſt. compteth not paſt fiue yeeres to his reigne, vvhom Hariſ. folovveth, although other affirme that he reigned. 35. yeares.

of the Iſles, and the expeller of many tyrants, not only out of their kingdomes, but alſo out of lyfe, the laſt of whome he entreateth (as he himſelfe ſayth) but the firſt in all miſchiefe and euil, greater than manye in power, and lykewiſe in malice: right liberall in giuing, but more plentifull in ſinne: ſtrong and valiant in armes, but ſtronger in deſtruction of his owne ſoule. And ſo proceeding chargeth him with the ſinne of the Sodomites, and ſore blameth him for that wher it had pleaſed God to make him hygher than all the other Dukes of Britayne in kyngdome and degree, hee didde not ſhewe hymſelfe better, but contrarely worſe than they by farre in manners and conditions. Hee declareth alſo a little after that this Maglocune in his young yeares ſlewe in battayle his vncle being king, with the moſt valiaunt ſouldiours in manner that he had.

Alſo that where the ſame Maglocune toke vpon him the profeſſion of a Monke, he after renounced the ſame, and becam a worſe liuer than euer he was before, abandoning his wyfe, and keping his brothers ſonnes wife, whileſt hir huſbande yet lyued.

Thus by that whiche Gildas wryteth of the kings and rulers of the Britons whiche lyued in his dayes, ye may perceiue that they were giuen to all manner of wickednеſſe, and namely to ciuill diſſention, rapine, adulterie and fornication: ſo that it maye bee thoughte, that God ſtirred vp the Saxons to be a ſcurge to them, and to worke his iuſte vengeaunce vppon them for theyr wicked and abhominable offences dayly committed againſt his diuine maieſtie, ſo that we fynde recorded by writers howe that the Saxons in dyuers conflictes againſt the Brytons hadde the better, and alſo toke from them diuers townes as already partly hath bin and alſo hereafter ſhal be ſhewed.

IT is furthermore to be remembred, that about the.14. yeare of the Britayn king Conanus his reigne, whiche was aboute the end of the yeare of Chriſte. 559. Kenrike kyng of the Weſtſaxons departed this lyfe, after he hadde reigned.25. yeares complete. 559.

This Kenrike was a victorious Prince, and fought diuers battailes againſt the Britons. In the.xviij. yeare of his reigne which was the. 551. of Chriſt, we fynd that he fought againſt them, beeing come at that tyme vnto Saliſburie, and after greate ſlaughter made on bothe partes, at length the victorie remayned with the Saxons, and the Britons were chaſed. Againe in the two and twentie yere of his reigne and. 555. yere of Chriſt, the ſame Kenrik and his ſon Chebling fought with a greate power of Britons at Beranbury. H. Hunt.

The Britons were diuided into. ix. cõpanies, iij. in the foreward. iij. in the battayle. & iij in the rereward with their horſmen & archers, after the maner of the Romans. The Saxons being ranged in one entier bataile, baliantly aſſailed them, and notwithſtanding the ſhot of the Britons, yet they brought the matter to the triall of handblowes, til at length by the cõming on of the night, the victorie remained doubtfull: and no maruell is to be made therof (ſayeth Henry Archedeacon of Huntington) ſith the Saxons were menne of ſuche huge ſtature, greate force and valyaunt courage.

The ſame yeare that Kenrike deceaſſed, Ida the king of Northumberlande alſo died: he was (as ye haue heard) a right baliãt prince, & enlarged the dominion of the Saxons greately. He ouercame in battaile Loth king of the Pictes, and Gorrane or rather Conrane king of Scots.

Alſo about the yeare of Chriſt. 560. Conanus (as yet gouerning the Britons) Irmenrike king of Kente, departed this lyfe, of whome ye haue heard before, and Ethelberte his ſonne ſucceeded him. 52. yeres. Then after that the forſaid three princes were dead (as before ye haue heard) they had that ſucceeded thẽ in their eſtates as here followeth. After Kenrike, his ſonne Ceaulinus or Cheblyng ſucceeded in gouernment of the Weſtſaxons: and after Ida, one Ella or Alla reigned in Northumberland: After Irmenrike followed his ſonne Ethelberte in rule ouer the Kentiſhe Saxons. 560. H. Hunt.

This Ethelberte in proceſſe of tyme grewe to be a mightie prince, but yet in the beginnyng of his reign, he had but ſory ſucceſſe againſt ſome of his enimies: for hauing to do with the forſaid Cheblyng king of Weſtſaxons, he was of hym ouercome in battaile at Wilbaldowne, where he loſt two of his dukes or chiefe Captaines, beſide other people. This was the firſt batteil that was foughten betwixte the Saxons, one againſte an other within this land, after their firſt comming into the ſame. And this chaunced in the yeare of our Lorde. 567. being the ſeconde yeare of the Emperour Juſtinus. H. Hunt. lias VVi. handun.

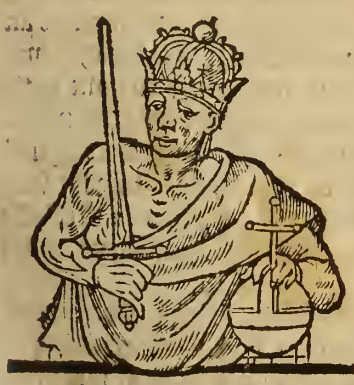
ABoute the yeare. 570. Cutha the brother of king Cheblyng foughte with the Brytons at Bedforde and ouercame them, and toke from them foure townes, Ligaubrough, Egleſbroughe, or Aylesburye, Beſington, and Eueſham. Alſo about the yeare of our Lorde. 581. the forſayde King Ceuling encountred with the Britaynes at a place called Dyorth, and obteyning the vpper hand, toke from them the Cities of Bathe, Gloueeſter, and Cirenceſter. 570. Cutha. Aleſbury. 581.

At this battayle fought at Dyorth, were preſente three kyngs of the Britons, whoſe names were theſe: Coinmagill, Candidan, and Farinnagill, the whiche were ſlayne there through the

the permission of almightie God as then refusing his people, the which through their heynous sinnes and great wickednesse, had most greuously offended his high and diuine Maiestie, as by Gildas it may euidently appeare: for they hadde declined from the lawes of the Lorde, and were become abhominable in his sight, euen from the Prince to the poore man, from the Priest to the Leuite, so that not one estate amongest them walked vprightley, but contrarie to duetie was gone astraye, by reason whereof, the righteous God had giuen them ouer as a pray to their enimyes.

Also in the latter ende of Malgos dayes or about the first beginning of the reigne of his successour Caretieus, Chebling and his sonne Cutwyne fought with the Brytons at a place called Feehanley or Fedanley, or as some bookes haue, Frithenlye, where Cutwyn was slayne, and the Englishemen chased: but yet Chebling repairing his armie, wan the victorie, and chased the Britons, and toke from them many countreys, and wan great riches by the spoyle. But Math. Westm. sayth, that the victorie aboode with the Brytons, and that the Saxons were chased quite out of the fielde. The Scottishe writers recorde, that their king Aydan was there in ayde of the Brytons, and Brudeus kyng of the Pictes in ayde of the Saxons: but the same writers name the place Deglaston, where this battayle was foughte.

The beginning of the kingdome of Mercia.



About the same time also and. 585. of Christ, the kyngdome of Mercie began vnder one Crida, that was descended from Woden, and the tenth from him by lineall extraction. The boundes of this kingdom were of great distance hauing on the east the sea vnto Humber, and so on the North the sayde riuer of Humber, and after the ryuer of Mercie, whiche falleth into the weast sea at the corner of Wyrehall, and so comming aboute to the ryuer of Dee that passeth by Chester, the same ryuer bounded it on the Weast from Wales, and likewyse Seuerne vp to Bristow: on the south it had the ryuer of Thames, til it came almost to London: And in this sort it contayned Lincolneshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Cheshyre, Shropshire, Worcestershire, Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Herefordshire, Bedfordshire, Huntingtonshire, Northamptonshire, Leycestershire, and Warwikeshire.

Thus haue ye heard how the Saxons in proces of tyme removing the Britons out of their seates, daylye wanne grounde of them, till at length they got possession of the best part of this Isle, and erected within the same seuen kingdomes, whiche were gouerned by seauen seuerall kings, which continued vntill at length the kinges of Westsaxō brought them al into one Monarchie, as after shal appere. Mat. Westm. reckeneth. viij. kingdomes as thus. The kingdome of Kent, the kingdome of Sussex, the kingdome of Essex, the kingdom of Eastangle, the kingdome of Mercia, the kyngdome of Weastsex, and the kyngdome of Northumberlande, whyche was diuided into two kyngdomes, that is to wit, into Deira and into Bernitia: whereunto Harison addeth the nynth in the first part of his chronologie, and calleth it Wales.

Caretieus or Caretius K. of Britayn.



After that Malgo or Maglocune was departed this lyfe, one Caretieus (or as some write hym Caretius) was made Kyng of the Britons and began his Reigne in the yeare of our Lorde. 586 whiche was in the thyrde yeare of the Emperoure Mauritius and thirteenth of Chilperike king of Fraunce. *Caretieus. 586.*

This Caretieus was a noryssher of ciuill warre and discention amongst his own people the Britons, so that he was hated both of god and man as writers testifye.

The Saxons vnderstanding that the Britons were not of one mind, but deuided in partakings, so as one was ready to deuoure an other, they thought it good time for them to aduaunce their conquests, and ceassed not to pursue the Britons by force and continuall warre, till they had constrained them for refuge to withdraw into Wales. And as some haue written, the Saxons meanyng to make a full conquest of the lande, sent ouer into Ireland, requiring one Eurmundus a kyng of the Affricanes to come ouer into Britayne to healpe them agaynste the Brytaynes. *Gulf. Mon.* *Ranulf. Cest.*

See more of this Garmundus in Ireland.

This

This Gurmundus appoyntyng his brother Targelius to purſue the conqueſt of Irelande, came and arriued here in Britayn, making ſuche cruell warre in ayde of the Saxons againſt the Britons, that Careticus was conſtreyned to keepe him within the citie of Ciceſter, or Cirenceſter, and was there beſieged, and at length by continuall aſſaults and ſkirmiſhes, when he had loſt manie of his men, hee was glad to forſake that citie, and fled into Wales.



Gourmonde toke Cirenceſter or Chicheſter, and deſtroyed it in moſte cruell manner. Some write, that he toke this citie by a policie of war, in bynding to the feet of Sparrowes whiche his people had caught, certaine clewes of threede or matches, finely wrought and tempred with matter readie to take fire, ſo that the Sparrowes being ſuffered to goe out of hande, flewe into the towne to lodge them ſelues within their neſtes whiche they had made in ſtackes of corne, and eues of houſes, ſo that the towne was thereby ſet on fyre, and then the Brytons iſſuing forth, foughte with their enimies, and were ouercome and diſcomfited.

But whyleſt the battayle continued, Careticus ſtale away, and got him into Wales. After this, the forſayd Gurmonde deſtroyed thys lande throughout in pitifull wyſe, and then deliuered it in poſſeſſion to the Saxons, the whiche thankfully receiued it: and bicauſe they were deſcended of thoſe that firſte came ouer with Hengiſt, they chaunged the name of the lande, and called it Hengiſtlande, accordingly as the ſame Hengiſt had in tymes paſt ordeined: the whiche name after for ſhortneſſe of ſpeeche was ſomewhat altered, and ſo laſtly called Englande, and the people Engliſhmen.

But rather it may be thought, that ſith a great part of thoſe people whiche came ouer into thys lande out of Germanie with the ſayde Engiſte, and other captaines, were of thoſe Engliſhmen whiche inhabited Germanie, about the parties of Thoringhen, they called this land England, after their name, when they had firſt got habitatiõ within it: and ſo both the lande and people toke name of them, beeing called *Angli* long tyme before they entered into this Iſle (as before is ſhewed out of Cornelius Tacitus and others.) But nowe to returne where we lefte. *Mat. VV.*

Of this Gurmounde the olde Engliſh wryters make no mention, nor alſo any auncient authors of forreyn parties: and yet ſayth the Britiſh booke, that after he had conquered this land, & giuẽ it to the Saxons, he paſſed ouer into Frãce, and there deſtroyed muche of that lande, as an enemy to the faith of Chriſte: for whiche conſideratiõ, he was the more ready to come to the ayde of the Saxons, who as yet hadde not receyued the Chriſtian fayth, but warred againſt the Brytaynes, as well for to deſtroy the faith of Chryſte within this lande, as to eſtablyſhe to them ſelues contynuall habitations in the ſame.

There bee, that omittyng to make mention of Gurmounde, write thus of the expulſing of the Brytaynes oute of this lande at that tyme when wyth their king Careticus they got them into Wales. *It ſhould ſeem that this hiſtorie of Gurmond is but ſome forged tale extant, it may be that he vvas ſome Dane, Norvvegian or Germaine.*

586.

IN the yeare of grace. 586. Kareticus a louer of ciuil warre ſucceded Malgo an enimie to God and to the Britons, whoſe inconſtancie when the Engliſhe and Saxon kinges perceiued, with one conſent they roſe againſte him, and after many battails chaſed him from citie to citie, till at lengthe enconntring wyth him in a pight field, they droue him beyond Seuerne into Wales. Herebpon clerks and prieſtes were dryuen oute of theyr places with brighte ſwordes bran- *Mat. VV.*

brandishing in all partes, and fire crackling in Churches, wherewith the same were consumed. The remnante of the Britaynes therefore withdrew into the West partes of the land, that is to witte into Cornewale, and into Wales, out of which countreys they oftentimes brake out, and made reyses vppon the Saxons, the whyche in manner aforesayde, gote possession of the chiefest partes of the lande, leauing to the Britaynes only three prouinces, that is to witte, Cornewale, Southwales, and Northwales, which countreis were not easie to be wonne, by reason of the thick woodes enuirened with deepe marishes and waters, & full of high craggy rockes, & Mountaines.

The English and Saxon Kings hauing thus remoued the Britaynes, enlarged the boundes of their dominions. There raigned in that season within this land beside the Britaine Kings eight Kings of the Englishe and Saxon nations, as Ethelbert in Kent, Cissa in Sussex, Ceaulne in Westsex, Credda or Crida in Mercia, Erkenwine in Essex, Titila in Estangle, Elle in Deira, and Alfrid in Bernicia. In this sort the Britaynes lost the possession of the more part of their auntiente seates, and the faithe of Christ thereby was greatly decayed: for the Churches were destroyed, & the Archbishops of Caerleon Irwske, London, and Yorke, withdrewe togither with their Cleargie into the Mountaynes and woods within Wales, taking with them the relikes of Saintes for doubt the same shoulde be destroyed by the enimies, and themselues put to deathe if they should abide in their olde habitations. Many also fled into Britaine Armorike with a greate fleete of Shippes, so that the whole Church or congregation (as yee may call it) of the two prouinces, Loegria and Northumberland, was left desolate in that season, to the great hinderance and decay of the Christian Religion. Caeticus was driue into Wales (as before is rehearsed) about the second or third yeare of his raigne, and there continued with his Britaines, the which ceassed not to endomage the Saxons from time to time as occasiō serued. But heere is to be noted, that ỳ Britanes being thus remoued into Wales & Cornewall, were gouerned afterwardes by three kings, or rather Tirants, the which ceassed not with ciuill warre to seeke eache others destruction, till finally as sayth the Brittish booke, they became all subiect vnto Cadwallo, whome Bede nameth Cedwallo. In ỳ mean time Ciaulinus or Cheuling King of the West Saxons, through hys owne misgouernance and tyrannie whyche towardes his latter dayes hee practised, did procure not only the Britaines, but also his own subiects to conspire his deathe, so that ioyning in battell with his aduersaries at Wodenesdic in the. 32. yere of his raigne, his army was discomfited, and he himselfe constreyned to departe into exile, and shortly after ended his life before he coulde fynde meanes to be restored.



Ceolric.

After this Cheuling, his Nephewe Celricus or Ceolric that was sonne vnto Cutwine, ỳ sonne of the forsayde Cheuling, raigned as Kyng ouer the West Saxons fiue yeares fiue monethes. In like manner the same yeare dyed Ella or Alla Kyng of Northumberland, after whome succeeded Ethelricus the sonne of Ida, & raigned but fiue yeares, being a man well stept into age before he came to be King. About three yeares after this, the Saxons and Britaines fought a battel at Wodenesbourne, where the Britaynes beeing raunged in good order, the Saxons set vpon them boldly indeede, but disordredly, so that the victory remayned with the Britaynes. The Saxons the more valiant they had shewed themselues in battel, before that time, so much the more slowe and vntowardly did they shewe themselues nowe in running away to saue themselues, so that an huge number of them were slayne. Also about ỳ same time dyed Crida King of Mercia by. 594. after whome his sonne Wibbas or Wipha succeeded. And after the decesse of Ethelrike, one Edelfert or Edelfride surnamed the wilde, succeeded in gouernement of the Northumbers. But to returne to our purpose. Ethelbert King of Kent not discouraged with the euill chance whiche hapned in the beginning, but rather occasioned thereby to learne more experience in feates of warre, proued so perfect a master therein, that in processe of time hee subdued by force of armes all those Englishe Saxons whiche lay betwixte the boundes of hys countrey, and the Riuer of Humber. Also to haue friendship in forraine partes, he procured a Wife for himselfe of the French nation, named the Lady Bertha, being King Cheribertes daughter of France, but with condition that he should permit hir to continue and vse the rites and lawes of the Christian faith and Religion, and to haue a Bishop whose name was Luydhard, appointed to come and remayne with hir here in this lande for hir better instructiō in the lawes of the Lord: so that they two with other of the French nation that came ouer with them remaining in ỳ Court and vsing to serue God in prayers and otherwise according to the custome of the Christian Religion, began vndoubtedly to giue light to ỳ kings mind as yet darkned with the Cloudes of Paganisme, so as the bright beames of ỳ celestial clerenesse of vnderstanding remoued the thicke mistes

594

Beda. Wil. Mal.

of his vnbeleefe in proceſſe of time, and prepared his hart to the receyuing of the Goſpell, which after by heauenly prouidēce was preached to him, by occaſion, and in manner as followeth. In the yeare of our Lord. 596. which was about the. 14. yeare of the raigne of the Emperour Mauritius, and after the comming of the Engliſh Saxons into this land, about an hundred and. 47. yeares almoſt complete, the Biſhop of Rome, Gregory ỳ firſt of that name, and ſurnamed Magnus, ſente Auguſtinus a Monke, with other learned men into this Ile to preach the Chriſtian faythe vnto the Engliſh Saxons, whiche nation as yet had not receyued the Goſpell.

Beda. Mat. VVeſt. hath. 596.

47. hath the ſame Author.



Beda. VV. Mal.

It is recorded by diuers writers, that the verie occaſion whereby Gregory was moued thus to ſend Auguſtine into this lād, roſe by this meanes: It chanced whileſt the ſame Gregory was as yet but Archdeacon of the Sea of Rome, certayne yong boyes were brought thither to be ſolde out of Northumberland, according to the cuſtomable vſe of that countrey, in ſomuche that as we haue in our time ſeene (ſaith Wil. Mal.) the people of that prouince haue not yet doubted to ſell away their neere kinſfolke for a ſmall price. Whē thoſe children whiche at that time were brought from thence to Rome, had by reaſon of their excellente beauties and comely ſhape of limmes and body, turned the eyes in manner of all the Citizens to the beholding of them, it fortuned that Gregory alſo came amongſt other to beholde them, and when hee conſidered and well viewed their fayre ſkinnes, their ſweete viſages, and beautifull buſſhes of their bright and yellow heares, he demanded out of what region or land they came, vnto whome aunſwere was made, that they were brought out of Britayne, the inhabitants of whiche countrey were of the like beautifull aſpect: thē he aſked whether the men of that countrey were Chriſtians, or as yet entangled with blinde heathenish errors, whereunto it was aunſwered, that they were not chriſtned, but followed the Religion of the Gentiles, whereat Gregory fetching a deepe ſigh, ſayd: oh alas that the author of darkneſſe doth as yet poſſeſſe mē of ſo bright ſome coūtenances, & that with the grace of ſuche faire ſhining viſages, they beare about minds voyde of inward grace. He demanded againe by what name ỳ people were called, & anſwere was made, ỳ they wer called *Angli*, that is to ſay Engliſhmē. And worthily (ſaith he) for they haue angels faces, and ſuch as ought to be made fellow heires with Angels in Heauen. Then aſked he ỳ name of ỳ prouince frō whēce they were brought, & it was tolde him they were of *Deira*. It is well ſayd hee, they are to be deliuered *de ira dei*, that is to ſay, from the ire and wrath of God, & called to the mercy of Chriſt our Lord. What name (ſayde he) hath the King of that prouince, whereunto anſwere was made that he was called *Alla*, whereupō alluding to ỳ name, he ſaid, that *Alleluia* ought to be ſong in thoſe partes to the praiſe & honor of God ỳ creator. And hereupō comming to Benedict the firſt of ỳ name as then Biſhop of Rome, hee required him ỳ ſome learned mē might be ſent into Englād to preach ỳ Goſpel vnto the Engliſhmē, offering himſelfe to be one of the number: but though Benedict was cōtented to graunt his requeſt, yet ỳ Romanes had him in ſuch eſtimatiō, that they would not cōſent ỳ he ſhould depart ſo farre from ỳ citie, ſo that by thē he was at that time ſtayed of that his godly purpoſe. But whē he came to be Biſhop, he thought to performe it, though not by himſelf, yet by other: & ſo Auguſtine & his felowes wer ſent by him about it (as before is ſayd.) By the way as they were paſſing in their iourney, ſuch a ſoddayne feare entred into their harts, that (as ſome write) they returned all. Other write, that Auguſtine was ſent back to Gregory to ſue that they might be releaſſed of that voyage ſo dāgerous and vncertain amongſt ſuch a barbarous people, whoſe language they neyther knewe, nor whoſe rudeneſſe they wer able to reſiſt. Thē Gregory with pithie perſwaſions confirming and cōforting him, ſente him againe with letters vnto the Biſhop of Arles, willing him to help and ayd the ſayde Auſtine and his company in all what ſo euer his neede required. Alſo other letters he directed by the foreſaide Auſtine vnto hys fellowes, exhorting them to goe forewarde boldly in the Lordes worke, as by the tenor of the ſayde Epiſtle heere following may appeare.

Vita Gregorij magni.

Pelagius ſeconde. VVil. Mal.

Pelagius.

M. Fox.

Gregorius ſeruus ſeruorum Dei Domini noſtri Quia melius fuerat bona non incipere quàm ab ijs quæ cepta ſunt cogitatione retrorſum redire. &c.

In Engliſh, Gregory the ſeruant of Gods ſeruauntes, to the ſeruantes of oure Lorde. For as muche as it is better not to take good thyngs in hande, than after they bee begunne, to thynke to reuolte backe from the ſame agayne, therefore

now

now you may not nor cannot (deere children) but with all feruente studie and labour must needes goe forwarde in that good businesse, whiche thorough the helpe of God you haue well begunne. Neyther let the labour of youre iourney, nor the slanderous tongues of men apall you, but that with all instance and feruencie yee proceede and accomplish the thing which the Lord hath ordeyned you to take in hãd, knowing that your great trauell shall be recompensed with reward of greater glory hereafter to come. Therefore as we send heere Austin to you agayne, whome also we haue ordeyned to be your gouernoure, so do you humbly obey him in all things, knowing that it shall be profitable for your soules what soeuer at hys admonitiõ ye shall doe. Almighty God with hys grace defende you, and graunt me to see in the eternall countrey the fruite of your labour, that although I cannot labour in the same felowshippe with you togither, the Lorde God keepe you safe most deere and welbeloued children. Dated the tenth before the Calendes of August, in the raigne of our soueraigne Lorde Mauritius most vertuous Emperour, the fourteenth of his Empire.

Thus they emboldned and comforted through the good wordes and wholesome exhortation of Gregory, set forward agayne, and speeding forth their iourney, they first arriued at ẏ Isle of Thanet in Kente in the moneth of July, being in nũber about fortie persons, of the whiche diuers were interpreters whom they brought with them out of Fraunce. These they sente vnto King Ethelbert, signifying to him the occasion of theyr comming, who hearing the messengers within a fewe dayes after, went into that Isle, and there abyde out of any house sate downe, and caused Augustine and hys fellowes to come before him, for he would not come vnder any roofe with thẽ, fore doubting to bee bewitched by them, beeyng perswaded that they were practised in nigromãcie. But they comming to him, not by the power of the Deuill (as they sayd) but by the myght and power of Almightie God, bearing in stede of a banner a Crosse of syluer, and an Image of our Lord & Sauioure paynted in a Table, & thereto singing ẏ Letanies, made intercessiõ vnto the L. for the euerlasting preseruation of themselues, & of all them for whome and to whome they came.

The seuenfold Letanies of S. Gregory were not yet deuised.



And when they being set downe by commãdement of the King, had preached the worde of life to him and to all those that came thither with him, he made them this answere, that their wordes and promises were good: but for as much as the same were new and vncertayne to him that had bin brought vp in the contrary doctrine, he could not rashly assent to their admonitions, and leaue that beleefe which he and the English nation had so long a time obserued and kept: but (sayd he) because ye haue trauelled farre to the intent to make vs partakers of those things whiche ye beleeue to bee most true and perfecte, wee will thus muche graunt vnto you, that yee shall bee receyued into this countrey, and haue herbrough with thyngs sufficient found vnto you for your mayntenance and sustentation: neither will we hinder you, but ẏ ye may by Preaching associat a fayre as many of our subiectes as ye can vnto your law and beliefe. They had therefore assigned vnto them a place to lodge in within the City of Canterbury, which was ẏ head citie of al his dominion. It is said ẏ as they approched ẏ citie according to their manner, they had a crosse borne afore them, with an image of our Lorde Jesus Christe, and they followed in singing this Letany: *Deprecamur te Domine in omni misericordia tua, vt auferatur furor tuus & ira tua à ciuitate ista & de domo sancta tua, quoniã peccauimus. alleluya.* That is to say VVe beseech the O Lord in al thy mercy that thy

fury and wrath may be taken from this citie, and from thy holy houſe, for wee haue ſynned. Prayſe be to thee oh Lorde. After they were receyued into Canterbury, they began to followe the trade of lyfe whiche the Apoſtles vſed in the *Beda.* primatiue Churche, that is to witte, exerciſing *Mat. VVeſt.* themſelues in continuall prayer, watching, faſting, and in preaching the woꝛde to as many as they coulde, deſpiſing all woꝛldly pleaſures, as not apperteyning to them, receyuing onely (of them whome they taughte) thyngs that ſeemed neceſſary foꝛ the ſuſtenance of their life, and liuing in all poyntes accoꝛding to the doctrine whyche they ſet foꝛthe, hauing theyꝛ mindes ready to ſuffer in patience all aduerſities what ſo euer, yea and death it ſelfe, foꝛ the confirming of that whi- The Chriſtian faith receyued of the Engliſhmen. che they nowe preached. Heereupon, many of the Engliſhe people beleeued and were baptiſed, hauing in greate reuerence the ſimplicitie of the innocente liues of thoſe men, and the ſweeteneſſe of their heauenly doctrine. There was a Church neere to the Citie on the Eaſt parte thereof dedicated in the honoꝛ of Saint Martine, and buylded of old time whileſt the Romaynes as yet inhabited Britayne, in the whiche the Queene being (as we haue ſayd) a Chriſtian, vſed to make hir prayers. To this Churche Auſtine and hys fellowes at their firſt comming accuſtomed to reſoꝛte, and there to ſing, to pray, to ſay Maſſe, to preach and to baptiſe, till at length the Kyng being conuerted, graunted them licence to preache in euery place, and to buylde and reſtoꝛe Churches where they thought good. After that ỹ King being perſwaded by their doctrine, good examples giuing, and diuers miracles ſhewed, was once baptiſed, the people in great number begã to giue care vnto the Preaching of the Goſpell, and renouncing their heathenith beleefe, became Chriſtians, in ſo much that as Gregoꝛy remembꝛeth, *Lib. 7.* ther were baptiſed tenne thouſand perſons in one



day, being the feaſt of the natiuitie of our Sauiour. 597. indictione. *Polieron.* But ſome wꝛite how thys ſhould chance towarde the latter ende of Auguſtines dayes, after he was admitted to preach the Goſpell amongſt them that inhabited about Yoꝛke (as ſome wꝛite) which affirme, that the ſaid number of tenne thouſande was baptiſed in the Riuer of Suale, whiche as William Harriſon ſayeth, cannot be verified, becauſe of the indiction and death of Gregoꝛy. But to proceede: The king reioiced at the conuerſion thus of his people, how- *Beda. lib. 1. cap. 26. & 27.* beit, he would not foꝛce any man to be baptiſed, but only ſhewed by his behauiour, that he fauoꝛed thoſe that beleeued moꝛe than other, as fellowe Citizens with him of the heauenly Kingdome: foꝛ he learned of them that had inſtructed hym in the faith, that the obedience due to Chriſt oughte not to be inforced, but to come of good wil. Moꝛeouer, he pꝛouided foꝛ Auguſtine and his fellowes a conuenient place foꝛ their habitation within the Citie of Canterbury, and further gaue them neceſſary reuenewes in poſſeſſion foꝛ their maynteRe'ligion not to be inforced, but taughte and preached. nance. After that the faith of Chriſte was thus receyued of the Engliſhmen, Auguſtine went into Fraunce, and there of the Archbiſhop of Arles named Etherius, he was oꝛdeined Archbiſhop of the Engliſhe nation, accoꝛding to the oꝛder pꝛeſcribed by Gregoꝛie befoꝛe ỹ departure of the ſaide Auguſtine frõ Rome. After his returne into Britane, he ſent Laurẽce a Pꝛieſt, & Peeter a Monke vnto Rome, to giue knowledge vnto Gregoꝛy the Biſhop, howe the Engliſhmen had receyued the faith, and that hee was oꝛdeyned Archbiſhop of the land, accoꝛding to that he had commaunded, if the woꝛke pꝛoſpered vnder his hande as it had done. He alſo required to haue Gregoꝛies aduice touching certain oꝛdinances to be made and obſerued in the new Church of England: whereAuguſtine oꝛdeyned Archbiſhop of the Engliſh nation. Laurence Prieſt.

vpon

vpon Gregory in sending backe the messengers wrote answer vnto all his demaundes, and first touching the conuersation of Archbishops with ẏ Cleargie, and in what sorte the Churche goodes oughte to be employed, he declareth that the auntient custome of the Apostolike See was to giue commaundemente vntō Bishops ordeyned, that the profytes & reuenewes of their benefices ought to be deuided into foure partes, whereof the firste should be appoynted to the Bishop and his family for the maynetenance of hospitalitie: the second should be assigned to the Cleargie: the thirde to be giuen to the poore: and the fourth to be employed vpon repayring of temples. Also as touching the diuersitie of customes in Churches. And where in the Churche of Rome one custome in saying of Masse or ẏ Liturgie was obserued, and an other custome in France, concerning such Church seruice. Gregory aduised Augustine that if he found anye thing either in the Churche of Rome, either in the Churche of Fraunce, or in anye other Churche whiche might most please the almightie God, he should diligently chose it forth, and instruct the Church of England (now beyng new) according to that forme whiche hee shoulde gather forth of the sayd Churches: for the thyngs are not loued for the places sake, but the places for the things sake.

Also for the punishing of suche as had stolen things out of Churches, so neere as might bee, the offender shoulde bee chastised in charitie, so as he might know his fault, and if it were possible, restore the thing taken away. Also as touching degrees in mariages, Englishmē might take to their wiues, women that touched them in the third and fourth degree without reprehension, and if any vnlawfull marriages were founde amongst the Englishmē, as if the sonne had married the fathers wife, or the brother the brothers wife, they ought to be warned in any wise to abstayne, and vnderstand it to be a greeuous sinne: yet shoulde they not for that thing be depriued of the Communiō of the body & bloud of our Lord, least those things might seeme to be punished in them wherein they had offended (before their conuersion to the Christian fayth) by ignorance: for at this season ẏ Church (sayth he) correcteth some things of a feruente earnestnesse, suffereth some things of a gētle mildnesse, and dissimuleth some things of a prudent consideration, and so beareth and dissimuleth the same, that oftentimes the euill which she abhorreth by such bearing and dissimuling, is restreyned and reformed. Moreouer, touching the ordeyning of Bishops, hee woulde they should be so placed, that the distance of place might not bee a lette, but that when a Bishoppe shoulde bee consecrated, there might bee three or foure present.

Also touching the Bishoppes of Fraunce, hee willed Augustine in no wise to intermedle with them, otherwise than by exhortacion and good admonitions to be giuen, but not to presume any thing by authority, sith the Archbishop of Arles had receyued the Palle in tymes past, whose authoritie hee might not diminishe, least he should seeme to put his sicle into another mans haruest. But as for the Bishops of Britayne, he committed them vnto him, that the vnlearned might be taught, the weake with wholesome perswasions strengthned, and the frowarde by authoritie reformed. Moreouer, that a womā with childe myghte bee Baptised, and shee that was deliuered after .ix. dayes of a man childe, and after .xl. dayes of a woman childe should be purified, but yet myghte shee enter the Church before if she woulde. Women with childe.

The residue of Augustines demaundes consisted in these poynts, viz. within what space a child should be Christened after it was borne, for doubt to be preuented by death: also, within what tyme a man might company with his wife after she was brought to bedde: whether a woman hauing the floures, might enter the Churche or receyue the Communion: also whether a man hauing companyed with hys Wife, might enter the Churche, or receyue the Communion, before he was washed with water. And whether after polution by night in dreames, a man might receyue the Cōmunion: or if he were a Priest whether he might say Masse. Matters in question about trifles.

To these questions Gregory maketh answere at full in the Booke and place before cited, which for breefenesse we passe ouer. He sent also at that tyme with the messengers afore sayde at their returne into Englande diuers learned men to help Augustine in the haruest of ẏ Lorde. The names of the cheefest were these, Mellitus, Iustus, Paulinus, and Rufinianus. He sente also the Palle whyche is the ornament of an Archbishop with vessels and apparrell whiche shoulde be vsed in Churches by the Archbishop and other ministers. Assistance to Augustine. The Pall.

He also sente with the Pall other letters vnto Augustine to lette hym vnderstande what number of Bishops hee woulde haue hym to ordeyne within this lande. Also after that Mellitus, and the other before mentioned persons were departed from Rome, hee sent a letter vnto the same Mellitus, beeyng yet on his way towardes Britayne, touching further matter concerning the Churches of England, wherein he confesseth that many thinges are permitted to bee vsed of the people lately brought from the errors of gentilitie, in keeping feastes on the dedication dayes whiche haue resemblaunce with their olde superstitious rytes of the Pagane Religion, for

Bearing with them that had newly receyued the fayth, whereof superstition grewe and increased.

to hard and obstinate mindes (sayth he) it is not possible to cutte away all things at once, for hee that coueteth to the highest place, goeth vp by steppes and not by leapes.

Miracles.

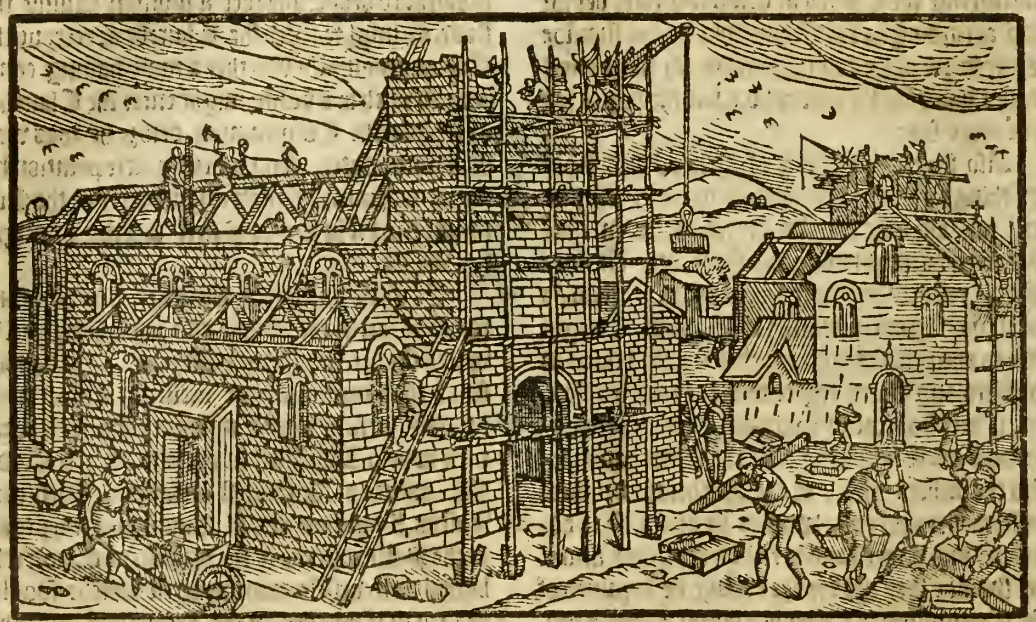
Also the same time, Gregory did sende letters vnto Augustine touching the miracles whych by reporte he vnderstode were shewed by the same Augustine, counselling him in no wise to glory in the same, but rather in reioycing to feare and consider that God gaue him the gifte to worke such signes for the welth of them, to whome hee was sente to preach the Gospell: he aduised hym therefore to beware of vayne glory and presumption, for the Disciples of the trueth (sayth he) haue no ioy, but onely that which is common with all men, of whyche there is no end, for not euery one that is elect worketh miracles, but euery of the elect haue their names written in heauen.

These letters, with the other whiche Gregory sent at this time vnto Augustine, were dated the tenth day of the Calendes of July, in the yeare of our Lord. 602. whiche was the nineteenth yeare of the Emperour Mauritius.

602

Moreouer, he sente most curteous letters by these messengers vnto King Ethelberte, in the whyche hee greatly commendeth him, in that hee had receyued the Christian fayth, and exhorteth him to continue in that most holy state of life, whereby hee myghte worthyly looke for rewarde at the handes of almighty God. But nowe to the doings of Augustine. We fynd, that after he was established Archbishop, and had his See appoynted to him at Canterbury, he restored in that Citie another Church whiche had bin erected there in times past by certayne of the Romaynes that were Christians, and did dedicate the same nowe in honor of Christ our Sauiour. *Beda.*

He also began the foundation of a Monastery without that Citie, stading towarde the East, in the whiche by his exhortation, King Ethelberte built a Churche euen from the grounde, whiche was dedicated vnto the holy Apostles Peeter and Paule, in the whiche the body of the sayde Augustine was buried, and likewise the bodies of all the Archbishops of Canterbury and Kings of Kente of long time after.



One Peeter was the first Abbot.

This Abbey was called Saint Austines after his name, one Peeter being the first Abbot therof. The Churche there was not consecrated by Augustine, but by his successor Laurece after that he was dead.

Moreouer, King Ethelbert at the motion of Augustine builded a Church in the Citie of Lõdon (whiche he lately had conquered) and dedicated it vnto Saint Paule: but whether he buylded or restored this Church of Saint Paule it maye bee doubted, for there bee dyuers opinions of the building thereof. Some haue written that it was firste buylded by King Lud (as before is mentioned.) Other agayne write, that it was builded afterwarde by Sigeberte King of the East Saxons. Also Kyng Ethelberte buylded the Churche of Saint Andrew in Rochester. It is likewise remembred by writers, that the same King Ethelberte procured a Citizen of London to buyld a Church of Sainte Peeter without the Citie of London towarde the West in a place then called Thorney, that is to witte, the Isle of Thornes, & now is called Westminster, though other haue written that it was buylte by Lucius King of Britaine, or rather by Siberte Kyng of the East Saxons. This Church was eyther newly builte or greatly enlarged by Kyng Edwarde surnamed the Confessor, and after that, the thirde Henry King of England did make there a beautifull Monasterie, and very richly endowed. *Beda.* *Ran. Ceſtren.* *Ran. Ceſt.* Westmin. Church

endowed the same with greate possessions and sumptuous iewels. The place was overgrowen with underwoodes, as thornes and brembles before that the Church was begun to be builded there in this King Ethulbertes dayes.

Thus the fayth of Christ being once begunne to bee receyued of the Englishmen, toke wonderfull increase within a short time.

In the meane season by the help of King Ethelbert, Augustine caused a counsell to be called at a place in the confynes of the West Saxons, whiche place long after was called Austynes Oke, where he procured the Bishops or Doctors of the prouinces of the Britaines to come before

Ran. Cest. Beda. Sigebertus. an. 19. Mauricij imperatoris.

A Synode. Austines oke.



him. Amongst the Britaynes or Welchmen, Christianite as yet remayned in force; whyche from the Apostles time had neuer fayled in that nation. When Augustine came into this land, he found in their prouinces seuen Bishops Seas, and an Archbishops See, wherin sate right godly and most Religious Prelates, and many Abbots, in the which the Lordes flocke kept their right order: but bycause they differed in obseruing the Feast of Easter, and other rites from the vse of ỹ Romane Church, Augustine thought it necessary to moue them to agree with hym in vnitie of the same, but after long disputation and reasoning of those matters, they could not be enduced to giue their assente in that behalfe. Augustine to proue his opinion good, wrought a miracle in restoring sight to one of the Saxon nation that was blinde. The Britaynes that were presente moued with this miracle, confessed, that it was the right waye of Iustice and righteousnesse which Augustine taught, but yet they sayd that they might not forsake theyr auncient customes without consente and licence of their nation. Whereupon, they required another Synode to be holden, wherat a greater number of them myght be present. This being granted, there came as it is reported seuen Bishops of the Britaynes and a greate number of learned menne, specially of the famous Monasterie of Bangor, whereof in those dayes one Dionoth was Abbot, the whiche as they wente towardes that counsell, came first to a certaine wise man, whych lyued amongst them an Ankers life, and asked his aduice whether they ought to forsake theyr traditions at the Preaching of Augustine or not: who made thys aunswere: If he bee the man of God followe hym: then sayde they: howe shall wee proue whether hee be so or not. Then sayde hee: the Lorde sayeth take vp my yoke and learne of mee, for I am meeke and humble in harte: if Augustine bee humble and meeke in hart, it is to be beleeued that hee also beareth the yoke of Christe, and offereth it to you to beare, but if hee bee not meeke but proude, it is certayne that hee is not of God, nor hys worde is not to bee regarded: And how shall wee perceyue that (sayde they?) Fynde meanes (sayde he) that hee maye fyrste come to the place of the Synode with those of hys syde, and if hee arise to receyue you at your comming, then knowe that he is the seruaunt of God, and obey him. But if hee despise you and arise not against you, where as you bee more in number, lette him bee despised of you.

The answere of a godly man touching Austin the Englishmens Apostle.

They did as he commaunded, and it chanced, that when they came, they found Augustine sitting in his chaire: which whē they beheld, straight waves they conceyued an indignation, and noting him of pride, laboured to reproue all hys sayings. He tolde thē that they vsed many things contrary to the custome of the vniuersal Church, and yet if in three things they woulde obey hym,

Three things required by Austin of the Britaynes to be obserued.

that is to witte, in keeping the feaſt of Eaſter in due time, and miniſter Baptiſme according to the cuſtome of the Romaine Churche, and preach to the Engliſhmen the woꝛd of life with him and his fellowes, then would he be contented to ſuffer all other things patiently which they did, though the ſame were contrary to the manners and cuſtomes of the Romayne iuriſdiction. But they flatly denyed to do any of thoſe things, and gaue a playne aunſwere that they woulde not receyue him foꝛ their Archbiſhoppe, foꝛ they laying theyꝛ heads togither thus thoughte, that if hee refuſed now to ryſe vnto vs, how much the moꝛe will he contemne vs if we ſhould become ſubiect to him. Auſtine threteneth. Unto whome as it is ſayde Auguſtine in thꝛeatning wiſe tolde them afoꝛehande, that if they woulde not receyue peace with their bꝛeethꝛen, they ſhoulde receyue warre of the enimies, and if they would not pꝛeach to the Engliſhmen ẏ way of life, they ſhould ſuffer puniſhment by death at the handes of them: whiche thing indeede afteꝛ came to paſſe as in place conueniente ſhall be exꝑeſſed.

604 After this in the yeare of our Loꝛde. 604. the Archbiſhop Auguſtine oꝛdeyned two Biſhops, that is to ſay, Mellitus at Londõ, that he might pꝛeache the woꝛde of God to the Eaſt Saxons, whiche were deuided from them of Keute by the Riuer of Thames, and Juſtus in the Citie of Rocheſter within the limittes of Kent. Biſhops ordeined at London and Rocheſter

At that time Sabart reigned ouer the Eaſt Saxons, but hee was ſubiect vnto Ethelbert King of Kent, whoſe Nephewe he was alſo by his ſiſter Ricula that was married vnto king Sledda ẏ ſucceeded after Erchenwine ẏ firſt K. of ẏ Eaſt Saxons ꝛ, begate on hir this Sabert ẏ receyued ẏ faith. After ẏ Auguſtine had oꝛdeyned Mellitus to be Biſhop of London, as beſoꝛe is ſayd, King Ethelbert builded (as ſome wꝛite) the Churche of Sainte Paule within the ſame Citie, wheꝛe the ſame Mellitus and his ſucceſſoꝛs might keepe their See. And alſo foꝛ the like puꝛpoſe he builded the Church of Saint Andꝛow the Apoſtle at Rocheſter, that Juſtus and his ſucceſſoꝛs myghte haue theyꝛ See in that place accoꝛding to Auguſtines inſtitution: hee beſtowed great giftes vpon both theſe Churches, endowing them with lands and poſſeſſions veꝛy bountifully to the vſe of them that ſhould be attendante in the ſame with the Biſhops. The Church of Saint Paul builded.

Finally Auguſtine afteꝛ hee had gouerned as Archbiſhop the Churche of Canteꝛburie by the ſpace of twelue yeaꝛes current, departed this life the ſixe and twentith of May, and was buryed firſt without the Citie neeꝛe to the Church of the Apoſtles Peeter and Paule (whereof mention is made beſoꝛe) bicauſe the ſame Church as yet was not finiſhed noꝛ dedicated, but afteꝛ it was dedicated, his body was bꝛoughte into the Churche, and ꝛeuerently buried in the Noꝛth Ile there. *Ran. Ceſtren.*



He oꝛdeyned by his life time Laurence to bee his ſucceſſoꝛ in the Sea of Canterbury, of whom yee ſhall heare hereafter.

Thus haue ye heard in what maneꝛ th' Engliſhmen were firſt bꝛought from the woꝛſhipping of falſe Goddes, and baptiſed in the name of the liuing God by the foꝛeſayde Auguſtine, as wee fynde in Beda and other woꝛiters, and nowe wee will returne to other doyngs chancing in the meane tyme amongſt the people of this Ile.

After the deceaſſe of Chelricus Kyng of the Weſt Saxons, wee finde that Ceobulf oꝛ Ceoloulph ſucceeded in gouernmente of that Kingdome, and raigned twelue yeaꝛes. Hee began his raigne (as ſhould appeare by ſome wꝛiters) about the yeaꝛe of our Loꝛd. 597. and ſpente his time *Mat. VVeſt. hath. 34.* 607. as Mark VVeſt. hath.

his time for the more part in warres, not gyuing place to ydlenesse, but seeking eyther to defende or enlarge the confines of his dominion. He was the sonne of Cutha, which was the son of Kenrike, that was the sonne of Certike.

After Wybba or Wypha king of Mercia, (who nothing inferiour to his father, did not onely defend his kingdome, but also enlarge it by subduing the Brytaynes on eche side) one Ceorlus succeeded in that kingdome, beeing not hys sonne but his kinsman.



This Ceorlus began his raigne aboute the yeare of oure Lorde 594. as Mat. Westm. recorde th.

Yee haue heard that Edelferde, whiche otherwise is called also by writers Edelfride, surnamed the wild, gouerned still the Northumbers, whiche Edelferde did more domage to the Brytaynes than any one other king of the English Nation. None of them destroyed theyr countreyes more than he did: neyther did any Prince make mo of the Brytaynes tributaries, or inhabited more of theyr Countreys with English people than he.

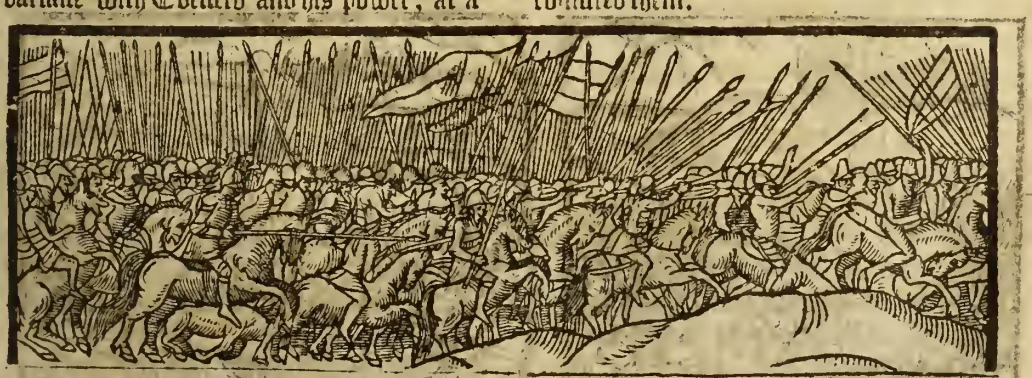
Herebpon Edan king of those Scots which inhabited Brytayne, beeing therewith moued to see Edelferd prosper thus in his conquestes, came agaynst him with a mightie armie: but ioyning in battaile with Edelferd and his power, at a place called Degsastane, or Degslastone, or Deglaston, he lost the moste part of his people, and with the residue that were left aliue, he escaped by flight.

This was a sore foughten battaile, wyth much bloudshed on both parties. For notwithstanding that the victorie remayned with the Northumbers, Theodbaldus the brother of Edelferd was slaine, with all that part of the English host, which he gouerned: and it was fought in the yeare of our Lorde. 603. in the xix. yeare of the raigne of the foresayde Edelferd, and in the first yeare of Coewulf king of the West Saxons, and in the first yeare of the Emperour Focas, or rather in the last yeare of hys predecessour Mauritius. 603. *Henric. Hunt. Beda. li. 1. cap. 34.*

From that day till the dayes of Beda, nyt one of the Scottish kings durst presume to enter into Brytaine againe to giue battaile against the English Nation, as Beda himselfe wryteth.

But the Scottish writers make other report of this matter, as in the Hystorie of Scotland ye may finde recorded. *VVil. Malm.* See in Scotlande.

The Brytaynes that dwelt aboute Chester, through their stoutnesse prouoked the aforesayde Ethelferd king of the Northumbers vnto warre: wherebpon the same Ethelferd to tame theyr lofty stomackes, assembled an armie, and came forwarde to beliege the Citie of Chester, then called of the Brytaynes *Carleon ardour dené*. The Citizens coueting rather to suffer all things than a siege, and hauing a truste in their great multitude of people, came forth to giue battaile abrode in the fieldes, whom he compassing about with ambushes, got them within his daunger, and easily discomfited them. Chester as yet in possession of the Brytayns. *Iohn Leyland VVil. Malm.*



It chaunced that he had espied before the battaile ioyned (as Bede hath) where a great number of the Brytish Priests were got aside into a place somewhat out of daunger, that they might there make their intercession to God for the good speede of theyr people, being then readie to giue battaile to the Northumbers.

Many of them were of that famous Monasterie of Bangor, in the which it is said, that there was such a number of Monkes, that where they were deuided into seuen seuerall partes, with their seuerall gouernours appoynted to haue rule ouer them, euery of those partes conteyned at the least three hundred persons, the which liued altogither by the labour of theyr handes. Many therefore of those Monkes hauing kept a solemne feast for three dayes togither, were come to the armie with other to make prayer, hauing for their defender one Brocmale, or Brocmael, Earle (or Consull as some call him) of Chester, which should preserue them (being giuen to prayer) from the edge of the enimies sworde. Brocmale.

King Edelfrid hauing (as is sayde) espyed these men, asked what they were, and what their intent was? and beeing informed of the whole circumstance, and cause of their beeing there, hee sayde. Then if they call to theyr God for his assistãce against vs, surely though they beare no armour, yet do they fight against vs, being busied in prayer for our destruction. Whereupon hee commaunded the first onset to be giuen on them, and after slue downe the residue of the Brytish armie, not without great losse of his owne people.

The Brytaines discomfited and slaine.

Of those Monkes and Priestes which came to pray (as before is mencioned) there died at that battaile about the number of .xij. hundred, so that fiftie of them onely escaped by flight.

Brocmale, or Brocmael at the first approche of the enimies, turning his backe with his companie, left them (whom he should haue defended) to be murthered through the enmies sworde.

And thus was the prophecie of Augustine fulfilled, though he was long before departed this life (as Beda hath.)

Henric. Hũt. But if this battaile was fought in the seuenth yeare of Ciobulf king of Westsaxons (as some haue written and that Augustin liued .xij. yeares after his entrance into the gouernment of the sea of Canterburie, (as some write) it is euident that he liued foure yeares after this slaughter made of the Brytishe Priestes and Monkes by Ethelfrid (as before is recited.) For Ciobulf beganne his raigne (as before is mentioned) about the yeare of our Lorde. 596. and in the seuenth yeare of hys raigne the battail was fought, at Degsastane betwixt Englishmen and Scottes, which chaunced in the yeare of our Lorde. 604. as Bede himselfe recordeth. Hitherto out of our olde writers.

Of which battaile also William Harison telleth another maner of tale, whose wordes (though he liue in our time, and his Chronologie bee not yet extant) are not to be omitted: which be these.

Athelbright, or Edilfride, king of the Northũbers, and Ethelbert of Kent, hauing Augustine in their cõpanie, in the .8. yeare after his arriuall, doe make warre vpon suche Brytaynes as refuse to obserue the Canons of the late Councell mentioned. 603. and kill 1200. Monkes of the Monasterie of Bangor, which laboured earnestly, and in the sweate of their browes, thereby to get theyr liuings. &c. Thus farre maister Harison.

Verily Gal. Mon writeth, that Ethelbert king of Kent (after he sawe the Brytaynes to disdaine and denie their subiection vnto Augustine, by whom he was conuerted to the christian faith) stirred vp Ethelfred king of the Northumbers to warre against the Brytains. But hereof maister Fore doubteth, and therfore sayth, that of vncertaine things hee hath nothing certainly to say, much lesse to iudge. Acts and Monuments. Pag. 160.

But now to the matter where we left. After that King Edelfred had made slaughter of the Brytaines (as before is rehearsed) hee entred the Citie of Chester, and from thence marched towardes Bangor.

The Britains in the meane time had assembled their power vnder three Captains, that is to wit, Blederike Duke of Cornewall, Margadud king of Southwales, and Cadwane king of Northwales. These ioyning in battaile with Ethelfred, slue. 10066. of his Souldiers, and constrayned him to flee out of the fielde for safegarde of

Blederik of Cornew. Margadu. of South. Cadwan k. of North.





his life, after hee had receyued many woundes.

Gal. Mon. On the part of the Brytaynes the forsayde Blederike, which was chiefe captaine of the fielde in the battaile chaunced to be slaine.

Thus hath Gal. Mon. but the auncient writers of the English kings (as Bede. Wil. Malm. and Henrie Hunt.) make no mention of this last battaile and victorie obteyned by the Brytaynes in maner as aboue is expressed in Galfrids booke. But contrarily we finde, that Ethelfrid hauing such good successe in his businesse abroade as hee could wishe, vpon purpose to auoyde tidinges at home, banished Edwin the sonne of Alla or Elle a yong Gentleman of great towardnesse, lately

Edwin the sonne of Alla Elle.

come

come to the kingdom of the Northumbers by the death of his father. But this Edwine in time of his exile, beeing long tossed from place to place, and finding no stedfast friendship now in time of his aduersitie, at length came to Redwalde, that was king at that time of the East Angles, the third from Wffa, as successor to Titullus, which Titullus did succeede next after the sayde Wffa, the first king of East Angles (as before is mentioned.

This Redwalde did verie honourably intertaine Edwine, insomuch that Edelferd being informed thereof, he was highly displeased, and sent Ambassadors vnto Redwalde, to requyre him either to deliuer Edwine into his handes, or else if he refused so to do, to declare and denounce vnto him open warres.

Redwalde encouraged by his wife (that counselled him in no wise to betray his friende, to whō he had giuen his fayth, for the menaces of his enimie) assembled forthwith an armie, and vpon the sodaine comming vpon Ethelferd, set vppon him ere he coulde haue time to assemble his people togither. But yet the sayd Ethelfred, though he was entrapped and brought in daunger at vnwares, he dyed not vnreuenged: for putting himselfe in defence with such power as he coulde then get togyther, he boldely encountred the enimies, and gyuing battaile, slue Remerius the sonne of Redwalde, and after was slaine himselfe, hauing raigned ouer the Northumbers about .xxij. yeares. 617 *H. Hunt.* Ethelferd slaine.



This battaile was fought neare to the water of Idle.

The sayde Ethelferd had issue by his wyfe Acca the daughter of Alla, and sister to Edwine, two sonnes, Oswalde being about two yeares of age, and Oswyn about foure yeares, the which (their father beeing thus slaine) were by helpe of their gouernours, conueyed away into Scotland with all speede that might be made.

Ceolwulf king of the West Saxons, after hee had raigned the space of .xij. yeares, departed this life, who in his time had mainteyned great warre against many of his neighbours, the which for briefenesse I passe ouer.

One great battaile he fought against them of Sussex, in which the armies on both sides susteyned great domage, but the greater losse fell to the South Saxons.

After the foresayde Ceolwulf raigned Cinegisus, or Kingils, whiche was the sonne of Ceola, that was sonne to Cutha or Cutwyn, the sonne of Kenricke, which was sonne to king Certicke.

In the fourth yeare of his raigne, he receyued into felowship with him in gouernaunce of the kingdome his sonne Richelinus, or Onichelinus, and so they raigned ioyntly togither in great loue and concorde, a thing seldome seene or heard of. *VVil. Malm.* sayeth that Onichilinus was the brother of Cinegisus.

They fought with the Brytaynes at Beandune, where at the first approch of the battailes togyther, the Brytaynes fled, but to late, for there died of them that were ouertaken .2062. Beandune, or Beanton.

In this meane time, Laurence Archbishop of Canterburie, that succeeded next after Augustine, admitted thereto by him in his life time (as before is sayde) did his indeuour to augment and bring to perfection the Church of Englande, the foundation wherof was lately layde by his predecessor the foresayde Augustine: and studied not onely for the encrease of this new Church, which was gathered of the Englishe people, but also he was busie to employ his pastorlike cure vpon the people that were of the olde inhabitants of Brytaine, and likewise of the Scottes that remayned in Irelande: For when he had learned that the Scottes there in semblable wise as the Brytains *Beda. li. 2. cap. 4.*

in

in theyr Countrey ledde not theyr lyues in many poyntes accordyng to the Eccleſiaſtical rules, aſwel in obſeruing the feaſt of Eaſter cõtrarie to the vſe of the Romain church, as in other things, he wrote vnto thoſe Scottes letters exhortatorie, requyring them moſte inſtauntly to an vnitie of Catholique orders as myght bee agreeable with the Church of Chriſt, ſpredde and diſperſed throughe the worlde.

Theſe letters were not written onely in his owne name, but ioyntly togyther in the name of the Biſhops Mellitus and Juſtus (as thus.)

To our deare brethren, the Biſhops & Abbots throughe all Scotland, Laurence, Mellitus & Juſtus, Biſhops, the ſeruants of the ſeruants of God, wiſhe health. Where as the Apoſtolike Sea, (accordyng to hir maner) had ſent vs to preach vnto the Heathen people in theſe weſt partes, as otherwiſe throughe the worlde, and that it chaunced vs to enter into this Ile which is called Bryttayne, before we knewe and vnderſtoode the ſtate of things, wee had in greate reuerence bothe the Scottes and Bryttaynes, which beleeued, becauſe (as we toke the matter) they walked accordyng to the cuſtome of the vniuerſall Churche: but after we had knowledge of the Bryttaynes, we iudged the Scottes to be better, but we haue learned by Biſhop Daganus, comming into this Ile, and by Columbanus the Abbot cõming into France, that the Scottes nothing differ in theyr conuerſation from the Bryttaynes, for Biſhop Dagan comming vnto vs, would neyther eate with vs, no nor yet within the houſe where wee did eate.

The ſayde Laurence alſo with his fellow Biſhops, did write to the Bryttaines, other letters worthie of his degree, doing what hee coulde to confyrme them in the vnitie of the Romaine Church: but it profited little, as appeareth by that which Beda wryteth.

About the ſame tyme, Mellitus the Biſhop of London wente to Rome to commune wyth Pope Boniface, for neceſſarie cauſes touching the the Church of Englande, and was preſent at a Sinode holden by the ſame Pope at that ſeaſon, for ordinances to bee made touching the ſtate of religious men, and ſate in the ſame Sinode, that with ſubſcribing, he might alſo with his authoritie confirme that whiche was there orderly decreed.

This Sinode was holden the third kalends of March, in the laſt yeare of the Emperour Focas, which was about the yeare after the byrth of our ſauiour. 610.

Mellitus at his returne, brought with him from the Pope, decrees commaunded by the ſayd Pope to be obſerued in the Engliſh Church, with letters alſo directed to the Archbiſhop Laurence, and to king Ethelbert.

Cadwan.



Cadwa king of Bry tayne.

After that the Bryttains had continued about the ſpace almoſte of. xxiiij. yeares without any one ſpecial gouernor, being led by ſundrie rulers, euer ſithence that Careticus was conſtrayned to flee ouer Seuerne, and fought oftentymes not onely agaynſt the Saxons, but alſo one of them agaynſte another, at length in the yeare of our Lorde. 613. they aſſembled in the Citie of Cheſter, and there electe Cadwan that before was ruler of Northwales, to haue the ſoueraine rule and gouernment ouer all theyr Nation, and ſo the ſayde Cadwan beganne to raigne as king of Bryttaynes in the ſayd yeare. 613. But Harilon ſayeth, this was in the yeare. 609. in whiche yeare Careticus the Bryttiſh king departed this life. And then after his deceaſſe the Bryttaynes or Welchmen (whether wee ſhall call them) chooſe Cadwane to gouerne them in the foreſayde yeare. 609. whiche was in the ſeuenth yeare of the Emperour Focas, and the. xxj. of the ſeconde Lotharius King of Fraunce, and in the xiij. yeare of Kilwoolfe King of the Weſt Saxons. 613

This Cadwan being eſtabliſhed King, ſhortly after aſſembled a power of Bryttaynes, and went agaynſt the foreſayde Ethelfred King of Northumberlande, who hering thereof aduertiſed, did aſſociate to him the moſt part of the Saxon Princes, and came forth with his armie to meete Cadwane in the fielde. Hereupon as they were readie to haue tryed the matter by battaile, certayne of theyr friendes trauayled ſo betwirte them for a peace, that in the ende they brought them to agreement, ſo that Ethelfred ſhould kepe in quiet poſſeſſion thoſe his Countreys beyonde the Ryuer of Humber, and Cadwan ſhould hold all that which belonged as yet to the Bryttaines on the ſouth ſide the ſame ryuer. *Galf. M.*

Thys Couenaunte wyth other touching theyr agreement was confyrmed wyth otherſolemnitye taken, and pledges therewith deliuered, ſo that afterwardes they continued in good and quiet peace withoute vexing the one the other.

What chaunced afterwardes to Edelfred, yee haue before heard rehearſed, the whiche for that it ſoundeth more lyke to a truth than that whiche followeth in the Bryttiſhe Booke, wee omitte to make further rehearſall, paſſing forth

forth to other doings which fell in the meane ſeaſon, whileſt this Cadwane had gouernment of the Brytaynes, raigning as king ouer them the tearme of .xrij. (or as other haue but .xiij.) yeares, and finally was ſlaine by the Northũbers, as before hath bene, and alſo after ſhall be ſhewed.

In the .viij. yeare after that Cadwan began to raigne, Ethelbert king of Kent departed this life, in the .xxj. yeare after the comming of Auguſtin with his fellowes to preach the fayth of chriſt here in this Realme: and after that Ethelbert had raigned ouer the Prouince of Kent aboute the tearme of .lvj. yeares (as Bede hath) but there are that haue noted three yeares leſſe: he departed this worlde, as aboue is ſignified, in the yeare of oure Lorde .617. on the .xxiiij. daye of Februarie, and was buryed in the Ile of Saint Martine, within the Churche of the Apoſtles Peter and Paule, without the Citie of Canterburie, where his wife Queene Bartha was alſo buryed, and the forſayde Archebiſhop Auguſtine that firſt conuerted him to the fayth.

Amongeſt other things this King Ethelbert with the aduice of his Councell ordeyned diuerſe lawes and ſtatutes, according to the whiche, decrees of Judgements ſhoulde paſſe: and thoſe decrees hee cauſed to be written in the Engliſhe tongue, which remayned and were in force vnto the dayes of Bede) as he declareth.

And fyrſt it was expreſſed in thoſe lawes, what amendes hee ſhoulde make that ſtale anye thing that belonged to the Churche, to the Biſhop, or to any eccleſiaſticall perſon, willing by all meanes to defend them whoſe doctrine he had receyued.



After the deceaſe of Ethelbert, his ſon Eadbalde ſucceeded in the gouernment of his kingdom of Kent, the which was a greate hinderer of the increaſe of the newe Churche amongeſt the Engliſhe men in thoſe parties: for hee did not onely refuſe to bee baptiſed himſelfe, but alſo vſed ſuche kinde of fornication, as hath not beene heard (as the Apoſtle ſayth) amongeſt the Gentiles, for he tooke to wife his mother in lawe, that had beene wife to his father. By which two euill examples, many tooke occaſion to returne to theyr heathenilh religion, the which whileſt his father raigned, either for the Prince his pleaſure, or for feare to offend him, did profeſſe the Chriſtian fayth.

But Eadbalde eſcaped not worthie puniſhment to him ſent from the lyuing God for hys euill deſertes, in ſo muche that hee was vexed with a certaine kinde of madneſſe, and taken with an vncleane ſpirite.

The foreſayde ſtorme or diſquiet troubling of the Chriſtian Congregation, was afterwards greatly encreaſed alſo by the death of Sabert, or Sebert King of the Eaſt Saxons, who departing this life to goe to a better, in the bliſſefull kingdome of heauen, left behind him three ſonnes as ſucceſſours in the eſtate of his earthly Kingdome, whiche ſonnes likewyſe refuſed to bee baptiſed.

This Sabert, or Sebert, was conuerted to the fayth of Chriſt, and baptiſed by Mellitus Biſhop of London (as before is mentioned) vnto whome ſome aſcribe the firſt foundation of Weſtminſter Church, but other aſcribe it to Lucius the firſt Chriſten king of the Brytaynes (as before ye haue heard) though there bee alſo that write that the Church was firſt buylded there by a Citizen of London (as before is alſo touched.)



SAbert left behind him in the kingdome of the Eaſt Saxons three ſonnes, named Serred, Seward, and Sigebert, in whome remayned no vertue, no feare of God, nor any reſpect of religion, but eſpecially they hated the profeſſors of the Chriſtian fayth. For after theyr father was dead, they began to fall to theyr olde Idolatrie, the whiche in his life time they ſeemed to haue giuen ouer. But now they openly worſhipped Idols, and gaue libertie to their ſubiects for to do the like.

Ran. Ceſtren. Beda. li. 2. ca. 5

Serred, Seward, and Sigebert, the ſonnes of Sabert.

And when the Biſhop Mellitus at the ſolemniſing of Maſſe in the Churche diſtributed the Euchariſticall breade vnto the people, they aſked him (as it is ſayde) wherefore he did not deliuer of that bryght white breade vnto them alſo, as well as hee had beene accuſtomed to doe to theyr father Saba, (for ſo they vſed to call hym) vnto whome the Biſhoppe made thys aunſwere: if you wyll bee waſhed in that wholeſome Fountayne wherein youre father was waſhed, ye maye bee partakers of that holye breade whereof hee was partaker, but if you deſpiſe the waſhpoole of lyfe, ye may by no meanes taſte of the breade of ſaluation.

But they offended herewith, replyed in this wiſe: we will not enter into that Fountayne, for wee knowe wee haue no neede thereof: but yet neuertheleſſe we will be refreſhed with that breade.

After

After this when they had beene earnestly and many tymes tolde, that without they woulde be baptised, they might not be partakers of the sacred oblation: At length in a great displeasure they told him, that if he would not consent vnto them in so small a matter, there shoulde be no place for him within the boundes of their Dominion. And so he was constrayned to depart. Whereupon hee being expulsed, resorted into Kent, there to take aduise with his fellowe Bishoppes, Laurence & Justus, what was to be done in this so weightie a matter.

They finally resolued vpon this poynt, that it shoulde be better for them to returne into theyr Countrey, where with free myndes they might serue Almightie God, rather than to remayne amongest people that rebelled agaynst the fayth, without hope to do good amongst them.

Therefore Mellitus and Justus did first departe, and went ouer into Fraunce, mynding there to abyde till they might see what the ende would be.

But shortly after, those brethren the kings of Esser, whiche had expulsed their Bysshoppe in maner aboue sayde, suffered worthily for theyr wicked doings: For going forth to battayle agaynst the West Saxons, they were ouerthrown and slaine togither with all theyr armie, by the two Kings, Kinigils, and Quichelme. But neuertheless, for all that the Authours of the mischiefe were thus taken away, the people of that Countrey woulde not as yet bee reduced againe from theyr diuelish worshipping of false Goddes, being eftsones fallen thereto in that season by the encouragement and perillous example of theyr Rulers. Wherefore the Archebishop Laurence was in minde also to haue followed his fellowes Mellitus and Justus: but when he minded to set forwarde, he was warned in a dreame, and cruelly scourged (as hath beene reported by the Apostel saint Peter, who reproued him) for that hee would so vncharitably forsake his flock, and leaue it in daunger without a shepherde to keepe the Wolfe from the folde.

The sonnes of king Sebert slaine.

The Archbishoppe enboldned by this vision, and also repenting him of his determinatiō, came to king Eadbald, and shewed to him his scrypes, and the maner of his dreame.

The king being herewith put in great feare, renounced his heathenish worshipping of Idols, and was baptized, and as muche as in him lay, from thence forth succoured the Congregation of the Christians, and aduaunced the Churche to his power.

He sent also into Fraunce, and called home the Bishops Mellitus and Justus, so that Justus was restored again to his Sea of Rochester. But the East Saxons woulde not receyue Mellitus to his Sea at London, but continued in theyr wicked Mawmetrie in obeying a Bishop of theyr Pagan lawe, whom they had erected for that purpose. Neyther was King Eadbalde of that authoritie and power in those parties, as his father was before, whereby he might constrayne them to receyue theyr lawfull Bysshop. But surely the sayde King Eadbalde with his people after hee was once conuerted againe, gaue himselfe wholye to obey the lawes of God, and amongest other deedes of godly zeale, he buylded a Church of our Ladie at Cantorburie, within the Monasterie of Saint Peter, afterwardes called Saint Agnes. *Beda.li.2.*

This Churche was consecrated by Mellitus, who after the death of Laurence succeeded in gouernaunce of the Archebishoppes Sea of Canterburie.

After Mellitus whiche departed this lyfe in the yeare of our Lorde. 624. Justus that before was bishop of Rochester, was made Archbishop of Canterburie, and ordeyned one Romanus to the Sea of Rochester. *Beda.li.2.*

About the same tyme, the people of the north partes beyond Humber receyued the fayth, by occasion (as after shall appeare.)

Ye haue heard how Edelfred the king of Northumberlande was slaine in battaile, neare to the water of Idle, by Redwald king of the East Angles, in fauour of Edwin, whom the sayd Edelfred had confined oute of hys Dominion. xxiij. yeares before.

The forsayde Redwald therefore hauing obteyned that victorie, founde meanes to place Edwyne in gouernment of that Kingdome of the Northumbers, hauing a tytle thereto as sonne to Alla, or Elle, sometyme King of Northumberlande.

Edwyn.

THis Edwyn proued a ryght valiant prince, and grewe to be of more power than any other King in those dayes of the English Nation: not onely ruling ouer a great parte of the Countreys inhabited with Englishe menne, but also with Brytaynes, which Brytaynes inhabyted not onelye in Wales, but also as yet in parte of Chesshire, Lancashire, Cumberlande, and alongest by the West Sea coast in Galloway, and so forth eue vnto Dunbrytain in Scotland: which I haue thought good to note, that it may appeare in what Countreys Cadwallo bare rule, of whome so often mention is made in this part of the Hystorie. *Beda.li.2.*

But as concerning Edwyn: his reputation was such, as not onely the English men, Brytaynes and Scottes, but also the Iles of Orkney, and those of Man, and other the West Iles of auncient tyme called *Meuania*, had him in reuerence

Wil. Malmesb. Mat. Westm. to be Angl.

uerence, and feared his mightie power, ſo as they durſt not attempt any exployte to the offence of him.

It chaunced alſo that ſhortly after king Redwalde had aduaunced him to the Kingdome of Northumberlande, by. aboute fiue yeares, the ſame Redwalde deceaſſed, whiche made greatly for the more augmentation of Edwyns power. For the people of the Eaſt Angles, which whileſt Edwyn remayned amongeſt them as a baniſhed man, had conceyued a good opinion of him, for his approued valiancie and noble courage, offered themſelues to bee wholy at his commaundement.

But Edwyn ſuffering Carpwalde or Erpwalde the ſonne of Redwalde to enioy the bare tytle and name of king of that Countrey, ruled al things at his owne will and pleaſure. Neither was there any Prouince within Brytaine that did not obey him, or was not ready to do him ſeruice (the kingdome of Kent onely excepted) for he ſuffered the Kentiſhmen to liue in quiet, becauſe he began to haue a lyking vnto the ſiſter of king Eadbald, the Lady Ethelburga, otherwiſe named Tate, or Tace.

He made requeſt therefore by ſending Ambaſſadours to hir brother, to haue the fayde Ladie in mariage: and at length obteyned hir, with condition that ſhee being a Chriſtian woman, might not onely vſe the Chriſtian religion, but alſo that all thoſe, whether men or women, prieſtes or miniſters, which came with hir, might haue licence to doe the ſame, without trouble or impeachment of any maner of perſon. Hereupon ſhe being ſent vnto him, there was appoynted to goe with hir, (beſide many other) one Pauline, which was conſecrated Biſhop, by the Archbiſhop Juſtus, the xxj. of July, in the yeare of our Lorde. 625.

At his comming into Northumberlande, thus in companie of Ethelburga, hee trauayled earneſtly in his office, both to preſerue hir and ſuch Chriſtians in the fayth of Chriſt, as were appoynted to giue theyr attendaunce on hir, leaſt they ſhoulde chaunce to fall: and alſo ſought to winne ſome of the Pagans if it were poſſible vnto the ſame fayth, though at the firſt he little profited in that matter.

In the yeare following, there came a murtherer vnto the Court of King Edwyn, as then ſoiourning in a Palace whiche ſtoode vppon the ſyde of the Ryuer of Dorwent, being ſent from Quichelme King of the Weſt Saxons, to the intent to murther Edwyn, becauſe hee had of late ſore endomaged the Countreys of the weſt Saxons.

This murtherer was called Eumerus, and caried vnder his cote a ſhort double edged Woodknife enuenomed of purpoſe, that if the King beeing but a little hurt therewith, ſhoulde not die of the wound, yet he ſhould not eſcape the daunger of the poyſon.

On Eaſter Monday this Eumerus came to the King, and making forth to hym as it had beene to haue declared ſome meſſage from his Maiſter, when hee had eſpyed his tyme, he drewe hys weapon, and offered to ſtryke the King. But one of the Kings ſeruaunts named Lylla, perceyuing thys, ſtept betwixt the King and the blowe. But yet the murtherer ſette the ſtryke forwarde wyth ſuche force, that the knife running through the bodie of Lylla, wounded alſo the King a little: and before this murtherer coulde bee beaten downe, he ſlue another of the Kings ſeruaunts, a knight that attended vpon him called Forther. Eumerus.

The ſame night Queene Ethelburga was delyuered of a daughter named Euſted, for the whiche when King Edwyn gaue thankes vnto his Goddes, in the preſence of Biſhop Paulyne, Euſted borne.



the Biſhop did admoniſh him, rather to giue thankes vnto the true and onely God, by whoſe goodnes it came to paſſe that ỹ Queene was ſafely and without daunger delyuered. The King giuing good eare vnto the Biſhops wholeſome admonition, promiſed at that preſente to become a Chriſtian, if hee myghte reuenge hys iniuryes receyued at the handes of the Weſt Saxons, and to aſſure Pauline that his promiſe ſhoulde take place, hee gaue vnto him hys newe borne daughter to be made holy to the lord, that is to ſay, baptiſed.

The Biſhoppe receyuing hir, on Whitſunday nexte following baptyſed hir, with twelue other of the Kings houſeholde, ſhee beeyng the fyrſte of the Engliſhe Northumbers that was ſo waſhed in the Fountayne of Regeneration.

In the meane tyme King Edwyn being recouered of his hurt, aſſembled an army, and went agaynſt the Weſt Saxons, with whom encountring in battaile, he eyther ſlue or brought to his ſubiection all them that had conſpyred his death. And ſo returned as a conquerour into his cuntry. But yet he delayed time for performance of his promiſe to become a chriſtian: howbeit he had left

his

his doing of sacrifice to Idols, euer since he made promise to be baptised.

He was a sage Prince, and before he would alter his Religion, he politikely thought good to heare matters touching bothe hys olde Religion, and the Christian Religion throughlye examined.

And whilest he thus hangeth in doubt to whether part he should encline, there came letters to him from Pope Boniface the fift of that name, exhorting him by sundrie kinds of gentle perswasions, to turne to the worshipping of the true and liuing God, and to renounce the worshipping of Mawmets and Idols.

Beda lib. 2. cap. 10.

The Pope likewise wrote to Queene Ethelburga, praying hir to cõtinue in hir good purpose, and by all meanes possible to doe what might bee done for the converting of hir husbande vnto the fayth of Christ.

Bede. lib. 2. cap. 11.

But the thing that most moued the king, was a vision which sometime he had while hee remained as a banished man in the Court of Redwald king of the East Angles, as thus:

A vision.

After that king Ethelfred was informed howe that the forsayde Redwalde had receyued Edwin, he ceassed not by his Ambassadours to moue Redwalde eyther to deliuer Edwyn into hys handes, or else to make him away.

Bede. cap. 12.

At length by often sending, and promises made of large summes of money, mixed with threatnings, he obteyned a graunt of his sayte, so that it was determined that Edwyn should eyther bee murthered, or else deliuered into his enimyes handes.

One of Edwynes friendes hauing intelligence hereof, in the night season came to Edwyns Chamber, and taking him forth abroade, tolde him the whole practise, and what was purposed agaynst him, offering to helpe him out of the countrey, if he would so aduenture to escape.

The honorable consideration of Edwin.

Edwyne being wonderously amazed, thanked his friend, but refused yet to depart the Countrey, sith hee had no iust cause outwardly giuen to play suche a slipper parte, chosing rather to ieoparde his lyfe wyth honour, than to giue men cause to thinke that hee had first broken promise with such a Prince as Redwalde was, to whom he had giuen his fayth.

Herevpon his friende departing from him, left him sitting without the doores: where after hee had reuolued many things in his mind, & thought long vpon this matter, at length he perceyued one to come towards him vnknowne, & in straunge apparell, seeming to him in euery point a straunger, at which sight for that he could not imagine who he should be, Edwyn was much afrayde: but the man comming to him saluted him, and asked of him what he made there that time of the night when other were at rest. Edwyn on the other part asked what hee had to doe therewith, and whether he vsed to lie abroade in the night, or within house: who aunswering sayde: Thinke not Edwyn that I am ignorant of thy heauinesse, of thy watching, and this thy solitarie sitting here withoute dores. For I knowe who thou art, wherefore thou art thus pensife, and what euilles thou feareſt to be towardes thee at hande. But tell me, what wouldest thou giue him, that coulde deliuer thee out of this heauinesse, and perswade Redwalde that hee should neyther do thee hurt nor delyuer thee to thine enimyes? Herewith when Edwyn sayde, that he would gladly giue all that in him might lye to suche a one in rewarde: the other added: what wouldst thou thē giue, if he should promise in good sooth that (all thy enimies beeing destroyed) thou shouldest be king, and that thou shouldest passe in power all the Kings whiche haue raigned in the English nation before thy time?

Edwyn then beyng better come to himselfe by such demaundes, did not sticke to promise that he would requite his friendship with worthy thāks.

Then replyed he to his wordes and sayde. If he that shall prophecie to thee this good happe to come, shall also be able to enfourme thee such coũsail for thy health & life as neuer any of thy forefathers or kinsfolke yet haue heard, wouldest thou obey him, and consent to receiue his wholsom aduertisement? Wherevnto without further deliberation Edwin promised, that he would in all points folow the instruction of him that should deliuer him out of so many and greate calamities, and bring him to the rule of a kingdome. Which answere being got, this person that thus talked with him, layde his hande vppon his heade, saying, when thys thereforе shall chaunce to thee, bee not forgetfull of this tyme, nor of this communication, and those things that thou nowe doest promise, see thou performe. And therewyth he banished away, so that Edwin might well perceyue it was no manne but a vision that thus had appeared vnto him.

And as he satte still reioysing of this comfortable talke, but yet thoughtfull in his mynde what he should be, or from whence he came that had talked in this sort with him. Beholde hys friende returned that first had brought him forth of his Chamber, and declared vnto him good newes, howe the King by the perswasion of the Queene had altered his determination, and minded to maintayne his quarell to the vttermost of his power: and so hee did in deede: for wyth all diligence hee raysed an armie, and went agaynst Edelfride, banquished him in battaile, and placed Edwyn in the Kingdome (as before yee haue heard.)

Herevpon

Hereuppon whileſt King Edwyn (as before is mentioned) deferred tyme ere he would receyue the Chriſtian fayth, Pauline one dayt came vnto him as he ſat muſing what hee were beſt to do, and layd his hand vpon his head, aſking him if he knew that ſigne: whereupon when the king would haue fallen downe at his feete, he lift him vp, and as it were in familiar wiſe thus ſayd vnto him: Behold, by the aſſyſtance of Gods fauour thou haſt eſcaped the handes of thyne enimyes, whom thou ſtoodeſt in dread of: Behold through hys bounteous liberalitie, thou haſt atteyned the Kingdome which thou diddeſt deſire, remember then that thou delay not time to perfourme the thirde thing that thou diddeſt promiſe, in receyuing his fayth, and keeping his cõmaundements, which deliuering thee from worldly aduerſities, hath thus aduaunced thee to the honor of a king: and if from henceforth thou wilt obey his will, which by my mouth hee ſetteth forth & preacheth to thee and other, he will deliuer thee from euerlaſting torments, and make thee partaker wyth him in his celeſtiall kingdome.

It is to be thought that the viſion which the K. had in times paſt receiued, was in ſpirite reuealed vnto Pauline, whereupon without delay of time he put him in remembrance of it in maner as aboue is mentioned.

The king hauing heard his words, anſwered, that he would & ought to receyue the fayth which he taught, but firſt he woulde conferre with hys nobles, and if they would agree to do the like, then would they be baptiſed altogither at one time.

Pauline ſatiſfied herewith, Edwin did as hee had promiſed, calling togither the wiſeſt men of his realme, and of them aſked the queſtion what they thought of this diuinitie, which was preached vnto them by Paulyn, vnto whom his chief Biſhop named Coifi, incontinently made this anſwere, that ſurely the religion which they had hytherto followed was nothing worth. For ſayth he, there is none of thy people that hath more reuerently worſhipped our Gods than I haue done, and yet be there many that haue receyued farre greater benefites at thy handes than I haue done: and therefore if our Goddes were of any power, then would they rather helpe me to high honours and dignitie than others.

Therefore if it may be founde that this newe Religion is better and more auaileable than oure olde, let vs wyth all ſpeede embrace the ſame. Finally, when other of the Kings Counſayle and men of high authoritie gaue theyr conſents, that this doctrine which Pauline taught ought to be receyued, if therein appeared more certaintie of ſaluation than could be found in the other: at length the king gaue licence to Pauline openly to preach the Goſpell, and renouncing his worſhipping of falſe gods, profeſſeth the chriſtian fayth.

And when he demaunded of his Biſhop Coifi who ſhoulde firſt deface the aulters of their Idols and the tabernacles with the whiche they were compaſſed about, he anſwered, that hee himſelfe would do it. For what is more meete (ſayth hee) thã that I, which through fooliſhneſſe haue worſhipped them, ſhould nowe for example take deſtroy the ſame, through wiſedome giuen me from the true & liuing God? And ſtreight ways throwing away the ſuperſtition of vanitie, required armour and weapõ of the king, with a ſtoned horſe, vpon the which he being mounted, rode forth to deſtroy the Idols.

This was a ſtraunge ſight to the people: for it was not lawfull to the Biſhop of their lawe to put on armour, or to ride on any beaſt, except it were a Mare. He hauing therefore a ſwore gyrde to him, toke a ſpeare in his hande, and riding on the kings horſe, went to the place where the Idols ſtode. The common people that beheld him had thought he had beene ſtarke mad, and out of his wittes: but hee without longer deliberation, incontinently vpon his comming to the temple, began to deface the ſame, and in contempt threw his ſpeare againſt it, and reioyſing greatly in the knowledge of the worſhipping of the true God, commaunded his company to deſtroy and burne downe the ſame temple with all the aulters.

This place where ẏ Idols were ſomtime worſhipped was not farre from Yorke, towardes the Eaſt part of the riuer of Derwent, and is called Gotmundin Gaham, where the foreſayd Biſhop by the inſpiration of God defaced and deſtroyed thoſe aulters which he himſelfe had hallowed.

King Edwyn therefore with all the nobilitie, and a great nũber of his people, receyued the faith and were baptized, in the yeare of our Lorde. 627. in the tenth yeare of his raigne, and about the. 178 yeare after the firſt comming of the Engliſh men into this lande. Hee was baptiſed at Yorke on Eaſter day (which fel that yere the day before the Ides of Aprill) in the Church of S. Peter the Apoſtle, which hee had cauſed to bee erected vp of timber vpon the ſodaine for that purpoſe, and afterwards began the foũdation of the ſame church in ſtone worke of a larger compaſſe, comprehending within it that Oratorie which hee had firſt cauſed to be built: but before he coulde finiſh the worke, he was ſlaine (as after ſhall bee ſhewed, leauing it to be perfourmed of his ſucceſſor Oſwalde. Pauline continued from thenceforth during the kings life, which was fiue yeares after, in preaching the goſpel in that prouince, conuerting an innumerable nũber of people to the fayth of Chriſt, amongeſt the whiche were Oſtride, and Eadfride, the ſonnes of Edwyn, which he begotte in tyme of hys baniſhment, of his wife

King Edwyn with his people receyue the chriſtian fayth. *Beda. li. 2. cap. 14.* 627

Quinburge, the daughter of Ceorlus King of Mercia. Also afterwardes his children begot on his seconde wife Ethelburga, that is to say, a son called Edilhunus, and a daughter named Edil-
Ediltrudis. trudis: and another sonne called Buttfrea; of the which the two first died in theyr Cradels, and were buryed in the Church at Yorke. To bee briefe: by the kings assystance and fauour shewed vnto Pauline in the worke of the Lorde, greate multitudes of people daply receyued the fayth, and were baptised of Pauline in manye places, but specially in the Ryuer of Gleuy wythin the Prouince of Bernicia, and also in Swale in the Prouince of Deira: For as yet in the begynning this of the Church in those Countreys, no temples or fountes could be buylded or erected in so short a time.

Of such great zeale was Edwyn (as it is reported) towards the setting forth of Gods truth, that hee perswaded Carpwalde the Sonne of
This chaunced in the yeare 632 as hath *Math. West.* Redwalde King of the Eastangles to abandon the superstitious worshypping of Idolles, and to receyue the fayth of Christ with all hys whole Prouince.

His father Redwalde was baptised in Kent long before this time, but in vaine: for returning
Redwald king of Eastangles baptised. home, through counsayle of his wife and other wicked persons, he was seduced, and being turned from the sincere puritie of fayth, his last doings were worse than his first, so that according to
Carpwalde woulde serue God and the diuell. the manner of the olde Samaritanes, he would seeme both to serue the true God, and his false Goddes (which before time he had serued) and in one selfe Churche, had at one time both the Sacraments of Christ ministred at one aulter, and Sacrifice made vnto Diuels at another.

But Carpwalde within a while after he had receyued the fayth, was slaine by one of his owne Countrey men that was an Ethnicke, called Richbert, and then after his death, that Prouince for the terme of three yeares was wrapped eftsones in errour, tyll that Sybert, or Sigibert,
Sibert or Sigibert. the brother of Carpwalde, a moste Christian Prince, and verie well learned, obteyned the rule of that kingdome, who whilest hee liued a banished man in France during his brothers life time, was baptised there, and became a Christian: and when he came to be king, hee caused all his Prouince to be partaker of the same fountaine of life wherein he had beene dipped himselfe.

Unto his godly purpose also, a Bishop of the parties of Burgoigne named Felix was a great furtherer, who comming ouer vnto the Archebishop of Canterburie Honorius that was successour vnto Justus, and declaring vnto him his earnest desire, was sent by the same Archbishop to preache the worde of life vnto the Eastangles, which he did with such good successe, that he conuerted the whole countrey to the fayth of Jesus Christ, and placed the Sea of his Bishoprike at
A Bishop ordeyned at Dunwich. Dunwich, ending the course of his life there in peace, after he had continued in that his Bishoplyke office the space of .xvij. yeares.

Moreouer Pauline after that he had conuerted the Northumbers, hee preached the worde of *Beda.li.* *cap.16.*



God vnto them of Lindsey, whiche is a parte of Lincolnshire: and first he perswaded Blecca
This ch in the ye 628. as *Mat. P* the gouernor of the Citie of Lincoln to turne vnto Christ togither with all his familie.

In that Citie he also buylded a Churche of stone worke.

Thus Pauline trauailed in the worke of the lord, the same being greatly furthered by the help of Edwin, in whose presence he baptised a greate number of people in the riuer of Trent, neare to a towne the which in the olde English tongue was called *Tiouulfingaceaster*. This Pauline had with him a deacon named James, the which shewed himselfe verie diligent in the ministerie, and profited greatly therein.

But now to returne to king Edwin, who was a prince verily of worthy fame, and for the politike ordering of his Countreys and obseruing of
Vvil. iustice, deserued highly to be commended: for in his time all robbers by the high way were so banished out of his dominions, that a woman with hir new borne childe alone without other companie might haue trauayled from sea to sea, and not haue encountred with any creature that durst once haue offered hir iniurie.

He was also verie carefull for the aduaunce-
Mat.P ment of the commoditie and common wealth of
Beda.li. his people, insomuch that where there were any
cap.16. sweete and cleare water Springs, hee caused postes to bee set vppe, and Iron dishes to be fastened thereto wyth Chaynes, that wayfaryng men might haue the same readie at hand to drink wyth: and there was none so hardye as to touch

touch the same but for that vse: he vsed whersoeuer he went within the Cities or elsewhere abrode, to haue a banner borne before him, in token of Iustice to be ministred by hys royall authoritie.

In the meane season, Pope Honorius the fift, hearing that the Northumbers had receyued the fayth as before is mencioned at the preaching of Pauline, sent vnto the sayde Pauline the Pall, confirming him Archbishop in the Sea of Yorke.

He sent also letters of exhortation vnto king Edwin, to kindle him the more with fatherly admonicion, to continue and proceede in the waye of vnderstanding, into the which he was entered.

At the same time also, because Iustus the Archbishop of Canterburie was deade, and one Honorius elected to that Sea, Pope Honorius sente vnto the foresayde Honorius the elect Archbishoppe of Canterburie, his Pall, with letters, wherein was contayned a decree by him of made, that when eyther the Archbishoppe of Canterburie or Yorke chaunced to depart thys life, he that survived should haue authoritie to ordeyne another in place of him that was deceassed, that they shoulde not neede to wearie themselues with going to Rome, being so farre distant from them. The copie of whiche letter is regystred in the Ecclesiasticall Hystorie of Beda, bearing date the thirde Ides of June in the yeare of our Lorde. 633.

633.

The same Pope sent letters also to the Scottish people exhorting them to celebrate the feast of Easter in such due time as other Churches of the Christian world observed: and also because the Heresie of the Pelagians began to renue againe amongest them, (as he was enformed) hee admonished them to beware therof, and by all meanes to auoyde it.

The feast of Easter.

The heresie of the Pelagians.

But now that the Kingdome of Northumberland flourished, as before is partly touched, in happie state vnder the prosperous raigne of Edwyn, at length after he had gouerned it the space of .xvij. yeares, Cadwalline, or Cadwallo King of Brytaynes, who succeeded Cadwane, as Gal. Mon. hath, rebelled against him: for so it commeth to passe, that nothing can be so sure conteyned by mans power, but the same by the lyke power may be againe destroyed.

Cadwallin, or Cadwallo king of Brytayne.

Penda king of Mercia.

Penda king of Mercia enuying the prosperous proceedings of king Edwin, procured Cadwallo to moue this rebellion against Edwin: & ioyning his power with Cadwallo, they inuaded the countrey of Northumberland lewdly togither. Edwyn hereof aduertised, gathered his people, and came to encounter them, so that both the armies met at a place called Hatfield, where was fought a right sore and bloudie battaile. But in the end Edwin was slain with one of his sonnes named Osfrid,

King Edwin slaine. *Mat. VVest.*



and his army beaten downe & dispersed. Also there was slain on Edwyns part, Godbald K. of Orkney. Moreouer there was another of Edwyns sonnes named Edfride, constrayned of necessitie to gyue himself into the hands of Penda, and was after by him cruelly put to death (contrarie to his promised fayth) in king Oswaldes dayes, that succeeded Edwyn.

Thus did king Edwin end his life in that battaile, fought at Hatfield afforesayde, on the fourth Ides of October, in the yeare of our Lorde. 633. *Mat. VVest.* hee being then aboute the age of .xlvij. yeares and vpwardes.

Cadwal and Penda hauing obteyned this victorie, vsed it most cruelly. For one of the Captaynes was a Pagan, and the other wanting all ciuilitie, shewed himselfe more cruell than any Pagan coulde haue done. So that Penda being a worshipper of false Goddes with all his people of Mercia, and Cadwallo hauing no

The crueltie of Penda and Cadwallo.

respect to the christian religion which lately was begonne amongst the Northumbers, made hauocke in all places where they came, not sparing man, woman nor childe: and so continued in their furious outrage a long time, in passing through the countrey, to the great decay and calamitie of the christian congregations in those parties. And still the Christian Brytaines were lesse mercifull than Penda his heathenish souldiers. For euē vnto the dayes of Beda (as he affyrmeth) the Brytains made no account of the fayth or religion of the Englishmen, nor would communicate with them more than with Pagans, because they differed in rites from their accustomed traditions.

The Archbishop Pauline fleeth into Kent.

When the countrey of the Northumbers was brought into this miserable case by the enimies inuasion, the Archbishop Pauline taking wyth him the Queen Ethelburga, whō he had brought thither, returned nowe againe with hir by water into Kent, where he was honourably receyued of the Archbishop Honorius, and king Eadbald. He came thither in the conduct of one Bassus a valiant man of warre, hauing with him Eaufred the daughter, & Vulfrea the son of Edwyn and also Yffi the son of Osfride Edwins sonne, whō their mother after for feare of the kings Edbold & Oswald did send into France, where they died.

The Church of Rochester at that time was destitute of a Bishop, by the death of Romanus, who being sent to Rome vnto Pope Honorius, was drowned by the waye in the Italian Seas. Wherevppon at the request of the Archebyshoppe Honorius, and King Eadbald, Pauline toke vpon hym the charge of that See, and helde it till he dyed.

Beda lib. 3. cap. 1.

Ostrike king of Deira.

After that Edwyn was slaine in battaile (as before yee haue hearde) Ostrike the sonne of his Uncle Elfricke, toke vpon hym the rule of the Kingdome of Deira, which had receyued the sacrament of Baptisme by the preaching and vertuous instruction of Pauline.

Eufred king of Bernicia.

But the other kingdome of Northumberlande called Bernicia, Eaufride the sonne of Edelfred or Edelfride, toke vpon him to gouerne.

This Eaufride during the time of Edwins raigne, had continued in Scotland, and there being conuerted to the Christian fayth was baptised. But both these Princes after they had obteyned possession of theyr earthly kingdomes, dyd forget the care of the heauenly kingdome, so that they returned to their olde kind of Idolatrie. But the almightie God did not long suffer this theyr vnthankfulnesse without iust punishment: for first in the next Sommer, when Ostrike had rashlye besieged Cadwallo King of the Brytaynes, within a certayne Towne, Cadwallo brake forth vpon hym, and fynding him vnprouided to make resystance, slue him with all his armie.

The two kings of Northumberland slain.

And after thys, whilest Cadwallo not like a Conquerour gouerned the Prouynces of the Northumbers, but lyke a Tyran wasted and destroyed them, in slaying the people in tragicall manner, hee also slue Eaufride, the whiche with twelue menne of warre, came vndiscretely vnto him to sue for peace, and thus within lesse than twelue Monethes space both these renegate kings were dispatched.



Then Oswalde, the sonne of Edelfred, and brother to the foresayde Eaufride was created K. of the Northumbers, the first in number from Ida.

Oswa... begannet raigne in yeare. 63... Beda lib. cap. 3.

This Oswalde after that his father was slaine, liued as a banished person a long time within Scotlande, where he was baptised, and professed the christian religion, and passed the flower of his youth in good exercises, both of minde and bodie.

Amongst other things, he practised the vnderstanding of warlike knowledge, minding so to vse it, as it might stande him in steade to defende himselfe from iniurie of the enimies that shoulde prouoke him, and not otherwise.

Herevpon Cadwallo King of the Brytayns made in maner no account of him: for by reason that he had atchieued such great victories agaynst the Englishe men, and hauing slaine theyr two Kings (as before is expressed) he ceassed not to proceede in hys tyrannicall doynges, reputing the Englishe people for slouthfull, and not apt to the warre, boasting that he was borne to their destruction.

And thus being set vp in pryde of courage, he feared no perilles, but boldely without considering at al the skilful knowledge which Oswald had sufficiently learned in feates of warres, toke vppon hym to assayle the foresayde Oswalde, that had broughte an armie agaynst hym, and was encamped in a playne fielde, neare vnto the Wall whiche the Romaines had buylded in tymes past agaynst the inuasion of Scottes and Pictes.

Cadwallo straight prouoked Oswald to trie the matter by battaile, but Oswalde forbare the first day, and caused a Crosse to bee erected in the same place where he was encamped, in full hope that it should be an ensigne or trophy of his victorie, causing all souldiers to make their prayers to God, that in time of such necessitie, it might please him to succour them that worshipped him.

It

It is ſayde, that the Croſſe being made, and the hole digged wherein it ſhoulde be ſet, he toke the Croſſe in his owne handes, and putting the foote thereof into that hole, ſo helde it till his ſouldiers had filled the hole, and rammed it vp: And then cauſed al the ſouldiers to kneele downe vpon their knees, and to make interceſſion to the true and liuing God for his aſſiſtãce agaynſt ỹ proud enimie, with whõ they ſhould fight in a iuſt quarel for the preſeruation of their people & countrey.

After this, in the next morning he boldly giueth battaile to his enimies, ſo that a ſore and cruell fight enſued betwixt them. At length Oſwald perceyued that the Brytaynes beganne ſomewhat to faint, and therfore he cauſed his people to renue their force, and more luſtily to preaſſe forwarde, ſo that firſt he put that moſt cruell enimie to flight, and after purſuing the chaſe, ouertoke him, and ſlue him with the moſt part of all his huge and mightie armie, at a place called *Beda.* *VVil. Malm.*



Denilleborne, but the place where hee cauſed the Croſſe to be erected, height Heuenfield.

And thus Cadwallo the moſt cruell enimie of the Engliſh name ended his life: He was terrible both in nature & countenance, for the which cauſe they ſay the Brytaynes did afterwards ſet vp his Image, that the ſame might bee a terrour to the enimies when they ſhoulde beholde it.

But here is to bee remembred by the Britiſh Hiſtorie of Eal. Mon. it ſhoulde appeare that Cadwallo was not ſlaine at all, but raigned victoriouſly for the ſpace of. xlviij. yeares, and then departed this life, as in place afterwards it ſhall appeare. But for that the contrarietie in writers in ſuch poyntes may ſooner be perceyued than reformed to the ſatiſfying of mennes fancies whiche are variable, wee will leaue euery man to his libertie to thinke as ſeemeth him good, noting now and then the diuerſitie of ſuche writers, as occaſion ſerueth.

mind banquiſhed with greatneſſe of buſineſſe, but theſe his vertues were matched with notable vices, as firſt with ſuch bitterneſſe of maners as had not beene heard of, crueltie of nature, lack of curteſie, great vnſtedfaſtneſſe in performing of word and promiſe, and of vnmeaſurable hatred toward the Chriſtian religion.

Vpon confidence put in theſe his great vertues and vices from time that he was made king as though the whole Ile had beene due to him, he thought not good to let any occaſion paſſe that was offered to make warre, as well agaynſt his friendes and confederates, as alſo agaynſt hys owne ſworne enimyes. Part of his doings ye haue heard, and more ſhall appeare hereafter.

Of the kings of the Eaſt Saxons and Eaſt Angles, ye haue heard before: of whom in places conuenient yee ſhall finde further mention alſo, and ſo likewiſe of the kings of the South Saxons: but bycauſe theyr kingdome continued not paſt fiue ſucceſſions, little remembrance of them is made by writers.



Penda the ſon of Wilba ſucceeded in the gouernmẽt of the kingdom of Mercia, after Ciarlus, & beganne hys raigne in the yeare of oure Lord. 626.

He was fiftie yeares of age before he came to bee king, and raigned. xxx. yeares, he was a Prince right hardie and aduenterous, not fearing to ieopard his perſon in place of danger, aſſured & rather of remembrance in time of greateſt perill. His body could not be ouercome with any trauaile, nor his

Cadwallo or Cadwalline.



Cadwallo, or Cadwalline, for we finde him ſo alſo named, began his raigne ouer the Britains in the yere of our Lord. 635. in the yeare of the raigne of the Emperour Heraclius. 35. and in the. xij. yeare of Dagobert king of France.

Cadwallo, or Cadwalline.

635

Of this man ye haue heard partly before touching his dealings and warres agaynſt the Northumbers,

thumbers, and other of the Engliſh Nation: but forſomuch as diuerſe other things are reported of him by the Brytiſh writers, wee haue thought good in this place to rehearſe the ſame in part, as in Gal. Mon. we finde written, leauing the credite ſtill with the authour, ſith the truth thereof may the more be ſuſpected, becauſe other Authours of good authoritie, as Beda, Henrie Huntington, William Malm. and other, ſeeme greatly to diſagree from him herein. But thus is it written.

This Cadwallo, and Edwyn the ſonne of Ethelfred, as Galfride ſayth, were brought vp in Fraunce, being ſent thither vnto Salomon king of Brytaine, by king Cadwane, when they were verie yong: and that after their returne into thys lande, when they were made kings, Cadwall of the Brytaynes, and Edwyne of the Northumbers, there continued for the ſpace of two yeares great friendſhip betwixt them, till at length Edwyn requyred of Cadwallo that he might weare a Crowne, and celebrate appointed ſolemnities within his dominion of Northumberlande, as

Edwin was not ſonne to Ethelfred but to Alla, or Elle, as in other places it plainly ap-

well as Cadwall did in his Countrey. Cadwall taking aduice in this matter, at length by perſwaſion of his nephew Brian, denied to graunt vnto Edwin his requeſt, wherwith Edwin tooke ſuch diſpleaſure, that he ſent word vnto Cadwal, that he would be crowned without his leaue or licence, ſith he would not willingly graūt it: whervnto Cadwal anſwered, that if he ſo did, he wold cut off his head vnder his diademe, if he preſumed to weare any within the cōfines of Britain. Hereof diſcord ariſing betwixt theſe two princes, they began to make fierce and cruell warre either of them againſt the other, and at length ioyning in battail with their maine armies, Cadwall loſt the field, with many thouſands of his men, and being chaſed, fled into Scotlande, and from thence got ouer into Ireland, and finally paſſed the ſeas into Brytain Armorike, where of his couſin king Salomon he was curteouſly receyued, and at length obteyned of him. x. M. men to go with him backe into his cūtry to aſſiſt him in recouery of his lāds and dominions, the which in the meane time were cruelly ſpoiled, waſted, & haried by king Edwin.

Cadwall quiſhed Edwyn.

Cadwal fleeth to Iande.



The ſame time, Brian the nephew of Cadwallo whom he had ſent into Britain a little before for to lea a certaine wiſard or ſouthſayer, which K. Edwin had gotte out of Spain, named Pelitus, that by diſcloſing the purpoſe of Cadwallo vnto Edwin greatly hindred Cadwallocs enterpriſes, had fortified the Citie of Exeter, meaning to defende it till the comming of Cadwallo, wherupon Penda king of Mercia beſieged that Citie with a mightie armie, purpoſing to take it, and Brian within it. Cadwallo then aduertiſed hereof, immediately after his arriuall haſted to Exeter, and deuiding his people into foure parts, ſet vpon his enimies, & tooke Penda, and ouerthrew his whole armie. Penda hauing no other ſhift to eſcape, ſubmitted himſelf wholy vnto Cadwallo, promiſing to become his liegemā, to fight againſt the Saxons in his quarell. And this Penda being ſubdued, Cadwallo called his nobles togither which had bene diſperſed abrode a long ſeaſon, and with all ſpeede went againſt Edwyn king of Northumberlande, and ſlue him in battaile at Hatfielde (as before is mencioned) with his ſonne Offride, and Godbold, king of the Iles of Orkney, which was come thither to his ayde.

By this it ſhould appeare, that Fabian hath gathered amiſſe in the account of the raignes of the Brytiſh kings: for it appeareth by Beda and others, that Edwyn was ſlayne in the yeare of our Lorde. 634. 634

And where Fabian (as before is ſayd) attributeth that acte & diuerſe other vnto Cadwan the father

father of this Cadwallo: yet both Gal. Mon. and Beda, with the most part of all other writers, signifie that it was done by Cadwallo.

Harding assigneth but. xiij. yeares vnto the raigne of Cadwan, and declareth that he dyed in the yeare of our Lorde. 616. in the which yeare as he sayeth) Cadwallo began his raigne, which his opinion seemeth best to agree with that which is written by other authors.

But to returne to the other doings of Cadwallo, as we finde them recorded in the Brytishe Hystorie.

After hee had got this victorie agaynste the Northumbers, he cruelly pursued the Saxons, as though he ment so farre as in him lay, to destroye the whole race of them oute of the landes of all Brytayne: and sending Penda agaynst King Oswalde that succeeded Edwin, though at the first Penda receyued the ouerthrowe at Heauenfielde, yet afterwardes Cadwallo hymselfe highlye displeased with that chaunce, pursued Oswalde, and fought with hym at a place called Bourne, where Penda slue the sayd Oswalde.

slaine.

After that Oswalde was slayne, his brother Osuius succeeded him in gouernment of the Northumbers, and sought the fauour of Cadwallo, now ruling as King ouer all Brytayne, and at length by great gyftes of golde and syluer, and vppon his humble submission, hee obteyned peace, tyll at length vpon a spyte, Penda King of Mercia obteyned lycence of Cadwallo to make warres agaynst the sayde Osuius, in the which (as it happened Penda himselfe was slaine.

West.

Then Cadwallo after two yeres graunted that Ulfridus the sonne of Penda shoulde succeede in the kingdome of Mertia.

And thus Cadwallo ruled things at his appoyntment within this lande. And finally when he had raigned. xlviij. yeares, hee departed thys lyfe the. xxij. of Nouember.

West.

His bodie being embalmed and dressed with sweet confections, was put into a brasen Image, by maruellous arte melted and cast, the whiche Image beeing set on a brasen Horse of excellente beautie, the Brytaynes erected aloft vppon the West gate of London called Ludgat, in signe of his victorious conquestes, and for a terror to the Saxons.

And moreouer the Church of Saint Martine standing vnderneath the same gate, was by the Brytains then builded.

Thus haue the Brytaynes made mention of theyr valiaunt Prince Cadwallo, but diuerse men thinke that much of that Hystorie is but fables, because of the dissonance founde therein so manifestly varying both from Beda and other autentike writers (as before I haue sayde.)

But nowe to the truth of the Hystorie touching Oswalde King of the Northumbers, wee finde after that he had tasted of Gods high fauour extended to hymwardes, in vanquishing hys enimyes, as one myndyng to be thankfull therefore, was desirous to restore agayne the Christian fayth through hys whole Kingdome, sore lamenting the decaye thereof wythin the same, and therefore euen in the beginning of his raigne, he sente vnto Donwalde the Scottishe King (with whome hee had beene brought vp in tyme of his banishment the space of. xviij. yeares) requiring him to haue some learned Scottish man sent vnto him, skilfull in preaching the worde of lyfe, that with godly Sermons and wholesome instructions, hee might conuerte the people of Northumberland vnto the true and liuing God, promising to entertaine him with such prouision as apperteyned.

Oswald meaneth to bee thankfull to God for his benefites. *Beda. li. 3. ca. 3. 5. 6. Hector. Bo.*

At his instance there was sent vnto him one Corman. Corman, a Clerke singularly well learned, and of great grauitie in behauiour: but for that he wanted such facilitie, and plaine vtterance by waye of gentle perswading, as is requisite in him that shal instruct the simple, onely setting forth in his Sermons high mysteries, & matters of such profound knowledge, as vnethe the verie learned might perceyue the perfect sense and meaning of his talke, his trauaile came to small effect, so that after a yeares remayning there, he turned into his countrey declaring amongest his brethren of the clergie, that the people of Northumberlande was a froward, stubburn & stiffe harted generatiō, whose minds he could not frame by any good meanes of perswasion to receiue the christian faith: so that he iudged it lost labor to spende more time amongst them being so vnthankfull & intractable a people, as no good might be done vpon them.

Amongst other learned and vertuous prelates of the Scots, there chaunced one to be there present at the same time called Aydan, a man of so perfite life, that as Beda writeth) he taught no otherwise than he liued, hauing no regarde to the cares of this world, but whatsoeuer was giue him by kings or men of welth and riches, that he freely bestowed vpon the poore, exhorting other to do the lyke. Aydan.

This Aydane hearing Cormans words, perceiued anon that the fault was not so much in the people, as in the teacher, & therefore declared, ỹ (as he thought) although it were so that the people of Northūberland gaue no such attentiue eare vnto the preaching of that reuerend prelate Cormā, as his godly expectation was they should haue done, yet might it be that his vttring of ouer many mystical articles amongst the, far aboue the capacity of the vnderstanding of simple men, was ỹ cause why they so lightly regarded his diuine instructions, whereas if he had (according to the counsaile

Saint Paules counsaile.

of Saint Paule) at the first ministred vnto theyr tender vnderstādings, only milke without harder nourishments, he might happely haue wonne a farre greater number of them vnto the receyuing of the fayth, and so haue framed them by lyttle and lyttle to haue disgested stronger foode. And therefore hee thought it necessarie in discharge of theyr duetyes towardes God, and to satisfie the earnest zeale of King Oswalde, that some one amongest them myght bee appoynted to goe againe into Northumberlande, to trie by proceeding in this maner afore alledged, what profite woulde thereof ensue.

The Bysshoppes hearing the opinion of Aydane, and therewith knowing Colmans maner of preaching, iudged the matter to bee as Aydane had declared, and therevppon not onely allowed his wordes, but also willed him to take the iourney vppon him, sithe they knewe none so able, with effect to accomplish theyr wished desires in that behalfe.

Aydan commeth into England to preach the gospell.

Aydane for that he would not seeme to refuse to take that in hande whiche he himselfe had motioned, was contented to satisfie their request, and so set forwarde towardes Northumberland, and comming thither, was ioyfully receyued of King Oswalde, who appoynted him the Ile of Lindelfarne wherein to place the Sea of his newe Bishoprike.

Beda.li.3.ca.3. Hector.Bo.

This Aydane in one point varied from the vse of the newe begon Church of England, that is to witte, touching the time of obseruing the feast of Easter, in like maner as all the Bishoppes of the Scottes and Pictes inhabiting within Brytaine in those dayes did, following therein (as they tooke it) the doctrine of the holy and prayse worthie father Anatholius. But the Scots that inhabited in the South partes of Irelande, alreadie were agreed to obserue that feast, according to the rules of the Church of Rome. But Aydane being thus come into Northumberlande, applyed himself so earnestly in prayer and preaching, that the people had him within short whyle in wonderfull estimation, chiefely for that hee tempered his preachings with suche sweete and pleasaunt matter, that all men had a great desire to heare him, insomuche that sometyme hee was glad to preache abrode in Churche yardes, because the audience was more than coulde haue rowmth in the Church.

One thing was a great hinderance to him, that he had not the perfite knowledge of the Saxons tongue. But Oswald himselfe was a great helpe to him in that matter, who beeing of nothing so much desirous, as to haue the fayth of Christ rooted in the heartes of his subiects, vsed as an interpreter to report vnto the people in their Saxon tongue, such whole Sermons as Aydan vttered in his mother tongue. For Oswalde hauing bene brought vp (as ye haue heard) in Scotlande during the time of his banishment, was as readie in the Scottishe, as he was in the Saxon tongue. Beda. Oswalde an interpreter to the preacher.

The people then seeing the kings earnest desire in furthering the doctrine set forth by Aydan, were the more inclined to heare it: so then it was a maruellous matter to note, what numbers of people dayly offred themselues to be baptised, insomuch that within the space of seauen dayes (as is left in writing) he christened. xv. thousande persons, of the whiche no small parte forsaking the world, betoke thēselues to a solitarie kind of life. Hec. Boet.

Thus by his earnest trauail in continual preaching and setting forth the Gospell in that country, it came to passe in the ende, that the faith was generally receyued of all the people, and such zeale to aduaunce the glorie of the Christian Religion dayly increased amongest them, that no where could be found greater.

Oswaldes zeale to aduaunce religion.

Herevpon were no small number of Churches buylt in all places abrode in those parties by procurement of the king, (all men liberally cōsenting according to the rate of their substance) to be contributaries towardes the charges.

By this meanes the kingdome of the Northumbers flourished, as well in fame of increase in religion, as also in ciuill policie and prudent ordinances: insomuch that (as Bede writeth) Oswald atteyned to suche power, that all the nations and prouinces within Brytaine which were deuided into four tongues (that is to say) Britains, Picts, Scots, and Englishmen, were at his cōmaundement. But yet was he not lift vp in any pride or presumption, but shewed himselfe marueylous curteous and gentle, and very liberal to poore people, and to straungers. Beda.li.3. Oswald his estimation with his subiects.

It is sayde that he being set at the table vppon an Easter day, hauing Bishop Aydan at diner then with him, his Almoner came in as ỹ Bishop was about to say grace, and declared to the king that there was a great multitude of poore folke set before the gates to loke for the kings almes. The king herewith toke a siluer dish which was set on the table before him with meate, & cōmanded the same meat streightways to be destributed amōgst the poore, and the dish broken into small peeces, & deuided amongst thē: for which act he was highly commended of the Bishop, as he well deserued.

By the good pollicie and diligent trauail of this king, the prouinces of Deira and Bernicia, which hitherto had beene at variaunce, were brought to peace and made one.

About the same time, the West Saxons were conuerted to the Christian fayth, by the preaching of one Birinus a Bishop, the whiche came into this lande at the exhortation of Pope Honorius, Beda.li.3. Birinus conuerteth the West Saxons to christian fayth.

Honorius, to ſet forthe the Goſpell vnto thoſe people which as yet were not baptiſed. By his diligent trauell in the Lordes harueſt, Cynigilſus or Kynigils one of the Kings of that countrey receyued the faithe, and was baptiſed about the fiue and twentith yeare of his raigne. King Oſwald that ſhould haue his daughter in marriage, was preſent the ſame time, & firſte ere hee became a ſonne in law, was made a Godfather vnto Kinigils (that ſhould be his father in lawe) by receyuing him at the fontſtone, in that his ſeconde birth of regeneration. This Birinus was an Italian, & now that King Kinigils was become a Chriſtian, he appoynted vnto the ſayd Byrinus the citie of Dorcester, ſituate by the Thames, diſtaunt from Oxforde about ſeuen miles, to be the See of his Biſhoprieke, where he procured Churches to be buylt, and by his earneſt trauell and ſetting forth the word of life, conuerted much people to the right beleefe.

In the yeare folowing, Quichelmus the other King of the Weſt Saxons, and ſonne to Kinigils was alſo chriſtned, and dyed the ſame yeare, and ſo then Cinigilſus or Kinigils raigned alone.

In this meane while Penda King of Mercia that ſucceeded next after Ciarlus, being a mã *Hen. Hunt.*
giuen to ſeeke trouble in one place or other, leaued warre againſt the Kings of Weſt Saxon, Kinigils and Quichelme, the whiche gathering their power, gaue hym battell at Cirencheſter, where both the parties fought it out to the vttermoſt, as though they had forſworne to giue place one to another, in ſo much that they continued in fighte and in making of cruell ſlaughter till the night parted them in ſunder. And in the morning

This chanced in the yeare., 627. as Mat. Weſt. hath.



when they ſaw that if they ſhould buckle together againe, the one parte ſhoulde vtterly deſtroy the other, they fell to agreemente in moderating eache others demaundes.

After this in the yeare of our Lord. 640. Eadbald King of Kent departed this life after hee had raigned. 24. yeares, leauing his Kingdome to hys ſonne Earconbert. This Earconbert was the firſte of the Engliſhe Kings, whiche toke order for the vtter deſtroying of all Idols throughout his whole Kingdome.

He alſo by his royall authoritie, commaunded the faſt of fortie dayes in the Lente ſeaſon to bee kept and obſerued, appoynting worthy and competent puniſhmente againſte the tranſgreſſors of that commaundemente. Hee hadde by hys wife Segburg, that was daughter vnto Anna King of the Eaſt Angles, a daughter named Earcongatha, the whiche was profeſſed a Nonne within the Monaſterie of Brige or Cala in Fraunce: For in theſe dayes, byeauſe there were not many Monaſteries as yet buylded within this land, a great number of Engliſhmen that toke vppon them the profeſſion of a Religious life, gote them ouer vnto Abbeyes in France, and there profeſſed themſelues Monkes: and many there were which ſente their daughters ouer to be profeſſed Nonnes within ye Nunneries there, and ſpecially at Brige, Cale, and Andeley: amongſt other, there were Sedzike the lawfull daughter, and Edelburgh the baſtard daughter of the ſayd King Anna, the whiche both in proceſſe of time were made Abbeiſſes of the ſaide Monaſterie of Brige.

Yee haue hearde already, how Oſwald King of Northumberland bare himſelfe in all poyntes like a moſt worthy Prince, not ceaſing to releeue the neceſſitie of the poore, aduaneing the good, and reforming the euill, whereby hee wanne to hymſelfe exceeding prayſe and commendation of all good men, and ſtill his fame encreaſed for his vertuous doings, namely, for the ardent zeale he had to the aduaneing of the Chriſtian fayth. Hereupon Penda King of Mercia, enuying the proſperous

ſperous proceedings of Oſwald, as he that could neuer abyde to heare the good repoꝛt of other mẽs well doings, began to imagine howe to deſtroy hym, and to conquere his Kyngdome that hee might ioyne it to his owne. At length he inuaded his countrey by open warre, met with him in the field at a place called Maſerfield, & there in ſharp and cruell fight Oſwald was ſlayne on the fifth

Penda ſlayeth the thumbers. *Beda.li.* King O. ſlayne.



Mat. VVeſt. hath.644. day of Auguſt in the yeare of our Loꝛd. 642. and in the.38.yeare of his age, after he had raigned the tearme of eyght oꝛ nine yeares after ſome, whych accompt that yeare vnto his raigne, in the whych his predeceſſoꝛs Oſrick and Eaufride raigned, whome they number not amongſt Kings, by cauſe of their wicked appoſtacie, and renouncing of the faith which beſoꝛe they had profeſſed. Such was the ende of that vertuous Pꝛince King Oſwald, beeing cruelly ſlayne by that wicked Tyrant Penda. Afterwards foꝛ the opinion conceyued of his holyneſſe, the ſoꝛeſayde Oſwald was canonized a Saynt, and had in greate woꝛſhippe of the people, beeing the firſte of the Engliſhe nation that appꝛoued his vertue by miracles ſhewed after hys departure out of this life.

VVil.Malm.

Oſwy King of Northumberland.



Beda.lib.3. cap.14. After that Kyng Oſwalde was ſlaine, his bꝛother Oſwy being about a.30.yeres of age, toke vpon him the rule of the Kingdom of Noꝛthumberland, gouerning ẏ ſame ẅ great trouble foꝛ the ſpace of eyght and twentie yeares, beeing ſoꝛe vexed by the foꝛeſayde Penda Kyng of Mercia and his people, whiche as yet were Paganes.

In the firſt yeare of his raigne, whiche was in the yeare of our Loꝛde. 644. Pauline the Biſhop of Rocheſter whiche had bin alſo Archbiſhoppe of Yoꝛke departed this life, and then one Thamar an Engliſhman of the parties of Kente was oꝛdeyned Biſhoppe of Rocheſter by Honoꝛius the Archbiſhoppe of Canterbury. Kyng Oſwy had a partner with hym in gouernement of the Noꝛthumbers in the firſt beginning of his raigne one Oſwin, which was ſonne to Oſrick, ſo that Oſwy gouerned in Bernicia, and Oſwin in Deira, and continued in perfect friendſhip foꝛ a ſeaſon, till at length, thꝛough the counſell of wicked perſons, that coueted nothing ſo muche as to ſowe diſcoꝛde and variance betwixte Pꝛinces, they fell at debate, and ſo beganne to make warres the one agaynſte the other, ſo that finally when they were at poynte to haue tried theyꝛ quarrell in open battayle, Oſwin percеyuing that he had not an army of ſufficient foꝛce to encounter with Oſwy, he ꝛake vp hys campe at Wilfareſdowne, a tenne mile by Weſt the Towne of Cataractone, and after withdꝛewe hymſelfe onely with one ſeruant named Condhere vnto the houſe of Erle Hunwald, whome he toke to haue bin hys truſty friende: but contrary to his expectation, the ſayde Hunwalde did betray hym vnto Oſwy, the whyche by his Captayne Edelwine ſlewe the ſayde Oſwin and hys ſeruaunte the foꝛeſayde Conhere, in a place called Ingethling, the thirteenth Calends of September, in the ninth yeare of his raigne, whyche was after the birth of oure Sauioure. 651.

Bernicia. 64 65

Thys

This Oswin was a goodly Gentleman of person, talle, and beautifull, and very gentle of speeche, ciuill in manners, and very liberall both to high and lowe, so that he was beloued ouer al. Suche a one he was, to bee briefe, as Bishop Aydan gessed, that hee shoulde not long continue in life, for that the Northumbers were not worthy of so good & vertuous a gouernor. Such humblenesse and obedience hee perceyued to rest in hym towards the law of the Lorde, in taking ẏ which was tolde him for his better instruction in good part, that he sayd, he neuer sawe before that tyme an humble King.

The same Aydan lyued not past twelue days after the deathe of the sayd Oswin, whome hee so much loued, departing this worlde the last day of August, in the seuententh yeare after he was ordeyned Bishop. His body was buried in the Isle of Lindesferne.

After Aydan, one Finan was made Bishop in his place, a Scottishman also, and of the Isle of Hui, from whence his predecessor the foresaid Aydan came, being first a man of Religion professed in the Monasterie there (as some writers doe report.)

Cenwalch King of VVest Saxons.



IN the meane time, after ẏ Kinigils or Cinigillus Kyng of the West Saxons hadde raigned one & thirtie yeares, he departed this life anno. 643. leauyng hys Kingdome to his son Cenwalch or Chenwald, who helde the same Kingdome the tearme of. 30. yeares, or. 31. (as some write) in manner as his father had done before him. In the thirde, or as others haue in the fifth yere of his raigne, Penda K. of Mercia made sharp warre against him, bycause he had put away his wife ẏ sister of ẏ same Penda, and in this warre Cenwalde was ouercome in battell, and driuen out of his countrey, so that hee fledde vnto Anna King of the East Angles, with whome hee remayned the space of 3 yeare, or as other haue three yeares, to his great good happe: for before he was growen to be an enimie to the Christian Religion, but now by the wholesome admonitions and sharpe rebukes of King Anna, he became a Christian, and receiued his wife againe into his company, according to the prescript of Gods lawe, and to be briefe, in all things shewed himselfe to be a new man, embracing vertue, and auoyding vice, so that shortly after through the help of God, he recouered again his Kingdome. After that he was returned into his Kingdome, & had recouered the same, there came a Bishop named Agilbertus out of Irelād, a Frenchmā borne, but hauing remayned in Ireland a long time to reade the Scriptures. Thys Agilbert coming into the prouince of the West Saxōs, was gladly receyued of King Cenwald, at whose desire he toke vppon him to exercise the rowmth of a Bishop there, but afterwardes, when the sayd King admitted an other Bishop named Wini, which had bin ordeyned in Fraunce, and knewe the tong better than Agilbert, as hee that was borne in Englande: Agilberte offended for that the King had admitted him without making him of any counsell therein, returned into Fraunce, and there was made Bishop of Paris: within a few yeares after, the foresaid Wini was expulsed also by King Cenwald, who gote hym into Mercia vnto King Vulkhere, of whome hee bought the Bishoprick of London, which he held during his life, and so the countrey of West Saxon remayned long without a Bishoppe, till at length the saide Agilberte at the request of Kyng Cenwald sent to him Eleutherius that was his Nephew.

Agilbertus a Bishop.



YEe haue heard that after Carpewald, his brother Sigiberte succeeded in rule of ẏ East Angles, a mā of greate vertue and worthinesse, who whilest hee remayned in Fraunce as a banished man, being constreyned to flee his countrey vpon displeasure that King Redwalde bare hym, was baptised there, and after returning into hys countrey, and obteining at length the Kingdom, those things which hee had seene well ordred in Fraunce, he studyed to followe the example of the same at home, and hereuppon considering with himselfe that nothing coulde more aduaunce the state of the common wealth of his countrey than learning and knowledge in the tongs, begannne the foundation of certayne Scholes, and namely at Cambridge, where children might haue places where to be instructed and brought vp in learning vnder appoynted teachers, that there might bee greater numbers of learned men trayned vp than before time had bin within this land, to the furtherance of true Religion and vertue.

Sigibert

Beda. lib. 3. cap. 4.

The Vniuersitie of Cambridge founded by King Sigibert.

And thus hathe Englande good cause to haue in thankfull remembrance this noble Prince K. Sigibert, for all those hir learned menne why che haue

haue bin brought vp and come forth of that famous vniuerſitie of Cambridge, the firſt foundation, or rather renouation whereof was thus begunne by him about the yeare of our Lord.630. Bale hath.636. It length, when this worthy King beganne to growe in age, hee conſidered with himſelfe howe hard a matter, and how painefull an office it was to gouerne a Realme as apperteyned to the duetie of a good King, whereupon he determined to leaue the charge thereof to other of more conuenient yeares, and lyue from thenceforth a priuate kinde of lyfe, and ſo reſigning the adminiſtration vnto his kinſman Egricus, hee became a Monke, and ledde the reſt of his life in a certaine Abbey. But ſhortly after it ſo came to paſſe that Penda King of Mercia that cruell Ethnike Tyrante made ſore warres vppon Egricus, wherevppon the people of Eaſt angles compelled Sigebertus to come forthe of his Monaſterie, and to goe with them into the fielde againſte Penda. Sigebertus beeyng thus conſtreyned againſt his wil, would not put on armour or beare any other kinde of weapon, than onely a wande in his hande in ſteade of a Scepter, and ſo the army of the Eaſtangles in hope of good ſpeede by the preſence of Sigiberte, ioyned in battell with their enimies, but the Eaſt angles were finally vanquiſhed, and the more part of them ſlaine, together with Sigiberte, and his couſin Egricus theyr King.

Sigiberte reſigneth his Kingdome to Egricus.

Sigiberte & Egricus ſlaine.



The yeare in the which Sigiberte and Egricus were ſlayne in manner as is aboue rehearſed, was after the birth of our Sauioure as ſome haue 652. In the dayes whileſt Sigibert as yet ruled the Eaſt angles, there came out of Irelande a deuoute perſon named Furſeus, who comming into the countrey of the Eaſt angles, was gladly receyued of King Sigiberte, by whoſe help afterwardes hee buylded the Abbey of Cumbreſburge, in the which Sigibert (as ſome haue written) when he renounced his Kingdome, was profeſſed a Monke. Of this Furſeus, many thyngs are writte, the which for breefeneſſe we ouerpaſſe.

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Baleus. Beda. lib. 3. cap. 19. Furſeus.

After that Felix the Biſhop of the Eaſt angles was dead, one Thomas was ordeyned in his place, who after he had bin Biſhop fiue yeres, dyed, and then one Beretgils was ordeyned in his rowme by Honorius the Archbiſhop of Canterburie. The ſayd Honorius hymſelfe when hee had runne the race of his naturall life, deceaſſed alſo in the yeare of our Lord.653. the laſt of September.

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After Egricus ſucceeded Anna the ſonne of Enus in the Kingdome of Eaſt Angle, and was likewiſe ſlayne by Penda King of Mercia, with the moſt parte of his army, as he gaue battell vnto the ſayde Penda that inuaded his countrey. He lefte behynde him many children, but his brother Edelhere ſucceeded him in gouernemente of the Kingdome, who was ſlaine by Oſwy the King of Northumberlande, togyther with the forenayd Penda, and worthely, ſith that hee woulde ayde that Tyrante whyche hadde ſlayne hys kinſmen, and hys brother that were predeceſſors with him in his Kingdome.

Anna. vvil. Edelhere K. of East an.

After this, when the Sea of Canterbury had bene vacant by the ſpace of one whole yeare and fiue Monethes, one *Deus Dedit* of the countrey of the Weſt Saxons, was elected and conſecrated by Ithamar the Byſhop of Rocheſter the. 7. Calends of April. He gouerned the Church of Canterbury by the tearme of nine yeres, four moneths, and two dayes. When he was departed this life, the forenayd Ithamar conſecrated for him one Damianus of the countrey of Suſſex.

Deus Dedit

Mercia receyueth the fayth.



ABout this time, the people of Mercia cõmonly called midle Angles, receyued the Chriſtian fayth vnder theyr Kyng named Peda, or Peada the ſonne of Penda King of Mercia, the which being a towardly yong Gentleman, and worthy to haue the guyding of a kingdome, his father Penda aduaunced him to the rule of that Kingdome of the middle angles during his own life. Heere may you note, ẏ the Kingdome of the midle angles was one, & the Kingdome of Mercia another, though moſt commonly the ſame were gouerned by one king. This yong Peda came to the king of Northumberlande Oſwy, to require of him to haue hys daughter Alchfled in marriage: but when he was enformed that he might not haue hir except hee would become a Chriſtian, then vppon hearyng the Goſpell preached, with the promiſe of the celeſtiall ioyes and immortalitie, by the reſurrectiõ of the fleſhe in the life to come, he ſayde, that whether hee had King Oſwyes daughter to wife or not, he woulde ſurely be baptiſed, and chiefly hee was perſwaded thereto by his kinſman Alchfride which had in marriage his ſiſter the daughter of Penda named Cimburgh. He was therfore baptiſed by Biſhop Fynnan, with all thoſe whyche



The East Saxons eftſoones receyue the faith.

came thither with him, at a place called at ẏ wal. And taking with him foure prieſtes whiche were thought meete to teache and baptiſe his people, he returned with great ioy into his owne countrey. The names of thoſe Prieſtes were as followeth, Cedda, Adda, Betti, and Diuna, of the whyche, the laſt was a Scotte by nation, and the other were Engliſhmen. Theſe Prieſtes commyng into the prouince of the middle angles, preached the worde, and were well hearde, ſo that dayly a greate number, both of the nobilitie and communaltie renouncing the filthy dregges of Idolatrie, were chriſtned. Neyther dyd King Penda forbidde the preachyng of the Goſpell within his prouince of Mercia, but rather he hated and deſpiſed thoſe whome hee knewe to haue profeſſed themſelues Chriſtians, and yet ſhewed not ẏ workes of faythe, ſaying, that thoſe were wretches, and not to be regarded, which woulde not obey theyr God in whome they beleeued. This alteration of things began, about two yeares before the deathe of King Penda.



ABout the ſame tyme, *Beda.lib.3. cap.22.* the Eaſt Saxons at the inſtãce of Oſwy King of Northumberlande, receyued eſteſoones the faith which they had renoũced, whẽ they baniſhed their Biſhop Melitus. Ye haue hearde that Serred, Siward and Sigibert brethrẽ, and ẏ ſonnes of King Sabert (which brethren occaſioned the reuolting of that prouince from ẏ faith of Chriſt) were ſlayne in battel by the kings of Weſt Saxon, after whome ſucceeded Sigibert ſurnamed ẏ little ſonne to the middlemoſt brother Siwarde as ſome write. This Sigibert the little lefte the Kingdome to an other Sigibert that was ſonne to one Sigebald ẏ brother of king Sabert, which

ſecond

second Sigibert raigned as king in that prouince of the East Saxons, being a most especiall friend of King Oswy, so that oftentimes he repaired into Northumberlande to visit him, whereuppon king Oswy ceassed not most earnestly at tymes conuenient to exhort him to receyue the fayth of Jesus Christ, and in the ende by suche effectuall perswasions as he vsed, Sigibert gaue credite to his words, and so beeing conuerted, receyued the Sacrament of Baptisme by the hands of Bishop Finan, at the Kings house called, At the wall, so named, bycause it was built neere to the wall which the Romaynes had made ouerthwarte the Ile, as is often before remembred, being a twelue miles distant from the East Sea.

King Sigibert receyued the fayth.

This was about the yeare 649 as Math. West. hath noted.

King Sigibert hauing now receiued the Christian faith, when he should returne into his countrey, required king Oswy to appoynte hym certayne instructors and teachers which might conuert his people to the faith of Christ. King Oswy desirous to satisfie his request, sente vnto the prouince of the middle angles, calling from thence that vertuous man Cedda, and assigning vnto him another Priest to be his associate, sente them vnto the prouince of the East Saxons, there to preache the Christian faithe vnto the people. And when they had preached and taughte throughe the whole countrey to the great increase and enlarging of the Church of Christ, it chaunced on a time that Cedda returned home into Northumberlande to conferre of certaine things with Bishop Fynan which kept his See at Lindesferne, where vnderstãding by Cedda the great fruite whiche it had pleased God to prosper vnder his handes in aduancing the fayth amongst the East Saxons, hee called to him two other Bishops, and there ordeyned the forsayde Ced Bishop of the East Saxons.

Cedda.

Ced or Cedda Bishop of the East angles.

Hereuppon, the same Ced returning vnto hys cure, wente forewarde with more authoritie to perfourme the worke of the Lord, buildyng Churches in diuers places, ordeyned Priests and Deacons whiche might helpe him in preaching, and in the ministerie of Baptising, specially in the Citie of Ithancester vpon the riuer of Pentt, and likewise in Tileburg on the riuer of Thames.

Tilbery.

Whilest Ced was thus busie to the great comfort and ioy of the King and all hys people in the setting forwarde the Christian Religion with great increase dayly proceedyng, it chaunced thorough the instigation of the enimie of mankynde the Deuill, that King Sigibert was murthered by two of his owne kinsmen which were brethrẽ, the which when they were examined of the cause that shoulde moue them to that wicked fact, they had nothing to alledge, but that they did it bycause they had conceyued an hatred againste the King, for that he was to fauorable towards his enimies, and would with great mildnes of mind forgiue iniuries committed againste him: suche was the kings faulte, for the which he was murthered, bycause he obserued the commaundements of the Gospell with a deuoute hart: in the whyche his innocent death yet, his offence was punished, wherein hee had surely transgressed the lawes of the Churche. For where as one of them whyche slewe him kept a wife whiche he had vnlawfully married, and refused to put hir away at the Bishops admonition, he was by the Bishop excommunicated, and all other of the Christian congregation commaunded to abstayne from hys company. This notwithstanding, the Kyng being desired of him, came to his house to a banquet, and in his comming from thence met with the Bishop, whome when the King beholde, hee wared afrayde, and alight beside his horse, and fell downe at his feete, beseeching him of pardon for his offence. The Bishop which also was on horsebacke likewise alight, and touching the K. with his rodde which he had in his hande, as one something displeased, and protesting as in the authoritie of a Bishop, spake these words, bycause (saith he) thou wouldest not abstayne from entring the house of that wicked person being accursed, thou shalte die in the same house; and so it came to passe.

The authoritie of a

Swidhelme.



After Sigbert succeeded one Sudhelme in the kingdome of ỹ East Saxons, he was the son of Serbalde, & baptised of Ced in the prouince of ỹ East Angles, at a place of the kings there called Rendlesham. Edelwald King of the East Angles (the brother of King Inna) was his Godfather at the fontstone. Ced the Bishop of the East Saxõs vsed oftentimes to visit his countrey of Northũberland, where he was borne, to exhort by Preaching the people there vnto godly life: whereuppon it chanced that King Edilwalde the sonne of K. Oswald whiche raigned in the parties of Deira, moued with the fame of his vertuous trade of liuing, had him in great reuerence: and therefore vpon a good zeale and great deuotion, willed him to chose forth some plotte of grounde, where hee might build a Monasterie, in the which the kyng himselfe and other, might make prayer, and heare Sermons the oftner, and haue place where to burie the dead. The Bishop consenting to the kings minde, at length espied a place amongst high and

Swi hel

Beda. l. cap. 22 Mat. W

Beda. lib. cap. 23.

desert

desert mountaynes, where he began the foundation of a Monasterie, afterwardes called Lestingham, and firste meaning to purge the place with prayers and fasting, he desired licence of the king that he might remayne there all the Lent season, whiche was at hande, and so continuing in that place for that time, fasted euery day (Sunday excepted) from the morning till euening, according to the manner, nor receyued any thing then, but only a little bread, and an Hennes egge, with a little milke mixed with water; for he sayde, that this was the custome of them of whome hee had learned the forme of his regular order, that they should consecrate those places to the Lorde with prayer and fasting, whiche they lately had receyued, to make in the same eyther Church or Monasterie. And when there remayned tenne dayes of Lent yet to come, he was sent for to the king: wherefore he appoynted a brother whiche he had, being also a Priest named Cimbill, to supply his rowth, that his begun Religious worke should not be hindred for the Kings businesse. After that the time was accomplished, hee ordeyned a Monasterie there, appoynting the Monkes of ẏ same to liue after ẏ rules of them of Lindesferne where hee was brought vp. Finally this Bishop Ced comming vnto this Monasterie afterwardes, by chance in the time of a sickenesse, dyed there, and left that Monasterie to the gouernance of another brother which he hadde, named Ceadda, that was after a Bishop, as afterwardes shall be shewed. There were foure brethren of them, and all Priestes, Ced, Cimbill, Ceulin, and Ceadda, of the which Ced and Ceadda were Bishops, as before is sayd. About the same time, Oswy King of Northumberlande was sore oppressed by the warres of Penda the King of Mercia, so that hee made great offers of high giftes, & great rewards vnto the sayd Penda for peace, but Penda refused the same, as he that meant vtterly to haue destroyed the whole nation of Oswies subiectes, so that Oswy turning himselfe to seeke help at the hands of the Almighty, sayd, if the Pagane refuse to receyue the giftes which we offer, let vs make offers to him that knoweth to accept them: and so binding himselfe by vowe, promised, that if hee might obteine victorie, he would offer his daughter to be dedicate to the Lord in perpetuall virginitie; and further, would giue twelue manors, Lordships or farmes, to the building of Monasteries: and so with a small army he put himselfe in hazard of battell. It is sayd, that Penda hadde thirtie companies of men of war, furnished with thirtie notable Captaines or Colonels, agaynste whom came Oswy with his sonne Alchfride, hauing but a small army, but confirmed yet with hope in Christ Iesus. His other sonne Ecgfrid remayned in hostage at that time with Queene Cinuise. Edilwald the sonne of Oswald ẏ gouerned Deira, and ought to haue ayded Oswy, was on the part of Penda against his countrey, and against his Uncle, but in time of the fight he withdrew himselfe aside, to behold what chaunce would follow. The battell being begun, the .xxx. Pagane Captaines were ouerthrowen, & put to flight, & those ẏ came to aide Penda, wer almost

Beda. lib. 3. cap. 24.

Warre betweene King Oiwy and king Penda.





all slaine, amongst whom was Edilhere King of the East Angles, that raigned after his brother Anna, and was the procurer of this warre. Thys battell was fought neere to the water of Inwet, the whiche being risen as then by reason of greate raine, drowned more of the enimies, than died of ẏ Northumbers swords. After that Oswy had obteyned this victory, hee performed promise in bestowing his daughter to ẏ profession of virginitie, & also gaue ẏ .xij. manors, whereof, v. were in Deira, & vij. in Bernicia, conteining euery of the .10. houshelds a peece. Elfled also K. Oswies daughter was professed in the Monasterie of Hertheu, where one Hilda was Abbesse, which Hilda purchasing a Lordship of .10. housholdes in Streaneshall, now called Whitby, builded a Monasterie there, in the which first the said Elfled was a nouice, and after a Ruler, till at length, beeyng

Elfled.

Hertesley 1 yth Math. West.

Hilda.

of the

of the age of. 40. yeares ſhe departed this life, and was buried there, and ſo likewiſe was hir mother Eaufled and hir Grandfather Edwin, with many other high eſtates within the Churche of Saint Peeter the Apoſtle. The victory about mencioned gote by King Oſwy in the countrey of Loydes on the. 17. Calends of December, and in the thirteuth yeare of his raigne, happened to the great commoditie and gayne of both the people, for by the ſame, hee deliuered his countrey of Northumberland frō the cruell deſtruction made in the ſame by the Pagane people of Mercia, and conuerted thoſe Pagenes themſelues, and the countreys neere to them adioyning wholly vnto the faith of Jeſus Chriſt.

Leydes.

The firſt Biſhop of Mercia

The firſt Biſhop in the prouince of Mercia, and alſo of Lindeſkrene and the middle angles was one Diuma, who died amongſt the middle angles. The ſeconde was Cellach, the Whyche leaning his Biſhoprick, returned into Scotland, for they were both of the nation of the Scottes. The third was an Engliſhman named Trumhere, but inſtructed and ordeyned of the Scottes.

He was Abbot of the Monaſterie of Jugethlingum, beeing builded in that place where King Oſwin was ſlaine (as before is mentioned.) For Q. Eaufled that was his kinſwoman gote of hir huſband King Oſwy a place there for ỳ foreſayd Trumhere to build that Abbey.

The victorious proceeding of King Oſwy.

King Oſwy after he had ſlayne King Penda, he gouerned the people of Mercia, and alſo other of the South prouinces, and ſubdued a great part of ỳ Pictiſh nation to the Engliſh dominiō.

South Mercia.

North Mercia

About the ſame time, King Oſwy gaue vnto Peada the ſonne of King Penda (by cauſe he was his kinſman) the countrey of the South Mercies, conteining. 5000. houſholdes, and ſeparated from the North Mercies by the riuer of Trente. The countrey of ỳ Northmercies, conteyned in thoſe dayes ſeuen thouſand houſholders. But Peada in the nexte ſpring was wickedly murthered thorough treaſon of his wife (as was ſayd in ỳ Feaſt of Eaſter. After that three yeares were complete, next enſuing the death of king Penda, the Dukes of the countrey of Mercia, Immin, Eaba, and Eadbert rebelled againſt King Oſwy, aduanncing one Wolkhere a yong Gentleman the ſonne of Peda, and brother to Peada, whome they had kept in ſecrete to be their King, and expelling the Lieutenants of King Oſwy, they recouered both their owne confines and libertie withall, and ſo liuing in freedome with their owne naturall K. the foreſayd Wolkhere, they alſo continued with glad hartes in ſeruice of the celeſtiall Kyng oure God and Sauioure.

Mat. Pr

Beda. lib. cap. 24.



Vulfhere.

THis Wolkhere gouerned the Mercies ſeuentene yeres, the which Mercies during the reigne of ỳ ſayd Vulkhere hadde foure Biſhops, ſucceſſiuely gouerning ỳ churche of that prouince one after another, as the aboue mentioned Trumhere, Jaroman, Ceadda, & Winfride, as after ſhall more at large appeare.

Beda. lib. cap. 24.

H. Hunt. Math. P

About the beginning of King Wulkheres reigne, that is to witte, in the ſeuenteuth yeare of the reigne of Cenwald King of the Weſt Saxons, the ſame Cenwald fought with ỳ Britaines at Pinnum, where the Britaynes being aſſembled in greate number, proudly encountred with the Engliſhmen, and at the firſte put them to the worſe, but when the Engliſhmen would in no wiſe giue it ouer, but ſtickt to their tackle, at length the Britaines were put to flighte, ſo that ỳ moſt parte of Brute receyued ỳ day an vnreuable

The Britaines put to flight by Cenwald.

659



wounde. But within three yeares after, that is to witte, in the nineteenth yeare of the reigne of the foreſayde Cenwald, he had not the like lucke in battell againſte the foreſayde Vulkhere King of Mercia, as he had before againſt the Britaines, for the ſayd Vulkhere vanquiſhing him in ỳ field, paſſed through his countrey with a greate army vnto ỳ Iſle of Wight, which he coquered, & deliuered it vnto Adelwold K. of Suſſex, as a gifte at ỳ time, whē he receyued him at the fontſtone after he had conuerted him to the faith. He gaue vnto Adelwold that Iſle, to the ende hee ſhoulde cauſe the people there to receyue the faith of Chriſt.

Cenwalde vanquiſhed by Vulfhere.

Adelwald Suſſex.

After that Edelhere king of Eaſtangles was ſlayne

layne as before is mentioned, his brother Edelwald succeeded him in that kingdome, raigning as king thereof by the space of nine yeres. Then after Ethelwald, succeeded Aldulfe ẏ sonne of Edelhere in gouernement of that kingdome, and raigned fiue and twentie yeares. After Finan the Bishop of the Nothumbers that held his see at Lindesferne, as Aydan did before him, one Colman was ordeyned Bishop, a Scot borne, and an earnest obseruer of the customes vsed amongst thē of his nation, so that when the controuersie beganne to be reuiued for the holding of the feast of Easter, he would by no meanes yeld to them that would haue perswaded him to haue followed ẏ ryte of ẏ Romane Church. There was a great disputatiō kept about this matter, and other things, as shaning or cutting of heares, and such like in the monasterie of Whitby, at the which K. Oswy & hys sonne Alefrid were present, where Colman for hys part alledged the custome of John ẏ Euangelist, & of Anatholius, and the contrary side brought in proofe of their opiniō, ẏ custome of Peter & Paule. At length, whē Bishop Colman perceyued ẏ his doctrine was not so much regarded as he thought of reason it ought to haue bene, he returned into Scotlād with those, which taking part with him, refused to obserue the feast of Easter according to the custome of the Churche of Rome, nor would haue their crownes shauen, about whiche poynte, no small reasoning had bin kept. This disputation was holden in the yeare of our Lord. 664. and in the yeare of the raigne of K. Oswy. 22. and in the. xxx. yeare after that the Scottishmen began first to beare the office of Bishops within Northumberland, which was as Harrison sayth. 634. For Aidan gouerned. 17. yeares, Finan. 10. yeres, and Colman. 3. yeares. After that Colman was returned into his countrey, one Tuda that hadde bin brought vp amongst ẏ Southerne Scottes, & ordeined Bishop by them, succeeded in his rowmth, hauing his crowne shauen, & obseruing the feast of Easter according to ẏ custome of the prouince & rite of ẏ Romane Church. The same yere, there chanced a great Eclipse of the sunne. The thirde of May about ten of the clocke in the day, a great dearth & mortalitie ensued, both in all the parties of this our Britayne, and likewise in Ireland. Amongst other, the foresayd Bishop Tuda dyed, & was buried in the Abbey of Pegnalech. After thys Tuda succeeded in gouernment of the Church of Lindesferne, otherwise called holy Ilād, one Wilfrid which was sent by K. Alefride into Fraunce, to be ordeyned there. About the same time Kyng Oswy, the father of K. Alefride, moued with the good exāple of his son, sent Ceadda, the brother of Ced sometime Bishop of ẏ East Saxons into Kent to be ordeyned Bishop of Yorke, but at hys comming into Kent he found that *Deus dedit*, the Archbishop of Canterbury was dead, and none other as yet ordeyned in his place, so that Ceadda repaired into the prouince of the West Saxons, where hee was ordeined by Bishop Winy, who toke two other Bishops of the Brittish natiō vnto him to be his associates, whiche vsed to obserue the feast of Easter contrary to the custome of the Romane Church: but there was no other shifte, for there was none other Bishop canonically ordeined in ẏ prouince of the West Saxōs in those dayes, this Wini only excepted, & therfore was he constreyned to take such as he might get. After ẏ Ceadda was thus ordeyned, hee began forthwith to follow ẏ true rules of ẏ Church, he liued right chastly, shewed himselfe humble & continent, applyed his study to reading, and trauelled abroade on foote and not on horsebacke through the countreys, townes and villages, for to preache ẏ word of God. He was the Disciple of Aydan, & counted by his example, & also by the example of his brother Ced, to instruct his hearers with the like doings and manors as he had knowen them to do. Wilfrid also being consecrated Bishop, and returned into England, indeuored to plant the orders of the Romane Churche in the Churches of England, whereby it came to passe, that ẏ Scots which inhabited amongst the Englishmen, were constreyned eyther to followe the same, or else to returne into their owne countrey.

Ceadda ordeined Archbishop of Yorke



Egbert.

IN this mean time, K. Ercombert being departed this life after hee had gouerned the Kentishmen by the space of twentie yeres, his sonne Egbert succeeded hym in the Kingdome, and raigned nine yeares.

Egbert King of Kent.

There is little remēbraunce of his doyngs, which in that short time were not much notable, except ye will ascribe the comming into this land of the Archbishop Theodorus, and the Abbot Adrian, vnto his glory, which chanced in his tyme. For in the yere of ẏ great eclipse, & sore mortalitie that ensued, it chanced, that both K. Ercombert, and the Archbishop *Deus dedit* departed this life, so that the See of Canterbury was voyde a certayne time, in so muche, that King Egbert that succeeded his father Ercombert, togither with King Oswy, did sende one Wighart a Priest of good reputation for his excellent knowledge in the Scriptures, vnto Rome with great gifts, and riche vessell of gold and siluer to be presented vnto the Pope, requiring him that he would ordeine the foresayde Wighard Archbishop of Canterbury to haue rule of the English Church. But thys Wighart comming vnto Rome, and declaring

Bed. li. 3. cap. 29.

Wighart.

his

his message vnto Vitalianus that then gouerned the Churche of Rome, immediately after he dyed of the pestilẽce (that then raigned in that citie) with all those ẏ came with him. The Pope then taking aduice whome hee might ordeyne to the See of Canterbury, beeing thus destitute of an Archbishop, he appoynted a Monke named Adrian to take that office vpon him, but Adrian excused himselfe as not sufficiente for suche a romth, and required the Pope to ordeyne one Andrew a Monke also, wherevnto the Pope consented, but when Andrew was preuented by death, ẽtsoones Adrian should haue bin made Archbishoppe, but that he named one Theodore an other Monke that abode as then in Rome, but was borne in the Citie of Tharsus in Cilicia, very wel learned both in the Greeke and Latine, and being of reuerend yeres, as of .76. This Theodore by ẏ presentimen of Adrian, was appointed to be ordeined Archbishop of Canterbury, with condition, that Adrian should neuertheless attend vpon him into England, both for ẏ he had bin twice before thys time in Fraunce, and so knew the coastes, and againe, for that he might assist him in all thyngs, and loke well to ẏ matter, that Theodore should not bring into the Church of England any ryte or custome of the Greekes, contrary to the vse of the Romane Churche. Theodore being first ordeyned subdeacon, tarried four monethes till hys heare wer growẽ, that he might haue his crowne shauen, after the manner of Peter. For he was rounded or shauen after the manner of the East Church, which was as they perswaded thẽselues, according to the vse of S. Paule the Apostle. And so at length was this Theodore ordeyned Archbishop of Canterbury by Pope Vitalianus in the yere of our Lord .668. the sixth Kalends of June, and with Adrian sente into Britaine, they toke their iourney to come through Fraunce, and so being come thither, shortly after K. Egbert hadde knowledge thereof: wherevpon with all conuenient speede, hee sente ouer one of his nobles named Redfrid to bring the Archbishop into England, and so he did: but Adrian was stayed for a tyme, bycause he was suspected to haue had some commission frõ the Emperour to haue practised with the Englishmen, for the disquieting of ẏ Realme of France. But after it was perceiued that thys suspition was grounded of no troth, he was also suffered to folow ẏ Archbishop, and so comming vnto Canterbury, he was made Abbot of ẏ Monasterie of S. Augustines. The Archb. Theodore came thus to his Churche of Canterbury in the seconde yeare after his consecration, about the second Kalends of June, being Sunday.

He gouerned the same Churche .21. yeres and 16. dayes, and was the first Archbishop to whome all the Churches of Englande did acknowledge their obeysance. He being accompanyed with the foresaid Adrian, visited all the parts of this land, ordeyned Bishops and Ministers in Churches where he thought conuenient, & reformed ẏ same Churches as seemed to him needefull, as well in other things which he misliked, as also in causing them to obserue the feast of Easter, according to the ryte and vsage of the Church of Rome. Ceadda that was Bishop of Yorke, bicause hee was not lawfully ordeyned, as he himselfe confessed, was remoued from the See of Yorke, and Wilfrid was thereto restored, so that Ceadda (though he were not disgraded of his degree of Bishop) liued yet a priuate kind of life, till he was admitted Bishop of Mercia, as after shall be shewed. Also whereas before time there was in maner no singing in the Englishe Churches, except it were in Kent, now they begã in euery Church to vse singing of diuine seruice after the ryte of the Church of Rome. The Archbishop Theodore finding the Church of Rochester voyde by the death of ẏ last Bishop named Damian, he ordeyned one Putta a simple man in worldly matters, but well instructed in ecclesiasticall discipline, & namely well seene in song and musicke, to be vsed in ẏ Church after the manner as he had learned of Pope Gregories disciples. To be briefe, ẏ Archbishop Theodore, and the Abbot Adrian deserued great commendation in this, that where they were notably well learned themselues in the Greeke and Latine tongues, and also hadde good knowledge as well in the liberall artes, as in the Scripture, they toke great paines to train vp Scollers in knowledge of the same, so that the Englishmen had not seene more happy times than in those dayes, hauing as then kings of great puissãce, so as strangers stode in feare of them, and againe, those that coueted learning, had instructors at hand to teach them, by reason whereof, diuers being giuen to studie, proued excellent both in knowledge of the Greeke and Latine. There came in company of the said Archbishop from Rome, an Englishman named Benedict Biscope, which had taken vppon him the habite of a Monke in Italy, and nowe returning into his countrey, builded two Abbeyes, the one named Wyremouth, bycause it was placed at the mouth of the Riuer of Wire, and the other Girwy, distante from Wiremouth about fiue miles, and from the towne of Newe-Castell foure miles, situate neere to the mouth of Tine. Wiremouth was builte in the yeare. 670. and Girwy in the yeare. 673. There were a. 600. Monkes founde in those two houses, and gouerned vnder one Abbot.

The sayd Benedict was the first that brought Glasiers, Painters and other such curious craftsmen into Englãd. He went fiue times to Rome, and came agayne.

About

Beda. li. 4. cap. 1.

Adrian.

Theodore ordeined Archbishop of Canterbury.

668

10 20 30 40 50

Ran. Ch. Matth.

Beda.

Singing in Churches brought vse.

Putta B. of Roch.

The wel prayse of Theodore & Adrian.

English happy ti.

Beda

Benedict Benet hi med Bis

973

Glasiers brought Englan

Ran. Ch.

ABout the ſame time, after that Suidhelm K. of the Eaſt Saxons was dead, Sighere the ſonne of Sigbert the little, and Sebby the ſonne of Suward ſucceeded him in gouernemẽt of that kingdome, albeit they were ſubiect vnto Vulkhere the king of Mercia. Sighere in that time, when the great mortalitie raigned, renounced the fayth of Chriſt, with that part of the people whiche hee had in gouernemente, for both the ſame Sighere and other of his chiefeſt Lordes, and alſo parte of hys commons louing this life, and not regarding the life to come, began to repaire their Idoliſhe Churches, and fell to the worſhipping of Idols, as though thereby they ſhould haue bin defended from that mortalitie. But his aſſociat Sebby with greate deuotion continued ſtedfaſt in the faith which he had receiued. King Vulkhere being enformed of Segheres apoſtacie, and howe the people in his part of the prouince of Eaſt Saxõs were departed from the fayth, he ſente thither Biſhop Jaruman or Jaroman, that was ſucceſſor vnto Trumhere, which vſed ſuch diligence & godly meanes, that he reduced the ſaid K. and all his people vnto the right beleefe, ſo as the Idoliſhe Sinagogues were deſtroyed, and the Idols with their aulters beaten down, ẏ Chriſtian Churches again ſet opẽ, & the name of Chriſt eſtſones called vpõ amongſt ẏ people, coueting now rather to die in him vẽ hope of reſurrectiõ in ẏ world to come, than to liue in ẏ ſeruice of Idols, ſpotted with the filth of errors and falſe beleefe. And thus whẽ Biſhop Jaroman had accompliſhed the thing for ẏ which he was ſent, he returned into Mercia.

After this, when the ſaid Jaruman was departed this life, K. Vulkhere ſent vnto ẏ Archbiſhop Theodorus, requiring him to prouide ẏ prouince of the Mercies of a new Biſhop. Theodorus not minding to ordeyne any new Biſhop at ẏ time, required of Oſwy K. of Northumberlande, that Biſhop Cead might come into Mercia, to exerciſe the office of Biſhop there. This Cead lyued as it were a priuate life at that time in his Monaſterie of Leſtingham, for Wilfrid held the Biſhoprike of Yorke, extending his authoritie ouer all Northumberland & amõgſt the Pictes alſo, ſo farre as K. Oſwies dominion ſtretched. Therefore Cead hauing licẽce to goe into Mercia, was gladly receyued of K. Vulkhere, & wel entertayned, in ſo muche, that the ſaide K. gaue vnto him lands and poſſeſſions conteining fiftie families or houſholds to build a monaſterie in a certain place within the countrey of Lindſey called Etbearue. But the See of his Biſhoprieke was aſſigned to him at Litchfield in Staffordſhire, wher he made him a houſe neere to the Church, in the whych he with .7. or .8. other of his brethren in Religion, vſed in an oratory, there to pray and reade ſo often as they had leaſure from labour and buſineſſe of the world. Finally, after he hadde gouerned the Church of Mercia by ẏ ſpace of two yeres and an halfe, hee departed this life, hauing .7. dayes warning giuen him (as it is reported) from aboue, before he ſhould die, after a miraculous maner. His body was firſt buried in the Churche of our Lady, but after that the Churche of Saint Peeter the Apoſtle was builded, his bones were tranſlated into the ſame.

In the yeare of our Lord. 671. whiche was the ſeconde yeare after that Theodorus the Archbyſhop came into this lãd, Oſwy K. of Northumberland was attached with a greeuous ſickneſſe, and dyed thereof the fiftenth Kalends of March, in the .58. yere of his age, after he had raigned .28. yeares complete. 671 *Mat. VVeſt.*



Ecgfrid.

After Oſwy, hys ſonne Ecgfrid ſucceeded in rule of ẏ kingdome of Northumberlande, in the thirde yeare of whoſe raigne, that is to witte, in the yeare of oure Lorde. 673. Theodorus the Archbiſhop of Canterbury kept a Synode at Herforde, the firſt ſeſſion wherof began the .24. of September, all the Biſhops of this land being preſent, either in perſon or by their deputies, as Bili the Biſhop of Eaſt angles, Wilfrid the Biſhoppe of the Northumbers by his deputie, Putta Biſhop of Rocheſter, Leutherius Biſhop of the Weſt Saxons, and Winfrid Biſhop of Mercia. In the preſence of theſe Prelates, the Archbiſhop ſhewed a booke, wherein he hadde noted ten Chapters or Articles taken out of the booke of the Canons, requiring that the ſame might be receyued. *Beda. li. 4. ca. 5* *Mat. VVeſt.* 673 A Synode holden at Herford. Articles proponed by Theodore.

The firſt Chapter was, that the feaſt of Eaſter ſhould be kept, the Sunday following the fourteenth day of the firſt moneth.

The ſecond, that no Biſhop ſhould entermeddle within an others dioceſſe, but bee contented with the cure of his flocke committed to him.

The thirde, that no Biſhop ſhould diſquiet in any thing any Monaſterie conſecrated to God, nor to take by violence any goodes that belonged to the ſame.

The fourth, that Biſhoppes being Monkes ſhould not goe from Monaſterie to Monaſterie, except by ſufferance and permiſſion of their Abbots, and ſhoulde continue in the ſame obedience wherein they ſtoode before.

The fifth, that none of the Clergie ſhould departe from his Biſhop to runne into any other dioceſſe, nor comming from any other place ſhould

be admitted, except he brought letters of teſtimonie with him. But if any ſuch chanced to be receiued, if hee refuſed to returne, being ſent for home, both he & his receyuer ſhuld be excommunicated.

The ſixt, that Biſhops & other of the Cleargie being ſtraungers, ſhoulde holde them contented with the benefite of hoſpitalitie, & ſhould not take in hand any prieſtly office, without licence of the Biſhop, in whoſe dioceſſe hee chaunced ſo to bee remaynyng.

The ſeuenth, that twice in the yeare a Synod ſhould be kept, but bycauſe of diuers impediments heerein, it was thoughte good to them all, that in the Kalendes of Auguſt a Sinode ſhoulde bee kepte once in the yere, at a certayne place called Clofeſhough.

The eyght Chapter was, that no one Biſhop ſhould by ambition ſeeke to be preferred afore another, but that euery one ſhoulde knowe the tyme and order of his conſecration.

The ninth, that as the number of the Chriſtians increaſed, ſo ſhoulde there bee mo Biſhoppes ordeyned.

The tenth was touching marriages, that none ſhould contract matrimony with any perſon, but with ſuche as it ſhoulde bee lawfull for hym to doe by the orders of the Churche: none ſhoulde matche with their kinſfolke, no man ſhoulde forſake hys wife, except as the Goſpell teacheth, for cauſe of fornication. But if any man did put away his wife whiche hee hadde lawfully married, if hee woulde bee accounpted a true Chriſtian, hee myght not be coupled with an other, but ſo remayne, or elſe bee reconciled to his owne wife againe.

Theſe Articles being intreated of and concluded, were confirmed with the ſubſcribing of all their hands, ſo as al thoſe that ſhould goe againſt the ſame, ſhoulde be diſgraded of their prieſthood, and bee ſeparated from the company of them all.



Biſi Biſhop of the Eaſt Angles.

The foreſayd Biſi ỳ was Biſhoppe of the Eaſt Angles, & preſente at thys Sinode, was ſucceſſor vnto Bonifacius, whi the Bonifacius helde that ſee. 17. yeares, and then he being departed this life, Biſi was made Biſhop of that prouince, and ordeined by the Archbiſhop Theodor. Thys Biſi at length was ſo viſited with ſickneſſe, that hee was not able to exercile the miniſtration, ſo that then there were two Biſhoppes elected, and conſecrated for hym, the one named Aecci, and the other Baldwin.

In this meane while, that is to ſay, about the yere of our Lord. 872. or beginning of ỳ. 871. as Harriſon noteth, Kenwalch King of the Weſt Saxons departed this life, after hee had raigned 30. yeares. This Kenwalk was ſuch a Prince, as in the beginning, he was to be compared with the woorſt kind of rulers, but in the middeſt and later ende of his raigne, hee was to bee compared with ỳ beſt. His godly zeale borne towards the aduancing of the Chriſtian religion wel appeared in the building of the Church at Wincheſter, where the Biſhops Sea of al that prouince was thē placed.

His wife Serburga ruled the Kyngdome of Weſt Saxons after him, a woman of ſtoutnes ynough to haue atchieued actes of worthy remēbrance, but being preuented by deathe ere ſhe had raigned one whole yeare, ſhe could not ſhewe any full proofe of hir noble courage.

I remember that Math. Weſt. maketh other report hereof, declaring that the nobilitie remoued hir from the gouernement. But I rather followe William Malmeſ. in this matter.

TO proceede therefore, after ỳ Serburga was departed this life, or depoſed, if you wil nedes haue it ſo, Eſcuinus or Elcuinus, whoſe Grandfather called Cuthgillo, ỳ brother of K. Kinigils ſucceded in gouernmēt of ỳ Weſt Saxons, reigning about ỳ ſpace of two yeres: and after his deceſſe, one Centuinus or Centwine toke vppon him the rule, and continued therein the ſpace of nine yeares. But Bede ſayth that theſe two ruled at one time, and deuided the kingdom betwixt them. Elcuinus fought againſt Vulkhere Kyng of Mercia, a greate number of men being ſlayne on both parties, though Vulkhere yet had after a manner the vpper hand, as ſome haue written.

In the ſame yere that the Sinode was holden at Herford, that is to ſay in the yeare of our Lord 672. Ecgbert the King of Kent departed this life in July, and lefte the Kingdome to his brother Lothore, which held the ſame eleuen yeares, and ſeuen monethes. Some haue written that King Egbert by the ſuggeſtion of one Thunnir, who had the chiefe rule of the kingdome vnder him, ſuffered the ſayde Thunnir to put vnto death Ethelbert or Ethelbright, whiche were the ſonnes of Ermenredus the brother of King Ercombert, that was father vnto king Egbert, for doubt leſt they being towardly yong Gentlemen, myghte in tyme growe ſo into fauor with the people, that it ſhoulde bee eaſie for them to depriue both Egbert, and his iſſue of the Kyngdome. Alſo, that they were priuily put to death, and priuily buried at the firſte, but the place of their buriall immediately beeyng ſhewed after a miraculous manner, theyr bodyes long after in the dayes of Kyng Egilred the ſonne of Kyng Edgar,

were

were taken vp, and conueyed vnto Ramsey, and there buried. And although Egbert being giltie of the death of those his cousins, did sore repent him, for that he vnderstode they dyed giltlesse, yet hys brother Lothaire was thought to be punished for that offence as after shall be shewed.

Winfrid Bishop of the Mercies, for cause of disobedience in some point, was deprined by the Archbishop Theodore, and one Seruulfe that was the buylder and also the Abbot of the Monasterie of Medhamstede, otherwise called Peterborough, was ordeyned and consecrated in his place. About the same time, Erkenwalde was ordeyned Bishop of the East Saxons, and appointed to hold his See in the Citie of London. This Erkenwalde was reputed to bee a man of great holynesse and vertue. Before he was made Bishoppe, hee buylded two Abbeyes, the one of Monkes at Chertsey in Sowthrie, where hee himselfe was Abbot, and the other of Nunnes at Berking, within the prouince of the East Saxons, where he placed his sister Ethelburga a woman also highly esteemed for hir deuout kinde of life. She was firste brought vp and instructed in the rules of hir profession by one Hildelitha a Nunne of the parties of beyond the Sea, whome Erkenwald procured to come ouer for that purpose. After Erkenwald, one Waldhere was made Bishop of London, in whose dayes Sebby king of the East Saxons, after hee had raigned thirtie yeares, being nowe vexed with a greeuous sickenesse, professed himselfe a Monke: whiche thyng he would haue done long before, if his wife hadde not kept him backe. Hee died shortly after within the Citie of London, and was buried in the Church of Saint Paule. King Sighere why che in the beginning raigned with him, and gouerned a parte of the East Saxons, was departed thys life before, so that in his latter time, the foresayde Sebby had the gouernemente of the whole prouince of the East Saxons, and left the same to his sonnes Sighard and Sewfred. *Wil. Malm.*

About the yeare of our Lorde. 675. Vulfhere King of Mercia departed this life, after hee hadde raigned as some haue. 19. yeares, but as other affirme, hee raigned but. 17. yeares. Howbeit they which recke nineteene, include the time that passed after the slaughter of Penda, wherein Oswy and Peada held the aforesayde Kingdome. 675

Wil. Mal. But other affirme that he raigned 17. yeares. *Beda.* Peada or rather Weada.

King Ethelred.



Edilred

After Vulfhere, hys brother Edilred or Ethelred succeeded in gouernemẽt of the Kyngdome of Mercia. This Edilred inuaded the Kyngdome of Kente with a mighty army in the yeare of oure Lord. 677. destroying the countrey afore him, not sparing Churches nor Abbeyes, but spoyled the



same without respect, as well as other common places. King Lothaire durst not appeare in the fielde to giue hym battell, so that Edilred wente thyrough the countrey, destroyed the Citie of Rochester, with great riches gotten by the spoyle, he returned home.

The Bishoppe of Rochester Putta, after that his Church was spoyled and defaced by the enimies, wente vnto Seruulfe the Bishop of Mercia, and there obteyning of him a small cure, and a portion of ground, remayned in that countrey, not once labouring to restore his Church of Rochester to the former state, but wente aboute in Mercia to teach song, & instruct suche as would learne musicke, wheresoeuer hee was required, or could get entertaynement.

Hereupon the Archbiſhop Theodore conſecrated one William Biſhop of Rochester in place of Putta, and after when the ſayd William conſtreyned by powertie, left that Church, Theodore placed one Gebmound in his ſteede. In the yeare of our Lord. 678. in the moneth of Auguſt, a blaſing Starre appeared, with a long bright beame like to a piller. It was ſeene euery morning for the ſpace of three monethes togither. The ſame Ecgfrid king of Northumberland, baniſhed Biſhop Wilfrid vppon diſpleaſure taken with hym, out of his See, and then were two Biſhops ordeyned in his place, to gouerne the Church of the Northūbers, ỳ one named Boſa at Yorke, & the other called Eata at Hagulſtald or Lindeſferne. Also one Eadhidus was ordeined about the ſame time Biſhop of Lindſey, the which prouince king Egfride hadde of late conquered and taken from Vulfhere the late King of Mercia, whome he ouercame in battel, and droue him out of that coūtrey. The ſaid three Biſhops were conſecrated at Yorke by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury Theodorus, the whiche within three yeares after ordeyned two Biſhops more in that prouince of the Northumbers, that is to witte, Tumbert at Hagulſtald, Eata that was appoynted to remain at Lindeſferne, and Trumwine was ordeyned to haue the cure of ỳ prouince of thoſe Pictes which as then were vnder the Engliſhe dominion. Alſo beeauſe Edilred King of Mercia recouered the countrey of Lindſey, and ioyned it to his dominion, Biſhop Eadhedus comming from thence, was appoynted to gouerne ỳ Church of Ryppō.

After that Biſhop Wilfrid was expulſed out of his dioceſſe and prouince of the Northumbers, he went to Rome, & returning from thence, came into the kingdome of the South Saxons, ỳ whiche conteyning ſeuen thouſande houſholdes or familes, as yet was not conuerted to ỳ Chriſtian faith. Wherefore the ſaid Wilfrid began there to preach the Goſpell with licence of K. Edilwalke, who as before is mencioned, was conuerted and baptiſed in Mercia, by the procurement of King Vulfhere, that then became his Godfather, & gaue him at the ſame time the Iſle of Wight, and the prouince of the people auntiently called Weanuari, which he had wonne frō the Weſt Saxōs. Biſhop Wilfrid then by King Edilwalke hys furtherance and helpe, baptiſed the chiefeſt Lords and Gentlemen of that prouince. But certayne Prieſtes baptiſed the reſidue of the people, ryther then or in time following. It chaunced that for the ſpace of three yeares (as it is ſaid before the comming thither of Biſhop Wilfrid, there had fallen no rayne from the ayre within that prouince of the South Saxons, ſo that ỳ people wer brought into greate miſerie by reaſon of famine, whyche through wante of neceſſary fruites of the earthe, ſore afflicted the whole countrey, in ſomuch, that no ſmall number threwe themſelues headlong into the Sea, deſpayring of life, in ſuche lacke of neceſſary victuals. But as God would, the ſame daye that Wilfrid began to miniſter the Sacrament of Baptiſme, there came downe ſweete and plentifull ſhowres of rayne, ſo watering ỳ earth, that thereby great ſtore of all fruites plentifully toke roote, and yelded full increaſe in growth, to the great comfort and relefe of al ỳ people, which before were in manner ſtaruen and loſt through want of foode. Biſhop Wilfrid alſo taught them in that countrey the manner howe to catche fiſhe with nettes, where before that time, they had no great ſkill in any kind of fiſhing, except it were in catching eeles. Hereby the ſayd Biſhop grew there in greate eſtimation with the people, ſo that his wordes were the better credited amongſt thē, for that through him, they receyued ſo greate benefites, God by ſuch meanes working in the peoples hartes a deſire to come to the vnderſtandyng of his lawes. The King alſo gaue vnto Wilfrid a place called Seolesew, compaſſed about on each ſide (except on the Weſt halfe) with the Sea, conteyning. 87. houſholdes or families, where he built an Abbey, and baptiſed all his tenauntes there, amounting to the number of. 250. bond men and bond women, whome hee made free both in body and ſoule, for he did not only baptiſe them, but alſo enfranchiſed them of all bodily ſeruitude and bondage.

In this meane while, many things happened in other partes of this lande, and firſt in the yeare after the appearing of the blaſing Starre before mentioned, a mightie battell was fought betwixt the ſayd Ecgfrid, and Edilred King of Mercia, neere to the riuer of Trent, where Alſwine ỳ brother of King Ecgfrid was ſlaine, with many other of the Northumbers, ſo that King Ecgfrid was conſtreyned to returne home with loſſe. The Archbiſhop of Canterbury Theodorus perceyuing that great warre and effuſion of bloud was like to followe thereof, trauelled ſo in the matter betwixt them, that they were made friendes, and Ecgfrid had a peece of money in recompence of his loſſes. The foreſayd battell was fought in the yeare of our Lord. 679. and in the yeare following, that is to ſay, in the yere of our Lord. 680. whiche was alſo the tenth yeare of the raigne of Ecgfrid King of Northumberland, the ſixth yere of the raigne of Edelred King of Mercia, the ſeuenteenth of the raigne of Aldbulfe King of the Eaſt angles, and in ỳ ſeuenth yeare of the raigne of Lothere king of Kente, the Archbiſhop of Cāterbury Theodorus held anothet Synod at Hatfield, about the day of the fifteenth Kalendes of Octobre, in the which all the Cleargie there preſent, ſubſcribed to certaine Articles touching the beleefe

678 A blaſing Starre.

Mat. VVeſt. Beda. li. 4. cap. 12.

Biſhop Wilfrid baniſhed. Hagulſtald Hexam. Eadhidus. Lindeſferne holy Iſlande.

Catching fiſhe with nettes.

Bondmen made free.

The Church of Ryppon.

Wilfrid by licence of King Edilwalke preacheth the Goſpell to them of Suſſex.

Lacke of rayne.

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A Synode at Hatfielde.

beleefe of the trinitie of persons, in the vnitie of the Godhead of like substãce, and also of the same vnitie in trinitie, according to the true faith of the Church of God: and moreouer, they acknowledged by the like subscription, the fiue generall cõcels of Nice, and Constantinople the first, of Ephesus, of Caledone, and of Constantinople the second, with the Synode also holden at Rome in the dayes of Martin Bishop of Rome, about the ninth yeare of the Emperour Constantine. At this Sinode holden at Hatfield, was presente one John the Archechanter of Saint Peters Church at Rome, sent into this lande of purpose to bring from hence a certificat vnto Pope Agatho of the agreement of the English Church in matters of faith, with other churches of the Christiã world: but the foresayde Archechantor dyed by the way in Fraunce, as he returned homewards, and was buried at Towers in Towrayne.

The same yeare, that famous woman Hilda Abbesse of Whitby, departed out of this life, or as other say, a fiue yeares after, hauing firste bin deteyned a long time with greeuous sickenesse. She was the daughter of one Herrericus the Nephew of King Edwin, and conuerted to the faythe of Christ at the preaching of Bishop Pauline, and afterwards instructed by Bishop Aydan, professed hir selfe a Nunne, applying hir whole studie to the reading of the Scriptures, to prayer, and other godly exercises. She builded the Abbey of Whitby, wherein were placed both men and women, with suche an equalitie in all thyngs, that there was no rich person amongst them, nor any that wanted things necessary. She departed out of this life on the fifteenth Kalendes of December, being .66. yeares of age. As some haue written she argued stoutly on Bishop Colmons part, at the disputation holden in the Monasterie of Whitby, in the yeare of grace. 664. whereof yee haue heard before.

About the yeare of our Lorde .682. that is to say, in the seuenth yeare of Centwine or Centuinus King of West Saxons, the same Centwine fought with the Britaynes, and ouercame them in battayle, pursuing them with fire and sword vnto the Sea side.

Cadwallader.

BVt now to returne vnto that which is founde in the Brittish histories, by the tenor whereof it should appeare, that whe their King Cadwallo was dead, his son Cadwallader succeeded him in rule of the Britaynes in the yeare of our Lord 678. which was about the tenth yere of the Emperour Constantinus Pagonatus, and in the thirtenth yeare of the raigne of Childericus kyng of Fraunce.

This Cadwallader being the sonne of Cadwallo, was begot by him of the halfe sister of Penda King of Mercia, for one father begote them both, but of two sundry mothers, for ther had to mother a Lady, discended of the noble bloud of the West Saxons, and was married vnto Cadwallo when the peace was made betwixt him, & hir brother the said Penda. After that Cadwallader had raigned the space of twelue yeres, as Geffrey of Monmoth hathe, or as other write, but .7. yeares, the Britaines were brought into suche miserie through ciuill discorde, and also by suche great & extreame famin as then raigned through all the lande, that Cadwallader was constreyned with the chiefest part of his people to forsake their native country, and by Seand get them ouer into Britaine Armorike, there to seeke relefe of vittayles, for the sustentation of their languishyng bodies. A long processe is made by the Brittishe writers of this departure of Cadwallader, and of the Britaines, out of this lande, and howe Cadwallader was about to haue returned againe, but that he was admonished by a dreame to the contrary, the which because it seemeth but fabulous, we passe ouer. At length he went to Rome, and there was confirmed in the Christian Religion by Pope Sergius, and shortly after fell sicke, and dyed the twelfth Kalends of May, in the yeare of our Lord .689. But herein appeareth the error of the Britishe writers in taking one for another, by reason of resemblance of names, for where Ceadwalla King of the West Saxons about that time moued of a religious deuotion, after he was conuerted to the faith, went vnto Rome, and was there Baptised or else confirmed of the foresayde Pope Sergius, and shortly after departed thys life in that Citie, in the foresayde yeare of .689. or thereabouttes, the Welchmen accompt hym to be their Cadwalladar: whiche to be true is very vnlike by that whiche may be gathered by the writings of diuers approued authors.

Galfrid.

Calwallader constreyned to forsake the lande.

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Ceadwalla.



THis Ceadwalla King of the West Saxons succeeded after Centwine or Centuinus, whiche Centwine raigned nine yeares, though it shoulde appeare by that whiche is written by Authoures of good credite, that during two

Ceadwalla.

Beda. Will. Mal.

two of thoſe yeares at the leaſt, the Kingdome of Weſt Saxons was deuided betwixte him, and Eleuinus or Eſcuinus, ſo that hee ſhoulde not reigne paſt ſeuen yeares alone.

But now to Ceadwall, whom ſome take to be al one with Cadwallader, we finde ẏ he was lyneally diſcended frō Cutha or Cutwine, the brother of Ceauline or Keuling K. of Weſt Saxōs, as ſon to Kenbert or Kenbright that was ſon to Ceadda the ſon of ẏ foreſaid Cutha or Cutwin. Thus he being extract of ẏ noble houſe of ẏ kings of Weſt Saxons, proued in his youth a perſonage of great towardnes, & ſuch a one as no ſmal hope was of him conceyued: he would let no occaſion paſſe where he might exerciſe his force, to ſhew proofe of his high valiancie, ſo that in the ende with his worthy attemptes ſhewed therein, he purchaſed to himſelfe the enuy of thoſe that ruled in his countrey, by reaſon whereof he was baniſhed by a cōſpiracie made againſt him. Wherupon hee toke occaſion as it were in reuenge of ſuche vnthankfulneſſe to withdrawe out of hys countrey, leading with him all ẏ principal youth of the ſame, the whiche eyther pitying his preſent eſtate, or moued with pleaſure taken in hys

Wil. Malm. Ran. Ceſtren.

Ceadwallo driuen to depart out of his countrey.



meaning to inhabite it with his owne people, hee bound himſelfe by vowe, although as yet he was not baptiſed, that if he might cōquere it, he would giue a fourth part thereof vnto the Lorde. And in perfourmāce of that vowe, he offered vnto Biſhop Wilfride who then chanced to be preſent, when he had taken that Ile, ſo muche thereof, as conteyned three hundred houſholdes or families, where the whole conſiſted in. 1200. houſholdes. Wilfrid receiuing thankfully the gift, deliuered ẏ ſame vnto one of his Clearkes named Bernewine ẏ was his ſiſters ſon, appointing to him alſo a Prieſt named Hildila, ẏ which ſhould miniſter the word, & the Sacramēt of Baptiſme vnto

Ceadwallo his vowe. The Ile of Wight conquered.

valiante doings, followed him at his going into exile. The firſt brunt of his furious attemptes after hee was out of his countrey, Edilwalke the king of the South Saxons taſted, the whiche in defence of himſelfe comming to trie battell with Ceadwalla, was ſlayne with the moſt part of all his army. Ceadwalla then perceiuing the valiāt courages of his Souldiers, filled with good hope of this happy atchieued victory, returned with good and proſperous ſpeede into his owne countrey, and that ere he was loked for, and earneſtly purſuing his aduerſaries, droue them out of the Kingdom, and taking vpon him to rule the ſame as king, reigned two yeares during the whych he atchieued diuers notable enterpriſes. And firſte, whereas Berthun and Authune Dukes of Suſſex & ſubiectes vnto ẏ late K. Edilwalke, had both expulſed him out of ẏ countrey, after he had ſlain the ſaid Edilwalke, and alſo taken vpon them the rule of that Kingdome, he hauing now atteyned to the gouernement of the Weſt Saxons, inuaded ẏ countrey of Suſſex againe, and ſlewe Berthune in battell, bringing that cōtrey into more bondage than before. He alſo ſet vpon the Ile of wight, and welneere deſtroyed all the inhabitāts,

Beda. lib. cap. 15.

Berthun Earle of Sex ſlay-

al thoſe ẏ would receiue the ſame. Thus was ẏ Ile of Wight brought to ẏ faith of Chriſt laſt of al other ẏ parties of this our Britain, after that ẏ ſame faith had failed here by the comming of the Saxons. Moreouer, K. Ceadwalla inuaded the kingdom of Kent, wher he loſt his brother Mollo, as after ſhall appeare, but yet hee reuenged hys death with great ſlaughter made of ẏ inhabitāts in ẏ countrey. Finally, this worthy Prince Ceadwalla turning himſelf from ẏ deſire of warre & bloudſhed, became right courteis, gentle, & liberal towardes all men, ſo that ye could not haue wiſhed more vertuous manners to reſt in one as yet not Chriſtned. And ſhortly after, willing

The W receyue fayth.

to be

to be admitted into the fellowship of the Christians, (of whose Religion he had taken good tast) he went to Rome, where of Pope Sergius hee was baptised, and named Peter, and shortly after surprysed with sickenesse died, and was buried there within the Churche of Saint Peter in the yeare of our Lorde. 689.

In the meane while, that is to witte, in the yeare of our Lorde. 684. Ecgfrid king of Northumberland sent an armie vnder the guiding of a Captaine named Bertus into Irelande, the which wasted that Countrey, sparing neyther Church nor Monasterie, sore endomaging the people of that Countrey, whiche had euer beene friendes vnto the English Nation, and deserued nothing lesse than so to be inuaded and spoyled at their handes.

The Irish men defended themselues to theyr power, beseeching god with manye a salte teare, that he woulde reuenge theyr cause, in punishyng of suche extreeme iniuries. And though cursers may not inherite the Kingdome of heauen, yet they ceassed not to curse, hoping the sooner those which with good cause were thus accursed, should worthily be punished for their offences by God, and so (peraduenture) it fell out. For in the yeare following the sayde king Egfrid had led an armye into Pictlande, againste Brudeus king of the Pictes, and being trayned into straytes within hilles and craggie mountaines, he was slain with the most part of all his armie, in the yeare of hys age. xl. and of his raigne. xb. vpon the. xiij. kalends of June.

There were diuerse of Ecgfrides friends, and namely Cutbert whome hee had aduaunced the same yeare vnto the Bishops sea of Lindesfarne) that admired him in no wise, eyther to haue taken this warre in hande againste the Pictes, or the other against them of Irelande, but he would not be counsayled, the punishment appoynted for his sinnes being such, that hee might not giue eare to his faythfull friendes, that aduised him to the best. From that time forth, the hope and power of the English people began to decay. For not onely the Pictes recouered that part of theyr Countrey which the English men had holde before in theyr possessiō, but also the Scots that inhabited within this Ile, and likewise some part of the Britaynes tooke vppon them libertie which they kept and maintayned a long time after, as Bede confesseth. Ecgfride left no children behinde him. He had to wife one Ethelreda, or Edildrida, that was daughter vnto Anna king of the Eastangles which liued with hir husbande the foresayd Ecgfride. xij. yeares in perfite virginitie (as it is supposed) contrarie to the purpose of hir husbande. if hee might haue perswaded hir to the contrarie, but she founde such meanes, that finally he was contented that she should keepe hir first vow of chastity, which she had made.

She was both widow and virgin when hee maryed hir, being first coupled in wedlocke with one Eunbert a noble men and a ruler in the south partes of the Countrey, where the people called *Girwy* inhabited, whiche is the same where the fennes lye in the confines of Lincolnshire, Norfolke, Huntingtonshire, and Cambridgshire, but he liued with hir but a small while. Ethelreda. Girwii.

After she had obteyned licence to departe from the Court, she got hir first into Coldingham Abbay, and there was professed a Nunne. And after she went to Ely, and there restored the Monasterie, and was made Abbes of the place, in the which after shee had gouerned. bij. yeares, shee departed this life, and was there buried.

This same was she which commonly is called Saint Audrey of Ely, had in great reuerence for the opinion conceyued of hir great vertue and puritie of life.



Alfride 685

After that king Ecgfrid was slain (as before is mencioned his brother Alfrid was made king of Northumberland. This Alfride was the bastarde sonne of king Oswy, and in his brothers dayes, eyther willingly, or by violent meanes constrayned, he liued as a banished man in Irelande, where applying himselfe to studie hee became an excellent Philosopher, and therefore being iudged to be better able to haue the rule of a kingdome, he was receyued by the Northumbers, and made king, gouerning his subiects by the space of. xx. yeares & more, with great wisedome and policie, but not with such large bounds as his auncestors had done: for the Pictes as before is mencioned) had cut off one peece on the North part of the auncient limits of that kingdome.

About the. xvij. yeare of his raigne, that is to wit, in the yeare of our Lorde. 698. one of hys Captaynes named Earle Berthed, or Bertus, was slaine in battaile by the Picts, whose confines he had as then inuaded. 698 *Beda in Epit. Mat. West.*

The curse of the Irishe men whose countrey in the dayes of king Ecgfrid he had cruelly wasted (as before is mentioned) was thought at this time to take place.

Finally king Alfride after he had raigned. xx. yeares and odde monethes departed this life, in the yeare of our Lorde. 705. 705 *Beda.*

In the beginning of king Alfrides dayes Eata

the Biſhop of Herham being deade, one John a man of great holineſſe was admitted Biſhop, and after that Biſhop Wilfride was reſtored, after he had remayned a long time in exile.

John Archbyſhop of York.

The ſayde John was remoued to the Church of Yorke, the ſame being then voyde by the death of the Archbyſhoppe Boſa. At length the foreſayd John aweried with the cares of publyke affayres reſigned his Sea, and got him vnto Beuerley, where hee lyued a ſolitarie lyfe for the ſpace of foure yeares, and then dyed, about the yeare of our Lorde. 721. King Oſrike as then reigning in Northumberlande. Hee continued Byſhoppe for the ſpace of. xviij. yeares, and buylded a Churche, and founded a Colledge of Prieſts at Beuerley aforeſayde, in which church he lyeth buried.

He reſigneth his See.

721

The ſame yeare, or in the yeare after that king Ecgfride was ſlaine. Lother king of Kent departed this life, the. viij. Ides of Februarie, of a wounde by hym receiued in a battaile whiche he fought againſt the South Saxons, the which came in ayde of Edricke, that was ſonne vnto his brother Ecgbert, and had mainteyned warre againſt his vncle the ſayde Lother, euen from the begynning of his raigne, till finally he was nowe in the ſayd battaile ſtriken through the bodie with a dart, and ſo died thereof, after he had raigned. xj. yeares, and. bij. Monethes.

686. hath. Mat Weſt. Lother king of Kent dyeth of a wounde.

It was thought that hee was diſquieted with continuall warres and troubles, and finally brought to his end before the natural courſe of his time, for a puniſhment of his wicked conſent giuen, to the putting to death of his couſins Ethelbert, and Ethilbrit, as appeared in that, when they were reported to be Martyrs, bycauſe it was knowne they dyed innocently, hee mocked them, and made but a ieaſt at it, although his brother in acknowledging his fault, repented him therof, and gaue as it were in recompence to theyr mother, a part of the Ile of Thanet to the buylding of a Monaſterie.

Cappraue their ſiſter.



Edrick

The foreſaid Edrick after that Lother was dead, got the dominion of Kent, and ruled as king thereof, but not without ciuill war, inſomuch that before he had raigned the full tearme of two yeres, he was ſlaine in the ſame warre.

Then Ceadwalla king of the Weſt Saxons being thereof aduertiſed, ſuppoſing the time now to bee come that would ſerue his purpoſe, as one ſtill coueting to worke the Kentiſh men all the diſpleaſure he coulde, entred with an armie into their Countrey, and beganne to waſt and ſpoyle the ſame on eche ſide, till finally the Kentiſhmen aſſembling themſelues togither, gaue battaile to their enimies and put them to flight.

Mollo brother to Ceadwalla was dryuen from hys compenie, and conſtrayned to take an houſe for his refuge: but his enimies that purſued hym ſette fyre thereon, and burned both the houſe, and Mollo within it to Aſhes. Yet dyd not Ceadwalla herewith depart oute of the Countrey, but to wreake his wrathe, and to reuenge the griefe which he toke for the death of his brother, hee waſted and deſtroyed a greate parte of Kent ere hee returned home, and left (as it were) an occaſion to his ſucceſſor alſo to purſue the quarell (as after ſhall appeare.)

Mollo k to king C walla be death.



VVil. Malm.

The Kentishmen being destitute of a king, after that diuerse had coueted the place, and sought to attaine therto, as well by force as otherwise, to the great disquieting of that prouince for ỳ space of fiue yeares togither, at length in the. vij. yeare after the death of Edrick, Withred an other of the sonnes of king Egbert, hauing with diligente trauelle ouercome enuie at home, and with money redeemed peace abrode, was with great hope conceyued of his worthinesse made king of Kent, the. xj. of November. 205. after the death of Hengest, and raigned. xxxiij. yeares, not deceyuing his subiectes of their good conceyued opinion of him: for ouercomming all his aduersaries which were readie to leuie tyuill warre agaynst him, he also purchased peace of Inas king of the West Saxons, whiche ment to haue made him warre, till with money he was made his friend.

A little before that Withred was confirmed in the kingdome of Kent, there raigned two kings in that countrey, Suebhard, or Nidred, or rather the same Withred, if the printed copie of Bedas booke intituled *Ecclesiastica historia gētis Anglorum*, haue not that name corrupted: for where he sheweth that the Archbishop Theodorus being of the age of. 88. yeares, departed this life in the yeare of our Lorde. 690. in the next chapter he declareth, that in the yeare. 692. the first day of July one Brightwalde was chosen to succeede in the Archbishops sea of Canterburie, Wilfredus, and Suebhardus as then raigning in Kent: but whether Wilfredus gouerned as then with Suebhardus, or that some other named Nitred, it forceth not, for certain it is by the agreement of writers, that till Wilfred obteyned the whole rule, there was great strife and contention moued about the gouernment, and diuerse there were that sought and fought for it.

But this ought to be noted, ỳ the forenamed Brightwalde was the eight Archbishop in number, and first of the English nation that sat in the sea of Canterburie: for the other seuen that were predecessors to him, were straungers borne, and sent hither from Rome.

Inas king of VVest Saxons.



In this meane whyle after that Ceadwalla, late king of the West Saxons was gon to Rome, where he departed this lyfe (as before is shewed) his cosin Inas, or Ine, was made king of the West Saxons, beginning his raigne in the yeare of our Lorde. 689. in the thirde yeare of the Emperour Iustinianus the thirde, in the. xj. yeare of the raigne of Theodorius king of Fraunce, and about the seconde yeare of the raigne of Eugenius king of Scots.

Bycause that now the rule of the Brytaines commonly called Welchmen, ceassed in thys Realme, as by confession of their owne writers it appeareth, and that in the ende the whole Monarchie of the same Realme came to ỳ hands of ỳ kings of West Saxons, we haue thought meete to referre things general vnto ỳ raignes of ỳ same kings, as before wee did in the Brytaine Kings, reseruing the particuler doings to the kings of the other Prouinces or kingdomes, as the same haue fallen out, and shall come to hande. The Brytaynes ceasse to raign in this lande.

This Inas, which some mistaking then. for an u, do wrongfully name Iue or Iewe, proued a right excellent Prince, hee was discended of the auncient lynage of the kings of the West Saxons, as sonne to one Kenred, that was sonne to Ceolwald, the sonne of Cutha, or Cutwyne, that was sonne to Kenrick, the sonne of Certicus, the first king of West Saxons. But he was admitted to the kingdome more for the valiant prowes knowne to rest in his worthie person, than for the successiue offspring of which he was discended. *Fabian.* *Henric. Hūt.*

The first voyage that he made, was agaynst the Kentishmen, on whom he purposed to reuenge the death of his cosin Mollo, the griefe whereof, as yet he kept in fresh memorie. But when the Kentish men perceiued, that to resist him by force, they were nothing able, they attempted by money to buy theyr peace, and so obteined their purpose, vpon payment made to him of. xxx. M. markes of siluer. *Mat. VVest.* *VVil. Malm.*

After this, about the. xxj. yeare of his raigne, king Inas and his cosin Nun, fought with Gerent king of the Brytaynes. Anno. 708. as is noted by *Mat. VVest.*

In the beginning of the battaile one Higelbald a noble man of the West Saxons part was slaine, but in the ende Gerent with his Brytains was chased. *H. Hunt.*

In the. xxvj. yeare of his raigne, the same Inas fought a mightie battaile against Ceolred King of Mercia, at Wodenesburie, with doubtfull victorie, for it could not well be iudged whether part sustayned greater losse. *Mat. VVest.* *hath. 718.*

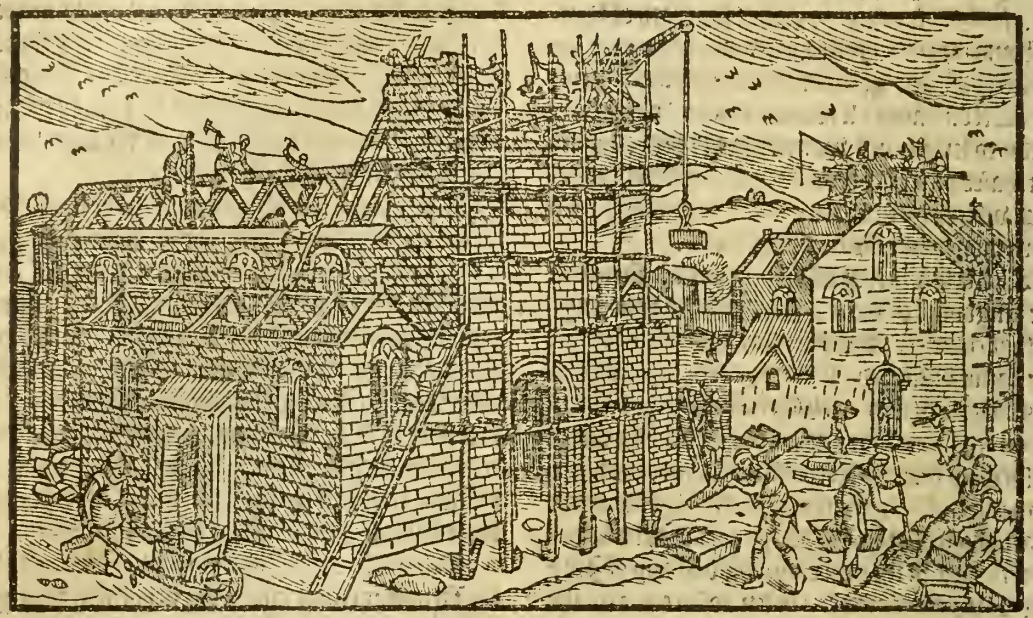
In the. xxxvj yeare of his raigne, king Inas inuaded the South Saxons with a mightie armie, and slue in battaile Ealdbright, or Alpinius king of the South Saxons, & ioyned that kingdome vnto the kingdome of the West Saxons: so that from thence forth the kingdome of those South Saxons ceassed, after they had raigned in that kingdome by the space of fiue kings successiuely, that is to wit, Ella, Cissa, Ethelwalke, Berutius, and this last Aluinius, or Ealdbright. *Mat. VVest.* *hath. 722.* The end of the kingdome of the South Saxons.

Finally

Finally, when Inas had raigned. xxvbij. yeares, and. x. or. xj. odde Monethes, hee renounced the rule of his kingdome, togither with all worldly pompe, and went vnto Rome as a poore pylgryme, and there ended his life: But before this, during the time of his raigne, hee shewed himselfe verie deuout and zealous towardes the aduauncement of the Christian Religion. He made and ordeyned also good and wholesome lawes for the amendment of maners in the people, whiche are yet extant and to bee redde, written in the Saxon tongue, and translated into the Latine in tymes past, and nowe lately agayne by maister William Lambert, and imprinted by John Day, in the yeare. 1568. togither wyth the lawes and Statutes of other Kings before the Conquest, as to the learned it may appeare.

Inas went to Rome and there dyed.

Moreouer, King Ine builded the Monasterie of Glastenburie, where Joseph of Arimathea, in times past builded an Oratorie or Chappell (as before is recited) when he with other christians came into this lande in the dayes of Aruiragus, and taught the Gospell here to the Brytayns, conuerting many of them to the fayth. *Polidor.*



Moreouer king Ine or Inas buylded the Church of Welles, dedicating it vnto saint Andrew, where afterwardes a Bishops Sea was placed, which at length was translated vnto Salisburie. He had to wife one Ethelburga, a woman of noble lynage, who had beene earnest in hande with him a long time to perswade him to forsake the worlde: but shee could by no meanes bring hir purpose to passe, till vppon a time the king and she had lodged at a Manor place in the Countrey, where all prouision had beene made for the receyuing of them and theyr trayne in most sumptuous manner that might be, as well in riche furniture of householde, as also in costly viandes, and all other things needefull, or that might serue for pleasure, and when they were departed, the Queene the forelayde Ethelburga, caused the keeper of that house to remoue all the bedding, hangings, and other such things as had beene brought thither and ordeyned for the beautifull setting forth of the house, and in place therof to bring ordure, strawe, and suche lyke filth, as well into the Chambers and Hall, as into all the houses of office, and that done to lay a Sowe wyth Pigges in the place where before the kings bed had stoode.

Ethelburga.

Wil. Malm.

The deuise of Queene Ethelburga to perswade hir husband to forsake the world.

Hereupon when she had knowledge that euerye thing was ordered according to hir appoyntment, she perswaded the King to returne thyther agayne, feyning occasions great and necessarie.

After he was returned to that house, whiche before seemed to the eye a Palace of moste pleasure, and nowe fynding it in suche a filthie state as might lothe the stomacke of any man to beholde the same, shee toke occasion therof to perswade him to the consideration of the vaine pleasures of this worlde, whiche in a moment turned to naught, togyther with the corruption of the flesh, beeing a filthie lumpe of Clay, after it should once be dyssolued by death: and in fine where before shee had spente muche labour to moue hym to renounce the Worlde, though all in vayne, yet nowe the beholding of that chaunge in his pleasant Palayce wherein so late hee had taken so greate delight, wrought suche an alteration in hys mynde, that hir wordes lastlye toke effecte: so that hee resigned the Kingdome to his cousin Ethelard and went himselfe to Rome (as aboue is mentioned,) and his wife became a Nunne in the Abbey of Barking, where she was made Abbesse, and finally there ended hir lyfe.

This Inas was the fyrst that caused the

money

money called Peter pens, to bee payde vnto the Bishop of Rome, which was for euery houshold within his dominion a pennie.

In this meane time Edilred or Ethelred, hauing gouerned the Kingdome of Mercia by the terme of .xxix. yeares, became a Monke in the Abbey of Bardeny, and after was made Abbot of that house. He had to wyfe one Osthryda the sister of Ecgfride King of Northumberlande, by whome hee had a sonne named Ceolred. But he appointed Kenred the sonne of his Brother Vulfhere to succeed him in the kingdome.

The sayde Osthrida was cruelly slaine by the treason of hir husbandes subiectes, about the yeare of our Lorde. 697.

The foresayde Kenred was a Prince of greate vertue, deuoute towardes God, a furtherer of the common wealth of his Countrey, and passed hys lyfe in greate synceritye of maners.

In the fifth yeare of his raigne, he renounced the worlde, and went to Rome, togither with Offa king of East Saxons, where he was made a Monke: and finally dyed there, in the yeare of our Lord. 711.

711

By the ayde and furtherance of this Kenred, a Monke of Saint Benets order (cleped Egwin) buylded the Abbay of Euesham. Afterwardes the same Egwine was made Bishoppe of Worcester.

Nauclerus.

Egwin Bishop of Worcester.

We finde it recorded by writers, that this Egwine had warning giuen to him by visions, (as hee constantly affyrmed before Pope Constantine,) to set vp an Image of our Ladie in his Churche. Herevppon the Pope approuing the testifications of this Bishoppe, by hys Bulles, wrytte to Brychtwalde the Archebyshoppe of Canterburie, to assemble a Synode, and by authoritie thereof to establishe the vse of Images, charging the kings of this lande to bee present at the same Synode, vpon paine of excommunication.



This Sinode was holden about the yeare of our Lorde. 712. in the dayes of Inas King of West Saxons, and of Ceolred king of Mercia, successor to the foresayde Kenred.

After Kenred succeeded Ceolredus, the sonne of his vncle Edilred, and died in the. viij. yeare of his raigne, and was buried at Lichfielde.

Then succeeded Ethelbaldus that was discended of Eopa the brother of king Penda, as the fourth from hym by lineall succession. Thys man gouerned a long time without any notable trouble: some warres he had, and sped diuerslye.

In the. xviij. yeare of his raigne he besieged Sommerton, and wanne it. Hee also inuaded Northumberlande, and gotte there great ryches by spoyle and pyllage, whiche hee brought from thence without any battaile offered to him.

The Welchmen he ouercame in battaile, being then at quiet, and ioyned as cõfederates with Cuthred K. of West Saxõs. But in the. xxxviij. yeare of his raigne, hee was ouercome in battaile at Beresorde by the same Cuthred, with whome he was fallen at variance, and within foure yeres after, that is to witte, in the. xlj. yeare of hys raigne, hee was slaine in battaile at Secandone, or Sekenton, by his owne subiectes, whiche arreared warres agaynste hym, by the procurement and leading of one Bernred, which after hee had slayne his naturall Prince, toke vppon him the Kingdome: but he prospered not long, being slaine by Offa that succeeded him in rule of the kingdome of Mercia, as after shall be shewed. The bodie of Ethelbald was buried at Ripton.

H. Hunt.

Bereforde.

755

Three miles from Tamworth.

Wil. Malm.

758

Math. West.

Bonifacius

The hystorie of Magd.

Bonifacius the Archbishop of Menze or Magguntze, hauing assembled a Councell wyth other Bysshoppes and Doctours, deuised a letter and sent it vnto this Ethilbert, commending him for his good deuotion and charitie in almes gyuing to the releefe of the powre, and also for his vpright dealing in administration of Iustice, to the punishment of robbers and such lyke misdoers: but in that he abstayned from maryage and wallowed in filthie lecherie with diuerse women, and namely with Nunnes, they sore blamed him and withall declared in what infamie the whole Englishe Nation in those dayes remayned by common report in other Countreys for theyr lycencious lyuing in sinfull fornication, and namely the moste parte of the Noble men of Mercia by hys euill example did forsake theyr wyues, and defloured other women whiche they kept in adulterie as Nunnes and other.

Nunnes kept for concubines

Moreouer hee sheweth howe that suche euill women, as well Nunnes as other, vsed to make awaye in secrete wise theyr children whiche they bare oute of wedlocke, and so fylled the graues wyth deade bodyes, and hell wyth damned soules.

The same Bonifacius in an other Epystle whiche hee wrote vnto Cutbert the Archbyshop of Canterburie, counsayleth him not to permitte the Englishe Nunnes to wander abrode so often on Pylgrymage, bycause there were fewe Cities eyther in Fraunce or Lombardye, wherein might not bee founde English women, that lyued wantonlye in fornication and whordome.

Pilgrimage of Nunnes.

In this meane tyme Sigharde and Seufred, Kings of the East Saxons, being departed thys lyfe, one Offa that was sonne to Sigerius, succeeded in gouernment of that Kingdome, a man of greate towardnesse, and of right comely countenaunce: but after hee had ruled a certayne tyme, hee beeing moued of a religious deuotion, wente vnto Rome in companie of Kenred King of Mercia, and of one Ecgwine Bysshoppe of Worcester, and beeing there shauen into the order of Monkes, so continued tyll hee dyed.

Kings of the East Saxons. *Bed.li.5.ca.20* Offa king of East Saxons.

After him one Selred the sonne of Sigbert the good, ruled the East Saxons the tearme of xxxviij. yeares.

King Selred. *Harison.28.*

After that Aldulfe the King of East Angles was departed thys life, whiche chaunced aboute the yeare of oure Lorde. 688. his brother Eltwolde, or Ethwolde succeeded him, and raigned about. xij. yeares. After whose decease one Brorne was made king of Eastangles, and raigned about. xxvj. yeares.

688

Harison.2.

Harison.36.

In this meane while, that is to witte, in the yeare of oure Lorde. 705. Alfride king of Northumberlande beeing deade, his sonne Osred, a childe of. viij. yeares of age succeeded hym in the kingdome, and raigned. xj. yeares, spending hys time when he came to rype yeares in fylthie abusing his bodie wyth Nunnes, and other religious women.

705

Vvil. Malm. Osred king of Northumberlande.

About the seuenth yeare of his raigne, that is to witte, in the yeare of oure Lorde. 711. one of his Captaynes named Earle Berthfride fought with the Pictes betwixte two places called Heue and Cere, and obteyning the victorie, slue an huge number of the enimies.

Henric. Hu. Pictes ouerthrowne by the Northumbers.

At length King Osred by the traiterous meanes of hys cousins that arreared warre agaynste him, was slaine in battaile, and so ended his raigne. leauing to those that procured his death the lyke fortune in tyme to come. For Kenred raigning two yeares, and Osricke tenne yeares, were famous onely in this, that beeing worthilye punished for shedding the blond of theyr naturall Prince and soueraigne Lorde, they finished their lyues with dishonourable deathes, as they had well deserued.

King Osred slaine in battaile.

Osricke before his death whiche chaunced in the yeare of oure Lorde. 729. appoynted Ceolwolfe the brother of his predecessour Kenred, to succeede him in the kingdome, whiche hee did, raigning as king of the Northumbers by the space of. viij. yeares currant, and then renouncing his kingdome, became a Monke in the Ile of Lindesferne.

729

In this meane while, Bysshoppe Wilfride being dead one Acca that was his Chaplain was made Bishop of Hexham.

Beda. Acca Bishop of Hexham.

The forsayde Wilfride had beene Bishop by the space of. xlv. yeares: but hee lyued a long tyme in exyle. For first beeyng Archebyshoppe of Yorke, and exercising his iurisdiction ouer all the North partes, hee was after banished by king Egbert, and agayne restored to the Sea of Hexham, in the seconde yeare of king Alfride, and within fiue yeares after eftsones banyshed by the same Alfride, and the seconde tyme restored by his successour king Osred, in the fourth yeare of whole raigne, beeing the yeare after the Incarnation of oure Sauiour 709. hee departed this lyfe, and was buryed at Rippon.

Moreouer after John the Archebyshoppe of Yorke had resigned, one Wilfride surnamed the seconde, was made Archebishoppe of that Sea: whiche Wilfride was Chaplayne to the sayde John, and gouerned that Sea by the space of fiftene yeares, and then died.

Aboute the yeare of oure Lorde. 710. the Abbot Adrian whiche came into this lande wyth Theodore the Archebyshoppe of Canterburie (as before yee haue heard) departed thys lyfe, a-

710

boute

boute. xxix. yeares after his comming thyther.

Alſo Inas the king of Weſt Saxons, about the .xx. yeare of his raigne, deuided the Prouince of the Weſt Saxons into two Byſhoppes Seas, where as before they had but one. Daniel was ordeyned to gouerne the one of thoſe Seas, being placed at Wincheſter, hauing vnder him Suſſex, Southerie and Hamſhire: and Aldhelme was appoynted to Shireburne, hauing vnder him, Barkeſhire, Wyltſhire Sommerſetſhire, Dorſetſhyre, Deuonſhire, and Cornwall.

This Aldhelme was a learned man, and was firſt made Abbot of Malmeſburie, in the yeare of our Lorde. 675. by Eleutherius then Biſhop of the Weſt Saxons. By his diligence that Abbay was greatly aduaunced, being afore that tyme founded by one Medulfe a Scottiſh man, but of ſo ſmall reuenues afore Aldhelmes tyme, that the Monkes were vneth able to lyue therein.

Alſo the ſame Aldhelme was a greate furtherer vnto king Inas in the buylding of Glaſtenburie.

Ethelard.



EThelarde, the coulyn of king Inas, to whome the ſame Inas reſigned hys kingdome, beganne to gouerne ỹ Weſt Saxõs in the yeare of oure Lorde. 724. or rather, 27. which was in the. xj. yeare of the Emperour Leo Iſaurus, in the ſeconde yeare of Theodorus king of Fraunce, and aboute the. viij. or. ix. yeare of Mordacke king of Scottes.

In the firſt yeare of Ethelardes raigne, hee was diſquieted with ciuill warre, which one Oſwalde a Noble manne, diſcended of the royall bloud of the Weſt Saxon Kings, procured agaynſt him: but in the ende, when he perceyued that the kings power was to ſtrong for him, hee fledde oute of the Countrey, leauing it thereby in reſt.

In the yeare. 729. in the Moneth of Januarie there appeared two Comets or blaſing Starres, right terrible to beholde, the one riſing in the morning before the riſing of the Sunne, & the other after the ſetting thereof: ſo that the one came before the breake of the day, and the other before the cloſing of the night, ſtretching forth theyr fierie brandes towardes the North, and they appeared thus euerie morning and euening the ſpace of a fourtnight togither, menacing as it were ſome great deſtruction or common miſhap to follow.

The Saraſins ſhortly after entred Fraunce, and were ouerthrowne.

Finally, when king Ethelard had raigned the tearme of fourtene yeares currant, hee departed this life.



AFter that Wichtred king of Kent had gouerned the Kentiſhmẽ by the ſpace of xxxiij. yeares, with great cõmendation for the good orders which hee cauſed to be obſerued amongeſt them, as well concerning matters eccleſiaſticall as temporall, hee departed this life, leauing behind him three ſonnes whiche ſucceſſiuely raigned as heyres to hym one after another, (that is to ſay) Edbert. xxiij. yeares, Ethelbert. xj. yeares currant, and Alrike. xxxiiij. yeares, the whiche three Princes following the ſteppes of theyr father in the obſeruaunce of politique orders and commendable lawes, vſed for the more parte theyr fathers good lucke and fortune, except that in Ethelbertes tyme the Citie of Canterburie was burned by caſuall fyre, and Alrike loſt a battaile agaynſt them of Mercia, whereby the glorie of theyr tymes was ſomewhat blemyſhed: for ſo it came to paſſe that whatſoeuer chaunced euill, was kept ſtill in memorie, and the good happes that came forward, were ſone forgotten and put out of remembrance. *vvil. Malm.*

Harriſon nameth Ethelbert firſt, giuing him. 27. yeares, & Edbert ſecondly allowing him ten complete. *Beda li. 5. ca. 24*

In the yeare of our Lorde. 731. Bertwalde Archbyſhoppe of Canterburie departed this lyfe the fifth Ides of Januarie, after he had gouerned that Sea by the ſpace of .xxxvij. yeares. vj. Monethes, and fourteene dayes: in whoſe place the ſame yeare one Tacuine was ordeyned Archebyſhoppe, that before was a Prieſt in the Monaſterie of Bruydon wythin the Prouince of Mercia. Hee was conſecrated in the Citie of Canterburie, by the reuerende Fathers, Daniell Byſhoppe of Wyncheſter, Ingwalde Byſhoppe of London, Aldwine Byſhop of Licheſielde, and Aldwulfe Biſhop of Rocheſter, the. x. day of June, being Sunday. 731

Bishops what prouinces they gouerned.

And thus in that ſeaſon, the Prouince of Canterburie was gouerned touching the Eccleſiaſticall ſtate, by the Archbyſhoppe Tacwine, and Byſhoppe Aldwulfe. The Prouince of the Eaſt Saxons by Biſhop Ingwald: the prouince

of

of East Ingles, by Bishop Eadbertus, and Hadulacus, the one keeping his Sea at Elsham, and the other at Dunwich.

The Province of the West Saxons was gouerned by the forelayd Daniel, and by Forthere, which succeeded next after Aldhelme in the Sea of Shereburne.

Mat. West. This Forthere in the yeare of our Lorde. 738. left his Bishoprike, and went to Rome in companie of the Queene of the West Saxons. Many as well Kings as Bishops, noble and vnnoble, Priestes and laymen, togither with women, vsed to make such iourneyes thither in those dayes.

The Province of Mercia was ruled by the forelayde Aldwine Byshop of Lichfielde, and one Bishop Walstod holding hys Sea at Herforde gouerned those people that inhabited beyond the riuer of Seuerne toward the West.

The Province of the Wiccies, that is to meane of Worcester, one Wilfride gouerned.

The South Saxons, and the Ile of Wight, were vnder the Bishop of Winchester.

In the Province of the Northumbers were foure Bishops, that is to say, Wilfride, Archbyshop of Yorke, Edilwalde Bishop of Lindisferne, Acca Bishop of Hexham, and Pechelmus Byshoppe of Whiterne, otherwise called Candida Casa, hee was the fyrst that gouerned that Church after the same was made a Bishops Sea. And thus stood the state of the Englishe Churche for Ecclesiasticall gouernours in that season.

Ethelbald K. of Mercia, of what puissance he was.

And as touching temporall gouernment, king Ceolwulf had the soueraigne Dominion ouer all the Northumbers: but all the Prouinces on the south side of Humber with theyr kings and rulers, were subiect vnto Edilbalde or Ethelbald king of Mercia.

The nation of the Picts were in league with the English men, and gladly became partaker of the Catholike peace and veritie of the vniuersall Church.

Those Scots which inhabited Brytaine, contenting themselues with theyr owne bounds, went not about to practise any deceytfull traynes nor fraudulent deuises agaynst the English men.

The Brytaynes, otherwise called Welchmen, though for the more part of a peculiar hatred they did impugne the English Nation, and the obseruaunce of the feast of Easter appointed by the whole Catholike Churche, yet both deuine and humaine force vtterly resisting them, they were not able in neyther behalfe to atteyne to theyr wished intentions, as they whiche though they were partly free, yet in some poynt remayned still as thrall and mancipate to the subiection of the English men: whiche Englishe men (saythe Bede) now in acceptable peace and quietnesse of time, manye amongest them of Northumberlande, laying armour and weapon aside, applie themselues to the reading of holy Scriptures, more desyrous to be professed in Religious houses, than to exercise feates of warre: but what wyll come thereof (sayth he) the age that followeth shall see and beholde. With these wordes doth Bede ende his Hystorie, continued tyll the yeare of our Lorde. 731. whiche was from the comming of the English men into thys lande, aboute. 285. yeares according to his accounte.

In the yeare following, that is to wit. 732. in place of Wilfride the seconde, Egbert was ordeyned Bishop of Yorke. 732

Will. Ma. This Egbert was brother vnto an other Egbert, the which as then was King of Northumberlande, by whose helpe, hee greatly aduaunced the Sea of Yorke, and recouered the Pall: so that where all the other Bishoppes that holde the same Sea before him sithe Paulines dayes, wanted the Pall, and so were accounted simply but particuler Bishoppes: nowe was hee entituled by the name of Archbishop. He also gotte togyther a great number of good bookes, which he bestowed in a librarie at Yorke.

In the yeare. 733. on the. xviij. Kalendes of September, the Sunne suffered a great Eclipse aboute three of the Clocke in the after Noone, in so muche that the Earth seemed to bee couered wyth a blacke and horrible Pentise. 733

In the yeare. 735. that reuerende and profounde learned manne Beda departed this lyfe, Beda dep. this life. beeing. lxxij. yeares of age vpon Ascention day, which was the. vij. Kalendes of June, and. xxvj. of May, as Mat. West hath diligently obserued. Harison addeth hereto, that it is to bee read in an olde Epystle of Cutbert Monke of the same house, vnto Cuthwyne, that the sayd Beda lying in hys death bed, translated the Gospell of Saint John into Englishe, and commaunded his brethren to bee diligent in the reading and contemplation of the bookes and not to exercise themselues wyth fables and friuolous matters. 735

Finally he was buryed in the Abbey of Girwie, distaunt fiue myles from Wyremouth, an Abbay also in the North parts, not farre from Newcastell (as is before remembred.) Hee was brought vp in those two Abbays, and was scholer to John of Beuerlay.

Howe throughly hee was seene in all kyndes of good literature, the bookes which he wrote doe manifestly beare witnesse. His iudgement also was so much esteemed ouer all, that Sergius the Bishoppe of Rome wrote vnto Ceolfrid the Abbot of Wyremouth, requyring hym to sende

Beda

Beda vnto the Courte of Rome for the decy-
ding of certaine queſtions moued there, whiche
without his opinion might ſeeme to reſt doubt-
full. But whether hee went thither or not wee
can not affyrme: but as it is thought by menne
worthie of credite, hee neuer went oute of this
lande, but continued for the moſte part of his life
in the Abbeyes of Gerule, and Wyremouth,
fyrſt vnder Benet the fyrſt Abbot and founder of
the ſame Abbayes, and after vnder the ſayde Ceol-
fride, in whoſe tyme he receyued orders of prieſt-
hoode at the handes of Byſhoppe Johan, ſur-
named of Beuerlay, ſo that it may be marueyl-
led that a man borne in the vttermoſte corner
of the Worlde, ſhoulde prouc ſo excellente in all
knowledge and learning, that his fame ſhoulde
ſo ſpreade ouer the whole earth, and went neuer
out of his native Countrey to ſeeke it. But who
that marketh in reading olde Hyſtories the ſtate
of Abbayes and Monaſteryes in thoſe dayes,
ſhall well perceyue that they were ordered after
the manner of our ſchooles or Colledges, hauing
in them diuerſe learned men, that attended one-
ly to teache and bring vp youth in knowledge of
good learning, or elſe to go abrode and preach the
word of God in the townes & villages adioining.

The ſame yeare died the Archbiſhop Tacuine,
and in the yeare following, that is to witte. 735.
Nothelmus was ordeyned Archbiſhop of Can-
terburie in his place, and Egbert the Archbyſhop
of Yorke the ſame yere got his Pall from Rome,
and ſo was confirmed Archbiſhop, and ordeyned
two Biſhops, Frydbert, and Frydwalde. But
ſome refer it to the yeare. 744.

Cuthred.



After the
deceaſſe of
Ethelard king
of weſt Sax-
ons, his coſin
Cuthred was
made King
& gouernour of
thoſe people,
raigning the
terme of. xvj.
yeares. He beganne his raigne in the yeare of our
Lord. 740. in the. xviij. yeare of the Emperour
Leo Iſaurus, in the. xiiij. yeare of the raigne of
the ſeconde Theodorus Cala king of Fraunce,
and aboute the. vj. yeare of Ethſine King of
Scottes.

This Cutred had muche to doe agaynſte Ed-
dilbald king of Mercia, the which one while with
ſtyrring his owne ſubiects the Weſt Saxons to
rebellion, an other while with open warre, and
ſometyme by ſecrete craft and ſubtile practiſes,
ſought to diſquiet him.

In the fourth yeare yet of his raigne, a peace
was concluded betwixt them, and then ioyning
theyr powers togyther, they went agaynſte the
Welchmen; and gaue them a great ouerthrow, as
before is partly touched.

In the. ix. yeare of this Cuthreds raigne, hys
ſonne Kenric was ſlaine in a ſeditious tumult
amongſt his men of warre, a Gentleman yong
in yeares, but of a ſtoute courage, and verie
forwarde, whereby (as was thought) he came the
ſooner to his ende. Kenric the kings ſonne ſlaine. 749 *Mat. VVeſt.*

In the. xj. yeare of his raigne, Cuthred had
warres agaynſt one of his Earles called Adelme,
who raiſing a commotion againſt him, aduentu-
red to giue battaile, though he had the ſmaller nū-
ber of men, and yet was at poynt to haue gone
away with victorie, if by a wounde at that in-
ſtant receyued, his periurie had not beene puni-
ſhed, and the kings iuſt cauſe aduanced to tri-
umphe ouer his aduerſarie, whome yet by waye
of reconciliation he pardoned. In the. xiij. yeare of
his raigne, King Cuthred being not well able
longer to ſuſtayne the prowde exactions and
harde doings of Edelbalde King of Mercia, ray-
ſed hys power, and encountered with the ſame
Edelbalde at Hereforde, hauing with hym the
foreſayde Earle Adelme, in whoſe valiaunte
prowes he put great hope to attaine victorie: nei-
ther was he deceyued: for by the ſtoute conduct
and noble courage of the ſayde Adelme, the loftie
pryde of King Edelbalde was abated, ſo that he
was there put to flight, and all his armye diſ-
comfited, after ſore and terrible fight continued
and mainteyned euen to the vttermoſt poynt. 751 752 *Mat. VVeſt.* King Edilbald put to flight.

In the. xviiij. yeare of his raigne, this Cuthred
fought eftſones with the Welchmen, and obtey-
ned the vpper hande, without any great loſſe of
his people: for the enimies were eaſily put to flight
and chaſed, to their own deſtruction.

In the yeare after, king Cutred fell ſicke, and
in the. xvj. yeare of his raigne hee departed thys
lyfe, after ſo many great victories got againſt his
enimies.

Sigibert.



After hym
ſucceeded
one Sigibert,
a cruell prince
& one vnmer-
cifull at home,
yet a cowarde
abrode.
This Sigbert
or Sigibert be-
gan his raigne
in the yeare of our Lorde. 755. very neare ended.
He intreated his ſubiects verie euill, ſetting lawe
and *Sigibert* 755

and reaſon at naught, he could not abide to heare his faultes tolde him, and therefore he cruelly put to death an Earle named Cumbra, which was of his counſaile and faythfully admoniſhed him to reforme his euill doings: whereupon the reſt of his Nobles aſſembled themſelues togither wyth a great multitude of people, and expelled him out of his eſtate in the beginning of the ſeconde, or (as Harison hath) the firſt yeare of hys raigne. Then Sigibert, as hee was fearefull of nature, fearing to bee apprehended, gotte him into the Woodde called as then Andredeſwalde, and there hydde himſelfe, but by chaunce a Swinehearde that belonged to the late Earle Cumbra at Priuetelſtoud founde him oute, and perceyuing what he was, ſlue him in reuenge of his maiſters death.

Lo here you may ſee how the righteous iuſtice of God rewardeth wicked doings in thys worlde with worthie recompence, as wel as in the worlde to come, appoynting forth euill Princes ſometymes to reigne to the puniſhment of the people, according as they haue deſerued permytting ſome of them to haue gouernment a long tyme, that both the frowarde Nation maye ſuffer long for theyr ſinnes, and that ſuch wicked Princes maye in an other Worlde taſte the more bytter tormentes. Againe, other hee taketh ſhortly out of the way, that the people maye bee deliuered from oppreſſion, & alſo that the naughtie ruler for his miſdemenor may ſpeedily receyue due puniſhment.

Ethelred.



After Beorne King of Eaſtangles one Ethelred ſucceeded in gouernment of ỹ kingdõ, a man noted to bee of good & vertuous qualities, in ỹ he brought vp his ſonne Ethelbert (which ſucceeded him) ſo in the feare of the Lorde, that he proued a righte godly prince. This Ethelred raigned (as Harison and alſo other writers haue) the terme of .lij. yeares.

After that Ceolbulf king of Northumberland was become a Monk, in the Abbey of Lindiſſern, his vncles ſonne Egbert by order taken by the ſayd Ceobulfe) ſucceeded him in the kingdome, & gouerned the ſame right worthily for the terme of xxiiij. yeares, and then became a Monke, by the example both of his predeceſſor the foreſayd Ceobulf, and alſo of diuerſe other kings in thoſe days, ſo that he was the eight king who in this lãd had chaunged a kings Crowne for a Monks Cowle, (as Simon Duncl. writeth.)

718 Egbert king of Northumberlande. *Har. hath.* 21. 758

Chaunging of crownes for Monks cowles

This Edbert (in the .xviij. yere of his raigne,) and Vnguſt king of Pictes came to the Citie of Alcluid with theyr armyes, and there receyued the Brytaynes into theyr ſubiection, the firſt day of Auguſt: but the tenth day of the ſame moneth, the armie which he led from Duan vnto Newbourgh, was for the more part loſt and deſtroyed. 756

The ſame yeare on the .viij. kalendes of December, the Mone being as then in hir full appeared to be of a bloudie coulour, but at length ſhee came to hir accuſtomed colour, after a marueylous meanes, for a ſtarre whiche followed hir, paſſed through hir, and went before hir, the like diſtance as it kept in following hir before ſhe loſt hir vſuall light.

Offa. After that Offa had ſlayne Bernred the vſurper of the Kingdome of Mercia (as before is mentioned,) the ſame Offa toke vppon hym the gouernment of that Kingdome. 758. a man of ſuch ſtowtneſſe of ſtomacke, that he thought he ſhould be able to bring to paſſe all things whatſoeuer he conceyued in his mind. He raigned. xxxix. yeares. 758 *Mat. Weſt.*

His doings were great and marueylous, and ſuche as ſome tymes his vertues ſurpaſſed hys vices, and ſometyme againe his vices ſeemed to ouermatch his vertues. *Will.*

The Kentiſhmen he ouercame in a great battayle at Otteforde, and the Northumbers alſo were by hym vanquiſhed, and in battaile put to flight. With Kenwulfe King of Weſt Saxons hee fought in open battaile, and obteyned a noble victorie, wyth ſmall loſſe of hys people, although the ſame Kenwulfe was a right valyaunt Prince, and a good Captaine. Againe, perceyuing that to proceede wyth craft ſhoulde ſooner aduaunce his purpoſe, than to vſe open force againſt Egilbert King of Eaſt Angles, vnder fayre promiſes to giue vnto him hys daughter in maryage, hee allured him to come into Mercia, and receyuing him into hys Palayce, cauſed his heade to be ſtryken off, and after by wrongfull meanes inuaded his kingdome, and got it into his poſſeſſion: yet hee cauſed the bones of the firſt Martyr of this lande Saint Albone (by a myraculous meanes brought to light,) to bee taken vp, and put in a riche ſhrine, adourned with golde and ſtone, buylding a goodly Churche of excellent workemanſhippe, and founding a Monaſterie in that place in honour of the ſame Saint, which he indowed with great poſſeſſions. Hee remoued the Archbiſhops Sea from Canterburie vnto Lichfield, thereby to aduaunce his Kingdome of Mercia, as well in dignitie and preheminẽce of Spirituall power as Temporall. The vi of king *Mat.* 77 Falſehe felonſhi The A ſhops moued Canterb Lichfi

He

He made great ſuyte to bring that his purpoſe to paſſe in the Court of Rome, and at length by great giftes and rewardes he obteyned it of the handes of Pope Adrian the firſt, as then gouerning the Romaine Sea.

And ſo Eadulfus as then Biſhop of Lichfielde was adourned with the Pall, and taken for Archbiſhop, hauing all thoſe Biſhops within the limittes of King Offa his Dominion, Suffragaines vnto him, as Denebertus Biſhop of Worceſter, Werebertus Biſhop of Cheſter, Eadulfus Biſhop of Dorcheſter, Wlmardus Biſhop of Herefoorde, Halard Biſhop of Elham, and Cedferth Biſhop of Donwich. There remayned onely to the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, the Biſhops of London, Wyncheſter, Rocheſter, and Shireburne.

And this ſeparation continued all the life time of the Archbiſhoppe Lambert, although he trauayled earneſtly to maintayne his prerogatiue, inſomuch for that hee ſtyll defended his cauſe, and woulde not conſent to his will, Offa depriued him of all his poſſeſſions and reuenues that he helde or enioyed wythin any part of his dominions. Neyther was Offa ſatiſfied herewith, but he alſo toke into his handes the poſſeſſions of manye other Churches, and namely, hee fleeced the houſe of Malmeſburie of parte of hir reuenues. Becauſe of theſe and other his harde doings, doubting the malice of hys enimes, hee procured the friendſhip of forraine Princes. Vnto Brightricke king of the Weſt Saxons hee gaue hys daughter Ethelburga in mariage. And ſending diuerſe Ambaſſadors ouer vnto Charles the great, that was both Emperour and king of Fraunce, at length he purchaſed his friendſhippe, although before there had depended a peeſe of diſpleaſure betwixt them, inſomuch that the entercourſe for trade of Merchandize was ſtayed for a tyme.

One of the Ambaſſadors that was ſent vnto the ſaid Charles (as is reported) was that famous clearke Albine, or Alcwine, by whoſe perſwaſion the ſame Charles erected two Vniuerſities, as in place conuenient it may more largely appeare.

Finally king Offa (as it were for a meane to appeaſe Gods wrath, whiche hee doubted to bee iuſtly conceyued towardes him for his ſinnes and wickednelle) graunted the tenth part of all hys goodes vnto Church men, and to poore people. He alſo endowed the Church of Herefoorde with great reuenues, and as ſome write, he builded the Abbay of Bathe, placing Monkes in the ſame, of the order of Saint Benet, as before hee had done at Saint Albons.

Moreouer hee went vnto Rome, about the yeare of our Lorde. 775. and there following the example of Inas King of the Weſt Saxons, he made his realme ſubiect by way of tribute vnto the Churche of Rome, appoynting that euerye houſe within the limits of his dominions ſhoulde yearely pay vnto the Apoſtolike Sea one pennie, which payment was after named Rome Scot, and Peter pens. Peter pence, or Rome Scot.

After hys returne from Rome, perceyuing himſelfe to drawe into yeares, hee cauſed his Sonne Egfride to bee ordeyned King in hys lyfe tyme: and ſhortly after departing oute of this Worlde, lefte the Kingdome vnto hym, after hee had gouerned it by the ſpace of. xxxix. yeares. *Wil. Malm.* 797. Offa departed this life.

Amongſt other the doings of this Offa which ſurely were great and marueylous, this may not paſſe with ſilence, that he cauſed a mightie greate ditch to be caſt betwixte the Marches of hys Countrey, and the Welche confines, to deuide thereby the bounds of their dominions. Offditch.

This Ditche was called Offeditch euer after, and ſtretched from the South ſide by Bryſtowe, vnder the Mountaynes of Wales, running Northwarde ouer the Ryuers of Seuerne and Dee, vnto the verie mouth of Dee, where that Ryuer falleth into the Sea. Hee likewyſe buylded a Church in Warwikeſhire, whereof the towne there taketh name, and is called Offchurch euen to this day.

Egfred taking vpon him the rule, beganne to follow the approued good doings of his father, and firſt reſtored vnto the Churches theyr auncient priuiledges, which his father ſome time had taken from them. Great hope was conceyued of hys further good proceedings, but death cut off the ſame, taking him out of this lyfe, after he had raigned the ſpace of foure Monethes, not for his owne offences (as was thought) but rather for that hys Father hadde cauſed ſo muche bloud to bee ſpylte for the confyrming of hym in the Kingdome, which ſo ſmall a time he nowe enioyed. Egfride king of Mercia.

After that Eadbert or Egbert king of Northumberlande was become a Monke, his ſonne Oſoulphus ſucceeded him: but after he had raigned onely one yeare, he was traiterouſly murthered by his owne ſeruants at Wikilwongton, on the xi. Kalends of Auguſt. Eadbert king of Northumberlande. 758. *Simon Dun. H. Hunt.*

Then ſucceeded one Wolfe, otherwiſe called Edilwold or Edilwald, but not immediately, for he began not his raigne till the Nones of Auguſt in the yeare following, which was after the byrth of our Sauior. 759. Edilwold king of Northomberland. *Simon Dun. Henric. Hunt.*

This man proued right valiaunt in gouernment of his ſubiects. He ſlue in battaile an Earle of his Countrey named Oſwin, the which arrearing warre againſt him, fought with him in a pight fielde at Eadwines Clue, and receyued the worthie rewarde of rebellion.

This chaunced in the third yeare of his raigne.

Shortly after, that is to witte in the yeare of our Lorde. 764. there fel such a marueylous great snowe, and therewith so extreeme a frost, as the like had not beene heard of, continuing from the begynning of the Winter, almost tyll the midst of the Spring, with the rygour whereof, trees and fruites wythered away, and lost theyr liuely shape and growth: and not onely feathered foules, but also beastes on the lande, and fishes in the Sea dyed in great numbers. The same yeare died Ceolwulf somtyme king of Northumberlande, vnto whome Beda dyd dedicate his booke of Hystories of the English Nation. After that hee was become a Monke in the Monasterie of Lyndisferne, the Monkes of that house had licence to drincke Wine, or Ale, where as before they myght not drinke any other thing than milke, or water, by the ancient rule prescribed the of Bishop Aydan first founder of the place.

Simon Dun. 764

Monkes licenced to drinke wine.

The same yeare sundrye Cities, Townes, and Monasteryes were defaced and sore wasted with fyre chaunced on the sodayne, as Stretehu, Giwento, Anwicke, London, Yorke, Doncaster, and many other.

After that Wolle had raigned. vj. yeares, he resigned his kingdome. But other write that hee raigned. xj. yeares, and was in the ende slaine by treason of his successor Alfred.

Wil. Malm.

This Alfred raigned ten yeares ouer the Northumbers, and was then expulsed out of his kingdome by his owne subiects.

Alfred began his raigne in the yeare. 765. as Simō Dun. hath.

Then was Ethelbert, named also Edelrede, the sonne of the forsayde Wolle, made king of Northumberlande, and in the fifth yeare of hys raigne, he was dryuen oute of his kingdome by two Dukes of his Countrey, named Edelbalde, and Herebert, the whiche moouing warre against him, had slaine first Aldulfe the sonne of Bosa the Generall of his armie at Kingesclyffe, and after Kinewulfe, and Egga, other two of his Dukes, at Helatherne in a sore foughten fielde, so that Ethelbert dispayring of all recouerie, was constrayned to get him oute of the Countrey. And thus was the Kingdome of Northumberlande brought into a myserable state, by the ambitious working of the Princes and Nobles of the same.

Henric. Hūt. Mat. West.

Ethelbert.

After that Ethelbert King of East Angles was dead, his sonne Ethelbert succeeded hym, a Prince of great towardnesse, and so vertuously brought vp by his fathers circumspect care and diligence, that hee vtterly abhorred vice, and delighted onely in vertue and commendable exercises, for the better attayning to knowledge and vnderstanding of good sciences. There remayne manye sundrye sayings and doynges of hym, manyfestly bearing wytnesse that there coulde not be a man more honourable, thankefull, curteous or gentle.

H. Hunt. Iohn Capgraue. Mat. West. and others.

Ethelbert king of East angles.

Amongst other he had this saying oftentimes in his mouth, That the greater that men were, the more humble they ought to beare themselues: for the Lorde putteth prowde and mightie men from theyr seates, and exalteth the humble and meeke. Moreouer he did not shew himselfe onely wise in wordes, but desired also to excell in stayednesse of maners, and continencie of life: Whereby hee wanne to hym the heartes of hys people, who perceyuing that hee was nothing delighted in the companie of women, and therefore mynded not maryage, they of a singular loue and fauour towards him, required that he shuld in any wise yet take a wife, that he might haue issue to succeed him. At length the matter beeing referred to hys Counsayle, hee was perswaded to followe theyr aduices. And so Alfred the daughter of Offa King of Mercia was flaunced to hym: so that he himselfe appoynted (for meane to procure more fauor at hys father in lawes hands) to go to fetch the bride frō hir fathers house.

Manye straunge things that happened to hym in taking vppon hym this iourney, putte hym in greate doubte of that whiche shoulde followe. Hee was no sooner mounted on hys Horse, but that (as seemed to hym) the earth shoke vnder him: Againe, as he was in his iourney, aboute the mydde tyme of the daye, suche a darke myste compassed hym on eche side, that he coulde not see nor discerne for a certaine time any thing aboute him at all: Lastly, as hee laye one night a sleepe, hee thought hee sawe in a dreame the roofe of his owne Palayce fall downe to the ground. But althoughe wyth these things hee was brought into greate feare, yet hee kept on his iourney, as hee that mistrusted no deceyte, measuring other mens maners by his owne.

King Offa right honourably receyued hym: but his wyfe named Quendred, a wyse woman, but therewyth wicked, conceyued a malicious deuise in hir heart, and streyght wayes goeth aboute to perswade hir husbande to putte it in execution, which was to murther king Ethelbert, and after to take into hys handes hys Kingdome.

Offa at the firste was offended wyth hys wyfe for thys motion, but in the ende through the importunate request of the woman, hee consented to hir minde.

The order of the murther was committed vnto one Wynnebert, that had serued both the sayde Ethelbert and hys father before tyme, the whiche feyning as thoughe hee had beene sent from Offa to will Ethelbert to come vnto him

him in the night ſeaſon, ſlue him that once miſtruſted not any ſuch treaſon.



Offa hauing thus diſpatched Ethelbert, inuaded his kingdome, and conquered it. But when the Byde Alfreda underſtode the death of hir liked Make and Bridegrome, ſhe abhorring the fact, did curſe father and mother, & as it were inſpired with the ſpirit of prophecie, ſhe pronounced that worthie puniſhment woulde ſhortly fall on hir wicked mother, for hir heynous crime committed in perſwading ſo deteſtable a deede: and according to hir wordes it came to paſſe, for hir mother dyed miſerably within three Monethes after.

The Mayde Alfreda refuſing the worlde, profeſſed hirſelfe a Nunne at Crowlande, the which place beganne to ware famous aboute the yeare of our Lorde. 695. by the meanes of one Gutlake a man eſteemed of great vertue and holyneſſe, which choſe to himſelfe an habitation there, and departing this lyfe about the yeare of oure Lorde. 714. was buried in that place, where afterwardes an Abbay of Monkes was builded of Saint Benets order.

The bodie of king Ethelbert at length was buried at Hereford, though firſt it was committed to buriall in a vile place, neare to the banke of a riuer called Lugge.

The kingdome of Eaſt Angles from thencefoorth was brought ſo into decay, that it remayned ſubiect one while vnto them of Mercia, an other while vnto the weſt Saxons and ſomewhile vnto them of Kent, till that Edmonde ſurnamed the Martyr obteyned the gouernment thereof, (as after ſhall appeare.)

After that Selred king of Eaſt Saxons had gouerned the realme of. xxviij. yeares, hee was ſlaine, but in what maner, writers haue not expreſſed.

After him ſucceeded one Swithred, or Swithred, the. xj. and laſt in number that particularly gouerned thoſe people. He was finally expulſed by Egbert king of Weſt Saxons, the ſame yeare that the ſayde Egbert ouercame the Kentiſh men (as after ſhall be ſhewed) and ſo the kings of that kingdom of the Eaſt Saxons ceaſſed and toke ende.

About this time, there was a Mayde in Oxforde named Friſwide, daughter to a certaine Duke or Noble man called Didanus, wyth whom one Algarus a Prince in thoſe parties fell in loue, and woulde haue rauiſhed hir, but God the reuenger of ſinnes was at hande as hir ſtorie ſayth. For when Algar followed the mayd that fled before him, ſhe getting into the towne, the gate was ſhutte againſt him, and his ſight alſo was ſodainly taken from him. But the Mayde by hir prayers pacifyed Gods wrath towardes him, ſo that his ſight was to him againe reſtored. But whether this bee a fable or a true tale, hereof grewe the report that the kings of thys Realme long tymes after were afrayde to enter into the Citie of Oxforde. So eaſily is the minde of man turned to ſuperſtition, as ſayth Polidore. Friſwide a virgine.

Kinewulfe.



After that the Weſt Saxons had depriued theyr vnprofitable King Sigibert, they aduanced one Kinewulfe or Cinebulfus, ý which began his raigne aboute the yeare of our Lorde. 756. which was in the. xvj. yeare of the Emperour Conſtantinus, ſurnamed Copronimos, in the. vj. yeare of the raigne of Pipine king of France, and about the. xxij. yeare of Ethfine king of Scottes. *Kinewulfe.* *Hen. Hunt.* 756 *Simon Dun. hath. 755.*

This Kinewulfe proued a right worthie and valiant Prince, and was deſcended of the right line of Cerdicius. Hee obteyned great victories The Brytayns vanquiſhed. agaynſt the Brytaynes or Welchmen, but at Benſington or Benton, he loſt a battaile againſt Offa King of Mercia, in the. xxiij. yeare of hys raigne: and from that time forwarde taſting many diſpleaſures, at length through his owne folly hee came vnto a ſhamefull ende: for where as he had raigned a long time neyther ſtoutly nor preſumptuouſly, yet nowe as it were aduaunced with the glorie of things paſſed, hee eyther thought that nothing coulde go againſt him, or elſe doubted the ſuretie of their ſtate whom he ſhould leaue behind him, and therefore he confined one Kineard the brother of Sigibert, whoſe fame hee perceyued to encreaſe more than hee woulde haue wiſhed.

This Kinearde dissembling the matter, as hee that coulde giue place to tyme, gotte him out of the Countrey, and after by a secrete conspiracie assembled togyther a knotte of vngracious companie, and returning priuily into the Countrey againe, watched his tyme, till he espied that the King wyth a small number of his seruauntes was come vnto the house of a Noble woman whome hee kept as Paramour at Merton, wherevpon the sayd Kineard vpon the sodain beset the house round about.

The King perceyuing himselfe thus besieged of his enimies, at the first caused the dores to be shutte, supposing eyther by curteous wordes to appease his enimies, or wyth his Princely authoritie to put them in feare. But when he sawe that by neyther meane hee coulde doe good, in a great chaufe he brake forth of the house vpon Kineard, and went verie neare to haue killed him: but beeing compassed aboute with multitude of enimies, whylest hee stoode at defence, thinkyng it a dishonour for hym to flie, hee was beaten downe and slaine, togyther with those fewe of his seruauntes which hee had there with hym, who chose rather to die in seeking reuenge of their maisters death, than by cowardice to yeeld themselues into the murtherers handes. There escaped none excepte one Welchman or Brytayne, an Hostage, who was neuertheless sore wounded.

Kenelwulf slain by cõspirators.

The bruyte of suche an heynous acte was streyght wayes blowen ouer all, and brought with speede to the eares of the Noble men and Peeres of the Realme, whiche were not farre off the place where this slaughter had beene committed. Amongest other, one Osrike, for his age and wisedome accounted of most authoritie, exhorted the residue that in no wyse they shoulde suffer the death of their soueraigne Lorde to passe vnpunished vnto theyr perpetuall shame and reproufe. Wherevpon in all haste they ranne to the place where they knew to finde Kineard, who at the fyrst beganne to pleade hys cause, to make large promises, to pretende cosynage, and so forth: but when he perceyued all that hee coulde say or doe might not preuaile, hee encouraged his companie to shewe themselues valyaunt, and to resyst theyr enimyes to the vttermoste of theyr powers.

Herevpon followed a doubtfull fight, the one part stryuing to saue theyr lyues, and the other to attaine honour, and punish the slaughter of theyr soueraigne Lorde. At length the victorie rested on the side where the right was, so that the wicked murtherer after hee had fought a while, at length was slaine, togyther wyth fourescore and eight of his Mates. The Kings bodie was buried at Winchester, and the murtherers at Repingdon. Suche was the ende of King Kinewulfe, after hee had raigned the tearme of. xxxj. yeares.

Sim. Dunel. H. Hunt.

In the yeare of our Lorde. 786. or as Harison hath. 787. Pope Adrian sent two Legates into Englande, Gregorie (or as some Copies haue George) Bishop of Ostia, and Theophilactus bishop of Tuderto, with letters commendatory vnto Offa king of Mercia, and vnto Alfwolde king of Northumberlande, and likewise to Ieanbright or Lambert Archbishop of Canterburie, and to Eaubald Archbishop of Yorke.

Eccle. hy Magd. 785. H.

Legates from the Pope.

These Legates were gladly receyued, not only by the forsayde Kings & Archbishops, but also of all other the high estates, aswel spiritual and temporal of the lande, and namely of Kinewulfe king of the West Saxons, which repayred vnto king Offa to take counsaile with him for reformation of suche articles as were conteyned in the Popes letters.

Twenti cles wh Legates to prop

There were. xx. seuerall articles whiche they had to propone on the Popes behalfe, as touching the receyuing of the faith or articles established by the Nicene Coũcel, & obeying of the other generall Councels with instructions concerning baptisme and keeping of Synodes yearely, for the examination of Priestes and Ministers, and reforming of naughtie liuers.

Moreouer touching discretion to be vsed in the admitting of gouernors in Monasteries, and Curates or priests to the ministerie in Churches: and further for the behauior of priests in wearing their apparell, namely that they should not presume to come to the aulter bare legged, least their dishonestie might be discouered. And that in no wise the Chalice or Paten were made of the horne of an Oxe, because the same is bloudie of nature: nor the host of a crust, but of pure bread.

Also whereas Bishops vsed to sitte in Counsels to iudge in secular causes, they were nowe forbidden so to doe.

Many other things were for meane of reformation articled both for spirituall causes, and also concerning ciuill ordinaunces, as disenabling children to be heyres to the parentes, whiche by them were not begotte in lawfull matrimonie, but on cõcubines, whether they were Nunnes or Nunne cubine secular women.

Also of paymẽt of tithes, performing of vowes, auoyding of vndecent apparell, and abolishing of all maner of Ethnish vsages and customes that sounded contrarie to the order of Christianitie, Curtay horses. as curtayling Horses, and eating of Horses flesh.

These things with many other expressed in. xx. principal articles (as we haue sayd) were first concluded to be receyued by the Church of the Northumbers, in a Councell holden there, & subscribed by Alfwold king of the Northũbers, by Delberke

Bishop

Bishop of Herham by Eaubalde Archbishop of Yorke, Hygwalde Bishop of Lyndisferne, Edelbert Bishop of Whiterne, Aldulfe Bysshoppe of Myeth. Ethelwyne also an other Bysshop by his deputies, with a number of other of the Clergie, and Lordes also of the temporaltie, as Duke Alrike, Duke Segwulfe, Abbot Aldbericke, and Abbot Erhard.

After this confirmation had of the Northumbers, there was also a counsell holden in Mercia, at Cealtide in the which these persons subscribed, Jambert or Lambert Archbishop of Canterburie, Offa King of Mercia, Hughbright Bishop of Lichfield, Edculfe Bishoppe of Faron, with Hewone Bishop of Ligor, and nine other Bishops beside Abbots, and three Dukes, as Brorda, Farwalde, and Bercoald, with Earle Othbalde.

But nowe to returne backe to speake of other doings, as in other parties of this lande they fell out.

Aboute the yeare of our Lorde. 764. the Sea of Canterburie beeing voyde, one Jambert or Lambert was elected Archbishop there, and in the yeare. 766. the Archbishop of Yorke Egbert departed this lyfe, in whose place one Adelbert succeeded.

About the. xvb. yeare of Kynwulfe king of West Saxons, the Northumbers having to their captaynes two noble men, Osbalde and Ethelherard, burned one of their Judges named Beam,



by cause hee was more cruell in iudgement (as they toke the matter) than reason requyred.

The same tyme, one Alswalde or Alfwolde, raigned ouer the Northumbers, beeing admitted King, after that Ethelbert was expulsed, and when the same Alfwolde had raigned tenne, (or as other haue. xj.) yeares, he was trayterously, and without all guilt made away, and murthered by his owne people. The chiefe conspiratour was named Siga, and his bodie was buried at Heram.

The same Alfwolde was a iust Prince, and worthilye gouerned the Northumbers to hys highe prayse and commendation. He was murthered (as before yee haue heard) the xiij. of September, in the yeare of our Lorde 788 788

In the yeare. 792. Charles king of Fraunce sent into Brytaine a booke which had beene sent hither him from Constantinople, conteyning certaine articles agreed vpon in a Synode where in were present aboute the number of three hundred Bishops) quite contrarie and dissagreeing from the true fayth, namely in thys, that Images ought to be worshipped, which the Church of god vtterly abhorreth. Against this booke Alcuinus that famous Clearke wrote a treatise confirmed with places taken out of holy Scripture, whiche treatise with the booke in name of all the Bishops and Princes of Brytayne he presented vnto the king of Fraunce. *Mat. VVe. Simon Dun.* 792

In the yeare. 800. on Christmasse euen chanced a maruelous tempest of winde, which ouerthrew whole Cities and townes in diuers places, and trees in greate number. besides other harmes which it did, as by death of Cattell. &c. In the yeare following a great part of the Citie of London was consumed by fire. *Simon Dun.* 800

Brightrichus.



Brightricus.

After Kenewulfe, one Bitrichus, or Brightrik was ordeyned King of West Saxons, and began his raign in the yeare of oure lord. 787. which was aboute the viij. yeare of the gouernment of the Empresse Eirene with hir sonne Constantinus, and about the second yeare of the raigne of Achaius king of Scottes. *Hen.Hunt. Mat. VVest. hath. 787. Simon Dun. hath. 786.*

This Brightrike was procreate of the line of Cerdicius the first king of West Saxons, and xvj. in number from him. He was a man of nature quiet and temperate, more desirous of peace than of warre, and therefore he stoode in doubt of ỹ noble valiancie of one Egbert, which after succeeded him in the kingdome. The linage of Cerdicius was in that season so coloured and mingled, that euerie one as he grew to greatest power, strone to be king and supreme gouernor. But specially Egbertus was knowne to be one that coueted the place, as hee that was of the blood royall, and a man of greate power and lustie courage.

King Brightrike therefore to liue in more suretie, banished him the lande, and appoynted Egbert banished.

him to goe into Fraunce.

Egbert vnderstanding for certaine that this his departure into a forraine Countrey shoulde turne to his aduauncement in time to come, obeyed the kings pleasure.

A straunge wonder.

About the thirde yeare of Brightrykes raigne, there fell vpon mens garmentes as they walked abrode, Crosses of bloudie colour, and bloud fell from heauen as drops of raigne.

Mat. VVest. VVil. Malm. Hen. Hunt. Danes.

Some tooke this wonder for a signification of the persecution that followed by the Danes: for shortly after in the yeare ensuing, there arryued three Danish shippes vpon the English coastes, against whome the Lieutenant of the parties adioyning made forth to apprehend those that were come a lande, howbeeit aduenturing himselfe ouer rashly amongest them, he was slaine: but afterwardes when the Danes perceyued that the people of the Countreyes aboute beganne to assemble, and were comming against them, they fled to theyr shippes, and left their pray and spoile behinde them for that time.

These were the fyrst Danes that arryued here in this lande, beeing onely sente (as was perceyued after) to viewe the Countrey, and coastes of the same, to vnderstande howe with a greater power they myght bee able to inuade it, as shortly after they did, and warred so wyth the Englishe men, that they got a greate parte of the lande, and helde it in theyr owne possession.

In the tenth yeare of King Brightrykes raigne, there were seene in the ayre fyue Dragons flying, whiche betokened (as was thought) two grieuous plagues that followed. Fyrst a greate dearth and famine: and secondly the cruell warre of Danes, which shortly followed, as yee shall heare.

Famine and warre signified

Finally, after that Brightrike had raigned the space of xvj. yeares, he departed this life, and was buried at Warham.

Ran. Cestren. li. 5. cap. 25. Brightrike departed this life

Some wryte that hee was poysoned by hys wife Ethelburga, whom he maryed in the fourth yeare of his raigne. Shee was daughter vnto Offa King of Mercia (as before yee haue heard.) Shee is noted by wryters to haue beene a verye euill woman, proude, and high mynded as Lucifer, and therewyth disdaynfull. Shee bare hir the more stately by reason of hir fathers greate fame and magnificence: whome shee hated shee woulde accuse to hir husbande, and so put them in daunger of theyr lyues. And if she might not so wreake hir rancour, shee woulde not sticke to poyson them.

Ethelburga hir conditions and wicked natere.

And so it happened one daye, as shee ment to haue poysoned a yong Gentleman, agaynste whome shee hadde a quarell, the King chaunced to taste of that Cuppe, and dyed therof (as before ye haue heard.)

Hir purpose indeede was not to haue poysoned the King, but onely the yong Gentleman, the which drinking after the King died also, the poyson was so strong and vehement.

A decree of the kings of the West Saxons agaynst their wiues.

For hir heynous cryme it is sayde that the Kings of West Saxons woulde not suffer their wyues to be called Queenes, nor permitte them to sit with them in open places (where their Maiestie shoulde bee shewed) of manye yeares after.

Ethelburga fearing punishment, fledde into Fraunce with greate ryches and treasure, and was wel cherished in the Court of King Charles at the first, but after she was thrust into an Abbey, and demeaned hirself so lewdly there, in keeping companie with one of hir owne Countrey men, that shee was banished the house, and after died in great miserie.

The ende of Ethelburga. *Simon Dun.*

Egbert king of Mercia departing this lyfe, after he had raigned foure Monethes, ordeyned his cousin Kenulfe to succeede in his place, which Kenulfe was come of the lyne of Penda king of Mercia, as rightly descended from hys brother Kenwalke. *VVil. Mal.* Kenulf.

This Kenulfe for his noble courage, wisedome, and vprycht dealing, was worthie to be cõpared with the best Princes that haue raigned. His vertues passed hys fame: nothing hee dyd that enuye coulde with iuste cause reproue. At home hee shewed hymselfe godlye and religious, in warre hee became victorious, hee restored the Archbishoppes Sea agayne to Canterburie, wherein hys humblenesse was to be praysed, that made no accounte of any worldly honour in hys Prouince, so that the order of the auncient Canons might be obserued. Hee had warres left him as it were by succession from his Predecessour Offa agaynste them of Kent, and thereupon entering that Countrey wyth a mightie armie, wasted and spoyled the same, and encountering in battayle wyth King Edbert, or Ethelbert, otherwise called also Pyrme, ouerthrewe his armie, and toke him prysoner in the fielde, but afterwardes he released, him to his great prayse and commendation. For where as hee buylded a Churche at Winchcombe vpon the day of the dedication thereof, hee ledde the Kentishe King as then hys prysoner vp to the highe Aulter, and there sette him at libertye, declaring thereby a greate proufe of hys good nature.

The Archbishops seate restored to Canterburie.

The king of Kent taken prisoner.

There was present at that sight, Cuthred whõ he had made king of Kent in place of Ethelbert, or Edbert, with xij. Bishoppes and ten Dukes. The noyse that was made of the people in reioysing at the kings bounteous liberalitie was merueylous. For not only he thus restored ỳ Kentish

king

King to libertie, but alſo he beſtowed greate rewards vpon all the Prelates and noble men that were come to the feaſt, euery Prieſt had a peece of golde, and euery monke a ſhilling. Alſo hee gaue away great giftes amongſt the people, and founded in that place an Abbey, endowing the ſame with great poſſeſſions. Finally, after he had raigned. 24. yeares, he departed this life, and appoynted his buriall to be in ẏ ſaine Abbey of Winchcome, leauing behind him a ſon named Kenelme, who ſucceeded his father in the Kingdome, but was ſone murthered by yͤs vnnaturall ſiſter Quenbred the ſeuenteenth of July, as hereafter ſhall be ſhewed.

AFter that Alwald King of Northumberland was made away, his brother Oſred the ſonne of Alred toke vppon him the rule of that Kyngdome anno. 788. and within one yere was expulſed, and lefte the Kingdome to Ethelbert or Edelred as then reuoked out of exile, in whiche hee had remayned for the ſpace of. 12. yeres, and nowe beeing reſtored, he continued in gouernemente of the Northumbers foure yeares, or as ſome ſay. 7. yeres. In the ſecond yere whereof Duke Eardulfe was taken and led to Ripon, & there without the gate of the monaſterie wounded, as was thought to death by the ſaid K. but the Monks taking his body, and laying it in a tent without the Church, after midnight he was found alue in ẏ Churche. Moreouer, about the ſame time, ẏ ſonnes of king Alfwald wer by force drawen out of the Citie of Yorke, but firſte by a wile they were trayned out of the head Church where they had taken Sanctuary, & ſo at length miſerably ſlain by K. Ethelbert in Wonwaldremere, the one of them highte Alfus, and the other Alfwine. In the yeare of oure Lord. 792. Oſred vpon truſt of the othes and promiſes of diuers noble men, ſecretly returned into Northumberland, but his own ſouldiers forſoke him, and ſo was he taken and by king Ethelberts commaundement put to death at Cunburg on ẏ fourteenth day of September. The ſame yere K. Ethelbert married ẏ Lady Alfled the daughter of Offa King of Mercia, forſaking his former wife which he had, hauing no iuſt cauſe of diuorſe giuen on hir part, whereby his people toke ſuch diſpleaſure againſte him, that finally after he hadde raigned now this ſecond time four yeres, or (as other haue) ſeuen yeres, he could not auoyde the deſtenie of his predeceſſors, but was miſerably killed by his owne ſubiects at Cobre, the eightenth day of Aprill. After whome, one Oſwald a noble man, was ordeyned K. and within a. 27. or. 28. dayes after, was expulſed, & cõſtreined to flee firſt into the Ile of Lindeſferne, & frõ thence vnto the K. of Pictes. Then Ardulfe ẏ was a Duke, & ſon to one Arnulfe, was reuoked out of exile, & made K. & conſecrated at Yorke by ẏ Archb. Cumbalde, & three other Biſhops, the. 25. of June, in the yere 796. About a two yeres after, to witte, in the yere 798. one Duke Wade, and other conſpirators whiche had bin alſo partakers in ẏ murthering of K. Ethelbert, reyſed war againſte K. Ardulf, and fought a battell with him at Walley, but K. Ardulf got ẏ vpper hand, & chaſed Wade & other his eminies out of the field. In the yeare. 799. Duke Aldred that had murthered Ethelbert or Athelred K. of Northumberlande, was ſlaine by another Duke called Chorthmond, in reuẽge of the death of his maiſter ẏ ſaide Ethelbert. Shortly after, about ẏ ſame time ẏ Brightrike K. of Weſt Saxons departed this life, there was a ſore battell foughten in Northumberlãd at Wellehare, in ẏ which Alrick ẏ ſon of Herbert, and many other

Holy ilande.
Ardulf.

796

Walalege.

799





him were ſlain: but to reherſe all the battels with their ſucceſſes and iſſues, it ſhoulde be to tedious & irkſome to ẏ readers, for the Engliſh people being naturally hard and high minded, continually ſcourged each other with inteſtine warres. About

ſixe or ſeuẽ yeres after this battel, K. Ardulf was expulſed out of ẏ eſtate. And thus may ye conſider in what plight things ſtode in Northumberlãd, by the often ſeditious tumultes and chaungings of gouernors, ſo that there be which haue writte,

how after the death of King Ethelbert otherwise called Edelred, diuers Bishops and other of the chiefest nobles of the countrey disdeyning suche trayterous princequellings, ciuill sedition, and iniurious dealings, as it were put in dayly practise amongst the Northumbers, departed out of their native boundures into voluntary exile, and that frō thenceforth there was not any of the nobilitie, that durst take vpon him the kingly gouernement amongst them, fearing the prerogatiue destiny thereof, as if it had bin *Seianes* horse, whose rider came euer to some euil end. But yet by that whiche is heeretofore shewed out of Simon Dunelmensis, it is euident, that there raigned Kings ouer the Northumbers, but in what authority and power to command, it may be doubted: Howbeit this is certaine, that the sundry murderings and banishmentes of their kings and Dukes giue vs greatly to gesse, that there was but lory obedience vsed in the countrey, wherby for no small space of time that kingdome remayned without an head gouernor, being set open to the pray and iniurie of them that were bordurers vnto it, and likewise vnto straungers: for the Danes whiche in those dayes were great rouers, had landed before in the North partes, & spoyled the Abbey of Lindesferne otherwise called holy Iland, & perceiuing ỳ fruitefulnesse of the countrey, & easinesse for their people to inuade it (because that through their priuate quarelling, there was little publike resistance to be loked for) at their comming home, entised their countreymen to make viages into England, and so landing in Northumberlande, did much hurt, and obteined a great part of ỳ countrey in maner without resistance, bycause there was no Ruler there able to reyse any power of men by publike authoritie to encounter with the common enimies, by reason whereof, ỳ countrey was brought into great miserie, what through war of Danes, & the ciuil dissention amongst the nobles and people themselues, no man being of authority (I say) able to reforme such misorders. Yet we finde, that the nobles and Captaines of the countrey, assembling togither at one time againste the Danes ỳ were landed about Tinemouth, constreined them by sharp fight to flee back to their Shippes, & toke certain of thē in the field, whose heads they stroke off there vpon the shore. The other that gote to their Shippes, suffered greate losse of men, & likewise of their vessels by tempest.

This chanced in the yere of our Lorde 793. as Simon Dunel. hath.

The Danes inuade Northumberland.

The Danes vanquished.

This was anno 794. as Simon Dunel. hath.

After that Alrike (the last of K. Witchtredes sonnes which raigned in Kent successiuely after their father) was dead, the noble offspring of the kings there lore decayed, and begā to fade away, so ỳ euery one which eyther by flattering had gote riches togither, or by seditious partaking was had in estimation, sought to haue the gouernmēt and to vsurp ỳ title of King, abusing by vnwor-

thy meanes the honor and dignitie of so high an office. Amongst other, one Edbert or Edelberte surnamed also Pyrenne, gouerned the Kentishmen for the space of two yeres, & was in the ende vanquished by them of Mercia, and taken prisoner as before is said, so that for a time he liued in captiuitie, & although afterwardes he was set at libertie, yet was he not receyued againe to the Kyngdome, so that it is vncertaine what end he made. Cuthred that was appointed by Kinebulfe ỳ K. of Mercia, to raigne in place of the saide Edberte or Edelbert, continued in the gouernement eyght yeres as king, rather by name than by acte, inheriting his predecessors euill happe and calamitie, through factions and ciuill discord. Edbright.

After that Jambrith or Lambert the Archbishop of Canterburie, was departed this life, one Edelred was ordeined in his place, vnto whome the primacie was restored, which in his predecessors time was taken away by Offa K. of Mercia, as before is recited. Also after ỳ deathe of Eubalde Archbishop of Yorke, another of the same name called Eubald the second, was admitted to succeede in that see. Lambert.

After that Brightrike ỳ K. of West Saxons was departed this life, messengers were sent with all speede into Fraunce, to giue knowledge thereof vnto Egberte, which as before is shewed, was constreined by the saide Brightrike to departe the countrey. At the first, he withdrew vnto Offa K. of Mercia, with whom hee remained for a tyme, til at length, (through suite made by Brightrike, he perceiued hee might not longer continue there withoute danger to be deliuered into his enimies hands, and so Offa winking at the matter) he departed out of his countrey, and gote him ouer into Fraunce, but being now aduertised of Brightrikes death, and required by earnest letters sente from his friends to come and receiue the gouernment of the kingdome, he returned with al conuenient speede into his countrey, and was receyued immediately for King, by the generall consent of the West Saxons, as well in respect of ỳ good hope which they had conceiued of his worthy qualities and aptnesse to haue gouernement, as of his royall lignage, being lineally discended from Inegild the brother of K. Inas, as sonne to Alkemounde, that was the sonne of one Eafla, which Eafla was sonne to Ope the sonne of the forsayd Inegild.

Egberte receyued King of West Saxons. His lignage.

Egbert.

THis Egbert began his raigne in the yeare of our Lord. 800. whiche was the fourth yeare almost ended, after that the Emperour Elrine began the seconde time to rule the Empire, and in the. 24. yere of the raigne of Charles the great K. of France, whiche also was in the same yere after he was made Emperour of the West, and about the second yere of Conwall King of Scottes.

802. as Simon Dunel. but M. W. hath noted for. 801. as William Harrison proueth it out of Mal.

Whilest

Whileſt this Egbert remayned in exile, he turned his aduerſaries into occaſion of valiancie, as it had bin a grindelſtone to grind away & remoue the ruſt of ſluggiſh ſlouthfulnes, in ſo much, that haunting ẏ wars in France, in ſeruice of Charles the Great, he atteined to great knowledge & experience, both in matters apperteyning to the wars, & likewiſe to ẏ well ordering of a common welth in time of peace. The firſt warres that he toke in hand, after he had atteyned to ẏ kingdom, was againſt the Corniſhmẽ, a remeant of the old Britaines, whome he ſhortly ouercame and ſubdued. Thẽ he thought good to tame ẏ vnquiet Welchmen, ẏ which ſtil were ready to moue Rebellion againſt the Engliſhmen, as they that being vanquiſhed, woulde not yet ſeeme to bee ſubdued, wherefore about the. 14. yere of his raigne, he inuaded the countrey of Wales, and went throughout the ſame frõ Eaſt to Weſt, not finding any perſon ẏ durſt reſiſt him. Thus K. Egbert hauing ouercome his enimies of Wales and Cornewall, began to growe in authoritie aboue all the other rulers within this lande, in ſo much, that euery of thẽ began to feare their owne eſtate, but namely Bernebulf K. of Mercia ſore ſtomaked the matter, as he that was wiſe, & of a iolly loftie courage, and yet doubted to haue to do with Egbert, who was knowen alſo to be a man both ſkilfull & valiant. At length yet cõſidering with himſelfe, that if his chance ſhould be to ſpeede well, ſo much the more ſhuld his praiſe be increaſed. He determined to attempt the fortune of war, & therupõ intimated the ſame vnto Egbert, ẏ whiche ſuppoſing it ſhoulde be a diſhonor to him to giue place, boldly prepared to meete Bernulfe in the field. Hereupon they encountred togither at Ellendone, and fought a ſore battell, in ẏ which an huge number of men were ſlaine, what on the one part, & on ẏ other, but in the ende the victory remained with Egbert, although he had not ẏ like hoſt for number vnto Bernulfe, but he was a politike prince, & of great experience, hauing choſen his Souldiers of nimble, leane, and deliuer mẽ, wher Bernulfes Souldiers through long eaſe, were cowardly perſons, & ouercharged with fleſh. This battell was fought in the yere of our Lord. 826. King Egbert hauing got this victory, was aduanced into ſuch hope, that he perſwaded himſelf to be able without greate adoe to ouercome the reſidue of his neighbours, whoſe eſtates he ſaw playnely ſore weakened & fallen in great decay. Herupon before all other, he determined to aſſaile Edelbulf K. of Kẽt, whome he knew to be a man in no eſtimation amongſt his ſubiects. A competent army therefore being leuied, he apointed his ſon Ethelbulf & Alſtane Biſhop of Shireborne, with erle Walhard to haue the conduit thereof, & ſente them with the ſame into Kent, where they wrought ſuche maiſteries, that they chaſed both the K. & al other that would not ſubmit thẽſelues, out of the countrey, cõſtreining them to paſſe ouer the Thames. And herewith the Weſt Saxons following the victory brought vnder ſubiection of king Egbert the countreys of Kẽt, Eſſex, Southrey, and Suſſex. The Eaſt Angles alſo about the ſame time receiued K. Egbert for their ſoueraigne Lord, & comforted by his ſetting on againſte Bernulfe king of Mercia, inuaded ẏ confines of his Kingdome, in reuenge of diſpleaſures whiche he had done to thẽ lately before, by inuading their countrey. & as it came to paſſe, encountring with the ſaid Bernulf which came againſt them to defend his countrey, they ſlew him in the field. And thus their myndes on both parts being kindled into further wrath, ẏ Eaſt Angles eftſones in ẏ yere following, fought with thẽ of Mercia, & ouercame them againe, and ſlew their K. Ludicenus that ſucceeded Bernulfe in that kingdome, with. 5. of his Erles. Thus the ſtate of the kingdome of Mercia being weakened, Egbert conceiued an aſſured hope of good ſucceſſe in the. 27. yere of his raigne, made an open inuaſiõ into ẏ countrey, & chaſing Whitlafe K. of Mercia (ẏ ſucceeded Ludicenus) out of his eſtate, conquered ẏ whole kingdom of the Mercies. But yet in the

Bernulf King of Mercia.

A batel fought at Ellendone.

Egbert wanne the victory.





Hen. Hunt.

Bernulfe K. of Mercia ſlayne

in the yere next following, or in the third yere after (as saith Harrison,) he restored it againe vnto Wightlake, with condition, that he should enioy the same as tributary to him, and acknowledge him for his supreme gouernour. The same yeare that Bernulf K. of Mercia was slain by ẏ East Angles, there was a sore battell foughten at Gauelforde, betwixte them of Deuonshire, and the Britaynes, in the whiche many thousands dyed on both parts. King Egbert hauing conquered al the English people, inhabiting on the South side of Humber, led forth his army againste them of Northumberland: but the Northumbers beeyng not only vexed with ciuil sedition, but also with ẏ often inuasion of Danes, perceiued not how they should be able to resist the power of K. Egbert: & therfore vpon good aduisement taken in the matter, they resolued to submit themselues, & therevpõ sent Ambassadors to him to offer their submissiõ, cõmitting themselues wholly vnto his protectiõ.

Sim. Dunel.

These were the Cornishmen as is to be supposed.

King Egbert inuadeth Northũb. The Northbers submit them to K. Egbert.



King Egbert gladly receiued them, & promised to defend them from all forraine enimies. And thus the kingdome of Northumberland was brought vnder subiectiõ to the kings of the West Saxõs, after the state had bin sore weakened with contẽtion and ciuill discord that had continued amõgst the nobles of the countrey, for the space of many yeres, beside the inuasion made by outwarde enimies, to ẏ greeuous domage of the people. After ẏ K. Egbert had finished his businesse in Northũberlãd, he turned his power towards the countrey of Northwales, & subdued ẏ same with the Citie of Chester, which till those dayes, the Britaynes or Welchmen had kept in their possession. Whẽ K. Egbert had obteined these victories, and made such conquests as before is mentioned, of the people here in this lande, he caused a counsell to be assembled at Winchester, and there by aduice of the high estates, hee was Crowned K. as soueraigne gouernour, and supreme Lord of the whole land. It is also recorded, that hee caused commission to be directed forth into all partes of ẏ Realme, to giue commandement, that frõ thence forwarde al the people inhabiting within this land, should bee called Englishmẽ, & not Saxõs, & likewise ẏ lãd should be called England by one generall name, though it should appeare (as before is mentioned) that it was so called shortly after the firste time ẏ the Angles & Saxons gote possessiõ therof. Now was K. Egberte setled in good quiet, and his dominions reduced out of ẏ troubles of warre, when suddaynely newes came, that the Danes with a nauie of. xxxb. ships, were arriued on ẏ Englishe coastes, & began to make sore war in the land. K. Egbert being thereof aduertised, with all conuenient speede gote togither an army, & went forth to giue battell to the enimies. Herevpon encountring with them, there was a sore foughten fielde betwixt them, and continued with great slaughter on both sides, till the night came on, and then by chance of warre the Englishmen which before were at pointe to haue gone away with victory, were vanquished and put to flight, yet K. Egbert by couert of the night escaped his enimies handes, but two of his chiefe Captaines Dudda and Osmond, with two Bishops, to witte, Herferde of Winchester, and Wigferd of Shireborne, were slayne in that battel, which was foughtẽ at Carrum, about the. 834. of Christ, and. 34. yeare of K. Egberts raigne. In ẏ yere following, the Danes with their nauie came into West Wales, and there the Welchmen ioyning with them, rose againste K. Egbert, but he with prosperous fortune vanquished and slew, both ẏ Danes & Welchmẽ, & that in great nũber, at a place called Hengistẽtõ. The next yere after also, which was. 836. he ouerthrew another army of Danes which came againe him, as an author writeth. Finally, whẽ K. Egbert

The Danes.

The Englishmen discomforted by Danes. *Sim. Dunel. H. Hunt. Math. West.*

834

Danes and Welchmen vanquished. Here begineth Harison to recon the comm of the Danes Hengest.

836

Math. West. Egbert deceaseth this

Ran. Higd. Northwiles and the Citie of Chester conquered by Egbert.

The name of this Ile when it was chãged.

Egbert had raigned the tearme of.36.yeres, &.7. monethes with greate glory for the inlarging of his kingdome with ſo wide bounder, which when he receiued, was of ſo ſmall a compaſſe, he departed this life, leauing to his iſſue matter of worthy praiſe to maintayne that with good order which he with painefull diligence had ioyned together. His body was buried at Wincheſter, and he left behind him two ſonnes Ethelboulfe, otherwiſe named Athaulfe and Adelſtan. The firſte he appointed to ſucceede him in the kingdom of Weſt Saxons, and Athelſtan hee ordeined to haue the gouernement of Kent, Suſſex, and Eſſex.

After that Cuthred K. of Kent had raigned.8. yeres, as before is mentioned, he was conſtreyned to giue place vnto one Baldred, that toke vppon him the gouernment, and raigned the ſpace of.18. yeres, without any greate authoritie, for his ſubiects regarded him but ſoſily, ſo that in the ende, when his countrey was inuaded by the Weſt Saxons, he was eaſily conſtreyned to departe into exile. And thus was the kingdome of Kent annexed to the kingdome of the Weſt Saxons, after the ſame kingdome had continued in gouernmente of kings created of the ſame nation for the ſpace of.382.yeres, that is to ſay, from the yeare of our Lord.464. vnto the yere.827.

Suithred or Suthred K. of Eſſex was banquiſhed and expulſed out of his kingdom by Egbert K. of Weſt Saxons (as before ye may reade) in the ſame yere that the kentiſhmen were ſubdued by the ſaid Egbert, or elſe very ſhortly after.

This Kingdome continued.281. yeres, from the yere.614. vnto the yere.795. as by the table of the Heptarchie ſet forth by Alexander Neuill it appeareth.

After the deceſſe of Kenbulfe K. of Mercia, his ſonne Kenelme a child of the age of.7. yeares was admitted K. about the yere of our Lord.821. Hee had two ſiſters, Quendred, and Burgenild, of the which the one (that is to ſay) Quendred, of a malitious minde, moued through ambition, enuyed hir brothers aduauncemente, and ſought to make him away, ſo that in the ende, ſhe corrupted ẏ gouernor of his perſon one Aſhberte, with greate rewardes and high promiſes, perſwading him to diſpatch hir innocent brother out of life, that ſhee might raigne in his place. Aſhbert one day vnder a colour to haue the yong king forthe on hunting, led him into a thicke wood, and there cut off the head frō his body, an Impe by reaſon of his tender yeres & innocent age, vnto the worlde voyde of gilt, & yet thus trayterouſly murthered without cauſe or crime: he was afterward reputed for a Martir. There hath gone a tale that his death ſhould be ſignified at Rome, and the place where the murther was committed, by a ſtraunge manner: for (as they ſay) a white Doue came and alight vpon the Aulter of Saint Peter, bearyng a ſcroll in hir bil, which ſhe let fall on the ſame Aulter, in which ſcroll among other things this was conteyned, in Clene Kou Bath, Kenelme Kinbarne lieth vnder thorne, heaued bereaued: that is, at Clene in a Cow paſture, Kenelme the Kyngs Child lieth beheaded vnder a thorne. This tale I reherſe not for any credite I thinke it worthy of, but only for ẏ it ſeemeth the place where the yong Prince innocently loſt his life.

After that Kenelme was thus made away, his Vncle Ceolwolfe the Brother of King Kenulfe was created King of Mercia, and in the ſeconde yeare of his raigne, was expulſed by Bernwolfe. Ceolwolf K. of Mercia. 825

Bernwolfe in the thirde yeare (or ſeconde as Harriſon hath) of his raigne, was banquiſhed and put to flight in battell by Egbert King of Weſt Saxons, and ſhortly after ſlaine of the Eaſt angles as before ye haue heard.

Then one Ludicenus or Ludicanus was created King of Mercia, and within two yeres after came to the like ende that hapned to his predeceſſor before him, as he went about to reuenge hys death, ſo that the Kingdome of Britayne began now to reele from their owne eſtate, and leane to an alteration, which grew in the end to the erectiō of a perfit Monarchie, and finall ſubuerſion of their particular eſtates and regiments.

After Ludicenus, ſucceeded Wightlafe, who firſt being banquiſhed by Egbert, King of Weſt Saxons, was afterwardes reſtored to the Kingdome by the ſame Egbert, and raigned thirtene yeres, whereof twelue at the leaſt were vnder tribute which he payed to the ſaid Egbert and to his ſonne, as to his Soueraignes and ſupreme gouernours. *Mat. VVeſt.* 728

The Kingdome of Northumberlande was brought in ſubiection to the Kings of Weſt Saxons, as before is mentioned, in the yeare of oure Lord.828. and in ẏ yeare of the raigne of K. Egbert.28. but yet here it toke not ende as after ſhall appeare. 828

EThelwoulfus otherwiſe called by ſome writers Athaulfus, began his raigne ouer ẏ Weſt Saxons in the yeare.837. which was in the.24. yere of the Emperour Ludouicus Pius that was alſo K. of France, in the.10. yeare of Theophilus ẏ Emperour of the Eaſt, & about the thirde yere of Kenneth the ſeconde of that name K. of Scottes. This Ethelwoulf minding in his youth to haue bin a Prieſt, entred into the orders of Subdeacō, and as ſome write, he was Biſhop of Winchēſter: but howſoeuer the matter ſtode, or whether he was or not, ſure it is, that ſhortly after he was aſſoyled of his vowes by authoritie of Pope Leo, and then maried a proper Gentlewoman named Oſburga, which was his butlers daughter. Hee was of nature curteous, and rather deſirous to liue in. *Ethelwolfus.* *Hen. Hunt. Math. VVeſt.*

liue in quiet rest, than to be troubled with the gouernement of many countreys, so that cõtenting himselfe with the kingdome of West Saxons, he permitted his brother Athelstan to enioy the residue of the countreys, which his father had subdued, as Kent, and Esser, with other. He ayded the K. of Mercia Burthred against the Welchmen, and greatly aduanced his estimation, by gyuyng vnto him his daughter in marriage. But now the fourth destruction which chanced to this lande by forraine enimies, was at hande, for the people of Denmarke, Norway, and other of those North-east regions, which in that season were greate rouers by Sea, had tasted the wealth of this land by such spoiles and prayes as they hadde taken in the same, so that perceiuing they coulde not purchase more profit any where else, they set their myndes to inuade the same on each side, as they had partly begun in the days of the late kings Brightrike and Egbert. The persecutiõ vsed by these Danes seemed more greeuous, than any of the other persecutions, either before or sithence that time: for ẏ Romanes hauing quickly subdued the land, gouerned it nobly without seeking the subuersion thereof. The Scottes and Pictes only inuaded ẏ North partes. And the Saxons seeking the conquest of the land, when they had once gote it, they kept it, and did what they could, to better and aduance it to a flourishing estate. And likewise the Normans hauing made a conquest, graunted both life, libertie, and auntient lawes to the former inhabitants: But the Danes long time and often assayling the land on euery side, now inuading it in this place, and now in that, did not at ẏ first so much coueto conquere it, as to spoyle it, nor to beare rule in it, as to waste & destroy it: who if they were at anye time ouercome, the victorers were nothing the more in quiet: for a new naue, and a greter army was ready to make some new inuasiõ neither did they enter all at one place, nor at once, but one company on the East side, & an other in the West, or in the North and Southe coastes, in suche sorte, that the Englishmenne knew not whether they shoulde firste goe to make resistance against them.

VV. Mal.

Four especiall destructions of this land.

Hen. Hunt.
Simon Dun.

The Danes fought the destruction of this lande.

This mischiefe beganne chiefly in the days of this K. Ethelwoulf, but it continued aboute the space of two hundred yeares, as by the sequele of this Booke it shall appeare. King. Ethelwoulf was not so muche giuen to ease, but that vpõ occasion for defence of his countrey and subiectes, he was ready to take order for the beating backe of the enimies, as occasion serued, and specially, hee chose such to be of his coũsel, as were mẽ of great experience & wisdome. Amongst other, there were two notable Prelates, Swithune Bishoppe of Winchester, & Adelstan Bishop of Shireborne, whiche were readie euer to giue him good aduice.

How long the persecution of the Danes lasted.

VVil. Malm.

Two notable Bishops in Ethelwoltes dayes.

Swithune was not so muche experte in worldly matters as Adelstan was, & therefore chiefly coũselled the K. in things apperteining to his soules health: But Adelstan toke in hand to order matters apperteining to the state of the cõmon welth, as prouiding of money, and furnishing forthe of men to withstand the Danes, so that by him many things were both boldly begun, & happily atchieued, as by writers hath bin recorded. He gouerned the see of Shireborne, ẏ space of .50. yeres, by the good counsell and faithfull aduice of those two Prelates. K. Ethelwoulf gouerned his subiects right politikely, & by himselfe and his Captaines oftẽtimes put the Danes to flight, though as chance of warre falleth out, he also receyued at their hands great losses, & sundry sore detriments. In ẏ first yere of his raigne, the Danes arriued at Hampton, with .33. ships, against whom he sente Erle Wulhard with part of his army, the whiche giuing battell to the enimies, made great slaughter of them, and obteyned a noble victory. He sent also Erle Adelhelme with the Dorsetshire men, against an other number of Danes, whiche were landed at Portesmouth, but after long fighte, the sayde Adelhelme was slaine, and the Danes obteyned the victory. In the yeare following, Earle Herbert fought against ẏ Danes at Merseware, and was there slaine, and his men chased. The same yere, a great army of Danes passing by the East parts of the land, as through Lindsey, East Angle, and Kent, they slew & murthered an huge number of people. The next yere after this, they entred further into the lande, and about Canterbury, Rochester, and Londõ, did much mischiefe. In the fifth yere of his raigne, K. Ethelwoulfe wt a parte of his army encountred with the Danes at Carrum, the whiche were arriued in those parties with .30. Ships, hauing their full fraughte of men, so that for so small a number of vessels, there was a great power of men of warre, in so muche, that they obteined the victory at that time, and put the K. to the worse. About the tenth yeare of K. Ethelwoulfes raigne, one of his Captaynes called Ernwoulfe, & Bishop Athelstan, with the Sommersetshire men, and an other Captayne called Osred, with the Dorsetshire men, foughte against the Danes, at a place called Pedredesmuth, and vanquished them with great triumph. In the sixtenth yere of his raigne, K. Ethelwoulf and his sonne Edelbald hauing assembled al their powers togither, gaue battell at Ocley, to an huge ost of Danes, the which with four hundred and fiftie Ships had arriued at Thaimes mouth, and destroyed the famous Cities of London, and Canterbury, & also had chased in battell Brightwoulf K. of Mercia, and being nowe entred into Southzey, were encountred by K. Ethelwoulfe at Ocley aforesaid, and after sore fight and incre-

Simon Dun.
Hen. Hunt.

Danes discomfited.

Math. VVe.

Englishmen put to flight.

They are ettsoones vanquished.

Carrum.

The Danes wanne the victory in battell.

Danes are vanquished.

Simon Dun.

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Ocley.

Two hundred and fiftie Ships hath Hen. Hunt.

dible

dible ſlaughter made on both ſides, in the end, the victory by the power of God was giuen to thoſe that beleeued on him, and ẏ loſſe reſted with great confuſion to the miſcreantes. Thus K. Ethelwolfe obteined a glorious victory in ſo mightie a battell, as the greater had not bin lightly hard of to chance within the Engliſh dominions. The ſame yeere alſo Athelſtan K. of Kent and Duke Ealhere fought by Sea with the Danes, & tooke nine of their Shyps, and chaſed the reſidue. Moreouer, one Earle Croyle hauing with hym the power of Deuonſhire, foughte with the Danes, at Winleſhore, and gote the victory. This yere was very luckie to the Engliſh nation, but yet the armie of the Danes lodged al the Winter ſeaſon in the Ile of Tanet. And this was the firſt tyme ẏ they remayned heere all the Winter, vſing afore time but to come and make an inuaſion in one place or other, and immediately to returne home with the pray.

In the. 18. yere of King Ethelwoulfes reigne, he aided Burthred King of Mercia, agaynſte the Welchmen (as before is mentioned), and gaue to him his daughter in marriage, the ſolemnization whereof was kept at Chipnham. The ſame yere King Ethelwoulfe ſent his ſonne Alured as then but fiue yeres of age vnto Rome, where hee was ſacred K. by Pope Leo the fourth, & was receiued of him as if he had bin his owne ſonne. Duke Ealhere or Eachere with the Kentiſhmen, and one Huda or rather Wada, with the men of Southrey, fought againſt the army of Danes at Tenet, where greate ſlaughter was made on bothe ſides, the Engliſhmen preuailing in the begynning, but in the ende both their foreſaid Dukes or leaders dyed in that battel, beſide many other that were ſlaine and drowned. In the nineteenth yere of his raigne, K. Ethelwoulfe ordeined, that the tenthes or tithes of all landes due to bee payed to the Church, ſhould be free from all tribute duties, or ſeruices regall. And afterwards, with great deuotion he went to Rome, where he was receyued with great honor, and taried there one whole yere: hee toke with him his ſon Alured, who had bene there before as yee haue heard. He repared the Saxons ſchoole, whiche Offa K. of Mercia had ſometime founded in that Citie, and lately hadde bin ſore decayed by fire. He confirmed the graunt of Peter Pence, to the intent that no Engliſhmē from thenceforth ſhould doe penance in boundes as he ſawe ſome there to do before his face. It is alſo written, that he ſhonlde acquit all the Churches of his Realme of paying tribute to his cofers (as before ye haue heard) and moreouer couenaunted to ſend vnto Rome euery yere three hundred Markes, that is to wit, one hundred Markes to S. Peters Churche, an other hundred Markes to S. Paules light, and the third hundred markes to the Pope. In his returne through Fraunce, he married the Lady Judith, daughter to Charles ẏ Bald, then K. of France, and bringing hir with him into his coūtrey, placed hir by him in a chaire of eſtate, with which doing he offēded ſo ẏ minds of his ſubiects, becauſe it was againſt the order takē before time, for the offence of Ethelburga, that his ſonne Ethelbalde and Adelſtan Biſhoppe of Shireborne, with Enwoulf Earle of Sommerſet, conſpired to depoſe him from his kingly authoritie, but by mediation of friendes, the matter was taken vp, and ſo ordred, that the kingdome was deuided betwixte the father and the ſon, with ſuch parcialitie, that the ſonne had the better parte lying Weſtward, and the father was conſtreyned to contente himſelfe with the Eaſt parte and the worſt. Of this trouble of Ethelwoulf, Harriſon writeth ſomewhat otherwiſe, and after this manner word for word. 857. Ethelwoulf K. of ẏ weſt Saxons beeing returned from Rome and ẏ parties beyond the Seas, is prohibited the entraunce into his Realme, by Alſtane B. of Shireborne, & Ethelbald his eldeſt ſonne, pretending outwardly his coronation of Alfride, ẏ marriage of Judith the French kings daughter, and open eating with hir at the Table, to be the only cauſe of this theyr manifeſt Rebellio. Hitherto Harriſon: wherby he ſeemeth to inferre, that this reuolting of Alſtane and his ſon, ſhould proceede of the ambitious deſire of Ethelbald to raigne, and likely ynough, or elſe this vnequall partition ſhould neuer haue bin made. But howſoeuer ẏ matter ſtode, K. Ethelwoulf liued not long after his returne frō Rome, but departed this life after he hadde gouerned the kingdome of the Weſt Saxons the ſpace of. 20. yeres and odde monethes. His body was buryed at Wincheſter. He left behind him. 4. ſonnes, Ethelbald, Ethelbert, or Ethelbright, Ethelred and Alfred or Alured, which were begotten of his firſt wife Oſburga. A little before his death hee made his Teſtament & laſt will, appointing his ſon Ethelbald to ſucceede him in the whole regiment of his kingdomes of Weſtſex and Suſſex, which he held by inheritance: but the kingdomes of Kente & Eſſex he aſſigned to his ſon Ethelbright. About the ſame time alſo the Danes ſoiourned all the Winter ſeaſon in the Ile of Sheepey.

The Lady Iudith.

Vvil. Malm.

Only Weſtſex hath Mat. W. and Simon Dunel. ſayth that Ethelbright had Suſſex alſo, and ſo doth Hen. Hunt.

After Wightlafe K. of Mercia, one Bertwolf raigned as tributary to ẏ Weſt Saxons ẏ ſpace of. 13. yeres, about ẏ ende of which tearme he was chaſed out of ẏ countrey by the Danes, & thē one Burthred was made K. of that kingdome, which married Ethelſwida ẏ ſiſter of Ethelwoulf K. of Weſt Saxons. In this ſeaſon, one Wodwene a virgin in Ireland was greatly renowmed in the world, vnto whom the forenamed K. Ethelwolf ſent his ſon Alured to be cured of a ſore diſeaſe, ẏ was thoughte incurable: but by hir meanes hee

Bertwolf King of Mercia.

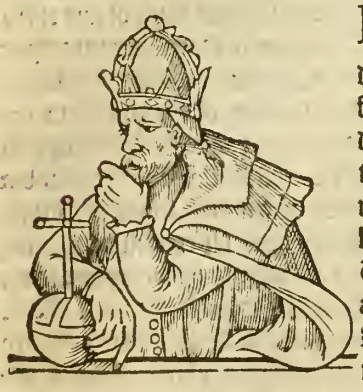
Math. Weſt. ſaith the daughter. *Ran. Ceſtren.* *Iohn Cap.*

recoue-

recouered healthe, and therefore when hir Monasterie was destroyed in Ireland, Modwen came ouer into England, vnto whome K. Ethelwolfe gaue land to build two Abbeyes, and also deliuered vnto hir his sister Edith to bee professed a Nunne. Modwen hereupon built two Monasteries, one at Poulesworth, ioyning to the boundes of Arderne, wherin she placed the foresaid Edith, with Osyth and Athea: the other, whether it was a Monasterie or cell, she founded in Strencshall or Trentsall, where she hir selfe remained solitary a certain time in praier, and other vertuous exercises. And as it is reported, she went thrice to Rome, & finally dyed, being. 130. yeres of age. Hir body was firste buried in an iland compassed about with the Riuer of Trent called Andresey, taking that name of a Church or Chappell of S. Andrew, which she had builte in the same Iland, and dwelled therein for the space of seuen yeares. Many Monasteries she built, both in Englande, (as partly aboue is mentioned) and also in Scotland, as at Striueline, Edenbrough, and in Ireland, at Cellesline, and else where.

Ethelbald and Ethelbright.

Ethelbald & Ethelbright.



EThelbalde & Ethelbright deuiding theyr fathers kyngdome betwixte them, began to raigne, Ethelbalde ouer the West Saxons, and the South Saxons, & Ethelbrighte ouer them of Kent and Essex, in the yere of our Lorde 857. which was in the second yere of the Emperour Lewes the secõd, and the. 17. of Charles surnamed Calbus or the bald K. of Fraunce, and about the first yere of Donald ỹ fifth of that name K. of the Scottes. The said Ethelbald greatly to his reprochе toke to wife his mother in lawe M. Judith, or rather as some write his own mother, whome his father had kept to concubine. He liued not past fiue yeres in gouernement of the kyngdome, but was taken out of this life, to the greate sorow of his subiects, whome he ruled right worthily, and so as they had him in great loue and estimatiõ. Then his brother Ethelbright toke vpon him the rule of the whole, gouerning as well ouer the West Saxons and them of Sussex, as ouer the Kentishmen and them of Essex.

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The vnlawfull marriage of Ethelbalde. *Will. Malm.*

In his dayes the Danes came a land, and destroyed the Citie of Winchester: but Duke Osrike with them of Hamshire, and Duke Adelwolf with the Barkshire men gaue the enimies battel, and vanquishing them, slew of them a great nũber. In the fifth yeare of Ethelbrightes raigne, a nauie of the Danes ariued at the Isle of Tenet, vnto whome when the Kentishmen had promised a summe of money to haue a truce graunted for a time, the Danes one night before the tearme of that truce was expired, brake forth and wasted all the East part of Kent: whereupon the Kentishmen assembling togither, made towards those trucebreakers, and caused them to depart out of ỹ countrey. The same yere, after that Ethelbrighte had ruled wel & peaceably the West Saxons fiue yeres, and the Kentishmẽ ten yeres, he ended this life, and was buried at Shireborne, as his brother Ethelbald was before him.

Danes vanquished.

Ethelred.



Ethelred.

After Ethelbrighte succeeded hys brother Ethelred, and began his raigne ouer the West Saxons, and the more part of ỹ Englishe people, in the yere of our Lord. 867. and in ỹ twelfth yere of ỹ Emperoure Lewes, in the. 17. yeare of the raigne of Charles Calbus K. of France, and about the. 6. yeare of Constantine the seconde K. of Scottes.

867

This Ethelred was in tyme of peace a most curteous prince, and one ỹ by all kinde of meanes sought to winne ỹ harts of his people: but abroade in the warres he was sharp and sterne, as he that vnderstood what appertained to good order, so that he would suffer no offence to escape vnpunished. By whiche meanes he was famous both in peace and warre: but hee neither liued any long time in the gouernment, nor yet was suffered to passe the short while that he raigned in rest or quietnesse: for wher as he raigned not past fiue yeres, he was continually during that tearme vexed with the inuasion of the Danes, and specially towards the latter end, in so much, that as hath bin reported of writers, hee fought with them nine times in one yere: and although with diuers and variable fortune, yet for the more part he went away with ỹ victory. Beside that, he oftentimes lay in a wayte for their forragers, and such as strayed abrode to robbe and spoile the countrey, whom he met with all, and ouerthrew. There were slayne in his time nine Earles of those Danes, and one King, beside other of the meaner sort without number. But here is to be vnderstoode, that in this meane tyme whilest Ethelred was busied in warre to resist the inuasions of the Danes in the South and West

4. yeres fyue monethes saith Hun. *Will. Malm.* Ethelred fought with the Danes nine times in one yeare.

partes

partes of this lande the kings and rulers of Mercia and Northumberland, taking occasion therof, began to withdraw their couenanted subiection from the Westsaxons, and toke vpon them, as it were the absolute gouernement and rule of their countreys without respect to ayde one another, but rather were contented to sustein the iniuries within their dominions than to preuent the iniurie with dutifull assisting those to whome by allegiance they were bounde to serue and obeye. By reason wherof, the Danes without resistance grew into greater power amongst them whylest the inhabitantes were still put in feare eche daye more than other, and euery late gotten victorie by the enimies by the increase of prisoners, ministred occasion of some other conquest to followe. Euen about the beginning of kyng Ethelredes reigne, there arriued vppon the English coastes an huge armie of the Danes, vnder the conducte of two renowned capitaines Hungar and Hubba, men of meruailous strengthe and valiancie, but bothe of them passing cruell of nature. They laye all the Winter season in Eastangle, compounding with them of the countreye for truce vpon certaine conditions, sparing for a tyme to shewe theyr force for quietnesse sake.

In the seconde yeare of king Ethelred the said capitains came with their armie into Yorkeshyre, finding the countrey vnprouided of necessarie defence because of the ciuil discord that reigned amongst the Northumbers, the whiche had lately expulsed king Osbrighte, that had the gouernement of those parties, and placed one Ella in his rowme: but nowe they were constrayned to reuoke him home agayne, and sought to accorde him and Ella. But it was long ere that myght be brought to passe, notwithstanding yet at lengthe they were made frendes by reason of this inuasion attempted by forain enemies, and then repsing their powers they came to Yorke, where the Danes, hauing wasted the countreye euen to the ryuer of Tyne, were lodged.

The English hoste entryng the citie, beganne to fyghte wyth the Danes, by reason whereof a sore battayle ensued betwixte them: but in the ende the two kynges Osbrighte and Ella were slayn, and a great number of the Northumbers what within the Citie, and what without, losse theyr lyues at that tyme, the residue were constrayned to take truce with the Danes.

Thys battayle was fought the .xxj. daye of Marche, on the Fryday before Palmesundaye, in the yeare .657.

Some haue written otherwyse of thys battayle, reportyng that the Northumbers reuokyng home king Osbright (whome before they hadde banyshed) encounter wyth the Danes in the fielde, without the walles of Yorke, but they were easyly beaten backe, and chased into the Citie, the whyche by the Danes pursuyng the victorie, was sette on fyre and bzerte, togyther with the king and people that were fledde into it for succour. Yorke brent by Danes.

Howe soeuer it came aboute, certayne it is, that the Danes gotte the victorie, and now hauyng subdued the Northumbers, appoynted one Egberte to reygne ouer them as kyng, vnder their protection, whiche Egberte reigned in that sorte sixe yeeres ouer those whyche inhabited beyonde the riuer of Tyne.

The same yeare Adelstane, the Bishoppe of Shirborne departed this lyfe, hauyng gouerned that sea the terme of fiftie yeares.

This Adelstane was a man of hyghe wysedome, and one that had borne no small rule in the kingdome of the Westsaxons, as hereby it may be coniectured, that when kyng Ethelwolf returned from Rome, hee would not suffer him to bee admitted king, because he hadde done in certayne poynts contrarie to the ordinance and lawes of the same kingdome, wherupon by this bishops meanes Ethelbald the sonne of the same king Ethelwolfe was established Kyng, and so continued till by agreement the kingdome was deuided betwixte them, as before is mencioned. The cõmendation of Adelstan bishop of Shirborne.

He greatly enriched the sea of Shirborne, and yet thoughe hee was feruently sette on conetousnesse, hee was neuertheleſſe verye free and liberall. Bishop Adelstan conetous. *H. Huns.*

In the yeare followyng, that is to witte, in the thyrde yeare of Ethelredes reygne, the same Ethelred, wyth hys brother Alured, went to ayde Burthred Kyng of Mercia, agaynste the two forsayde Danish Capitaynes Hungar and Ubba, the whiche were entered into Mercia, and had wonne the towne of Notingham, and lodged within the same towne for the winter season. Wherevppon the forsayde Ethelred and Burthred with their powers came to Notingham, and besieged the Danes within it. Burthred king of Mercia.

The Danes perceiuing themselues in daunger, made suite for a truce and abstinence of warre, whiche they obteyned, and then departed backe to Yorke, where they soiourned the moste parte of all that yeare. Danes besieged in Notingham.

In the fourthe yeare of kyng Ethelred, the Danes comming into Eastangle, cruelly slewe that blessed man king Edmunde, as after shall be shewed, 4 *Nouemb. feria. 2.*

In the sixte yeare of kyng Ethelreds reigne a newe armye of greate force and power came into the countrey of the Westsaxons vnder two leaders or kyngs of Danes, Basreeg and Halden. Basreeg and Halden.

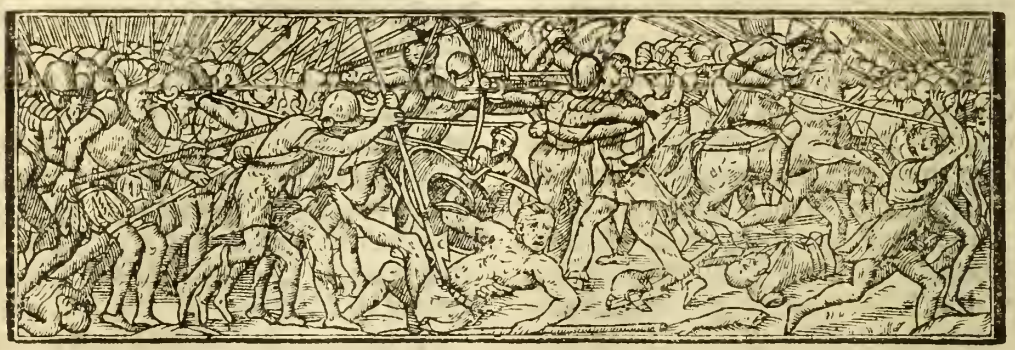
They lodged at Reding w their mayn army, q

Edelvvolfe Erle of Barkeshire fought at Englefielde vvith the Danes.

within.iij. days after the Earle of Barrockſhire Edelwolf fought at Englefield with two earles of thoſe Danes, banquiſhed them, and ſlewe the one of thoſe Erles, whoſe name was Sidzacke. After this king Ethelred and his bzother Alvzed came with a great hoſt vnto Reding, & ther gaue batail vnto the armie of Danes, ſo that an huge number of people dyed on bothe partes, but the Danes had the victozie.

The Danes vvan the victorie at Reading.

After this alſo king Ethelred and his bzother Alvzed fought again with thoſe Danes at Aſchdon, where the armies on both ſides were diuided into .ij. parts, ſo ẏ the two Daniſh kings led the one part of their armie, & certain of their Earles led the other parte. Likewiſe on the Engliſhe ſide king Ethelred was placed with one parte of the hoſt againſt ẏ Daniſh kings, & Alvzed with the other parte was appointed to encounter with the Erles. Herebpon they being on both parts ready to giue batail, the euening cõming on cauſed thẽ to deferre it till the mozrow. And ſo early in the mozning when the armies ſhoulde ioyne, Kyng Ethelzed ſtayed in his tente to heare diuine ſeruice, whyleſt his bzother bpon a fozwarde courage haſted to encounter his eninies, the whiche receyued him ſo ſharply, and with ſo cruel fight,



that at length, the Engliſhmen were at poynte to haue turned their backes: but herewith came king Ethelred and manfully renued the battaile, ſtayed his people from renning away, and ſo encouraged them, and diſcozaged the enimies, that by the powèr of God, (who as was thought in the mozning he hadde ſerued) the Danes finally were chaſed and put to flight, loſing one of their kings (that is to ſay) Baſreeg oz Oſrec, and.v. Erles, Sidzoc the elder, and Sidzoc the yonger, Olbem, Freyn, and Harold. This battayl was ſoze foughten and continued tyll night, with the ſlaughter of many thouſandes of Danes.

The Danes diſcomfited.

About xiiij. days after, king Ethelred and his bzother Alvzed fought eftſoones with the Daniſh armie at Baſing, where the Danes hadde the victozie.

Also two monethes after this, they lykewiſe fought with the Danes at Merton. And there the Danes after they had bene put to the woꝛſe, and purſued in chaſe a long tyme, yet at lengthe they alſo got the victozie, in which battayle Edmund biſhop of Shirborne was ſlayn, and many other that were men of woꝛthye fame and good accompte.

A battayle at Merton.

He vvas biſhop of Shirborne as Math. VVeſt. hath noted.

In ſommer following, a mighty hoſte of the Danes came to Reding, and there ſoiozned foꝛ a tyme.

These thinges agree not (I remember wel) with that whiche Polidoze Vergile hathe wzitten of theſe warres whiche king Ethelred hadde with the Danes: foꝛ he maketh mencion of one Ivarus a king of the Danes, who landed (as he wziteth) at the mouthe of Humber, and lyke a ſtoute enimie inuadeth the countrey adioyning, Againſt whom Ethelzed with his bzother Alvzed came with an armie, and encountring the Danes, fought with thẽ by the ſpace of a whole day togither, and was in daunger to haue bin put to the woꝛſe, but that the nighte ſeuered them aſunder.

Polid. Verg.

Ivarus.

In the mozning they ioyned againe: but the death of Ivarus, who chaunced to be ſlayne in the begynnyng of the battayle, diſcouraged the Danes, ſo that they were eaſily put to flighte, of whome (befoze they coulde get out of danger) a great number were ſlayne.

Danes flight.

But after that they had recouered themſelues togither, and found out a cõuenient place where to pitche theyr campe, they choſe to theyr Capitaynes Agnerus, and Hubo, two bzetherne, whiche indeuoured them ſelues by all meanes poſſible to repayze theyr armie: ſo that within fifteene dayes after, the Danes eftſoones fought wyth the Engliſhmenne, and gaue them ſuche an ouerthzowe, that little wanted of makyng an ende of all encounters to bee attempted after by the Engliſhemen.

Agnerus Hubo.

But yet within a fewe dayes after this, as the Danes attended theyr market to ſpoyle the countrey and raunge ſomewhat licenciouſly abzoade, they fell wythin the daunger of ſuche ambuſhes as were layd foꝛ them by king Ethelzed, that no ſmalle ſlaughter was made of them, but yet not without ſome loſſe of the Engliſhmenne. Emongſt other, Ethelred himſelfe receyued a wounde, whereof he ſhoꝛtely after dyed.

Thus

Thus hath Polyd. touching the warres which king Ethelred had with the Danes, who yet confeſſeth as the truth is, that ſuche Authors as he herein folowed, varie muche from that which the Daniſh writers do recorde of theſe matters, and namely touching the doings of Ivarus, as in the Daniſhe hiſtorye you maye ſee more at large.

But now to oure purpoſe touching the death of king Ethelred, whether by reaſon of hurt receyued in fight againſt the Danes (as Polydore ſayth) or otherwiſe, certain it is, that Ethelred anone after Eaſter departed this lyfe, in the ſixte yeare of his reigne, and was buried at Wynborn abbey.

In the days of this Ethelred, the foreſaid Daniſhe capitaines, Hungar, otherwiſe called Agnerus, and Hubba returning from the Northe parties into the countrey of Eaſtangles, came vnto Thetford, wherof Edmunde, who reigned as king in that ſeaſon ouer the Eaſtangles, being aduertiſed, he rayſed an armie of men, and wente forthe to giue battayle vnto this armie of the Danes. But he with his people was chaſed out of the fielde, and fled to the caſtell of Framyngham, where being enuironed with a ſiege by his enimies, hee yelded him ſelfe vnto them. And bicauſe he would not renounce the chriſtian faith they bound him to a tree, & ſhot arrowes at him til he dyed: & afterwards cut off his head from his bodie, and threw the ſame into a thicke groue of buſhes. But afterwards his frēds toke the bodie with the head, and buried the ſame at Egleſdon: where afterwarde alſo a faire monaſterie was buylded by one biſhop Aſwyn, and chaungyng the name of the place, it was after called Sainte Edmundeſbury. Thus was king Edmund put to death by the cruel Danes for his conſtant cōfeſſing the name of Chriſte in the xbj. yeare of his reigne, and ſo ceaſed the kingdome of Eaſtangles. For after that the Danes hadde thus ſlaine that bleſſed man, they conquered the hole countrey, and waſted it ſo that through their tyrānie it remayned without any gouernor by the ſpace of nine yeares, and then they appoynted a king to rule ouer it, whoſe name was Guthrun, one of their owne nation, who gouerned bothe the Eaſtangles and the Eaſtſaxons.

Ye haue heard how the Danes ſlew Oſryke & Ella kings of Northumberland. After which victorie by them obteyned, they did muche hurte in the north parties of this lande, and amongeſt other cruell deedes, they deſtroyed the Citie of Aclwyd, which was a famous Citie in the tyme of the olde Saxons, as by Beda and other wryters it dothe manifeſtly appeare.

Here is to be remembred, that ſome wryters reherſe the cauſe to be this:

Olbright or Oſricke king of Northumberlande rauiſhed the wyfe of one Bearne that was a noble man of the countrey about Yorke, who tooke ſuche great deſpite thereat, that hee fledde out of the lande, and went into Denmarke, and there complained vnto the king of Denmarke that was his couſin, of the iniurie done to hym by king Olbright. Wherupon the king of Denmark glad to haue ſo iuſt a quarell againſt them of Northumberlande, furniſhed forthe an armie, and ſente the ſame by Sea, (vnder the leadyng of hys two brethren Hungar and Hubba) into Northumberland, where they ſlew firſt the ſayd kyng Olbrighte, and after king Ella, at a place beſides Yorke, whiche vnto thys daye is called Elles croſſe, takyng that name of the ſayde Elle, beeing there ſlayne in defence of hys countrey againſt the Danes. Whyche Ella (as we fynde regiſtred by wryters) was elected king by ſuche of the Northumbers, as in fauour of Berne had refuſed to be ſubiect vnto Olbright.

Alvred or Alfred.



Alvred or Alfred.

After the deceaſe of King Ethelred, his brother Albred or Alfrede ſucceeded him, and beganne hys reigne ouer the Weaſt Saxons, and other the more parte of the people of Englande, in the yeare of our Lorde eyght hundred ſeuentie and two, whiche was in the nintenth yeere of the Emperour Lewys the ſeconde, and two and thirtieth yeare of the reigne of Charles, ſurnamed Calnus or the balde kyng of Fraunce, and about the eleuenth yeare of Conſtantine the ſeconde king of Scotland.

871. as Math. VVeſt. & Sim. Dunelmen. doe note it. *H. Hunt.*

Although that this Albred was ſacred king in his fathers lyfe tyme by Pope Leo (as before you haue heard,) yet was he not admitted king at home, till after the deceaſe of his three elder brethren: for he being the youngeſt, was kepte backe from the gouernement, though he were for his wiſedome and policie moſt highly eſteemed and had in all honour.

In the beginning of his reigne he was wrapped in many great troubles and miſeries, ſpecially by the perſecution of the Danes, whiche made ſore and greeuous warres in ſundry parts of this lande, deſtroying the ſame in moſte

Alvred perſecuted by Danes.

cruell wyſe. Ibout a moneth after he was made kyng, he gaue battayl to the Danes at Wilton, hauing with him no great number of people, ſo that although in the beginning the Danes that day were put to the woꝛſe, yet in the end they obteined the victoꝛie. Shoꝛtly after, a truce was taken betwixt the Danes and the Weſtſaxons.

Mat. VVeſt.

The Danes obteyne the victorie.

The Danes vvintered at London.

And the Danes that hadde lyen at Reading, remoued from thence vnto London, where they laye all the winter ſeaſon.

In the ſeconde yeare of Alꝛed his reigne, the Danyſhe kyng Halden ledde the ſame armye from London into Lindſey, and there lodged all that Winter at Toꝛkſey.

874. In the yeare following, the ſame Halden inuaded Mercia, and wintred at Ripingdon. Ther were come to him thꝛee other leaders of Danes, whiche our wꝛiters name to be kings, Godꝛun, Eſketell, and Immond, ſo that their power was greatly increaſed.

Repton.

Burthred king Mercia.

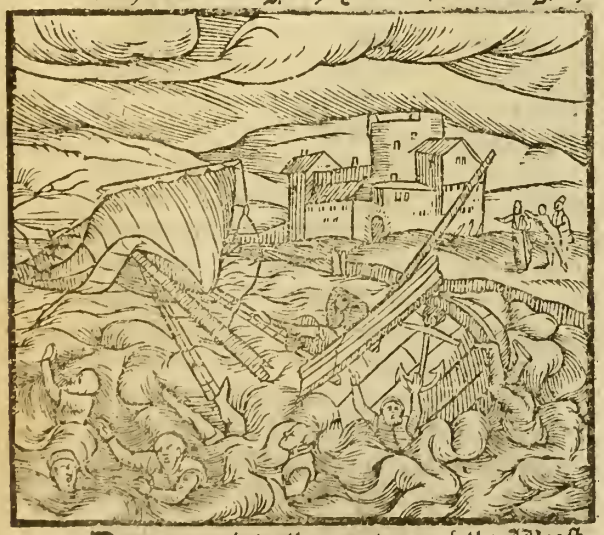
Burthꝛed king of Mercia whiche had gouerned that countrey by the ſpace of .xxij. yeres, was not able to withſtande the puiſſance of thoſe enimies. And ſo therupon he was conſtrained to auoyde the countrey, & wente to Rome, where he departed this lyfe, and was buried in the Church of our Ladie, neere to the Engliſhe ſchoole.

875. In the fourth yere of king Alꝛed the armie of the Danes deuided it ſelfe into two partes, ſo that king Halden with one parte therof went into Noꝛthumberlande, & lay in the winter ſeaſon nere to the riuer of Tyne, where hee deuided the countrey amongſt his men, and remayned there foꝛ the ſpace of two yeares, and oftentymes fetched thither booties and pꝛayes out of the countrey of the Pictes. The other part of the Danyſh armye with the iij. afoꝛeſaid kings oꝛ leaders came vnto Cambꝛidge, & remained there a whole yere. And the ſame yeere king Alꝛed fought by ſea with vij. ſhips of Danes, toke one of them, & chaſed the reſidue. In the yeare next enſuing, the

The Danes vvente into Northumberlande.

The Danes at Cambridge.

876.



Danes came into the countreye of the Weſtſaxons, and king Alꝛed toke truce with them againe, and they ſware to him (whiche they had not bled to doe to any afoꝛe that tyme) that they woulde departe the countrey.

The Danes tooke an oth. *H. Hunt.*

Theyꝛ armie by ſea ſayling from Warham towarde Exceſter, ſuſtayned great loſſe by tempeſte, foꝛ there peryſhed fyxe ſcoꝛe ſhyppes at Swanewicke.

The Danes vvente to Exceſter.

Moꝛeouer the armie of Danes by land went to Exceſter in bꝛeache of the truce, and kyng Alꝛed followed them, but coulde not ouertake them tyll they came to Exceſter, and there he appꝛoched them in ſuche wyſe, that they were glad to deliuer pledges foꝛ perfoꝛmaunce of ſuch couenauntes as were accoꝛded betwixte him and them. And ſo then they departed out of the countrey, and dꝛewe into Mercia. But ſhoꝛtly after, when they had the whole gouernemente of the lande, from Thames noꝛthward, they thought it not good to ſuffer king Alꝛed to continue in reſt with the reſidue of the coũtreys beyõd the Thames. And therefoꝛe the thꝛee afoꝛeſayd rulers of Danes, Eodꝛun, Eſketell, and Immound, inuading the countreye of Weaſtſaxons came to Chipnham, diſtant .xbij. myles from Bꝛiſtow, and there pitched their tentes.

H. Hunt.

87

[Kyng Alꝛed aduertiſed heereof, haſted thyther, and lodging with his armie nere to the enimyes, pꝛouoked them to battayle. The Danes perceyuyng that eyther they muſte fyghte foꝛ theyꝛ lyues, oꝛ dye wyth ſhame, boldely came foꝛthe, and gaue battayle. The Engliſhemen raſhely encounter with them, and thoughe that they were ouermatched with number, yet with ſuche violence they giue the onſette, that the enimies at the firſt were abaſhed of their hardie aſſaultes.

Polyd. Of this ſtꝛ keth not ting. ſor bet vi hooked is taken Polydor.

But when it was pꝛeceiued that theyꝛ ſlender ranckes were not able to reſiſte the thycke legbers of the enimies, they beganne to ſhrinke and loke backe one foꝛ an other, and ſo of foꝛce were conſtrayned to retyꝛe: And therewithall did caſte themſelues into a ryng, which though it ſeemed to bee the beſte waye that coulde bee deuyſed foꝛ theyꝛ ſafetie, yet by the great foꝛce and number of theyꝛ enimies on eache ſyde aſſaylyng them, they were ſo thꝛonged togyther on heapes, that they hadde not rome to ſturre theyꝛ weapons. Wheche diſaduantage notwythſtandyng, they ſlewe a greate number of the Danes, and amongeſt other, Hubba the bꝛother of Ignere, with manye other of the Danyſhe capitaines.

Hubba ſlay

At length the Engliſhmen hauing valyantly foughten a long tyme wyth the enymies, whyche hadde compaſſed them aboute, at laſte they bꝛake out and got them to theyꝛ campe.

To bee bꝛiefe, this battayle was foughten with

with ſo equall fortune, that no man knewe to whether parte the victorie ought to be aſcribed. But after that they were once ſeuered, they toke heed to cure their hurt menne, and to burye the dead bodies, namely the Danes enterred the bodie of their capitayn Hubba, with greate funerall pompe & ſolemnitie: which done, they kept forth theyr iorney till they came to Abingdon, whither the Engliſhe armie ſhortely after came alſo, and encamped faſt by the enimies.

In this meane whyle, the rumor was ſpread abroade that king Alured had bin diſcomfited by the Danes, byeauſe that in the laſte battayle hee withdrewe to his campe. This turned greatly to his aduantage: for therby a great number of engliſhmen hadde to come to hys ſuccour.

The morowe after his comming to Abingdon he brought his armie ready to fight into the field, neyther the enimies wolde ſtacke on their parte, to receyue the battayle, and ſo the two armies ioyned & fought right ſore on both ſydes: ſo that it ſeemed the Engliſhmen had not to do with thoſe Danes, whiche had bin diuers tymes before diſcomfited and put to flight, but rather with ſome newe people freſh and luſtie: neyther the one part nor the other was mynded to giue it ouer; in ſo muche that the horſemen alyghting on foote, and puttyng their horſes from them, entred the bat-

The Danes & Engliſhemen fight neere to Abingdon.



tayle emongſt the footmen, and thus they continued with equall aduantage till night came on, whiche parted the affray, being one of the ſoreſt foughten fieldes that had bin hearde off in thoſe days. To whether partie a man might iuſtly attribute the victorie, it was vtterlye vncertayne, with ſo lyke loſſe and gayn the matter was tried and ended betwixt them.

With the ſemblable chaunce of daunger and glorie .bij. times that yeare did the Engliſhe and Danes encounter in battail, as writers haue recorded. And at lengthe when their powers on bothe partes were ſore diminiſhed, they agreed vppon a peace, with theſe conditions, That the Danes ſhoulde not attempte any further warre againſt the Engliſhmenne, nor bring into this lande any newe ſupplye of ſouldioures oute of Denmarke.

The ſame yeare the Danes ſoiourned in the winter ſeaſon at London, according as they had done often tymes before.

Aboute the ſame tyme or ſhortely after, there came into Englande one Rollo, a noble man of Denmark or Norway, with a great armie, and (notwithſtanding the peace concluded betweene the Engliſhmen and the Danes,) he beganne to waſt and deſtroy the countrey.

King Alured hearing theſe newes, wyth all ſpeede, thoughte beſte in the beginning to ſtoppe ſuche a common miſchiefe, and immediately aſſembling his people, went againſt the enimies, and gaue them battaile, in the which there died a great number of men on both ſides, but the greater loſſe fel to Rollo his armie. Yet Matthewe Weſtm. ſayeth, that the Engliſhemen were put to flight.

After this, it chaunced, that Rollo beeing warned in a dreame, left Englande, and ſayled ouer into France, wher he foũd fortune ſo fauorable to him, that hee obteined in that region for him and his people a countrey, the whiche was afterwardes named Normandie, of thoſe Norrherne people, whiche then began to inhabite the ſame, as in the hiſtories of Fraunce you may ſee more at large.

xxx. yeares after this he was baptiſed.

The Danes which had concluded peace with king Alured (as before you haue herd) ſhortly after, vpon the firſt occaſion, brake the ſame, & by the often inuaſions whiche they made into the countrey of Weſtſaxons, brought the matter to

King Alured driuen to his shifte.

that passe, that there remayned to king Alured, but onely the three countreis of Hamshire, Wilshire, and Somersetshire, in so much that he was constrained for a time to kepe himself close within the fennes and marrishe grounded of Somersetshire, with such small companies as he had about him, constreyned to get their liuing wyth fishing, hunting, and other suche shiftes. He remayned for the most part within an Isle called Edelynsey, that is to meane, the Ilande of noble menne, enuironed aboute with fennes and marrisses.

Athelney.

Whyles he was thus shut vp within this Iland, he was by dreame aduertised of better hap shortly to follow: For as it hath bene said, Saint Cuthbert appeared to him as he lay in sleepe, and comforted him, declaring vnto him, that within a whyle Fortune shoulde so turne that he shoulde recouer againe his kingdome to the confusion of his enimies: and to assure him, that this should proue true, he told him that his men which were gone abroade to catche fishe, should bring home great plentie, although the season was agaynste them, by reason that the waters were frosen, and that a colde rime fell that morning, to the hinderance of their purpose. His mother also at that tyme being in sleepe, saw the like vision. And as they had dreamed, so it came to passe: for being awakened of their sleepe, in came his men with so great foyson of fishe, that the same might haue suffised a great armie of men, for the victualling of them at that season.

A vision if it be true.

Shortly after, kyng Alured toke vpon hym the habite of a Minstrell, and going forth of his closure, repaired to the campe of the Danyshe king, only accompanied with one trusty seruant, and tarrying there certaine dayes togither, was suffered to goe into euery parte, and play on hys instrument, as well afore the king as others, so that there was no secrete, but that hee vnderstoode it.

King Alured disguiseth hym selfe. *Polidore.*

Fabian.

After that he had seene and learned the demeanour of his enimies, he returned againe to hys people at Edlingsey, and there declared to hys nobles what he had seene and heard, what negligence was amongst the enimies, and howe easy a matter it shoulde bee for him to endomage them.

Hereupon they conceyuing a meruaylous good hope, and enboldened wyth his wordes, a power was assembled togither, and spyes sente forth to learne and bring word where the Danes lodged: which being done, & certificat made accordyngly, Kyng Alured commyng vppon them on the sodayn, slew of them a great number, hauyng them at great aduauntage.

H. Hunt. 878 — 877.

Also about the same tyme the brother of king Halden came with thirtie and three ships out of Wales into the countreye of Westsaxons, on the coaste of Deuonshire, where the Deuonshire men gaue him battaile, and slewe him with 840. persons of his retinue. Other write, that Halden himself was present at this conflict, with Inguare, otherwise called Hungar, and that they were both slayne there, with twelue hundred of their companye (before a certayne castell called Kynwith) receyuing as they hadde deserued for their cruel dealing lately by them practised in the parties of Southwales, where they had wasted all afore them with fyre and swoorde, not sparing Abbeys more than other common buyldings.

S. Dun.

Mat. West.

King Alured being with that good lucke the more comforted, builded a fortresse in the Ile of Edlingsey, afterwardes called Athelney, & breaking out oftentymes vpon the enimyes, distressed them at sundrie tymes wyth the ayde of the Somersetshiremen, which were at hande.

Athelney.

Aboute the seuenth weeke after Easter, in the seuenth yeare of hys reigne, kyng Alured went to Egleringhton, on the East parte of Selwood, where there came to him the people of Somersetshire, Wylshyre, and Hamshyre, reioycing greatly to see him abroade.

From thence he wente to Edanton, and there fought against the armie of the Danes, and chased them vnto their strength, where he remained afore them the space of foureteene dayes: and then the armie of the Danes deliuered hym hostages and couenaunts to departe out of his dominions, and that their king should be baptised, which was accomplished: for Gurthrun whom some name Gurmound, a prince or king amongest these Danes, came to Alured, and was baptised, king Alured receyuyng hym at the Font-stone, named hym Adelstane, and gaue to hym the countrey of Eastangle, whyche hee gouerned, (or rather spoyled,) by the space of twelue yeares.

Edanton.

This hee should be the same Polydore calleth Abyngton.

Polyd. l. Pik.

Gunthrun Gurmond called, and named Adelstane is made king of Eastangle.

Dyuers other of the Danishe nobilitie to the nnmber of thirtie, (as Simon Dunelmensis hathe) came the same tyme in companye of theyr kyng Guthrun, and were lykewyse baptysed, on whome kyng Alured also bestowed many riche giftes.

The same tyme (as is to bee thought) was the league concluded betwyxte kyng Alured, and the sayde Guthrun or Eythrun, in the whyche the boundes of kyng Alureds kyngdome are sette forth thus:

Fyrste therefore sette the boundes or marches of oure dominion stretche vnto the ryuer of Thames, and from thence to the water of Lee, euen vnto the head of the same water, and so forth streight vnto Bedforde: and finally going alongst by the riuer of Ouse, sette them vnto at Watlingstreete.

Vse.

This

This league beeing made with the aduiſe of the ſage perſonages as well Engliſhe as thoſe that inhabited within Eſt England, is ſet forth in maiſter Lamberts booke of the olde Engliſhe lawes, in the ende of thoſe lawes or ordinaunces whyche were eſtabliſhed by the ſame kyng Alured, as in the ſame booke ye maye ſee more at large. But nowe to proceed.

Here is to bee noted, that oure writers name diuerſe of the Danyſh Capitaines kyngs, of the whyche no mention is made in the Danyſhe Chronicles, to reygne in thoſe parties.

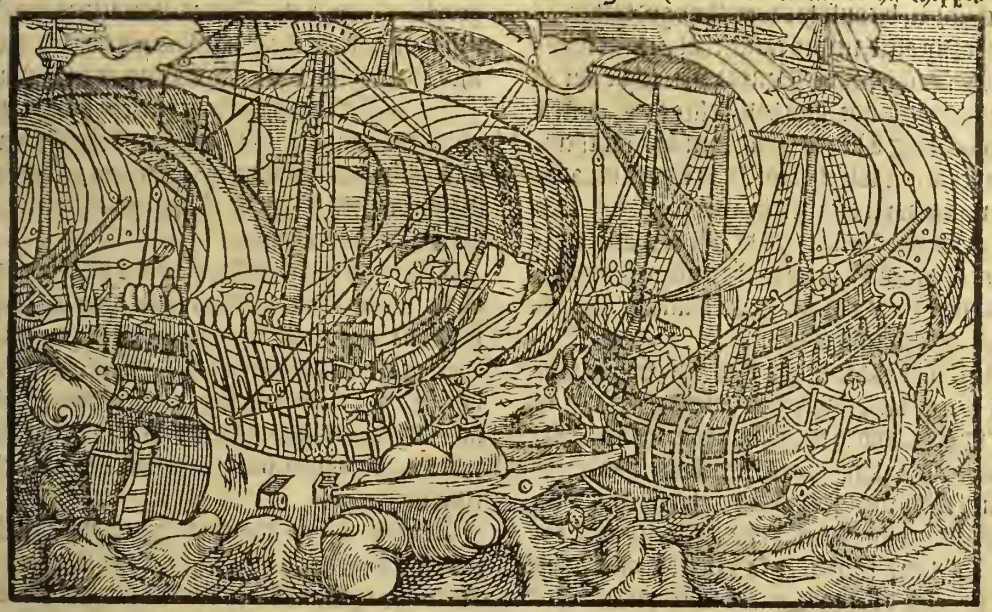
But true it is, that in thoſe dayes, not onely the Danyſhe people, but alſo other of thoſe Northeaſt countreyes or Regyons, as Swedeners, Norweygians, the Wonden, and ſuch other, whyche the Engliſhe people called by one generall name Danes, and the Frenchmen, Normans, vſed to roaue on the Seas, and to inuade forrayne Regions, as England, France, Flaunders, and others, as in conueniente places ye maye fynde, as well in oure Hyſtories as alſo in the writers of the Frenche Hyſtories, and lykewyſe in the Chronicles of thoſe North Regyons.

The Wryters beryly of the Danyſhe Chronicles, make mention of one Gurmo, whome they name *Anglicus*, becauſe hee was borne here in Englande, whyche ſucceeded his father Frotto in gouernemente of the kyngdome of Denmarke, whyche Frotto receyued baptiſme in Englande, as in their hiſtorie you may reade more at large. Gurmo.

In the eyght yere of kyng Alured his reigne, the armye of the Danes wyntered at Cirencester, and the ſame yeare an other armie of ſtraungers called *Vvincigi*, lay at Fulham, and in the yeare following, departed forth of Englande, and wente into Fraunce, and the armye of king Godrun or Gurmo departed from Cirencester, and came into Eaſt angle, and there deuidyng the countrey amongeſt them, beganne to inhabite the ſame. *H. Hunt.* 878. 879. *Si. Dunelm.* *Mat. Weſt.*

In the. xiiij. yeare of king Alured his reigne, parte of the Danyſhe armie whyche was gone ouer into Fraunce, returned into England and beſieged Rocheſter. But when Alured approched to the reſcue, the enimies fledde to theyr ſhippes, and paſſed ouer the ſea agayne. Rocheſter beſieged. 885.

King Alured ſente a nauie of his ſhippes well



furniſhed with menne of warre into Eaſtangle, the whyche at the mouthe of the Riuer called Sture, encountring with. xvj. ſhippes of Danes, ſet vpon them, and ouercame them in fight: But as they returned with theyr pryſes, they encountred with an other myghtie armye of the enimies, and fighting wyth them, were ouercome and vanquiſhed.

In the yeare folowing, king Alured beſieged the Citie of London, the Danes that wer within it, fledde from thence, and the Engliſhemen that were inhabitantes thereof, gladly receiued him, reioycing, that there was ſuche a Prince bredde of their nation that was of power able to reduce them into libertie.

This Citie being at that ſeaſon the chiefe of all Mercia, he deliuered vnto the keeping of duke Eldred, whiche had maried his daughter Ethelfleda, and held a great portion of Mercia, which Colwolphus before tyme poſſeſſed by graunt of the Danes, after they had ſubdued kyng Burthred, as before is mencioned. *W. Malmſ.* Ethelfleda. Colvvolphus.

About the. xij. yeare of king Alured, a greate armie of thoſe Danes, or Normanes, whyche hadde ben in France, returned into England, and arriued in the hauen or riuer of Lymene in the eaſt part of Kente, neere to the greate woode called Andredeſley, whyche dydde contyne in Lymer, novve, Rother. Andredeſlegia.

tymes paſt. Cxx. myles in length, and thirtie in breadth. Theſe Danes landing with their people buylded a Caſtell at Appledore.

A caſtel buylte at Apledore. 893.

Alſo in the meane tyme came Haſtyng wyth lxxx. ſhips into the Thames, and buylded a Caſtell at Middleton, but hee was conſtrained by ſiege, whiche king Alured planted about him to receiue an othe that he ſhould not in any wyſe anoy the dominion of king Alured, who vpon his promyſe to departe, gaue great rewards as well to him as to his wyfe and children. One of his ſonnes alſo king Alured helde at the Fontſtone, and to the other, Duke Elored was godfather. (For as it were to winne credite, and to auoyde preſent daunger,) Haſting ſent vnto king Alured theſe hys two ſonnes, ſygnifying that if it ſtode with his pleaſure, he coulde be content that they ſhoulde be baptiſed. But neuertheleſſe this Haſting was euer moſte vntrue of worde and deede, he buylded a caſtell at Beamfield. And as he was going forth to ſpoyle and waſt the kings countreys, Alured toke that Caſtell wyth hys wyfe, children, ſhippes, and goodes, which he had got togither of ſuche ſpoyles as he had purchaſed abroade: but he reſtored vnto Haſting his wyfe and children, becauſe hee was their godfather.

S. Dunſt. at Milton.

Haſtings the captain of the Danes beſieged.

He receyueth an othe.

Beamfleet hath Math. VVeſt.

This enterpriſe vvas atchieued by Edeldred duke of Mercia in abſence of the king as M. VVeſt. hathe noted.

Shortly after, newes came, that a great number of other ſhippes of Danes were come out of Northumberlande, and had beſieged Exceſter: Whyleſt king Alured went then againſt them, the other armie whiche laye at Apledore inuaded Eſſex, and buylt a caſtell in that countrey, and after went into the borders of Wales, and builded an other caſtell neere to the riuer of Seuerne: but being driuen oute of that countrey, they returned agayne into Eſſex.

Exceſter beſieged.

Seuerne.

Thoſe that had beſieged Exceſter, vpō knowledge had of king Alureds comming, fledde to their ſhippes, and ſo remayning on the ſea, roaued abroade, ſeeking prayes. Beſides thys, other Armies there were ſent forth, whiche comming out of Northumberlande, toke the citie of Cheſter, but there they were ſo beſette aboute with their enimies, that they were conſtrayned to eate their horſes.

Cheſter taken by Danes.

Great famine.

At length in the. xxiiij. yeare of king Alured they lefte that citie, and fetched a compaſſe about Northwales, and ſo meaning to ſayle rounde aboute the coaſt to come into Northumberland, they arriued in Eſſex, and in the winter folowing drew their ſhippes by the Thames into the water of Luye. That armie of Danes whiche had beſieged Exceſter, toke prayes aboute Chicheſter, and was mette with, ſo that they loſt many of their men, and alſo diuers of their ſhips.

H. Hunt.

The vvater of Luye, novve Lee.

In the yeare folowing, the other armie which had brought the ſhippes into the riuer of Luye, began to buylde a caſtell neere to the ſame riuer, twentie myles diſtaunt from London: but the Londoners came thither, and giuing battayl to the Danes, ſlewe. iiij. of the chiefe Captaynes. But by Simon Dunel. and Mathew Weſt, it ſhoulde ſeeme, that the Londoners were at thys time put to flighte, and that foure of the kinges Thanes or barons were ſlaine. Howbeit Henry of Huntington hath written as before I haue recited: And further ſayth, that when the Danes fled for their refuge to the Caſtell, king Alured cauſed the water of Luye to be deuided into three Chanels, ſo that the Danes ſhoulde not bring backe their ſhippes oute of the place where they lay at ancker. When the Danes perceyued this, they lefte their ſhippes behynde them, and wente into the borders of Wales, where at Earthbridge vpon Seuerne, they buylte an other caſtell, and lay there all the wynter following, hauing lefte their wiues and childrē in the countrey of Eaſtangles. King Alured purſued them, but the Lōdoners toke the enimies ſhips, and brought ſome of them to the Citie, and the reſt they brent.

H. Hunt.

The Londoners victorie againſt the Danes.

Quathbridge or VVabridge.

Thus for the ſpace of three yeeres after the arriuing of the mayne armie of Danes in the hauen of Luye, they ſore endomaged the Engliſhe people, although the Danes themſelues ſuſtayned more loſſe at the Engliſhmens handes than they did to them with all pilfering and ſpoyling.

In the fourth yeare after their comming, the armie was deuided, ſo that parte of them wente into Northumberlande, part of them remayned in the countrey of the Eaſtangles, and an other part went into Fraunce.

The Danes armie deuided into parts

Alſo certain of their ſhips came vpon the coaſt of the Weſtſaxons, oftentymes ſettyng theyr men on lande to robbe and ſpoyle the countrey.

But king Alured toke order in the beſt wiſe he might for defence of his countrey and people, and cauſed certaine mightie veſſels to be buylded which he appointed forth to encounter with the enimies ſhippes.

And thus lyke a worthie Prince and politike gouernour, he preuented eche way forth to reſiſt his enimies, and to ſauegarde his ſubiects. Finally after he had reigned. 29. yeeres, and an halfe, he departed this lyfe the. 28 day of October. His bodie was buried at Wincheſter: He left behynde him iſſue by his wife Ethelwitha, the daughter of Earle Ethelred of Mercia, two ſonnes Edwarde, ſurnamed the elder, which ſucceeded him, and Adelwolde. Alſo three daughters, Elfleda, or Ethelfleda, Ethelgeda or Elgiua and Ethelwitha. Elfleda was maried (as ye haue heard) vnto Duke Edelred, who left a notable example behinde hir of deſpiſing fleſhely pleaſure, for bearing hir huſbande one chylde, and fore handeled before ſhe coulde be delyuered, ſhe euer after forbare to company with hir huſbande, ſaying that

The death of king Alured.

His iſſue.

Elfleda

it was

it was great folliſhneſſe to vſe ſuch pleſure which therwith ſhould bring ſo great griefe.

To ſpeake ſufficiently of the worthie prayſe due to ſo noble a prince as Alured was, might require eloquence, learning and a large volume. He was of perſon comely and beautifull, & better beloued of his father and mother than his other brethren. And although he was as before is touched, greatly diſquieted with the inuaſion of forreyn enimies, yet did he both manfully from time to tyme indeuour himſelfe to repulſe them, and alſo attempted to ſee his ſubiectes gouerned in good and vpright iuſtice.

And albeit that good lawes amongeſt the clinking noyſe of armour, are oftentymes put to ſilence, yet he perceiuing how his people were greued with theeues and robbers whiche in tyme of warre grew and increaſed, deuiſed good ſtatutes and holſome ordinances for punyſhing of ſuche offenders.

Amongeſt other thinges he ordeyned, that the countreys ſhould be deuided into hundreds and tythings, that is to wit, quarters conteyning a certayne number of townehips, adioyning togither, ſo that euery Engliſhman liuing vnder preſcripte of lawes, ſhould haue both his hundred and tithing, that if any man were accuſed of any offence, he ſhoulde fynde ſuretie for his good demeanour: and if he coulde not fynde ſuche as woulde anſwere for him, then ſhoulde hee taſte extremitie of the lawes.

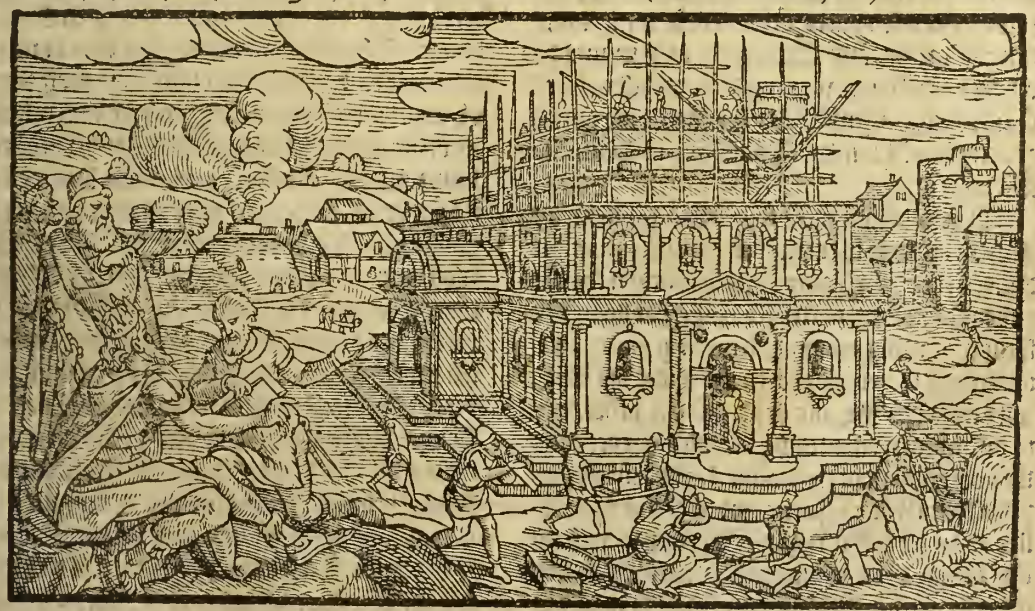
And if any manne that was guiltie fled before hee founde ſuretie or after: all the inhabitants of the hundred or tithing where he dwelte ſhoulde be put to their fyne. By this deuiſe hee brought his countrey into good tranquillitie, ſo that he cauſed bracelets of golde to be hanged vp aloſte on hilles, where any common ways laye to ſee if any durſt be ſo hardy to take them away by ſtealth. He was a liberall Prince namely in relieuing of the poore. To churches he confirmed ſuche priuiledges as his father had graunted before him, and he alſo ſent rewardes by waye of deuotion vnto Rome, and to the bodie of Saint Thomas in India. Sighelmus the biſhop of Shirborne bare the ſame, & brought from thence riche ſtones, and ſwete oyles of ineſtimable valure. From Rome alſo he brought a piece of the holy croſſe, whiche Pope Martinus did ſend for a preſent vnto king Alured.

Moreouer king Alured founded three godlie Monaſteries, one at Edlingley, where he liued ſometyme when the Danes had bereaued hym almoſt of all his kyngdome, whiche was after called Athelney, diſtant from Taunton in Somerſetſhire about fiue myles: the ſeconde he builded at Wincheſter, called the newe minſter, and the thirde at Shaftſbury, whiche was an houſe of Nunnes, where he made his daughter Ethelgera, or Elgiua Abbeſſe. But the foundation of the vniuerſitie of Oxford paſſed all the reſidue of his buyldings, whiche he began by the good exhortation and aduiſe of Neotus an Abbotte in thoſe days highly eſteemed for his vertue and lerning with Alured.

Foundation of monaſteries.

This worke he toke in hande about the .23. yeare of his reigne, whiche was in the yeare of our Lorde. 895. So that the Vniuerſitie of

895.



Cambridge was founded before thys other at Oxforde about. 265. yeeres, as Polydore gathereth. For Sigebert king of the Eaſt angles began to erecte that Vniuerſitie at Cambridge, about the yeare of our Lorde, 630.

King Alured was learned himſelfe, and giuen muche to ſtudie, in ſo muche that beſide dyuers good lawes whiche he tranſlated into the engliſh toung, gathered togither and publiſhed, he alſo tranſlated diuers other bookes out of Latin into

o.v. Engliſh,

englisshe), as *Orosius*, *Pastorale Gregorij*, *Beda de gestis Anglorū*, *Boetius de consolatione Philosophiæ*, and the booke of Psalms, but this he finisshed not, being preuented by death.

The vertuous zele of Alured to bring his people to an honest trade of lyfe.

So this worthie Prince minding wel toward the common wealth of his people, in that season when learning was little esteemed amongest the Weast nations, dyd studie by all meanes possible, to instructe his subiectes in the trade of leadyng an honest lyfe, and to encourage them generally to imbrace learnyng. He would not suffer any to beare office in the Courte, except hee were learned: and yet hee hymselfe was twelue yeares of age before hee coulde reade a worde on the booke, and was then trayned by his mothers perswasion to applye hymselfe to study, promising to gyue hym a goodly fayre booke whyche she had in hir handes, if he wold shortly lerne to reade it. Hereupon going to his booke in sporte, he so earnestly sette his mynd thereto, that within a small tyme hee profited marueilously, and became suche a fauourer of learned men, that he delyghted most in their companie, to haue conference wyth them, and allured dyuers to come vnto hym out of other countreyes, as Asserius Menenensis bishop of Shirborne, and Werefridus the byshop of Worcester, who by his commaundemente translated the Bookes of Gregories Dialogues into Englisshe. Also John Scot whyche whyles hee was in Fraunce, translated the booke of *Dionysius Areopagita*, entituled *Hierarchia*, out of Greecke into Latin, and after was Scholemaister in the Abbey of Malmesburye, and there murthered by his Schollers with penkniues, hee had dyuers other aboute him, bothe Englisshmenne and straungers, as Pleymonde whyche afterwarde was made Archebishoppe of Canterbury, Grimbalde, whome he appointed gouernour of the newe Monasterie at Winchester, with other.

He is perswaded by his mother, to applye himself to lerning.

Asserius Menenensis. Werefridus.

John Scot.

Grimbalde.

But to conclude with this noble Prince king Alured, hee was so carefull in his office, that hee deuided the .xxiiij. houres which contayn the day and night in three partes, so that eight houres he spent in writing, reding and making his prayers, other eight hee employed in relieuing his bodye with meate, drinke, and slepe, and the other .viij. he bestowed in dispatching of businesse cōcerning the gouernment of the realme. He had in his chapell a candell of .24. partes, whereof euery one lasted an houre: So that the Sexton to whome that charge was committed, by burning of that candell warned the king euer how the time passed away. A little before his death, hee ordeined his last wil and testament, bequeathing halfe the portion of all his goodes iustly gotten, vnto such Monasteries as he had founded. All his rents and reuenues he deuided into two equall partes, and the first part he deuided into three, bestowing the first vpon his seruants of housholde, the seconde to suche labourers and workmen as he kept in his workes of sundrie newe buyldings, the thyrde part he gaue to straungers. The second whole part of his reuenues was so diuided, that the first portion thereof was established amongest the poore people of his countrey, the seconde to Monasteries, the thirde to the findyng of poore schollers, and the .iiij. part to Churches beyonde the sea: he was diligent in the enquirie how the Iudges of his land behaued themselues in their iudgemēts, and was a sharpe correcter of them which transgressed in that behalfe. To be briefe, he liued so as he was had in greate fauoure of his neighbors, highly honored amongst straungers. He maryed his daughter Ethelswida or rather Elstride vnto Baldwyn Erle of Flaunders, of whome hee begat two sons Arnulfe and Adulfe, of the which the first succeded in the Erledome of Flaunders, and the yonger was made erle of Boloigne.

Elstrid, whose epitaph you find in Iacob Meyer, if you looke for him vvyne his bande.

The bodie of king Alured was firste buried in the Bishops churche: but afterwarde because the Canons raysed a fond tale that the same shoulde walke a nightes, his sonne king Edward remoued it into the newe monasterie whiche he in his lyfe tyme had founded.

The ende of the kingdome of Mercia.

IN the dayes of the forsayd king Alured, the kyngdome of Mercia toke ende. For after that ỹ Danes had expulsed king Burthred, whē he had reigned .22. yeares, he went to Rome, and there died, his wife also Ethelswida, the daughter of king Athulf that was sonne to king Egbert folowed him, and dyed in Pauia in Lumbardie. The Danes hauyng got the countrey into their possession, made one Ceolfe king thereof, whome they bound with an othe and deliuerie of pledges, that he should not longer kepe the state with their pleasure, and further shoulde bee readie at all tymes to ayde them wyth suche power as he should be able to make. Thys Ceolf was the seruant of king Burthred. Within foure yeres after the Danes returned, & toke one part of that kingdome into their owne handes, & left the residue vnto Ceolfe. But within fewe yeres after, king Alured obteined that parte of Mercia which Ceolf ruled, as he did all the residue of this land, except those parcels which the Danes held, as Northumberland, the countreis of the Eastangles, some parte of Mercia, & other. The yere in the whiche king Alured thus obteyned the dominion of that part of Mercia whiche Ceolf had in gouernāce, was after the birth of our Sauior .886. so that the forsaid kingdom cōtinued the space of .202. yeres vnder .22. kings frō Crida to this last Ceolf. But ther be ỹ accopt the continuance of this kingdome, only from the begin-

Ceolf.

886.

Mat. VV.

His last vvyll and testament.

beginning of Penda, vnto the last yere of Burthred, by which reckning it stood not past 270. yeres vnder .8. or rather .17. kings, accompting the last Cewolf for none, who began his reigne vnder subiection of the Danes, aboute the yeare of our Lord. 874. wher Penda bega his reigne. 604.

The Eastangles & the Northumbers in these days wer vnder subiection of the Danes, as partly may be perceued by that which before is rehersed. After Guthra ỹ gouerned ỹ eastangles by the term of .xij. yeres, one Edbirick or Erick had the rule in those parties, a Dane also, & reigned .xiiij. yeres, & was at length bereued of his gouernment by king Edward the sonne of K. Alured, as after shal appere. But now although that the Northumbers were brought greatly vnder foote by the Danes, yet could they not forget their old accustomed maner to stirre tumultes and rebellion against their gouernors, insomuch that in the yere 872. they expulsed not onely Egbert, whome the Danes had appointed king ouer one parte of the countrey (as before you haue heard) but also their archbishop Wilfhere. In the yere following, the same Ecgbert departed this life, after whom, one Rigsig or Riesige succeeded as king, & the Archbishop Wolfhere was restored home. In ỹ same yeare the armie of Danes which had wintered at London, came from thẽce into Northumberlãd, and wintred in Lindsey, at a place called Torksey, and went the next yeere into Mercia. And in the yere. 975. a part of them returned into Northumberland, as before ye haue herd. In the yere following, Riesig the king of Northumberlande departed this lyfe: After whom an other Egbert succeeded. And in the yeare. 983. the armie of the Danes meanyng to inhabite in Northumberlands, and to settle themselues there, chose Euthryd the sonne of one Hardicnute to their king, whome they had sometyme solde to a certayne widowe at Witingham. But nowe by the aduise of an Abbot called Aldride, they redeemed his libertie and ordeined him king to rule bothe Danes and Englishmen in that countrey.

It was sayd, that the same Aldrede being Abbot of holy Ilande, was warned in a vision by Sainte Cuthbert, to giue counsell bothe to the Danes and Englishmen, to make the same Guthrid king. This chaunced about the .xiij. yere of the reigne of Alured king of West Saxons.

Then after that Guthrid was established king he caused the bishops sea to be remoued from holy Ilande vnto Chester in the strete, and for an augmentation of the reuenues and iurisdiction belonging therto, he assigned and gaue vnto Sainte Cuthbert all that countrey which lyeth betwixt the riuers of Teyse and Tyne.

Moreouer this priuiledge was there graunted vnto S. Cuthbert shrine, That whosoeuer fledde into the same for succour & safegarde, should not be touched or troubled in any wise for the space of 37. dayes. And this freedom was confirmed not only by king Guthrid, but also by king Alured. Finally king Guthrid departed this lyfe in the yeare of our Lord God. 894. after hee had ruled the Northumbers with muche cruelti (as some say) by the terme of .11. yeres, or somwhat more: He is named by some writers Gurmond, and also Gurmo, and thought to bee the same whome king Alured caused to be baptised. Where other affirme, that Guthred who ruled the Eastangles, was he that Alured receiued at ỹ fontstone; William Malmsbury taketh them to be but one man, whiche is not lyke to be true.

894. *Polydor.* *VV. Malmſ.* *VV. Malmſ.*

After this Guthred or Gurmo his sonne Sithrike succeeded, and after hym other of that line, till king Athelstane depriued them of the dominion, and toke it into his owne hands. Sithrike.

Edwarde the elder.



After the decease of king Alured, his son Edwarde, surnamed the elder began his reygne ouer the more parte of Englande in the yeare of our Lord 901. which was in the .7. yere of the emperour Lewis in the eight yeare of the reigne of Charles, surnamed *Simplex*, king of France, and about the .8. yeare of Donald king of Scotland. He was sacred after the maner of other kyngs his auncestors by Athelrede the Archebishop of Canterburie. This Edward was not so learned as his father, but in princely power more high & honorable, for he ioyned the kingdome of Eastangles and Mercia with other vnto his dominion, as after shall be shewed, and vanquished the Danes, Scots, & Welchmen, to his great glory and high cõmendation. In the beginning of his reign he was disquieted by his brother Adelwold, which toke the town of Winborn besides Bath, and maried a Nunne there, which he had deflowred, and attempted many things against his brother. Wherupõ the king came to Bath, & though Adelwold shewed a countenance as if he would haue abyde the chaunce of warre within Wynborne, yet he stale awaye in the night, & fled into Northũberland, wher of the Danes he was ioyfully receiued. The king toke his wife being lefte behind, & restored hir to ỹ house from whence she was taken. Some haue written, that this Adelwolde or Ethelwolde, was not brother vnto king

Edward the elder. 901. VVinborne. *H. Hunt.* Adelwolde fleeth to the Danes. *VV. Malm.*

king Edwarde, but his vncles ſonne.

After this king Edwarde prouiding for the ſuretie of his ſubiectes againſt the forrays which the Danes vſed to make, fortifyed diuers cities and townes, and ſtuffed them with great garriſons of ſouldiors, to defend the inhabitants, and to repulſe the enimies. And ſurely the engliſhmen were ſo inured with warres in thoſe dayes, that the people being aduertiſed of the inuaſion of the enimies in any part of their countrey, would aſſemble oftentymes without knowledge of king or capitayne, and ſetting vpon the enimies, went commonly away with victorie, by reaſon that they ouermatched them bothe in number & practiſe. So were the enimies deſpiſed of the engliſhe ſouldiours, and laughed to ſcorn of the king for their foliſhe attempts. Yet in the third yeare of king Edwards reigne, Ethelwolde his brother came with a Nauie of the Danes into the parties of the eaſtangles, and euen at the firſt the Eſſex men yelded themſelues vnto him. In the yere folowing he inuaded the countrey of Mercia with a mightie armie, waſting and ſpoyling the ſame vnto Crykelade, and there paſſing ouer the Thames, rode forth til he came to Baſingſtoke, (or as ſome bookes haue Buttenden,) harying the countrey on eche ſyde, and ſo returned back into Eaſt angles with great ioy & triumph.

The Engliſhe nation practiſed in warres, goe commonly away with the victorie.

H. Hunt.

Eſſex yelded to Athelwold.

Ran. Higd.

Buttenden.

H. Hunt.

King Edwarde awakened heerewith, aſſembled his people, & folowed the enimies, waſting all the countreye betwixt the riuer of Duſe and S. Edmunds ditch. And when he ſhuld returne, he gaue cõmandement, that no man ſhould ſtay behinde him, but come backe togither for doubte to be forclayd by the enimies. The Kentiſhmen notwithſtanding this ordinance & cõmandemẽt, remained behind, although the king ſent. 7. meſſengers for them. The Danes awayting their aduantage, came togither, and fiercely foughte with the Kentiſhmen, which a long tyme valiantly defended themſelues. But in the ende the Danes obteyned the victorie, although they loſte more people there than the Kentiſhmen did: and amongeſt other, there were ſlaine the forſaid Athelwold, & diuers of the chief captains amongſt the Danes. Likewiſe of the engliſh ſide, ther died ij. dukes, Siwolf & Singlem, or Sigbelm, with ſundry other mẽ of name, both tẽporal & alſo ſpiritual lords & Abbots. In the .v. yere of his reign K. Edward cõcluded a truce with the Danes of Eaſtangle & Northumberlãd at Itingford. But in the yere folowing, he ſent an army againſt thẽ of Northumberlãd, which ſlew many of ẏ Danes, and took great bootes both of people & cattel, remaining in the countrey the ſpace of .v. weekes.

The Kentiſhmen diſobey the kings cõmaundement, are ſurpriſed by the enimies. Athelwold king Edwards brother.



Foure dayes hath S. Dunel.

The yere next enſuing, the Danes with a great armie entred into Mercia, to rob & ſpoile ẏ countrey, againſt whom king Edward ſent a mightie hoſt, aſſembled togither of the Weſt ſaxons and them of Mercia, the which ſet vpon the Danes, as they were returning homeward, & ſlew of thẽ an huge multitude, together with their chief capitaines and leaders, as king Halden, and kyng Eolwils, erle Uther, erle Scurfa, & diuers other.

In the yeare 912. (or as Simon Dunel. hath 908.) the Duke of Mercia Edrid or Etheldred, departed this life, and then king Edward ſeyſed into his handes the Cities of London and Oxford, and all that part of Mercia which he helde. But afterwards he ſuffered his ſiſter Elfleda to enioy the moſt part therof, except the ſayde cities of London and Oxford, whiche he ſtill retayned in his owne hande. This Elfleda was wyfe to the ſayd duke Edrid or Etheldred, as before you haue heard: Of whoſe worthy actes more ſhall be ſayde hereafter.

H. Hunt.

In the nynthe yeare of his reigne kyng Edwarde buylt a caſtell at Hartford, and likewiſe he

he buylded a towne in Eſſex at Wightham, and lay himſelf in the meane time at Maldon, otherwiſe Mealdun, bringing a great part of ẏ countrey vnder his ſubiection, which before was ſubiect to ẏ Danes. In the yere following, the armie of the Danes departed frō Northāpton & Cheſter in breach of the former truce, & ſlew a greate number of men at Hocchnerettō in Oxfordſhire. And ſhortly after their return home, an other cōpanie of them wēt forth and came to Leighton, where the people of the countrey being aſſembled togither, fought with them, and put them to flight, taking frō them all the ſpoyle whiche they had got, and alſo their horſes.

In the .xj. yere of king Edw. a fleet of Danes compaſſed about the Weſt partes, and came to the mouth of Seuerne, & ſo toke preyes in Wales: They alſo toke priſoner a Welche biſhop named Camelgaret, at Irchenfield, whome they led to their ſhips: but king Edward redemed him out of their hands, paying to them .xl. ℔. for his raunſom. After that the armie of Danes went forth to ſpoyle the countrey about Irchingfield, but the people of Cheſter, Hereforde, and other townes and countreys therabout, aſſembled togither, and giuing battayl to the enimies, put them to flight, and ſlewe one of their noble men called Earle Rchald, and Geoleil the brother of Earle Uter, with a great part of their armie, and draue the reſidue into a Caſtell, whiche they beſieged till the Danes within it gaue hoſtages, and couenanted to depart out of the kings lande.

The king cauſed the coaſts about Seuerne to be watched, that they ſhould not breake into his countrey: But yet they ſtale twice into the borders: neuertheles they wer chaſed & ſlain ſo many as coulde not ſwim, and ſo get to their ſhips.

Then they remayned in the Ile of Stepen, in great miſerie for lacke of victuals, bycauſe they coulde not go abroade to get any. At length they departed into Northwales, & from thēce ſayled into Ireland.

The ſame yeare king Edward came to Buckingham with an armie, and ther taried a whole moneth, building two caſtels, the one vpon the one ſide of the water of Duſe, and the other vpon the other ſide of the ſame riuer. He alſo ſubdued Turketyllus an Erle of the Danes that dwelte in that countrey, with all the reſidue of the noble men and barons of the ſhires of Bedforde and Northampton.

In the .xij. yere of K. Edwards reigne, ẏ Kentiſhmen & Danes fought togither at Holme: but whether partie had the victorie, writers haue not declared. Simon Dunelm. ſpeaketh of a batayle which the citizens of Canterbury fought againſt a number of Daniſh rouers at Holme, wher the Danes were put to flight, but that ſhould be (as he noteth) an. 8. yeres before this ſuppoſed time, as in the yere. 904. whiche was aboute the thirde yere of king Edw. reigne. After this other of the Danes aſſembled themſelues togither, & in Staffordſhire at a place called Tottēhal, fought with the Engliſhmen, & after great ſlaughter made on bothe parties, the Danes were ouercome: and ſo likewiſe were they ſhortly after at Wodfield, or Wodenfield. And thus K. Edw. put the Danes to the worſe in eche place commonly where hee came, and hearing that thoſe in Northumberlād ment to breake the peace: he inuaded the countrey and ſo afflicted the ſame, that the Danes whiche were inhabitants there, gladly continued in reſt and peace. But in this meane tyme, Ericke the king of thoſe Danes which helde the countrey of eaſtangle was about to procure new warre, and to allure other of the Danes to ioyn with him againſt the Engliſhmen, that with cōmon agreement, they might ſette vpon the engliſhe nation, and vtterly ſubdue them.

An. 911. *Sim. Dun.*

Polidore.

Erick king of Eaſtangles.

King Edw. hauing intelligence hereof, purpoſed to preuent him, & therevpon entryng with an armie into his countrey, cruelly waſted & ſpoyled the ſame. K. Erick hauing alreadie his people in armour through diſpleſure conceiued hereof, and deſire to be reuenged, haſted forthe to encounter his enimies: And ſo they met in the field & fiercely aſſayled eche other. But as the battaile was raſhly begon on king Ericks ſide, ſo was the end verie harmeful to him: for with ſmall a doe after great loſſe on his ſide, was he vanquiſhed and put to flight.

King Edward inuadeth the countrey of the Eaſtangles.

Ericke put to flight.

And after his comming home, bycauſe of his great ouerthrowe and foule diſcomfiture, he began to gouerne his people with more rigour and ſharp dealing thā before time he had vſed. Wherby he prouoked the malice of the Eaſtangles ſo highly againſt him, ẏ they fell vpon him & murthered him: yet did they not gain ſo much hereby as they looked to haue done: for ſhortly after, they being brought lowe, and not able to defende their countrey, were compelled to ſubmit themſelues vnto king Edw. And ſo was that kingdome ioyned vnto the other dominions of the ſame king Edwarde, who ſhortly after annexed alſo the kingdome of Mercia vnto other of his dominions, immediatly vpon the death of his ſiſter Elfleda, whome he permitted to gouern that countrey during hir lyfe. And not without good reaſon, for by hir wyſe & politike order vſed in all hir doings, he was greately furthered and aſſiſted. But namely in reparing and buylding of Townes and Caſtelles, ſhee ſhewed hir noble magnificence, in ſo muche that during the time of hir gouernaunce whiche continued an eyght yeares, it is recorded by writers, that ſhe did buylde and repaire theſe Townes, whoſe names

The kingdome of the Eaſtangles ſubdued by K. Edward.

H. Hunt.
Mat. VVeſt.
Sim. Dunel.

here

Thamerworth vvas by hir repared. An. 914. Badsbury and VVarvvike.

915.

Chester repared. 905. *Sim. Dunel.*

Queene of the VVelchmen taken. Brecanamere. *Ran. Higd. H. Hunt.*

918.

Derby vvon from the Danes

H. Hunt.

Anno Christi 919.

Mat. VVest. Si. Dunelm.

Rannl.

This Alfvven vvas sister to Edelfled, as H. Hunt. hath.

heere enclose: Thamworth beside Lichefielde, Stafford, Warwike, Shrewsburye, Watersbury or Weddesbury, Elilesbury or rather Edbury in the forest of De la mere besides Chester, Brimsbery bridge vpon Seuerne, Rouncorn at the mouth of the riuer of Mercie with other.

Moreouer, by hir helpe the citie of Chester whiche by Danes had bin greately defaced, was newly repaired, fortified with walles and turrets and greatly enlarged. So that the castell whiche stoode without the walles before that tyme was now brought within compasse of the new wall.

Moreouer she boldely assaulted hir enimyes whiche wente aboute to trouble the state of the countrey as the Welchemen, and Danes. She sent an armie into Wales, and toke the towne of Brecknocke with the Queene of the Welchmen at Brecennamere. Also she wan from the Danes the towne of Darby, and the countrey adioyning.

In this enterprise she put hir owne person in great aduenture: for a great multitude of Danes, þ were withdrawen into Derby, valiātly defended the gates and entries, insomuche that they slew foure of hir chiefmen of warre, which were named Wardens of hir person, euen fast by hir at the very entrie of the gates. But this notwithstanding, with valiāt fight hir people entred, and so the towne was wonne: she gotte diuers other places out of their handes, and constrained them of Yorkeshire to agree with hir, so that some of them promised to become hir subiectes: Some promised to ayde hir, and some sware to be at hir cōmaundement. Finally this martiall Lady and manly Elfleda, the supporter of hir coūtreymen and terrour of the enimies, departed this life at Thamworth aboute the. xij. of June, in the xviij. or rather. xix. yeare of hir brother king Edwards reigne, as by Math. West. it should appeare. But Simon Dunelm. writeth, that she deceassed in the yeare of Christ. 915. which should be about the. xiiij. yeare of king Edwards reign. Hir bodie was conueyed to Glouceſter, and there buried within the monasterie of S. Peter, which hir husband and she in their life tyme had buylded, and translated thither the bones of Sainct Oswyll from Bardona. The same monasterie was after destroyed by Danes. But Aldredus the archbishop of Yorke, who was also bishop of Worcester, repared an other in the same Citie, that was after the chiefe Abbey there.

After the decease of Elfleda, king Edwarde toke the dominion of Mercia as before we haue sayde) into his owne handes, and so disinherited his neece Alfwen, or Elfwen, the daughter of Elfleda, takyng hir awaye wyth him into the countrey of Westsarons. By thys meanes he so amplifyed the boundes of his kingdome, that he had the most parte of all this Ilande of Brytayne at his commaundement: for the kynges of the Welchmen (namely the kyng of Strecled, and of the Scots, acknowledging hym to be their chiefe soueraigne Lorde, and the Danes in Northumberland were kept so short, that they durst attempt nothing againste him in his latter dayes: so that he had tyme to applye the buildyng and reparing of Cities, townes, and castels wherin he so muche delighted. He buylded a newe towne at Notingham on the southside of Trent, and made a bridge ouer that riuer betwixt the olde towne and the newe. He also repared Manchester beyonde the riuer of Mercie in Lancashire, accounted as then in the southe ende of Northumberlande. He buylt a Towne of auncient writers called Thirwall, nere to the same riuer of Mercie, and placed therin a garrison of souldiers: diuers other townes and castels he buylt. as two at Buckingham on eyther side the water of Ouse (as before is shewed and also one at the mouth of the riuer of Auon. Hee likewise buylt or new repared the townes of Tocester and Wigmore, with diuers other, as one at Eladenuth, about the last yeare of his reigne. Some also he destroyed whiche seemed to serue the enimies turne for harborough, as at Temmelforde, a Castell, whyche the Danes had buylded and fortifyed.

Strutelwyd Strecled, kingdome VVales.

King Edw a great buy and repare townes. Notingham bridge buyl

Mat. VV. Manchester repared. An. 916. *Sim. Dun.*

H. Hunt.

At lengthe after that this noble Prince king Edward had reigned somewhat aboue the terme of. xxiij. yeares, hee was taken out of this lyfe at Farington: His bodie was conueyed frō thence vnto Winchester, and there buried in the newe Abbey. He hadde. iij. wyues, or (as some haue written) but two, affirming that Edgiua was not his wife, but his concubine, of whom he begat his eldest sonne Adelstane, who succeded hint in the kingdome. This Edgiua (as hathe bene reported) dreamed on a tyme, that there rose a Mone out of hir belly, whiche with the brighte shine thereof gaue light ouer all Englande: and telling hir dreame to an ancient Gentlewoman, the same Gentlewoman coniecturyng by the dreame that whiche folowed, toke care of hir, and caused hir to bee brought vp in good manners and lyke a Gentlewoman, though she were borne but of base parentage.

Polidor. A dreame.

Herevpon when she came to ripe yeares, king Edwarde by chaunce comming to the place where she was remaynyng, vpon the first sighte was streight rauished with hir beautie (whiche in deede excelled) that she coulde not reste till he had his pleasure of hir, and so begat of hir the forsayde Adelstane: By hir he had also a daughter that was maryed vnto Sithrike a Dane, and king of Northumberlande. The Scottish writers name hir Beatrice, but oure writers name

Mat. V. *Polyd.*

hir

hir Editha. His ſeconde or rather his firſt wyfe if he were not maried to Eguina mother to Adelſtane, highte Elfleda, or Elfrida, and was daughter to one erle Ethelme: by hir he had iſſue two ſonnes Ethelward and Edwyn, which immediatly departed this life after their father: & vj. daughters Elfleda, Edgiua, Ethelhilda, Ethilda, Egditha, & Elfgiua. Elfleda becam a Nunne: and Ethelhilda alſo liued in perpetuall virginitie, but yet in lay habite. Egditha was maried to the king of Fraunce Charles, ſurnamed *Simplex*. And Ethilda by help of hir brother Adelſtan was beſtowed vpon Hugh ſonne to Robert earle of Paris, for hir ſingular beautie moſte highly eſteemed: for nature in hir had ſhewed as it were hir whole cunning, in perfecting hir with all gifts and properties of a comely perſonage. Edgiua and Edgitha were ſent by their brother Adelſtan into Germanie, vnto the Emperour Henry, who beſtowed one of them vpon his ſonne Otho, that was after Emperor, the firſte of that name, and the other vnto a duke, inhabiting about ỳ Alpes: By his laſt wife named Edgiua, he had alſo two ſonnes, Edmunde and Eldred, the whiche both reigned after their brother Adelſtane ſucceſſiuely. Alſo he had by hir two daughters, Edburge that was made a Nunne, and Edgiue, a lady of excellent beautie, whom hir brother Adelſtan gaue in mariage vnto Lewys king of Aquitayn.

Whyles this lande was in continuall trouble of warres againſte the Danes, as before is touched, ſmall regarde was hadde to the ſtate of the Church, inſomuch that the whole country of the Weſtſaxons by the ſpace of .7. yeres together (in the days of this K. Edward) remained withoute any Biſhop, to take order in matters appertayning to the church. Wherupon the Pope had accurſed the engliſh people, bicauſe they ſuffred the Biſhops ſeas to be vacant ſo long a time.

King Edward to auoyd the curſſe, aſſembled a prouincial Coũcel. 905. in the which the Archbiſhop of Canterbury Pleymond was preſident. Wherein it was ordeyned, ỳ where the prouince of Weſtſaxõs in tymes paſt had but. ij. biſhops, now it ſhoulde be deuided into .v. dioceſſes, euery of them to haue a peculiar Biſhoppe. When all things were ordered and concluded in this Synode (as was thought requiſite,) the Archbiſhop was ſent to Rome with rich preſents, to appeaſe the Popes diſpleaſure. When the Pope had herd what order the king had taken, he was contented therewith. And ſo the Archebiſhop returned into his countrey, and in one day at Canterbury ordeined. vij. biſhoppes, as fiue to the Prouince of Weſtſaxons, that is to wit, Frideſtane to the ſea of Wincheſter, Adelſtan to S. German in Cornewal, Werſtan to Shirborn, Adelme to Welles, and Edulfe to Kirton. Alſo to the prouince of Suſſex, hee ordeyned one Berrigus, and to Dorcheſter for the prouince of Mertia, one Cenulfe. Here muſt ye note, that where William Malmeſ. Polichro. and other do affirme, ỳ Pope Formoſus did accurſe K. Edward & the engliſhe nation for ſuffring the biſhops ſeas to be vacant, it cannot ſtand with the agreement of the tyme, vnleſſe that the curſe pronounced by Formoſus for this matter long afore was not regarded, till Edward toke reſpect therto. For the ſame Formoſus began to gouerne the Romane ſea abonte the yeare of our Lord. 892. and liued in the papacie not paſt. vj. yeres, ſo that he was deade before king Edward came to the crowne. But how ſo euer this matter may fall out, this ye haue to conſider: Although that Pleymound was ſent vnto Rome to aduertiſe the Pope what the king had decreed and done, in the ordeyning of Biſhops to their ſeueral ſeas as before ye haue heard, yet (as Maiſter Fore hath noted) the gouernaunce and direction of the Church depended chiefly vpon the kings of this lande in thoſe days, as it manifeſtly appeareth, as wel by the decrees of K. Alured, as of this king Edward, whoſe authoritie in the election of Biſhops (as before ye haue herd) ſeemed then alone to be ſufficient.

VVil. Malmſ. ſaith that Pope Formoſus pronounced thys curſe.

904.

892.

Polidore.

Moreouer this I haue thought good to aduertiſe you of in this place, that this Pleymond Archebiſhop of Canterbury (of whom ye haue herd before) was the. xlv. in number from Auguſtine the firſt Archbiſhop there: for after Brightwold that was the. viij. in nũber, & firſt of the engliſhe nation that gouerned the ſea, ſucceeded Tadwyn, that ſat iij. yeres: Motelyn. v. yeares: Cuthberte xviij. yeres, Bregthwyn. 3. yeres. Läbert. 27. yeres, Adelard. 13. yeres Wilfred. xxviij. yeres. Theologildus or Plegildus. iij. yeares, Celuotus, or Chelutus. x. yeares. And after them ſucceeded Aldred, of whome King Edwarde receyued the crowne, and he was predeceſſour to Pleymond.

A little before the death of king Edward, Sithrike the king of Northumberlande, killed his brother Migellus, and then king Reynold conquered the Citie of Yorke. *H. Hunt.*

Adelſtane.



ADelſtane, the eldeſt ſonne of king Edward began his reigne ouer the more parte of all Englande, *Adelſtane.*

Mat. VVest. VVil. Mal. 924.

Englande, the yeare of our Lorde. 924. whiche was in the. vj. yeare of the Emperor Henry the first, in the. xj. yeare of the reigne of Charles, surnamed *simplex*, king of France. 3. moneths after the burning of Paule, & about the. 22. or. 23. yeare of Constantine the third king of Scotlande.

This Adelstan was crowned and sacred king at Kingston upon Thames of Adelme the Archbishop of Canterbury, which succeeded Pleymond. He was the. xxiiij. king in number from Cerdicius or Cerdik the first king of the Westsaxons.

Alfred striueth in vayn to kepe Athelstan from the gouernmēt.

There were in the beginning some ẏ set them selues against him, as one Alfred a noble mā whi che practised by treason, to haue kept him frō the gouernmēt: but he was apprehended ere he could bring his purpose to passe, & sente to Rome there to trie himself giltie or not guiltie. And as he toke his othe for his purgation before ẏ aultar of saint Peter, he sodenly fel down to the earth, so that his seruants toke him up & bare him vnto the englishe schoole or hospitall, where the thirde night after he died.

VVil. Malm.

See more hereof in the booke of Actes and Monumentes set foorth by M. Foxe vol. 1. leafe. 105.

Pope John the. x. sent vnto king Adelstane to know if he wold that his bodie should be layde in christian burial or not. The king at the contemplation of Alfreds frends & kinsfolks, signified to the Pope that he was contented that his bodye should be enterred amongst other christians. His lands being forfaited were giuen by ẏ king vnto God & S. Peter. The cause ẏ moued Alfred and other his cōplices against the king, was (as some haue alledged) his bastardie. But whether that allegation wer true, or but a slander, this is certain that except that stain of his honor, there was nothing in this Adelstan worthy of blame: So that he darkned all the glorious fame of his predecessors both in vertuous conditions & victorious triumphs. Such difference is there to haue that in himselfe wherein to excell, rather than to stande vpon the worthinesse of his auncestors, sith that can not rightly be called his.

After that K. Adelstane was established in the estate, he endeuored himself to answer the expectation of his people, which hoped for great welth to ensue by his noble & prudent gouernāce: Fyrst therfore meaning to prouide for the suretie of his countrey, he cōcluded a peace with Sithricus K. of the Northūbers, vnto whō as ye haue heard, he gaue one of his sisters named Editha in mariage. Sithrike liued not past one yere after he had so maried hir. And thē Adelstan brought the prouince of the Northūbers vnto his subiection, expelling one Aldulph out of the same ẏ rebelled against him. Ther be ẏ write, that Godfrey & Iulake the sonnes of Sithrike succeding their father in the gouernment of Northūberland, by practising to moue war against king Adelstane, occasioned him to inuade their cōtrey, and to chase them out of the same, so that Iulak fled into Ireland & Godfrey into Scotlād: but other write, ẏ Godfrey was the father of Reignold, which wan Yorke, after that Sithrike had slaine his brother Nigellus, as before is mencioned. The Scottish chronicles vary in report of these matters from ẏ english writers: whose chronicles affirm, ẏ in the life time of K. Edwarde his daughter Beatrice, was giuen in mariage to Sithrike, the gouernor of the Danes in Northumberland, with condition, that if any issue male were procreate of that mariage, the same shuld inherite the dominions of K. Edward after his decease. Kyng Edward had a brother (as they say) named Edwyn, a ioyly Gentleman, and of great estimation amongst the Englishmen. He by Sithrikes procurement was sent into Flaunders in a ship that leaked, & so was drowned, to the greate reioycing of all the Danes, least if he had suruiued his brother, hee woulde haue made some businesse for the crowne.

H. Hunt.

H. Boetius.

The Scottish writers vary from our English authors. Beatrice daughter to K. Edward. as the Scottish writers affirme.

Edwyn not brother to K. Edward. but sonne to him.

About the same time Adelstā a base son of K. Edw. fled ẏ realme for doubt to be made away by some like trayterous practise of the Danes. Shortly after K. Edward vnderstanding ẏ Sithrik went about some mischef toward him, persuaded his daughter to poyson hir husbande the sayd Sithrike. Then Iulaffe or Iualaffus, and Godfrey the sonnes of Sithrike, finding out by diligent examination, ẏ Beatrice was of counsell in poysoning hir husband, they caused hir to be apprehended and put to death on this wyse:

Athelstā the realme.

She was sette naked vpon a Smythes colde Anuylde or stythie, and therwith harde rosted egges being taken forth of the hot ymbers were putte vnder hir arme pittes, and hir armes faste bounde to hir bodie with a corde, and so in that state she remayned till hir life passed from hir.

Beatrice death by

K. Edward in reuenge of his daughters death moued war against the two brethren, Iulak and Godfrey, & in battail finally vāquished them, but was slain in the same battail himself. Thus haue the Scotish chronicles recorded of these matters as an induction to the warres which followed betwixt the Scots and Danes as confederates against K. Adelstan: but for the truth therof we leaue to the readers own iudgement. For in oure englishe writers we finde no suche matter, but that a daughter of King Edward named Eadgitha or Editha, after hir fathers decease was by hir brother King Athelstane, about the firste yeare of his reigne giuen in mariage (as before ye haue heard vnto the forsayde Sithrike king of Northumberland, that was descended of the Danishe blood, who for the loue of the young Ladie, renounced his Heathenishe religion, and became a christian, but shortly after, forsakyng bothe hys wyfe, and the christian fay the hee

Anno. 925. *Si. Dunelm. Polyd.*

VV. Mal.

sette

ſet vppe againe the worſhipping of Idols, and within a while after, as an Apoſtata, miſerably ended his life. Whereupon, the yong Lady, hir virginitie being preſerued, and hir body vndefyled (as they write) paſſed the reſidue of hir dayes at Polleſworth in Warwikeſhire, ſpendyng hir time as the ſame writers affirme, in faſting, watching, praying, and doing of almes deedes, and ſo at length departed out of this world.

Thus our writers differ from the Scottiſh hiſtory, both in name & maner of end as concerning that daughter of K. Edwarde, that was coupled in marriage with Sithrike. But now to returne where we left: After that Kyng Adelſtane hadde ſubdued them of Northumberland, hee was aduertiſed, that not onely Conſtantine Kyng of Scottes, but alſo Hudbale or Howell Kyng of Wales, weute about a priuie conſpiracy agaynſt him. Heereupon with all conuenient ſpeede aſſembling his power, he wente againſt them, and with like good fortune ſubdued them bothe, and alſo Viner or Wulferth K. of North wales, ſo that they were conſtreyned to ſubmit themſelues vnto him, who ſhortly after moued with pitie in conſidering their ſuddayne fall, reſtored them all three to their former eſtates, but ſo as they ſhould acknowledge themſelues to gouerne vnder hym, pronouncing with all this notable ſaying, that more honorable it was to make a King, than to be a King. Ye muſt vnderſtand, that as it appeareth by the Scottiſh Chronicles, the Scottiſhmē in time of the warres that the Danes made to ẏ Engliſh nation, gote a parte of Cumberland and other the North countreys into their poſſeſſion, and ſo by reaſon of their neere adioyning to the confines of the Engliſhe Kings, there chaunced occaſions of warre betwixte them, as well in the days of Kyng Edward, as of this Adelſtane hys ſonne, although indeede the Danes held the more part of the North countreys, till that this Adelſtane conquered the ſame out of their hands, and ioyned it vnto other of his dominions, conſtreyning as well the Danes (of whom the more part of the inhabitāts then conſiſted) as alſo the Engliſhmen, to obey him as their King and gouernour.

Godfrey as is ſaide, being fled to the Scots, did ſo much there by earneſt ſute made to Kyng Conſtantine, that hee gote a power of men, and entring with the ſame into Northumberlande, beſieged the Citie of Dureſme, ſoliciting the Citizens to receyue him, whiche they woulde gladly haue done, if they had not perceyued how he was not of power able to reſiſt the puiſſance of Kyng Adelſtane: and therefore doubting to be puniſhed for their offences if they reuolted, they kept the enimies out.

King Adelſtane beeyng ſore moued againſte the King of Scottes, that thus ayded his enimies, rayſed an army, and wente Northwarde, purpoſing to reuenge that iniurie. At his comming into Yorkſhire, hee turned out of the way, *Ran. Higd.* to viſit the place where Saint Johu of Beuerley was buryed, and ther offered his knife, promiſing that if he returned with victory, he would redeme the ſame with a worthy price: and ſo proceeded forth on his iourney, & entring Scotland, waſted *Sim. Dun.* the countrey by land vnto Dunfoader, and Werternore, and his Nauie by Sea deſtroyed the coaſtes alongſt the ſhore, euen to Catneſſe, and ſo he brought the King of Scottes and other hys enimies vnto ſubiection at his pleaſure, conſtreyning the ſame King of Scottes to deliuer vnto him his ſonne in hoſtage. It is ſayde, that beyng in his iourney neere vnto the Towne of Dunbarre, he prayed vnto God, that at the inſtance of Saint Johu of Beuerley, it would pleaſe him to graunt, ẏ he might ſhew ſome open token, whereby it ſhould appeare to all them that then lyued, & ſhould hereafter ſucceede, that the Scottes ought to be ſubiect vnto ẏ kings of Englād. And therewith the King with his ſworde ſmote vpō a great ſtone ſtanding neere to the Caſtel of Dunbarre, & with the ſtroke, there appeared a clift in the ſame ſtone to the length of an elne, whiche remayned to be ſhewed as a witneſſe of ẏ thing many yeres after. At his comming backe to Beuerley, hee redeemed his knife with a large price, as before hee had promiſed. After this, was Edwin the Kings brother accuſed of ſome conſpiracie by him begun againſt the K. wherupō he was baniſhed the land, and ſent out in an old rotten veſſell without rower or Marriner, onely accompanied with one Eſquire, ſo that beeing launched forth from the ſhore, through very diſpaire Edwin lept into the Sea, and drowned himſelfe, but the Eſquire that was with him recouered his body, and broughte it to land at Withland beſides Canterbury. But Iames Maier in the annales of Flanders ſayth, that hee was drowned by fortune of the Seas, beeyng in a ſmall veſſell, and caſt vp into a creeke on the coaſt of Picardie, was founde by Adolph Earle of Bullcigne that was his couſin germayne, and honorably buryed by the ſame Adolph in the Churche of Bertine: for the whyche deede of pietie and dutie of mindfull conſanguinitie, the Kyng of Englande both hartily thanked Earle Adolph, and beſtowed greate giftes vppon the Church where his brother was thus buryed. For verily King Adelſtane after his diſpleaſure was aſſuaged, and hearing of this miſerable ende of his brother, ſore repented hymſelfe of his rigour ſo extended towardes him, in ſo muche that he coulde neuer abide the man that had giuen the information againſt him, which was his cupbearer, ſo that one time as the ſaide cupbearer ſerued

The Scottes ſubdued.

A token ſhewed miraculouſly that Scottes ought to be ſubiect to the Kings of England.

Will. Mal. Mat. Weſt. 934

Repentance too late.

him at the Table, and came towardes him with a cuppe of wine, one of his feete chaunced to ſlide, but hee recouered himſelfe with the help of the other foote, ſaying, one brother yet hathe holpe and ſuccoured the other: whiche wordes coſt him hys life: for the King remembring that by his accuſation he had loſt his brother that might haue bin an ayd to him, cauſeth his ſaid cupbearer ſtraight wayes to be put to death.

VVil. Malm. In this meane while, Aulafe the ſonne of Sithericke, late King of Northumberland (who is alſo named by Writers to be King of the Iriſhmen, and of many Ilands) aſſembled a great power of Danes, Iriſhmē, Scottes, and other people of the out Iles, and embarqued them in. 615. Shippes, and Crayers, with the whiche he arriued in the mouthe of Humber, and there comming on lande, beganne to inuade the countrey. 937 Thys Aulafe had married the daughter of Conſtantine Kyng of Scottes, by whoſe procurement notwithſtanding his late ſubmiſſion, Aulafe toke in hand this iourney. King Adelſtane aduertiſed of his enimies arriuall, gathered his people, and with all conuenient ſpeede haſted towards them, and approching neere vnto them, pight downe his fielde at a place called by ſome Brimeſbury, by other Brimeſford, and alſo Brunanburght, and by the Scottiſh Writers Browningfielde. When knowledge hereof was had in the enimies camp, Aulafe enterpriſed a marueilous exployte, for taking with him an harpe, hee came into the Engliſhe campe, offering himſelfe, diſguiſed as a minſtrell, to ſhewe ſome parte of his cunning in muſicke vpon his inſtrument: and ſo being ſuffered to paſſe from Tente to Tente, and admitted alſo to play afore the Kyng, ſurueyghed ỳ whole ſtate and order of the army. This done, he returned, meaning by a cammiſado to ſet vpō ỳ kings Tente. But one that had ſerued as a Souldiour ſometime vnder Aulafe, chaunced by markyng his demeanor, to knowe him, and after he was gone, vttered to the King what he knewe. The Kyng ſemed to be diſpleaſed, in that he had not told him ſo much before Aulafes departure: but in excuſing himſelfe, the Souldiour ſayde, yee muſt remember if it like your grace, that the ſame fayth which I haue giuen vnto you, I ſometime ought vnto Aulafe, therefore if I ſhoulde haue betrayed hym now, you might wel ſtand in doubt leaſt I ſhuld hereafter do the like to you: but if you wil follow myne aduice, remoue your Tente, leaſt happily he aſſayle you vnwares. The Kyng did ſo, and as it chaunced in the nyght following, commeth Aulafe to aſſayle the Engliſh Camp, and by fortune comming to the place where the Kings Tent before ſtode, he found a Biſhoppe lodged, which with his company was come the ſame day to the army, and hadde pight vp his Tent in that place from whence the King was remoued: and ſo was the ſame Biſhoppe, and moſt parte of his men there ſlaine. Which ſlaughter executed, Aulafe paſſed forward, and came to the Kings Tẽt, who in this mean time, by reaſon of the Alarme raiſed, was gote vp, and taking to him his ſword in that ſuddayne fright, by chance it fell out of the ſcabbard, ſo that he could not finde it, but calling to God and S. Adelme, as ſaith Polichron. his ſword was reſtored to the ſcabbard againe. The King comforted with that miracle, boldly preaſſed forth vpon his enimies, and ſo valiauntly reſiſted them, that in the ende he put them to flight, and chaſed them all that morning and day following, ſo that hee ſlewe of them an huge number. Some haue written, that Conſtantine Kyng of Scottes was ſlayne at this ouerthrowe, and fiue other ſmall Kyngs or Rulers, with. 12. Dukes, and welneere all the army of thoſe ſtraunge nations whiche Aulafe had gathered togither. But the Scottiſh Chronicles affirme, that Conſtantine was not there himſelf, but ſent his ſon Malcolme, which yet eſcaped ſore hurt and wounded from this battell, as in the ſame Chronicles yee may ſee more at large.

H. Hunt. *VVil. Malm.* *Mat. VVeſt.* *Hec. Boetius.* *Ran. Higd.* Aulafe diſguiſed, commeth to view the Engliſh camp. Aulafe aſſayleth the Engliſh campe.

Ran. Hig. When Kyng Adelſtane had thus banquiſhed his enimies in the North parties of England, he went againſt them of Northwales, whoſe Rulers and Princes he cauſed to come before him at Hereford, and there handled them in ſuche ſorte, that they couenaunted with him to pay yeerely in name of a Tribute twentie pounde of golde, three hundred pounde of ſiluer, and fiue and twentie hundred head of Neate, with Hawkes and Houndes to a certayne number. Tribut.

After this, hee ſubdued alſo the Corniſhmen: and whereas till thoſe dayes they inhabited the Citie of Exeter, mingled amongſt the Engliſhmen, ſo that the one nation was as ſtrong within that Citie, as the other, he ridde them quite out of the ſame, and repaired the walles, and fortified them with ditches and turrets as the maner then was, and ſo remoued the Corniſhmen further into the Weſt partes of the countrey, that hee made Tamer water to be the confines betweene the Engliſhmen and them. The Cornmen ſub. Exeter re.

940 Finally, this noble Prince King Adelſtane departed out of this world, the ſixe and twẽty day of Octobre, after he hadde raigned the tearme of ſixteene yeres. His body was buried at Malmeſbury. He was of ſtature ſuch, as exceeded not the common ſort of mẽ, and ſtowped ſomewhat, yellow heared, for his valiancie ioyned with curteſey beloued of al men, yet ſharp againſt Rebels, & of inuincible conſtancie: his greate deuotion toward ỳ Church appeared in ỳ building, adorning and endowing of Monaſteries and Abbeyes. He builte one at Wilton within the dioceſſe of Saleſbury, Simon D. The deceſ K. Athelſ. The deſcription of K. Athelſtane.

Salisbury, and an other at Michelney in Somersetshire. But besides these foundations, there were few famous Monasteries within this land, but that hee adorned the same eyther with some new peece of buylding, Jewels, bookes, or portion of lands. He had in exceeding fauour Wolstane Archbishop of Yorke that lived in his dayes, for whose sake he greatly enriched that Bishopricke. His fame spred ouer all the parties of Europa, so that sundry Princes thought themselues happy if they might haue his friendship, eyther by affinitie or otherwise: by meanes whereof, he bestowed his sisters so highly in marriage as before ye haue heard. Hee receyued many noble and riche presents from diuers Princes, as from Hugh K. of Fraunce Horles, and sundry riche Jewels, with certaine reliques: as Constantines sworde, in the hilte whereof was set one of the nayles wherewith Christ was fastned to ỳ Crosse. The Speare of Charles the great, which was thought to be the same with whiche the side of our Sauiour was pearced. The banner of Saint Maurice, with a part of the holy Crosse, and likewise a part of the thorned Crowne: yet Mandeuille sawe the one halfe of this Crowne in Fraunce, and the other at Constantinople, almost. 400. yeares after this time, as he writeth.

Of these Jewels, K. Adelstane gaue parte to the Abbey of S. Swithune at Winchester, and part to the Abbey of Malmesbury. Moreouer, the King of Norway sent vnto him a goodly ship of fine workmanshippe, with sterne gilt and purple sayles, furnished rounde about the decke within-furth, with a rowe of gilte pauises.

In the dayes of this Adelstane, raigned that worthy Guy Earle of Warwike, who as sonie writers haue recorded, fought with a mighty Giaunt of the Danes in a singular combate, and vanquished him.

Edmonde.



AFter that Adelstane was departed this lyfe, without leauing issue behind to succeede hym in the kingdome, his brother Edmond, sonne of Edward the elder, borne of his last wife Edgiue, toke vpon him the gouernment of this land, and beganne his raigne in the yere of our Lord. 940. which was in the fifth yere of the Emperour Otho the first, in the .x. of Lewis, surnamed transmarinus, K. of France, and about the .38. yeare of Costantine ỳ third K. of Scotland. The Danes of Northumberlād rebelled against this Edmod, and ordeyned Aulafe to bee their K. whome they had called out of Ireland. Some write, that thys Aulafe which now in the beginning of king Edmonds raigne, came into Northumberland, was King of Norwey, and hauing a greate power of men with him, hee marched forthe towardes the South parties of this lande, in purpose to subdue the whole: but K. Edmonde rayled a mighty army, and encoūtred with his enimies at Leecster. But ere the matter came to the vttermost triall of Mars his iudgement, through the earnest sute of the Archbishop of Canterbury and Yorke Odo & Wolstan, a peace was concluded, so as Edmond should enioy all that part of the land whiche lieth from Watling streete South ward, and Aulafe shoulde enioy the other parte as it lieth from the same streete Nortl ward. Then Aulafe toke to wife the Lady Aldithа, daughter to Earle Ormus, by whose coūsell and assistance he had thus obteyned the vpper hande. But this Aulafe in the yere folowing, after he had destroyed the Church of Saint Balter, and brenned Tynningham, hee departed this life. Then the other Aulafe that was sonne to Kyng Sithricke, toke vppon hym to gouerne the Northumbers.

Simon Dun.

A peace concluded.

941

Math. VVest.

Aulafe deceaseth.

Another Aulafe taketh vpon him to rule.

After this, in the yere. 942. King Edmond assembling an army, first subdued those Danes which had gote into their possessiō the Cities and Townes of Lincolne, Leecster, Derby, Stafford and Notingham, constreyning them to receyue the Christian fayth, and reduced all the countreis euen vnto Humber vnder his subiection. Thys done, Aulafe and Reignold the sonne of Gurmo, the which as you haue heard, subdued Yorke, for meane ỳ sooner to obteyn peace, offered to become Christians, and to submit themselues vnto him: wherevpon he receyued them to his peace. There be that write, that this Aulafe is not that Aulafe whiche was sonne to King Sithricke, but rather that the other was hee with whome Kyng Edmond made partition of the Realme: but they agree, that this seconde Aulafe was a Dane also, and being conuerted to the faith as well through constraint of the Kyngs puissance, as through the Preaching of the Gospell, was Baptised, Kyng Edmonde beeyng Godfather both to him, and to the forsayde Reignolde: to Aulafe at the fontstone, and to Reignolde at his confirmation at the Bishoppes handes. But their wicked natures coulde not rest in quiet, so that they brake bothe promise to GOD, and to theyr prince, and were therefore in the yeare nexte followyng dryuen bothe out of the countrey,

Gurmo or Godfrey.

VVil. Malm.

944

Simon Dun.

and punished by perpetuall exile. And so K. Edmond adioyned Northumberlande without admitting any other immediate gouernor vnto his owne estate. Moreouer, he walled & spoiled whole Cumberland, bycause he could not reduce ỳ people of that countrey vnto due obeysance, and cõformable subiection. The two sonnes of Dunmaile K. of that prouince, hee apprehended, and caused their eyes to be put out. And herewith vpon consideration eyther of suche ayde as he had receiued of ỳ Scottes at that time, or some other friendly respect, he assigned the saide countrey of Cumberlande vnto Malcolme K. of Scottes, to hold the same by fealtie of him and his successors. The Scottishe Chronicles peruerting the tyme and order of the actes and doings of the Englishe kings whiche raigned about this season, affirme, that by couenauntes of peace concluded betwixte Malcolme King of Scotlande, and Adelstane King of England, it was agreed, that Cumberlande shoulde remayne to the Scottes, as in their Chronicles you may finde at full expressed. And again, that Indulfe who succeeded Malcolme in the Kingdome of Scotland, ayded K. Edmonde against Iulake whome ỳ same Chronicles name Iualassus, but the time which they attribute vnto the raignes of their Kings, will not allow the same to stand. For by accompt of their writers, King Malcolme began not his raigne till after the decesse of King Adelstane, who departed thys life in the yere. 940. And Malcolme succeed Cõstantine the third in the yere. 944. which was about the third yeare of Kyng Edmonds raigne, and after Malcolme that raigned. xv. yeares succeeded Indulfe in the yeare. 959. The like discordance preceedeth and followeth in their writers, as to the diligent Reader in conferring their Chronicles wt ours, it manifestly appeareth. We therefore (to satisfie the desirous to vnderstande & see the diuersitie of writers,) haue for the more part in their Chronicles left the same as we haue found it.

Leolin Kyng of South-Wales ayded K. Edmonde in this enterprise.

946

Polidor.

But now to the other doings of K. Edmond: it is recorded, that hee ordeyned diuerse good and wholesome lawes very profitable and necessary for the common wealth, which lawes with dyuerse other of like antiq[illegible] forgot and blotted out by rust of time, the consumer of thynges worthy of lõg remembrance, as sayth Polidore: but sithence his time they haue but recouered for the more part, and by master William Lambert turned into Latyne, were imprinted by John Day in the yeare. 1568. as before I haue sayde.

The lawes of K. Edmonde.

Fiue yeres and seuen monethes hath Si. Dun.

Finally, this Prince K. Edmond, after he had raigned fiue yeres and a halfe, he came to his end by great misfortune, for as some say, it chanced, that espying where one of his seruauntes was in daunger to bee slayne amongst his enimies that were about him with drawen swords, as he stepped in to haue holpen his seruante, he was slayne at a place called Pulcher Church, or as other haue Michelbourgh. Other say, that keeping a great feast at the aforesayde place on the day of Saint Augustine the English Apostle (which is the. 26. of May, and as that yeare came about, it fell on the tewsday) as hee was set at the table, he espyed where a common robber was placed neere vnto him, whome sometime he had banished the land, and now being returned without licence, he presumed to come into the kings presence, wherwith the King was so moued with high disdaine, that he suddaynely rose from the table, and flew vpon the Theefe, and catching him by the heare of the head, threwe him vnder his feete, wherewith the theefe hauing fast holde on the King, broughte him downe vppon him also, and with his knyfe stroke him into the belly in suche wise, that the Kings bowels fell out of his chest, and there presently dyed: the theefe was hewen in peeces, by the Kings seruauntes, but yet he slewe and hurt diuers before they coulde dispatch him. Thys chance was lamentable, namely to the Englishe people, whiche by the ouertimely deathe of theyr King, in whome appeared many euident tokens of great excellencie, lost the hope whiche they had conceiued of great wealth to encreate by his prudent and most princely gouernemente. His body was buried at Glastenbury where Dunstan was then Abbot. There be that write, that the death of King Edmonde was signified aforehande to Dunstane, who about the same time attendyng vppon the same Kyng, as hee remoued from one place to an other, chanced to accompany himselfe with a noble man, one Duke Elstane, and as they rode togither, beholde suddaynely Dunstane sawe in the way before hym where the Kings Musitions rode, the Deuill running and leaping amongst the same Musitions after a reioycing manner, whome after hee had beholde a good while, he said to the Duke, is it possible that you may see that whiche I do see, and the Duke answered he sawe nothing otherwise than hee ought to see. Then saide Dunstane, blesse youre eyes with the signe of the crosse, and trie whether you can see that I see. And when hee hadde done as Dunstane appoynted hym, hee sawe also the Fende in likenesse of a little short euill fauoured Ethyopian daunsing and leaping, whereby they gathered that some euill happe was towardes some of the company. But when they had crossed and blessed them, the foule Spirit vanished out of their sight. And after they had talked of this vision, and made an end of their talke touching the same, ỳ Duke required of Dunstane to interpret a dreame which he had of late in sleepe,

Pridecessor hath Si. Dun. *Vvil. Mal. Mathæ.* 946

Capgrau.

A vayne tale.

Crossing bringeth of the Deu and crossing driueth the away.

Dunstan an interpretor of dreames.

and

and that was this: he thought that he ſawe in viſion the King with all his Nobles ſit in hys dining chamber at meate, and as they were therewith making merry togither, the K. chanced to fall into a dead ſleepe, and all the Noble men, and thoſe of his counſell that were aboute him were chaunged into Rowbuckes and Goates. Dunſtan quickly declared, that this dreame ſignified the Kings deathe, and the chaunging of the Nobles into dumb and inſenſible beaſtes, betokened, that the Princes and gouernours of the Realm ſhould decline from the way of truth, and wander as fooliſh beaſtes, without a guide to rule them. Alſo the nighte after this talke when the King was ſet to ſupper, Dunſtan ſawe the ſame ſpyte or ſome other walke vp and downe amongſt them that wayted on the table, & within three days after the K. was ſlayne, as before ye haue heard.

Edredus or Edred.



EDredus ỹ brother of Edmõd & ſon to Edwarde ỹ elder, and to Edgiue hys laſt wife, begã his raigne ouer the Realme of Englãd in the yeare of oure Lord. 946. or as Harriſon ſaith. 997. which was in the twelfth yeare of the Emperoure Otho the firſte, and in the. 21. yeare of the raigne of Lewis King of Fraunce, and about the thirde or fourth yere of Malcolme the firſte of that name King of Scotland. Hee was Crowned and anointed the 16. day of Auguſt by Odo the Archbiſhoppe of Canterbury at Kingſton vpon Thames. In the firſt yeare of his raigne, the Northumbers rebelled againſt him, wherevppon hee rayſed an army, inuaded their countrey, and ſubdued them by force. This done, he wente forwarde into Scotlande: but the Scots without ſhewing any reſiſtance, ſubmitted thẽſelues vnto him, and ſo both Scottes and Northũbers receyued an oth to bee true vnto him, whiche they obſerued but a ſmall while, for he was no ſoner returned into ỹ South partes, but that Aulaf which had bin chaſed out of the countrey by K. Edmond as before ye haue heard, returned into Northumberlande with a great nauie of Ships, and was ioyfully receyued of the inhabitants, and reſtored againe to ỹ kingdome, which he held by the ſpace of four yeres, and then by the accuſtomed diſloyaltie of the Northumbers, hee was by them expulſed, and then they ſet vp one Hyrke, or Heritius the ſonne of one Harrolde to raigne ouer them, who helde not ỹ eſtate any long time. For in ỹ third yeere of his raigne, Edredus in ỹ reuẽge of ſuch diſloyal dealings in the Northumbers, deſtroyed the whole countrey with fire and ſword, ſleaying the moſt

946

H. Hunton.

The Northũbers rebell and are ſubdued.

Aulaf returned into Northumberland.

Hirk or Hericius.

VVil. Malm.

The diſloyaltie of the Northumbers puniſhed.



parte of the inhabitants.

He brente the Abbey of Rippon, whiche was kept againſt him. As he was returning homeward, an hoſt of enimies brake out of Yorke, and ſetting vpon the rereward of the kings army at a place called Eaſterforde, made great ſlaughter in the ſame. Wherefore the King in his rage, mente to haue begun a new ſpoyle and deſtruction, but the Northumbers humbled themſelues ſo vnto him, that putting away their foreſaide K. Hirke, or Hericius, and offering great rewards and gifts to buy their peace, they obteyned pardon. But byeauſe that Wolſtan the Archbiſhop of Yorke was of counſell with his countreymen in reuolting from K. Edredus, and aduancing of Hericius. K. Edredus toke him and kept him in priſon

The Archbiſhop of Yorke impriſoned.

a long time after, but at length in reſpect of the reuerence which he bare to his calling, he ſet hym at libertie, and pardoned him his offence. Math. Weſt. reciteth an other cauſe of Wolſtanes impriſonment, as thus. In the yere of grace ſaith he 951. King Edrede put the Archbiſhop of Yorke in cloſe priſon, bycauſe of often complaynte exhibited againſt him, as he which had commaunded many Townelmen of Theadford to bee put to death, in reuenge of the Abbot Aldelme, by the vniuſtly ſlayne and murthered. After this, when Edredus had appeaſed all ciuill tumultes & diſſentions within his land, he applyed himſelfe to the aduancing of Religion, wholly following the mind of Dunſtane, by whoſe exhortation he ſuffered patiently many tormentes of the body, and exerciſed himſelfe in prayer and other deuoute ſtudies. Finally, after he had raigned nine yeares and a halfe, he departed this life to the great greeuance of menne, and reioycing of Angels, as it is writtẽ, and was buried at Wincheſter in the Cathedral Church there. Here is to be noted, that the foreſaide Edrede when hee came firſte to the Crowne, vpon a ſingular and moſt eſpeciall fauour whiche hee bare towards Dunſtan the Abbot of Glaſtenbury, he committed to him the cheefeſt part of all the threaſure, as charters of landes with other monuments, and ſuch antient princely iewels as belonged to the former Kings, with other ſuch as he gote of his owne, willing hym to lay the ſame in ſafekeeping within his Monaſterie of Glaſtẽbury. Afterward when King Edred perceyued himſelfe to be in daunger of deathe by force of that ſickneſſe which in deede made an end of his life, he ſent into all parties to ſuch as had any of his treaſure in keeping, to bring the ſame vnto him with all ſpeede, that hee might diſpoſe thereof before his departure out of this life, as hee ſhould ſee cauſe. Dunſtane toke ſuche thynges as he had vnder his handes, and haſted forwarde to deliuer the ſame vnto the King, and to viſit hym in that tyme of hys ſickneſſe according to hys duetie: but as he was vpõ ẏ way, a voice ſpake to him frõ Heauen, ſaying behold K. Edred is now departed in peace. At the hearing of this voyce, the Horſe whereon Dunſtane rode fell downe & died, being not able to abide the preſence of the Angell that thus ſpake to Dunſtane. And when he came to the Court, he vnderſtoode that the King dyed the ſame houre in whiche it was tolde him by the Angell, as before ye haue heard.

Mat. Weſt. 951

Edredus departeth thys life.

Dunſtan in fauor.

But was not this a deuiſe thereby to deceyue the treaſure, for I do not reade that he deliuered it out of his hands. An Angell or as ſome think a worſe creature.

This Edwarde in his latter dayes beeyng greatly addicted to deuotiõ and religious prieſts, at the requeſt of hys mother Edgina reſtored the Abbey of Abingdon which was built firſte by K. Inas, but in theſe dayes ſore decayed and fallen into ruine.

Edwin.



After the deceſſe of Edredus, his Nephewe Edwin the eldeſt ſonne of Kyng Edmõd was made King of England, and began his raigne ouer the ſame in the yeare of our L. 955. and in the. 20. yeare of the Emperour Otho the firſte, in the. 28. and laſt yeare of the raigne of Lewis King of France, and about the twelfth yere of Malcolme the firſt of that name King of Scotland. He was ſacred at Kingſton vppon Thames by Odo the Archbiſhop of Canterbury. The ſame day of his Coronation, as the Lordes were ſet in counſell about weighty matters touching the gouernemente of the Realme, hee roſe from the place, gate him into a chamber with one of his neere kinſwomen, and there had to do with hir without reſpect or any regard had to his royall eſtate and princely dignitie. Dunſtane lately beforenamed Abbot of Glaſtenbury, did not onely without feare of diſpleaſure reprowue the king for ſuch ſhamefull abuſing of his body, but alſo cauſed the Archbiſhop of Canterbury to conſtreyne him to forgoe ẏ company of that women whom vnlawfully hee kept as his wife. There be that write, that there were two women both mother and daughter, whome K. Edwin kept as concubines: for the mother beeing of noble parentage, ſought to ſatiſfie the Kings luſt, in hope that eyther hee woulde take hir, or hir daughter to wife. And therefore perceyuing that Dunſtane was ſore againſt ſuche wanton paſtime as the King vſed in their company, ſo wrought, that Dũſtan was thrꝰgh hir earneſt trauel baniſhed the land. And this is alſo reported, that when he ſhould departe the Realme, the Deuill was heard in the Weſt end of the Church, taking vp a great laughter after his roring manner, as though he ſhould ſhew himſelfe glad and ioyfull of Dunſtanes goyng into exile. But Dunſtane perceyuing his behauiour, ſpake to him, and ſayd: well thou aduerſarie, do not ſo greatly reioyce at the matter, for thou doeſt not now ſo much reioyce at my departure, but by Gods grace thou ſhalt be as ſorowfull for my returne. Thus was Dunſtane baniſhed by K. Edwine, ſo that he was compelled to paſſe ouer into Flaunders, where hee remayned for a tyme within a Monaſterie at Gaunt, finding muche friendſhippe at the handes of the gouernoure of that countrey. Alſo the more to wreake

Edw.

Polidor.

Iohan.

Dunſtan baniſheth the Realme.

Dunſtan ſeeth the Deuill.

Dunſtan parteth exile.

wreake his wrath, the King spoyled many Religious houses of their goodes, and drone out the Monkes, placing secular Priests in their rowmes, as namely at Malmesbury, where yet the house was not empayred, but rather enriched in landes and ornamentes by the kings liberalitie and the industrious meanes of the same Priestes whyche toke vp the bones of Saint Elderine, and put the same in a shrine. At length, the inhabitantes of ỹ middle parte of England, euen from Humber to Thames rebelled againste him, and electe hys brother Edgar to haue the gouernemente ouer them, wherewith King Edwine toke such griefe for that he saw no meane at hand how to remedy the matter, that shortly after when he had raigned somewhat more than four yeres, he departed this life. His body was buried at Winchester in the new Abbey there.

Edgar.



EDgar the seconde son of Edmonde late Kyng of Englande, after the decease of hys elder brother ỹ foresayd Edwin, beganne hys raigne ouer this Realme of England in the yere of our Lord God. 959. in the. 22. yeare of the Emperour Otho the first, in the fourth yere of the raigne of Lotharius K. of France. 510. almost ended after the cõming of the Saxons. 124. after the arriuall of the Danes, and in the last yeare of Malcolme K. of Scotlãd. He was Crowned and sacred at Bath, or as some say, at Kingstõ vpõ Thames, by Dodo the Archbishop of Canterbury, being as then not past. 16. yeres of age, when hee was thus admitted K. Hee was no lesse endowed with commendable giftes of mind, than with strength and force of body. He was a great fauorer of Monks, and especially hee had Dunstane in high estimation. Aboue all things in this world he regarded peace, and studyed dayly howe to preserue the same, to the commoditie and aduancement of his subiectes. And when he had established thynges in good quiet, and set an order in matters as seemed to him best for the peaceable gouernement of hys subiectes, he prepared a great nauie of Shippes, and deuiding them in three partes, hee appoynted euery part to a quarter of the Realm, to waste about the coast, that no forayne enimie shoulde approch the lãd, but that they might bee encountred and put backe before they could take land. And euery yeare after Easter, he vsed to giue order, that his Shipps shoulde assemble togither in theyr due places. And then would he with the East nauie, saile to the West parties of his Realme, & sending those Shipps backe, he would with the West nauie sayle into the North partes, and with the North nauie came backe againe into the East. This custome he vsed, that hee might scoure the Seas of all Pirates and Theeues. In the Winter season and spring time, he would ride through the prouinces of his Realme, searching out howe the Iudges and greate Lordes demeaned themselues in the administration of Iustice, sharply punishing those that were found faulty of extortion, or had done otherwise in any poynte than dutie required. In all things he vsed suche politike discretion, that neither was he put in daunger by treason of his subiectes, nor molested by forayne enimies. He caused diuers Kings to binde themselues by oth, to bee true and faithfull vnto him, as Kinadius or rather Indulf king of Scotland, Malcolme K. of Cumberland, Malcutius an Archpirate as we may call him a Maister Rouer, and also all the Kings of the Welchmen, as Duffuall, Gyffrith, Huuall, Jacob, and Iuthill, all which came to his court, and by their solemne othes receyued, sweare to bee at his commandement: and further for more manifest testimonie thereof, he hauing them with him at Chester, caused them to enter into a Barge vpon the water of Dee, and placing himselfe in the fore part of the Barge at the helme, caused those eight high Princes to rowe the Barge vp and downe ỹ water, shewing therby his princely prerogatiue and royall magnificence, in that he might vse the seruice of so many kings that were his subiectes. And therevpon he said (as hath bin reported) that then might his successors accompte themselues kings of England, when they enioyed suche prerogatiue of high & supreme honor. The fame of this noble Prince was spredde ouer al, as well on this side the Sea, as beyõd, in so much that great resort of straungers chanced in his dayes, whyche came euer into this land to seruc him, & to see the state of his Court, as Saxons & other, yea & also Danes, whyche became very familiar with hym. He fauored in deede the Danes (as hath bin sayd) more than stood with ỹ cõmoditie of his subiectes, for vneth was anye streete in Englande, but Danes had their dwelling in ỹ same amongst ỹ Englishmẽ, wherby came great harme: for wher as the Danes by nature were great drinkers, the Englishmen by cõtinuall conuersation with thẽ learned the same vice. King Edgar to reforme in part such excessiue quaffing as thẽ begã to grow in vse, caused by ỹ procuremẽt of Dũstane, nailes to be set in cups of a certaine measure, marked for ỹ purpose, ỹ none shuld drinke more thã was assigned by such measured cups. Englishmen also

Malcusius.

Kings of Welchmen.

Geffer. Huval as some copies haue.

King Edgar roweth on the water of Dee.

Ran. Higd.

King Edgar fauoreth Danes.

English learned to quaffe of the Danes.

VVil. Mal.

nglishmen arne other ces of ſtran- ers.

learned of the Saxõs, Flemings, and other ſtrãgers, their peculier kind of vices, as of the Saxõs a diſordred fierceneſſe of mind. of the Flemings a feeble tendernesse of body, where before, they reioyced in their own ſimplicitie, and eſteemed not the lewde and vnprofitable maners of strangers.

Dunſtans pre- rremens.



Dunſtane was made Biſhoppe of Worceter, & had alſo the adminiſtration of the See of Lõdon committed vnto him. He was in ſuch fauor with ỹ K. that hee ruled moſt things at his pleaſure. Ethelwold which beeyng firſte a Monke of Glaſtenbury, and after Abbot of Abington, was likewiſe made Biſhop of Wincheſter, and might doe very much with the K. Alſo Oſwalde which had bin a Monke in the Abbey of Flory in Fraunce, & after was made Biſhop of Worceter, and from thence remoued to the See of Yorke, was highly in fauour with this King, ſo that by theſe three Prelates he was moſt counſelled. Iuſtice in hys dayes was ſtraightly obſerued, for although hee were courteous and gentle towards his friendes, yet was he ſharp and hard to offenders, ſo that no perſon of what eſtate or degree ſo euer he was, eſcaped worthy puniſhment if he did tranſgreſſe the lawes and ordinances of the Realme. Ther was no priuy theefe nor common robber that durſt lay hands of other mens goods but that he might looke to make amendes with loſſe of his lyfe if hee were knowen to be giltie. For howe myghte men that did offend, thinke to eſcape his hands, whych deuiſeth wayes howe to ridde the countrey of all wilde rauening beaſtes, that liued vppon ſucking the bloud of others? For as it is ſaid, he appointed Iudwcall or Ludweal K. of Wales, to preſente him with three hundred Woulfes yerely in name of a tribute, but after three yeares ſpace, there was not a Wolfe to be found, and ſo that tribute ceaſſed in the fourth yere after it began to be payed.

Ethelwolde made biſhop of VVinche- ter.

Oſwalde. Floriacum.

Mookes muſt needes write much in praiſe of Eogar, who had men of their coate in ſuch eſtimatiõ

A tribute inſtituted of Wellesking.

In this meane time, Alfred the wife of Kyng Edgare, as ſome ſaye, or rather as other write, his concubine, dyed, of whome he had begote a ſon named Edward. The death of this woman occaſioned the K. to committe an heynous offence. For albeit the ſame time, the fame wẽt. that Porgerius Duke of Cornewal, or rather Deuonſhire had a daughter named Alfred, a Damoſell of excellent beautie, whome Edgar minding to haue in marriage, appointed one of his noble men called Earle Ethelwolde, to goe with al ſpeede into Cornewall or Deuonſhire, to ſee if the yong Ladyes beautie aunſwered the report that wente of hir, then hee to breake the matter to hir father in his behalfe. Ethelwold being a yong iolly Gentleman, tooke his iourney into Cornwall, & comming to ỹ Duke, was well receiued, & had a ſight of his daughter, ỽ whoſe beautie he was ſtraight rauiſhed ſo farre in loue, that not regarding the kings pleaſure which had ſent him thither, he begã to purchaſe the good will of both father & daughter for himſelfe, and did ſo much, that he obteyned the ſame indeede. Hereupon returning to the K. hee enformed him that the Damoſell was not of ſuch beautie and comely perſonage as mighte bee thought worthy to matche in marriage with hys Maieſtie. And ſhortly after perceyuing the kyngs mind by his wrongfull miſreport to be turned, & nothing bent that way, he began to ſue to hym ỹ hee mighte with his fauour marry the ſame Damoſell: which the K. graunted, as one that cared not for hir, becauſe of the credite whiche he gaue to Ethelwolds wordes. And ſo by this meanes Ethelwold obteined Alfrid in marriage, which was to his owne deſtruction, as the caſe fell out. For whẽ the fame of hir paſſing beautie did ſpred ouer all ỹ Realme now that ſhe was married & came more abroade in ſight of the people, the K. chanced to heare therof, and deſirous to ſee hir, deuiſed vnder colour of hunting to come vnto the houſe of Ethelwolde, and ſo did: Where he had no ſoner ſet his eye vpon hir, but he was ſo farre wrapped in ỹ chaine of burning concupiſcence, that to obteine his purpoſe, he ſhortly after contriued Ethelwolds death, & married his wife. Some ſay, that the woman kindled the brand of purpoſe: for where it was knowen, that the K. would ſee hir. Ethelwold willed hir in no wiſe to trimme vp hir ſelfe, but rather to diſfigure hir in foule garmẽts, & ſome euill fauored attire, that hir natiue beautie ſhould not appeare, but ſhee perceiuing howe the matter went, of ſpight ſet forthe hir ſelfe to ỹ vttermoſt, ſo that ỹ K. vpon the firſt ſight of hir became ſo farre enamored of hir beautie, that taking hir huſbande forthe with him on hunting into a foreſt or wood called then Werlewood, and after Horewood, not ſhewing that hee meante hym any hurt, till at length hee had gote him within ỹ thicke of the wode, where hee ſuddaynely ſtroke him through with his darte, and as his baſtarde ſon came to ỹ place, the K. aſked hym how he liked ỹ maner of hunting, whereunto he anſwered, very wel if it like your grace, for ỹ that liketh you ought not to diſpleaſe me: ỽ which anſwer ỹ K. was ſo pacified, ỹ he indeuored by pretendyng his fauor towards the ſonne to alleuiate the tyrannicall murder of the father. Then did the K. marry

Erle Ethelwold ſupplãted the king of his wyfe.

King Edgar ſeeketh the deſtruction of earle Ethelwold.

King Edgar murthereth.

Orgar.

Oborne an I Capgrunehold that ſhe was not his wyfe, but a Nunne. *VV. Mal.*

the

the Counteſſe Alfred, & of hir begat two ſons, Edmond which died yōg, & Ethelored or Egelthred.

Beſides this cruell acte wrought by king Edgar for the ſatiſfying of his fleſhly luſt, hee alſo played another part greatly to the ſtayne of hys honour, moued alſo by wanton loue, wyth a yong Damſel named Wilfrid, for after ỳ ſhe had (to auoyde the daunger of him) eyther profeſſed hir ſelfe a Nunne, or elſe for a colour (as the moſt part of wryters agree) got hir ſelfe into a Nunrie, and clad hir in Nunnes weede, he toke hir forth of hir Cloyſter, and lay by hir ſundrie tymes, and begat on hir a daughter named Edith, who comming to conuenient age, was made a Nunne.

A thirde example of his incontinencie, is written by Authours, and that is this. It chaunced on a time that he lodged one night at Andauer, and hauing a minde to a Lordes daughter there, he commaunded that ſhe ſhould be brought to his bed, but the mother of the Gentlewoman woulde not that hir daughter ſhoulde be defloured: and therefore in the darke of the night, brought one of hir mayd ſeruants, and layde hir in the kings bed, ſhe being both fayre, proper and pleaſant. In the morning when the day beganne to appeare, ſhee made haſte to ariſe: and being aſked of the king why ſhe ſo haſted, that I may goe to my dayes worke (if it pleaſe your grace) quoth ſhe. Herewith ſhe being ſtayed by the king, as it were againſt hir will, ſhee fell downe on hir knees, and requyred of him that ſhe might be made free, in guerdon of hir nights worke. For (ſayth ſhe) it is not for your honour, that the woman whiche hath taſted the pleaſure of the kings bodie ſhould any more ſuffer ſeruitude vnder the rule and appoyntment of a ſharpe and rough miſtres.

The King then being moued in his ſpirites, laughed at the matter, though not from the heart, (as he that toke great indignation at the doings of the Ducheſſe) and pitied the caſe of the poore wenche. But yet in fine (turning the matter to a bourd) he pardoned all the parties, and aduaunced the wenche to high honour, farre aboue thoſe that had rule of hir afore: ſo that ſhee ruled them (willed they nilled they) for he vſed hir as his paramour, till time ỳ he maryed the foreſaid Alfrede.

For theſe youthfull partes, and namely for the rauiſhing of Wilfrida (which though ſhe were no Nunne) yet the offence ſeemed right haynous, for that he ſhoulde once touche any woman ſhadowed vnder that habite, hee greatly diſpleaſed Dunſtan, ſo that by him hee was put to hys vij. yeares penance, and kept from the crowne till the. xij. yeare of his raigne or more. For ſome write that hee was not crowned nor annoynted king, till the. xxx. yeare of his age, which ſhoulde be about the. xiij. or. xiiij. yeare of his raigne, by that account, ſithe hee entred into the rule of the kingdome about the. xvj. yeare of his age.

In deede one Authour witneſſeth, that he was ſacred at Bathe on a Whitſunday, the. xiij. yeare of his raigne, and that by Dunſtan Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and Oſwolde Archbiſhop of Yorke. But ſome which ſuppoſe that he was ſacred king immediately vpon the death of Edzidus, affyrme that he was crowned and annoynted by the Archbiſhop Odo, Dunſtan as then remayning in exile, from whence he was immediately reuoked by Edgar, and firſt made Biſhop of Worceter (as hath beene ſayde) and after the deceaſſe of Odo was aduaunced to be Archbiſhop of Canterburie. But by ſome writers it appeareth, that Dunſtan was reuoked out of exile immediately vpon the partition of the Realme betwixte Edwyn and Edgar, which chaunced in the yeare. 957. by the rebellion of the people of Mercia, and others (as before ye haue heard.) And that in the yeare following the Archbiſhop Odo died, After whome ſucceeded Alfin biſhop of Wincheſter, the whiche alſo died the ſame yeare that K. Edwin deceaſed, as he went to fetch his Pal from Rome, and then Brightelme Biſhop of Dorcheſter was elected Archbiſhop. But becauſe he was not ſufficient to diſcharge ſo great an office, by king Edgars commaundement hee was conſtrayned to giue place to Dunſtan.

Hen. Hunt. *Ran. Higd.* *Polidor.* *Mat. VVeſt.* *Simon Dun.*

Toward the latter end of king Edgars dayes, the Welchmen moued ſome rebellion againſte him. Wherevpon he aſſembled an armie, and entring the Countrey of Glamorgan, did muche hurt in the ſame, chaſtiſing the inhabitants right ſharpely for theyr rebellious attempts.

Fabian. *Ran. Higd.* The Welchmen rebell and are chaſtiſed.

Amongſt other ſpoyles taken in thoſe parties at that time by the men of warre, the Bell of S. Ellutus was taken away, and hanged aboute a horſes necke, and (as hath beene reported) in the after noone, it chaunced that king Edgar layde him downe to reſt, wherevpon in ſleepe there appeared one vnto him, and ſmote him on the breaſt with a Speare. By reaſon of which viſion hee cauſed all things that had beene taken away, to be reſtored againe. But within. ix. dayes after the king dyed.

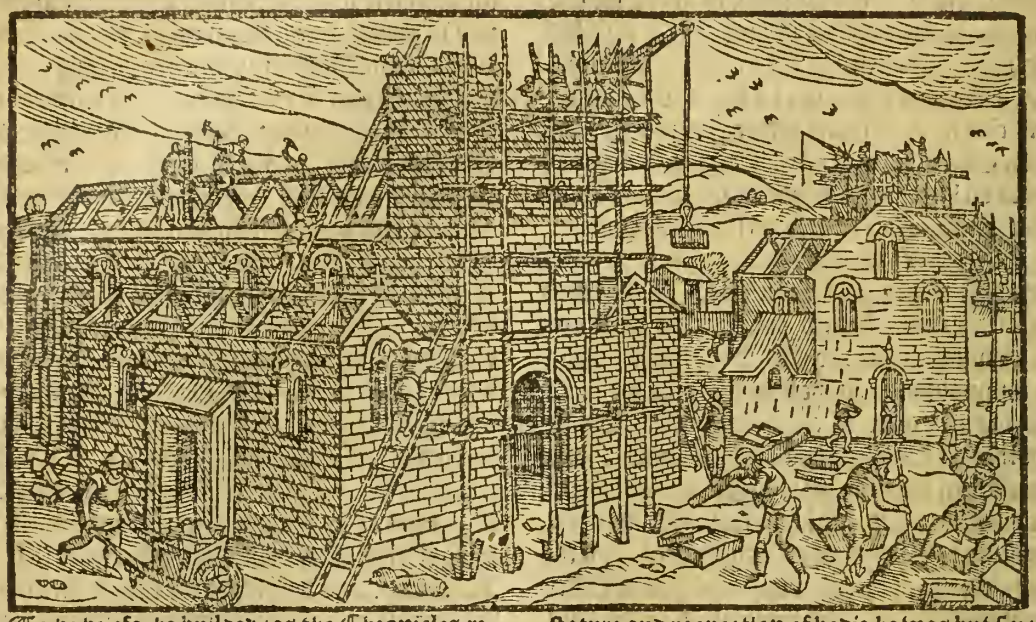
Whether any ſuch thing chaunced, or that he had any ſuch viſion, it forceth not. But truth it is that in the. xxxvij. yeare of his age, after hee had raigned. xvj. yeares and two Monethes he departed this life, the. viij. daye of July, and was buried at Glaſtenburie.

VVil. Malm. *H. Hunt.* King Edgar departed this life.

This Edgar is highly renowmed of writers for ſuch princely qualities as appeared in him, but chiefly for that hee was ſo beneficiall to the Church, namely to Monkes, the aduauncement of whom he greatly ſought, both in buylding Abbayes newe from the grounde, in reparing thoſe that were decayed: alſo by enriching them wyth

Wherefore Edgar is prayſed of ſome writers.

great reuenues, and in conuerting Collegiate Churches into Monasteries, remouing secular Priests, and bringing in Monks in their places. There passed no one yeare of his raigne, wherein he founded not one Abbay or other. The Abbay of Glastenburie which his father had begon he finished. The Abbay of Abingdon also he accomplished and set in good order. The Abbayes of Peterborough and Thorney hee established. The Nunrie of Wilton he founded & richly endowed, where his daughter Editha was professed, and at length became Abbatesse there.



To be briefe, he builded (as the Chronicles recorde) to the number of. xl. Abbayes and Monasteries, in some of which he placed Monks, and in some Nunnes. By his example in those his dayes, other noble men, as well Prelates as of the Laitie, did begin the foundation of sundrie Abbays and Monasteries: as Adelwolde Bishop of Wincheſter buylded the Abbay of Ely, and as some say Peterbourgh, & Thorney, though they were established by the king (as before is mentioned.) Also Earle Aylewin at the exhortation of the same Bishop Adelwold, builded the Abbay of Ramsey, though some attribute the doing thereof vnto Odwold the Archbishop of Yorke, and some to king Edward the elder. But to conclude, the religious orders of Monkes & Nunnes in these dayes flozished, & the state of secular Priests was smally regarded, insomuch that they were constrayned to auoyd out of diuerse Colledges, and leaue the same vnto Monks, as at Worceter and Wincheſter, where in the new Monasterie, bycause the priests liued not in such sort as was thē thought requisite, the prebends were taken from them and giuen to vicars. But when the vicars were thought to vse themselues no better, but rather worse thā the other before thē, they were likewise put out, & Monkes placed in their roomes by authoritie of Pope Iohn the. xiij. And this reformation, or rather deformatiō was vsed by K. Edgar in many other places of the realm. He was (as appeareth by writers) namely in his beginning, cruel against his own people, and wanton in lusting after yong women (as you haue heard before.) Of stature and proportion of bodie he was but smal & low, but yet had nature enclosed within so little a personage such strength, that he durst encounter & combat with him that was thought most strong, only doubting this, least he which should haue to do with him should stand in feare of him. And as it chanced at a great feast, where ofentymes men vse their tongues more liberally than needeth,) the king of Scottes Kinadius cast out certaine wordes in this maner: It may (sayeth he) seeme a maruel that so many Countreys and prouinces should bee subiect to suche a little silly bodie as Edgar is. These wordes being borne away by a iesster or Minstrell, and afterwardes vttered to Edgar with greate reproche, hee dissembled the matter for a tyme, although hee kept the remembraunce thereof inclosed within his breast: and vpon occasion, at length he faigned to goe on hunting, taking the king of Scots forth with him: and hauing caused one of his seruaunts to conuey two swordes into a place within the forrest by him appointed in secrete wise, of purpose he withdrew from the residue of his companie, & there accompanied onely with the Scottish king, came to the place where the swordes were layde: And there taking the one of them, deliuered the other to the Scottish king, willing him now to assay his strength, that they might shew by proufe whether of them ought to be subiect to the other: & start not away but trie it with me (saith he) for it is a shame for a king to be ful of brags at bankets and not to be ready to fight when triall should be made abrode. The Scottish king herewith being astonied

Fabian. *Ran. Higd.* *Hen. Hunt.* *VVil. Malm.* *H. Hunt.* *Mat. VVest.* Monkes esteemed and secular priests litle regarded. *Ran. Higd. li. 6. cap. 9.*

VVil. Ma. *Ran. Hig.* *The. Elm.*

Edgar small stature but strong and hardie.

Kenneth king of Scotts.

The noble courage of king Edgar.

aſtonied and marueilouſly abaſhed, fell downe at his feete, and with much humilitie confeſſed hys fault, & deſired pardō for the ſame, which vpō ſuch his humble ſubmiſſion K. Edgar eaſily granted.

This noble prince had two wiues, Egelfrida, or Elfrida, ſurnamed the white, the daughter of a mightie duke named Ordmer, by whome he had iſſue a ſonne named Edward that ſucceeded him. His ſeconde wife hight Alfreda the daughter of Ogar duke of Deuon. or Cornewall (as ſome haue) by whom he had iſſue Edmōd that died before his father, and Egelthred which afterwardes was king. Alſo he had iſſue a daughter named Editha, begotten baſe of his concubine Wilfrid (as before ye haue heard.) The ſtate of the realme in king Edgars dayes was in good poynt: for both the earth gaue hir encreaſe very plēteouſly: the Elaments ſhewed themſelues very fauourable, according to the courſe of times: peace was maintayned and no inuaſion by forraine enimies attempted. For Edgar had not onely all the whole Ile of Britain in ſubiection, but alſo was ruler & ſouerain Lorde ouer all the kings of the out Iles that lie within the ſeas about all the coaſts of the ſame Britain euen vnto the realme of Norway. He brought alſo a great part of Irelande vnder his ſubiection, with the citie of Dublin, as by autentike recordes it doth and may appeare.

Edwarde.



After the deceaſe of king Edgar, ther was ſome ſtrife and cōtēcion amōgſt the Lordes and peeres of ỹ realm about the ſucceſſiō of the crown: for Alfrida ỹ mother of Egelredus, or Ethelredus, and diuerſe other of hir opinion, would gladly haue aduanced the ſame Egelredus to the rule: but the Archbiſhop Dunſtan taking in his handes the baner of the Crucifix, preſented his elder brother Edward vnto the Lords as they were aſſembled togither, and there denoūced him king, notwithſtāding that both Queene Alfred and hir friends, namely Alpher the Duke of Mercia were fore agaynſt him, eſpecially for ỹ he was begot in vnlawful bed of Elfleda ỹ Nun, for which offēce he did. iij. yeres penāce, & not for lying with Wilfride (as maiſter Foxe thinketh.) But Dunſtan iudging (as is to be thought) that Edward was more fitte for their behoufe to continue the world in ỹ former courſe as Edgar had left it, than his brother Egelred (whoſe mother & ſuch as toke part with hir vnder hir ſonnes authoritie were likely enough to turne all vpſide downe) vſed the matter ſo that with helpe of the Archbiſhop of Yorke Oſwalde, and other Biſhoppes, Abbottes, and certaine of the Nobilitie, as the Earle Eſſex and ſuch like, he preuayled in his purpoſe, ſo that (as before is ſayde) the ſayde Edwarde being the ſeconde of that name whiche gouerned thys lande before the conqueſt, was admitted king, and beganne his raigne ouer Englande in the yeare of oure Lorde. 975. in the thirde yeare of the Emperour Otho the ſecond, in the. xx. yeare of the raigne of Lothar king of Fraunce, and about the fourth yeare of Cumelerne king of Scotlande. He was ſacred by the ſayde Archbiſhoppe Dunſtan at Kingſtone vpon Thames, to the greate griefe of his mother in law Alfred and hir frendes.

Alſer duke of Mercia and other immediately vpon Edgars death before the crown was eſtabliſhed, remoued the Monkes and reſtored Canons.

Simon Dun.

975

Aboute the beginning of his raigne a blaſing Starre was ſeene, ſignifying (as was thought) the miſerable haps that followed. And firſt there enſued barrennеſſe of ground, and thereby famine amongſt the people, and mortaine of Cattaile.

VVil. Mal.

Alſo Duke Alpher or Elpher of Mercia, and other Noble men deſtroyed the Abbayes which King Edgar and Biſhoppe Adelwold had builded within the limittes of Mercia. The Prieſtes or Canons whiche had beene expulſed in Edgars tyme out of their Prebendes and Benefices, beganne to complaine of theyr wrongs that were done to them, in that they had beene put oute of poſſeſſion from theyr lyuings, alledging it to bee a great offence and miſerable caſe that a ſtraunger ſhould come and remoue an olde inhabitant, for ſuch maner of doing coulde not pleaſe God, nor yet bee allowed of anye good man, whiche ought of reaſon to doubt leaſt the ſame ſhould hap to him whiche hee might ſee to haue beene another mans vndoing.

Alſer or Elſer, duke of Mercia.

Aboute thys matter was harde holde, for many of the Temporall Lordes, and namely the ſame Alpher, iudged that the Prieſtes hadde wrong. In ſo muche that they remoued Monkes oute of theyr places, and brought into the Monaſteries ſecular Prieſtes with theyr wyues. But Edelwyn Duke of the Eaſt Angles, and Alfred his brother, with Brightnoth or Brighnode Earle of Eſſex, withſtode thys doing, and gathering an armie, with great valiaunce mainteyned the Monkes in their houſes, within the Countrey of Eaſt Angles. Hereupon were Councels holden, as at Wincheſter, at Kyrthling in Eaſt Angle, and at Calne.

Iohn Capg. VVil. Mal. Ran. Higd. Mat. VVeſt. Sim. Dunel.

Sim. Dunel.

At Wincheſter when the matter was brought to that paſſe that the Prieſtes were lyke to haue had theyr purpoſe, an Image of the Rode that ſtood there in the Refectory where they ſat in coūſaile, vttered certaine wordes in this wiſe. God forbid it ſhoulde bee ſo: God forbid it ſhoulde

Polidor.

be ſo:

A pretie ſhift of the Monkes to diſappoint the Prieſts.

be ſo:ye iudged well once, but ye may not change well againe: as though (ſayth Polidoze Virgill) the Monkes had moze right, which had bereft o= ther men of their poſſeſſions, than the Pzieſtes which required reſtitution of their owne. But (ſayth he) bycauſe the Image of Chriſt hanging on the croſſe was thought to ſpeake theſe wozds, ſuch credite was giuen thereto, as it had beene an Dzacle, that the Pzieſts had theyz ſuite dalyed, & all the trouble was ceaſſed. So the Monkes held

Polidor.

those poſſeſſions howſoeuer they came to them, by the helpe of God, oz rather (as ſayeth the ſame Polidoze) by the helpe of man. Foz there were e= uen then dyuerſe that thought this to be rather an Dzacle of Phebus, than of God, that is to vn= derſtande, not publiſhed by Gods power, but by the fraude and craftie deceyte of men.

The matter therefoze was not ſo quieted, but that vpon newe trouble an other Councell was had at a manour houſe belonging to the K. called



VVil. Malm. Calne, where they that were appoynted to haue the hearing of the matter, ſatte in an vpper loft. The king by reaſon of his yong yeares was ſpa= red, ſo that he came not there.

Here as they were buſied in arguing the mat= ter, eyther part laying foz himſelfe what coulde be ſayde. Dunſton was ſoze reuiled, and had ſun= dzie repzoches layde againſt him: but ſodainly euē in the verie heate of theyz communication, the ioyſtes of the loft fayled, and downe came all the companie, ſo that many were ſlaine and hurt, but Dunſtan alone ſtanding vpon one of the ioyſtes that fell not, he eſcaped ſafe and ſounde. And ſo this myzacle with the other made an ende of the controuerſie betweene the Pzieſtes and Monkes, all the Engliſh people following the minde of the Archbiſhop Dunſtan, who by meanes thereof had his will.

Dunſtan by working myracles had his will, when ar= gumentes fayled.

In this meane while, king Edwarde ruling himſelf by good counſaile of ſuch as were thought diſcrete and ſage perſons, gaue great hope to the wozlde that he woulde walke in his fathers ver= tuous ſteppes, as alreadie he well beganne, and bearing alway a reuerence to his mother in lawe, and a bzotherly loue to hir ſonne Egelred, vſed himſelfe as became him towardes them both. Af= terwarde by chaunce as hee was in hunting in a Fozreſt neare to the Caſtell of Coꝛfe, where hys mother in lawe, and his bzother the ſayde Egel=

Polidor.
VVil. Mal.

red then ſoiourned, when all his companie were ſpzedde abzode in following the game, ſo that hee was left alone, hee toke the way ſtreyght vnto his mother in lawes houſe, to viſite hir and hys bzother.

The Queene hearing that he was come, was right glad thereof, foz that ſhee had occaſion offered to wozke that which ſhe had of long time befoze ymagined, that was, to ſlea the king hir ſonne in lawe, that hir owne ſonne might enioy the garlande. She therefoze requyzed him to a= light, which he in no wiſe woulde yeeld vnto, but ſayde that he had ſtolne from his companie, and was onely come to ſee hir and his bzother, and to dzinke with them, and therefoze woulde returne to the Fozreſt againe to ſee ſome moze ſpoꝛt. The Queene percеyuing that hee woulde not alight, cauſed dzinke to be fetched, and as he had the cup at his mouth, by hir appoynment one of hir ſer= uaunntes ſtroke him into the bodie with a knife, whereupon feeling himſelfe wounded, hee ſette ſpurres to the hoꝛſe thinking to gallop away, and ſo to get to his companie. But being hurt to the death, he fell from his hoꝛſe, ſo as one of his feete was faſtened in the ſtyzrop, by reaſon whereof his hoꝛſe dzew him foꝛth thzough woods and launds, and the bloud whiche guſhed out of the wounde ſhewed tokē of his death to ſuch as followed him, and the way to the place where the hoꝛſe had left him:

The wicked purpoſe of Queene Al.

The ſhamefull murther of K. Edwarde.

him. That place hight Coyphes gate, or Coynes gate. His bodie being founde was buried without any solemne funeralles at Warham. For they that enuyed that hee shoulde enioy the Crowne, enuied also the buriall of his bodie within the Church: but the memorie of his fame coulde not so secretely bee buried vp with the bodie, as they imagined. For sundrie miracles shewed at the place where his bodie was enterred, made the same famous (as diuerse haue reported) for there was sight restored to the blind, health to the sicke, and hearing to the deafe, which are easilyer to be tolde than beleeued.

Queene Alfride also woulde haue ridden to the place where he lay, mooued with repentaunce (as hath beene sayde) but the horse whereupon she rode woulde not come neare the graue, for anye thing that could be done to him. Neither by changing the sayde horse coulde the matter be holpen. For euen the same thing happened to the other horses. Hereupon the woman perceyued hir great offence towardes God for murthering the innocent, and did so repent hir afterward for the same, besides the chastising of hir body in fasting, and other kinde of penance, shee employed all hir substance and patrimonie on the poore, and in buylding and reparing of Churches and Monasteries.

Two houses of Nunnes shee founded (as is sayde) the one at Warwell, the other at Ambresburie, and finally professed hirselfe a Nunne in one of them, that is to say, at Warwell, whiche house shee buylded (as some affyrme) in remembrance of hir first husbande that was slaine there by K. Edgar for hir sake (as before is mentioned.)

The bodie of this Edwarde the seconde, and surnamed the Martyr, after that it had remayned three yeares at Warham where it was first buryed, was remoued vnto Shaftesburie, and with great reuerence buried there by the forenamed Alfer, or Elfere Duke of Mercia, who also did sore repent himselfe in that hee had beene agaynst the aduauncement of the sayde king Edward (as yee haue heard.) But yet did not he escape worthie punishment: for within one yeare after, he was eaten to death with Lice (if the Historie be true.)

King Edward came to his death after he had raigned three yeres (or as other write) three yeres and. viij. Monethes.

Whatsoeuer hath beene reported by writers of the murther committed in the person of this king Edwarde, sure it is that if he were base begotten (as by writers of no meane credit it should appeare he was in deede) great occasion vndoubtedly was giuen vnto Queene Alfred to seeke reuenge for the wrongful keeping backe of hir sonne Egelred frō his rightful succession to the crowne: but whether that Edwarde was legitimate or not, she might yet haue deuised some other lawful meane to haue come by hir purpose, & not so to haue procured the murther of the yong Prince in such vnlawfull maner. For hir doing therein can neither be worthily allowed, nor throughly excused, although those that occasioned the mischiefe by aduauncing hir stepsonne to an other mans right, deserued most blame in this matter.

Egelredus.



Egelred.

EGelredus, or Ethelredus, the sonne of king Edgar, and of his late wife Queene Alfrede, was ordeyned King in place of his brother Edwarde, after that the same Edwarde was dispatched out of the way, and begunne his raigne ouer this realme of Englande in the yeare of our lorde 979. which was in the seuenth yeare of the Emperour Otho the second, in the. xviij. of Lothaire king of Fraunce, and about the seconde or thirde yeare of Kenneth the thirde of that name King of Scotlande. 979 *Simon Dun.*

This Egelred, or Ethelred, was the. xxx. in number from Cerdicius the first King of the West Saxons: through his negligente gouernment the state of the common wealth fell into such decay (as writers doe report) that vnder him it may bee sayde, howe the kingdome was come to the vttermost poynt or period of olde and feeble age. For whereas whilest the Realme was deuided at the first by the Saxons into sundrie dominions, it grew at length (as it were increasing from youthfull yeares) to one absolute Monarchie, which passed vnder the late remembred Princes, Egbert, Adelstane, Edgar, and others, so that in their dayes it might be said, how it was growne to mans state, but now vnder this Egelred, through famine, pestilence, and warres, the state thereof was so shaken, turned vpside downe, and weakened on eche parte, that rightly might the season be likened vnto the olde broken yeares of mans life, which through feeblenesse is not able to helpe it selfe.

Dunstan the Archbishop of Canterbury was thought to haue foreseene this thing, and therfore refused to anoynt Egelred king, whiche by the murther of his brother shoulde atteyne to the gouernment: but at length he was compelled to it, and so he sacred him at Kingston vpon Thames, as the maner then was, on the. xxiiij. day of Aprill, assysted by Oswalde Archbishop of Yorke, and ten other Bishops.

But

Wil. Mal. But as hath beene reported, Dunſtan then ſayde that the Engliſh people ſhoulde ſuffer condigne puniſhment generally with loſſe of auncient liberties which before that tyme they had enioyed. Dunſtan alſo long before propheried of the ſlouthfulneſſe that ſhould remaine in this Ethelred. For at what time he miniſtred the ſacrament of Baptiſme vnto him, ſhortly after he came into this world, he defyled the Font with the ordure of his wombe (as hath beene ſayde) whereupon Dunſtan beeing troubled in hys mynde: By the Lorde (ſayth he) and his bleſſed mother, this child ſhall proue to be a ſlouthfull perſon. It hath bene written alſo, that when he was but tenne yeares of age, and heard that his brother Edwarde was ſlaine, he ſo offended his mother with weeping, bycauſe ſhe coulde not ſtill him, that hauing no rodde at hande, ſhee toke Tapers or Sizes that ſtode before hir, and bet him ſo ſore with them, that ſhe had almoſt killed him, whereby he coulde neuer after abyde to haue any ſuch Candles lighted before him.

Polidor. This Egelred (as writers ſay) was nothing giuen to warlike enterpriſes, but was ſlouthfull, a louer of ydleneſſe, and delyting in ryotous luſtes, which being knowne to all men, cauſed him to be euill ſpoken of amongſt his owne people, and nothing feared amongſt ſtraungers. Hereupon the Danes that exerciſed roauing on the Seas, beganne to conceyue a boldeneſſe of courage to diſquiet and moleſt the Sea coaſtes of the realme, inſomuche that in the ſeconde yeare of this Egelreds raigne, they came with ſeuen Shippes on the Engliſhe coaſtes of Kent, and ſpoyled the Ile of Tennet, the Towne of Southampton, and in the yere following they deſtroyed S. Petrokes Abbay in Cornewall, Northlande in Deuonſhire, and dyuerſe other places by the Sea ſyde, ſpecially in Deuonſhire and Cornewall. Alſo a great part of Cheſſhire was deſtroyed by Pirates of Norway.

Ran. Higd. 980

Sim. Dunel.

Ran. Higd.

982 The ſame yeare by caſualtie of fire, a greate part of the Citie of London was burnt.

983 In the yeare of our Lorde. 983. Alfer Duke of Mercia departed this life, who was coſin to king Edgar, and his ſonne Alfrike toke vpon him the rule of that Dukedome, and within three yeares after was baniſhed the lande.

Alfer or Elfer duke of Mercia departed this life.

Alfrike or Elfrike duke of Mercia.

Fabian. About the eight yeare of his raigne, Egelred maryed one Elgiua, or Ethelginu, daughter of Earle Egbert.

Wil. Malm. Mat. Weſt. In the ninth yeare of his raigne, vpon occaſion of ſtrife betweene him and the Biſhoppe of Rocheſter, he made warre agaynſt the ſame Byſhop, waſted his Lordſhips, and beſieged the citie of Rocheſter, till Dunſtan procured the Biſhops peace with paymẽt of an hundred pound in golde: and bycauſe the king woulde not agree with the Biſhop without money at the onely requeſt of Dunſtan, the ſaid Dunſtan did ſend him worde, that ſithence he made more account of golde than of God, more of money than of S. Andrew Patrone of the Church of Rocheſter, and more of couetouſneſſe than of him being the Archbiſhop, the miſchiefes which the Lord had threatned woulde ſhortly fal and come to paſſe, but the ſame ſhould not chance whileſt he was aliue, who died in the yere following, the. xvi. of May, on a Saturday.

Vita Dunſtani Of this Dunſtan many things are recorded by writers, that he ſhould be of ſuch holineſſe and vertue, that God wrought many myracles by him, both whiles he liued here on earth, and alſo after his deceaſe. He was borne in weſt Saxon, his father was named Heorſtan, & his mother Ciniſride, they in his youth ſet him to ſchole, where he ſo profited, that he excelled al his equals in age. Afterwarde he fell ſicke of an Ague, which vexed him ſo ſore that it draue him into a frenſie: & therfore his parents appoynted him to the cure and charge of a certain womã, where his diſeaſe grew ſo on him, that he fell in a trance as though he had bin dead, & after that he ſodenly aroſe, & by chance caught a ſtaffe in his hande, and ran vp & downe through hilles and dales, and layde about him as though he had bene afrayde of mad dogges. The next night (as it is ſayde) he gat him to the top of the church by the help of certain ladders that ſtood there for workmen to mend the roof, and there ran vp and downe very daungerouſly, but in the ende came ſafely down, and layd him to ſleep betweene two men that watched the Church that night, & when he wakened, marueiled howe he came there. Finally recouering his diſeaſe, his parents made him a prieſt, and placed him in the Abbay of Glaſtenburie, where he gaue himſelfe to the reading of Scriptures and knowledge of vertue: But as well his kinſmen as certaine other did raiſe a report of him, that he gaue not himſelfe ſo much to the reading of ſcriptures, as to charming, coniuring and ſorcery, which he vtterly denied: howbeit learned he was in deed, and could do many prety things both in handie worke & other deuices: he had good ſkill in muſicke and delited much therin.

John Co. Oſborne. Ran. Hi.

At length he grew in ſuch fauour, that he was aduaunced into the ſeruice of king Adelſtane. And on a time as he came to a Gentlewomans houſe with his harpe, and hung the ſame on the wall, while he ſhaped a prieſtes ſcoale, the harpe ſodenly began to play a Pſalm, which draue the whole houſhold in ſuch feare, that they ran out and ſaid, hee was too cunning, and knewe more than was expedient: whereupon he was accuſed of Nicromancie, and ſo baniſhed out of the Court.

And after this he began to haue a liking to women, and when Elſheagus then Biſhop of Winchester and his couſin, perſwaded him to become a

Monke,

Monke, he refused it, for he rather wished to haue married a yong damosell, whose pleasant compaine he dayly enioyed. But being sone after strike with such a swelling disease in his bellie, that all his bodie was brought into such state, as though he had bene infected with a foule leprosie, hee bethought himselfe, and vpon his recouerie sent to the bishop, who immediatly shore him a Monke, in which life he liued in so great opinion of holynes, as he in time became Abbot of Glastenbury: where on a time as hee was in his prayers before the aulter of S. George, he fell asleepe: and imagining in his dreame, that an vgly rough Beare came towards him with open mouth, and set his forefeete vpon his shoulders ready to deuour him, he sodenly waking for feare, caught his walking staffe which he comonly went with, & layd about him, that all the Church rang thereof to the great wonder of such as stood by. The common tale of his plucking the diuell by the nose with a paire of pynsers, for tempting him with women, while he was making a Chalice: the great loue that the ladie Elfleda, nigh kinswoman to K. Adelstan bare to him to his dying day, with a great meiny of other such like matters, I leaue as friuolous, and wholy impertinent to our purpose: onely this I reade, that through declaring of his dreames and visions, he obteyned in the time of K. Edgar, first the Bishoprike of Worcester, after of London, & last of al the Archbishoprike of Canterburie. And now I will returne to the doings of Egelred, and to speake of such things as chaunced in his time.

Wil. Malm. Mat. West.

Shortly after the decease of Dunstan, Danes inuaded this Realme on eche side, wasting and spoyling the Countrey in moste miserable wise. They arryued in so manye places at once, that the Englishe men coulde not well deuise whyther to goe to encounter first with them. Some of them spoyled a place or towne called Wicheport, and from thence passing further into the Countrey, were mette with by the Englishe men, who giuing them battayle, slew theyr Captaine Goda: but yet they gotte the victorie, and beat the Danes oute of the fielde, and so that parte of the Danishe armie was brought to confusion.

The Danes inuade this land.

Alias Wecederport.

Hen. Hunt. Sim. Dunel.

Danes vanquished.



Simon Dunel. sayth that the English men in deede wanne the fielde here, but not without great losse. For beside Goda, (who by report of the same Authour was Earle of Deuonshire) there dyed an other valyaunt man of warre named Strenwolde.

In the yeare. 991. Brightnod Earle of Essex, at Maldon gaue battaile to an armie of Danes, (which vnder their leaders Justin & Guthmund, had spoyled Ipswich) and was there ouercome & slaine with the most part of his people, and so the Danes obteyned in that place the victorie.

The same yeare, and in the. xiij. yeare of king Egelreds raigne, when the land was on eche side sore afflicted, wasted and haried by the Danes, which couered the same as they had beene Grashoppers: by the aduise of the Archbishop of Canterburie Sirlcius, (which was the second of that Sea after Dunstane,) a composition was taken with the Danes, so that for the summe of ten thousand pound to them to be payde by the king, they should couenant not to trouble his subiectes any further.

Ten thousand pound payed to the Danes.

This money was called Danegylt, or Dane money, and was leuyed of the people. Although other take that to bee Danegylte, whiche was gyuen vnto suche Danes as King Egelred afterwardes reteyned in his seruice to defende the lande from other Danes and enimyes that sought to inuade his Dominions. But by what name so euer thys money (whiche the Danes nowe receyued) was called, true it is that

Dane gylt.

here-

Hereupon they ceaſſed from their moſt cruell
VVil.Malm. inuaſions for a time. But ſhortly after they had
992 refreſhed themſelues, and recouered new ſtrength,
they beganne to play theyr olde partes agayne,
doing the lyke myſchiefe by theyr ſemblable
inuaſions, as they hadde vſed before. By rea-
ſon hereof ſuche feare came vppon the Engliſhe
people, that they diſpayred to be able to reſiſt the
enimies.

H. Hunt. The king yet cauſed a Nauie to bee ſet forth
A nauie ſet forth. at London, whereof hee appoynted Earle Alfride
(whom before he had baniſhed, and lately reuoked
home againe) to bee high Admyrall, adioyning
with him Erle Turolde. This nauie did ſet for-
warde from London towarde the enimies, who
hauing warning giuen them from Alfrik, eſcaped
away without hurt.

And ſhortly after a greater Nauye of the
Danes came, and encountered with the kings
fleete, ſo that a great nũber of the Londoners were
ſlaine, and all the kings ſhips taken. For Alfrike
like a traytor turned to the Danes ſide.

Alfrike a re-
tour to hys
Countrey.



Mat.VVeſt. Math. Weſtm. maketh other report of this
matter, declaring that Alfrike in deede being one
of the chiefe captaines of the fleet, aduertiſed them
by forewarning of the daunger that was towarde
them, and that when they ſhoulde come to ioy-
ning, the ſame Alfrike like a traytor fledde to the
Danes, and after vpon neceſſitie being putte to
flight, eſcaped away with them: but the other
Captaines of the kings fleete, as Theodred, El-
ſtan, and Elfwen, purſued the Danes, toke one
of theyr ſhips, and ſlue all thoſe that were founde
therein.

The Londoners alſo (as the ſame Mat. Weſt.
ſayth) met with the nauie of the Daniſhe rouers
as they fledde away, and ſlue a greate number,
and alſo toke the Shippe of the Traytour Al-
frike with his ſouldiers and armour, but he him-
ſelfe eſcaped, though with muche payne, hauing
played the lyke trayterous part once before, and
yet was reconcyled to the Kings fauour againe.

Upon this miſchiefe wrought by the father,
Hen. Hunt. the king nowe toke his ſonne Algar, and cauſed
The ſonne pu-
niſhed for his
fathers offence. his eyes to be put out.
993

About the ſame time was Bamburgh de-
ſtroyed by the Danes, whiche arryued after in
Humber, and waſted the Countrey of Lyndſey
and Yorkeſhyre, on either ſyde that Ryuer. And
when the Engliſhe men were aſſembled to giue
them battayle: before they ioyned, the Cap-
taynes of the Engliſhe armie, Frena, Godwin,
and Fredegiſt, that were Danes by theyr fa-
thers ſide, beganne to flye awaye, and eſcaped,
ſo gyuing the occaſion of the ouerthrowe that
lighted on theyr people.

Simon Dun. Polidor. Mat. VVeſt.

But by ſome wryters it ſhoulde appeare,
that after the Danes had deſtroyed all the North
partyes, as they ſpredde abroade without order
and good array, the people of the Countrey fell
vppon them, and ſlue ſome of them, and chaſed
the reſidue.

Other of the Danes with a nauie of .94. ſhips
entred the Thames, and beſieged London, a-
boute our Ladie day in September. They gaue
a right ſore aſſault to the Citie, and aſſayed to
haue ſette it on fyre: But the Citizens ſo valy-
antly defended themſelues, that the Danes were
beaten backe and repulſed, greatly to their loſſe,
ſo that they were conſtrayned to departe thence
with diſhonour.

Aulafe king
Norway, and
Swein king
Denmarke
captaines of
this fleete,
as hath
Simon Dun.
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Then they fell to and waſted the Countreys
of Eſſex, Kent, Suſſex, and Hamſhire, and ceaſ-
ſed not till they had enforced the King to com-
pounde with them for .xvj.M. pounde, which hee
was glad to pay to haue peace with them.

Henric. Hu.
VVil. Mal.
The king of
poũdeth wi
the Danes f
money.

Moreouer, whereas they wintered that yeare
at Southampton: the king procured Iulafe king
of the

of the Norwegians to come vnto Andeuer (whet at that time he lay) vpon pledges receyued of the king for his ſafe returne. Elphegus Biſhoppe of Wincheſter, and Duke Ethelwold were appointed by king Egelred to bring Aulafe vnto him in moſt honourable wiſe.

The ſame time was Aulafe baptiſed, K. Egelred receyuing him at the Font ſtone, and ſo hee promiſed neuer after to make any warre within this lande. And receyuing great gyftes of the King he returned into his Countrey, and kept his promiſe faythfully: But the enilles toke not ſo an ende: for other of the Danes ſprang vp, as they had bene the heades of the Serpent Hydra, ſome of them euer being redie to trouble the quiet ſtate of the Engliſh nation.

Aboute this ſeaſon that is to witte, in the yeare of our Lorde. 995. Biſhop Aldayne whiche was fledde from Cheſter in the (Strete otherwiſe called Cunceſter) with the bodie of Saint Cuthbert for feare of the inuaſion of Danes, vnto Rippon, brought the ſame bodie now vnto Durhã, & there began the foundation of a church: ſo that the Sea of that Biſhoprike was from thence forth there eſtabliſhed, and the Woddes were there cutte downe, whiche before tyme couered and ouergrewe that place, wherevpon it began firſt to be inhabited.

Earle Uthred who gouerned that Countrey greatly furthered the Biſhop in this worke, ſo that all the people inhabiting betweene the Ryuers of Coquid and Theis, came togither to ridde the woddes, and to helpe towarde the buylding of the Church and towne there.

In the. xix. yeare of King Egelreds raigne, the Danes ſayled aboute Cornewall, and comming into the Seuerne ſea, they robbed and toke prayes in the coaſtes of Deuonſhire, and Southwales, and landing at Wechepoꝛt, they burned vp the countrey, and came about vnto Penwithſtreete on the South coaſt, and ſo arriuing in the mouth of Tamer water, came vnto Lydforde, and there waſted all afore them with force of fire. They burned amongeſt other places, the Monaſterie of Saint Oꝛdulfe at Eſſyngſtocke.

After this they came into Dorſetſhire, and paſſed through the countrey with flame and fire, not finding any that offred to reſiſt them.

The ſame yeare alſo they ſoiourned for a time in the Iſle of Wight, and lyued vpon ſpoyles and prayes whiche they toke in Hampſhire, and Suſſex: At length they came into the Thames, and ſo by the Ryuer of Medeway, arryued at Rocheſter. The Kentiſhmen aſſembled togither and fought with the Danes, but they were ouercome, and ſo left the fielde to the Danes.

After this, the ſame Danes ſayled into Normandie, and king Egelred went into Cumberland where the Danes inhabited in great numbers, whom he ouercame with ſore warre, and waſted almoſt al Cumberland, taking great ſpoiles in the ſame.

About the ſame time or ſhortly after, the Danes with their nauie, returning out of Normandie, came vnto Exmouth, and there aſſaulted the Caſtell, but they were repulſed by thẽ that kept it. 1001 Exmouth.

After this they ſpred abrode ouer all the countrey exerciſing theyr accuſtomed trade of deſtroying all before them with fire and ſworde. The mẽ of Sõmerſetſhire fought with thẽ at Pentho, but the Danes gate the vpper hand. Pentho.

Thus the ſtate of the realme in thoſe dayes was verie miſerable: for there wanted worthie Chieftains to rule the people, and to chaſtice them when they did amiſſe. There was no truſt in the noble men, for euerye one impugned others doing, and yet woulde not deuiſe whiche way to deale with better likelyhode. When they aſſembled in Counſaile, and ſhould haue occupied their heades in deuiſing remedies for the miſchiefe of the common wealth, they turned theyr purpoſe vnto altercation aboute ſuch ſtrykes, contentions and quarelles as eche one had agaynſt other, and ſuffered the general cauſe to lie ſtil in the duſt. And if at any time there was any good concluſion agreed vpon, for the withſtanding of the enimie, & reliefe of the common wealth, anon ſhoulde the enimie be aduertiſed thereof by ſuch as were of aliance or conſanguinitie vnto them. For as Harriſon in his Chronologie gathereth out of Caxton, Polichron. and others, the Engliſh bloud was ſo mixed with that of the Danes & Britains, who were like enimies to the Engliſhmen, that there was almoſt few of the nobilitie & cõmons which had not on the one ſide a parent of ſome of them. Whereby it came to paſſe, that neither the ſecrete purpoſes of the k. could be cõcealed til they might take due effect, neither their aſſemblies proue quiet without quarelling & taking of partes. Many alſo being ſent forth with their powers one way (whileſt the K. went to make reſiſtãce, another) did reuolt vnto his enimies & turn their ſwords againſt him (as you haue heard of Elfrik & his cõplices) & ſhall read of many others, ſo ỹ it was no marueil that Ethelred ſped no better, & yet was he as valiant as any of his predeceſſors, although ỹ Mõks fauour him not in their writings, becauſe he demaũded ayd of thẽ toward his warres, & was nothing fauorable to their lewd hipocriſie (as ỹ ſame Har. noteth:) but what is a king if his ſubiects be not loyall? what is a realme, if the cõmon wealth be diuided: by peace & concord, of ſmal beginnings great & famous kingdoms haue oft times proceeded, wheras by diſcord ỹ greateſt kingdoms haue oftner bin brought to ruine: ſo it proued here: for whileſt priuate quarels are purſued, the generall Diſagreement with counſaylers what fruit it bringeth.

affayres are vtterly neglected: and whileſt eche nation ſeeketh to preferre hir owne alliance, the Iland it ſelf is like to become a deſart. But to proceede with our Monaſticall writers: certes they lay all the fault in the king, ſaying that he was a mã giuẽ to no good exerciſe, he delighted in fleſhly luſtes and riotous banketting, and ſtill ſought wayes how to gather of his ſubiectes what might be got, as wel by vnlawful meanes as otherwiſe. For he would for feyned or for very ſmall & light cauſes diſinherite his ſubiectes, and cauſe them to redeeme their owne poſſeſſions for great ſummes of money. Beſides theſe oppreſſions, diuerſe kinds of ſickneſſe vexed the people alſo, as the bloudie Flixe, and hote burning Agues which then raged throughout the lande, ſo that many died thereof. By ſuch maner of meanes therfore, what through the miſgouernance of the king, the treaſon & diſloyaltie of the nobilitie, the lacke of good order and due correction amongſt the people, and by ſuch other ſcourges & miſhaps as afflicted the Engliſh nation in that ſeaſon, the lãd was brought into great ruine, ſo that, where by ſtrength the enimy coulde not be kept off, there was now no helpe but to appeaſe thẽ with mony. By reaſon wherof frõ time of the firſt agreement with the Danes for tenne thouſande pound tribute, it was inhanced to. xvj. thouſande pounde (as ye haue heard.) And after that to twentie thouſande pounde, then to. xxiiij. thouſande pound, and ſo to. xxx. thouſand pound, and laſtlye to fortie thouſande pounde, till at lengthy the Realme was emptied in maner of all that money and coyne that could in it be founde. In this meane time died Elgiua or Ethelgiua ỹ Queene. Then ſhortly after it was deuiſed that ỹ king ſhould be a ſuter vnto Ri. Duke of Normãdie, for his ſiſter Emma, a lady of ſuch excellent beautie, that ſhe was named ỹ floure of Normãdie. This ſute was begon & toke ſuch good ſucces, that the king obteyned his purpoſe. And ſo in the yere of our lord. 1002. which was about. the. xxiiij yere. of K. Egelreds raigne, the ſame Egelred receiued the forſaid Emma, & maried hir wt great ſolemnitie. This mariage was thought to bee

The miſgouernment of of the king.

Sickneſſes vexing the people.

Treaſon in the nobilitie.

The inhabiting of the Danes.

The death of Queen Elgiua.

Emma.

Hen. Hunt. 1002. Emma daughter of Richard Duke of Normandie maried to K. Egelred.



right neceſſary, honorable & profitable for ỹ realm of Englande, by cauſe of the great puiſſance of the Norman princes in thoſe days: but as things afterward came to paſſe, it turned to the ſubuerſiõ of ỹ whole Engliſh ſtate: for by ſuch affinitie & dealing as hapned hereby betwixt the Normãs and Engliſhmẽ, occaſion in ỹ end was miniſtred to ỹ ſame Normans to pretend a tytle to the crowne of Englãd, in proſecuting of which title, they obteyned and made the whole conqueſt of the land, as after ſhall appeare. Egelred being greatly aduaunced, as he thought, by reaſon of this maryage deuiſed vpon preſumption thereof, to cauſe all the Danes within the lande to bee murthered in one day. Herevpon he ſent priuie Commiſſioners vnto all cities, boroughes and townes within his dominions, commaunding the rulers and officers in the ſame, to diſpatche and dea all ſuch Danes as remayned within theyr liberties, at a certaine day prefixed, being Saint Brices daye, in the yeare. 1012. and in the. 34. yeare of king Egelreds raigne.

The. xiij Nouember.

Herevpon (as ſundrie writers agree,) in one day and houre this murther begunne, and was according to the commiſſion and inſtructions executed. But where it firſt begunne, the ſame is vncertaine: ſome ſay at Wellowyn in Herfordſh. ſome at a place in Staffordſhire called Howmhil, and other in other places, as in ſuche doubtfull caſes it cõmonly happeneth. But wherſoeuer it began the doers ſhortly after repented it. But firſt ere we proceede any further, we will ſhew what rule the Danes kept here in this Realme before they were thus murthered, as in ſome bookes we find

The m of the

How Hou place Merc parish the lo Need ſome more myle Vtox

ded and recorded. Where it is shewed that the Danes compelled the husbandmen to till the ground, and to doe all maner of labour and toyle to bee done about husbandrie: and the Danes liued of the fruite and gaynes that came therof, and kept the husbãdmens wiues, their daughters, mayders and seruaunts, vsing and abusing them at theyr pleasures. And when the husbandmen came home, then coulde they yueth haue such sustenaunce of meates and drinkes as fell for seruantes to haue: so that the Danes had all at theyr commaundements, eating and drinking of the best, where the sillie man that was the owner, could hardly come to his fill of the worst.

And besides this, the common people were so oppressed by the Danes, that for feare and dread they called them in euerie such house where anye of them sojourned, Lorde Dane. And if an Englishe man and a Dane chaunced to meete at any Bridge or streyght passage, the Englishe man must staye till the Lorde Dane were passed. But in proces of time, after the Danes were voyded the lande, this worde Lorde Dane was in derision and dispite of the Danes turned by English men into a name of reprochе, as Lordane, which till these our dayes is not forgotten. For when the people in manye partes of thys Realme will note and signifie anye greate yole lubber that will not labour nor take paine for his liuing, they will call him Lordane. But whether the Danes vsed the English men in such vile maner, and kept them in such seruile thraldome or not, truth it is that vppon knowledge giuen into Denmarke of the cruell murther of the Danes here in Englande, the people of that Countrey were greatly kindled in malice, and set in such a furious rage agaynst the Englishmen, that with all speede they made forth a Nauie full fraught with menne of warre, the whiche in the yeare following came swarming about the coastes of Englande, and landing in the West Countrey, toke the Citie of Exeter, and gat there a

Lordane wherof the worde came.

Hen. Hunt.
Sim. Dun.
The Danes returne to inuade Englande.
Exeter taken.



riche spoyle.

One Hugh a Norman borne, whom Queene Emma had placed in those parties as gouernour or Sherife there, conspired with the Danes, so that all the Countrey was ouerrunne and wasted.

The king hearing that the Danes were thus landed, and spoyled the west partes of the realme, hee sente vnto Edricus to assemble a power to withstande the enimies. Hereupon the people of Hampshire and Wilshire rose and got togither: But when the armyes shoulde ioyne, Earle Edricus surnamed *de Streona*, faigned himselfe sick, and so betrayed his people, of whome hee had the conduct, for they perceyuing the want in theyr leader, were discouraged, and so fled.

The Danes followed them vnto Wilton, whiche towne they rifled and ouercame. From thence they went to Salesburie, & so taking theyr pleasure there, returned to their ships, bycause (as some write) they were aduertised that the K. was comming towards them with an huge armie.

In the yeare next ensuing, that is to wit. 1004 which was aboute the .xxuij. yeare of King Egelreds raigne, Sweyne, or Swanus, king of Denmarke, wyth a mightie Nauie of shippes came on the coast of Norffolke, and there landing with his people, made towarde Norwiche, and comming thither toke that Citie, and spoyled it. Then went he vnto Thetford, and when hee had taken and rifled that Towne, hee burned it, notwythstanding a truce taken by Vikillus, or Wilketell gouernour of those partes wyth the same King Sweyne after the taking of Norwich.

Simon Dun.
1004
Sweyn king of Denmarke.
Norwich take by the Danes.
Thetford burnt.

In reuenge therefore of such breache of truce,

Vitellus, or Wilteketell gouernour of Norffolke.

the ſame Vikellus, or Wilteketell, with ſuch power as he coulde rayſe, aſſaulted the hoſte of Danes as they returned to their ſhippes, and ſlue a great number of them, but was not able to maintaine the fight, for his enimies ouermatched him in number of men. And ſo he was conſtrayned in the ende to giue backe: and the enimies kept on their wayes to their ſhippes.

H. Hunt.

Swein returned into Denmarke. *Sim. Dunel.*

In the yeare following king Sweyne returned into Denmark with all his fleete, partly conſtrayned ſo to do, as ſome write, by reaſon of the great famin and want of neceſſarie ſuſtenaunce, which that yeare ſore oppreſſed this land.

1005

1006

H. Hunt. Sweyn returned into Englande.

In the yeare of our Lorde. 1006. king Swein returned againe into Englande with a mightie huge Nauie arryuing at Sandwiche, and ſpoyled all the Countrey neare vnto the Sea ſide. King Egelred rayſed all his power agaynſt him, and all the Haruell time lay abroade in the fielde to reſiſt the Danes, which according to theyr wonted maner ſpared not to exerciſe their vnmercifull cruelties, in waſting and ſpoyling the land with fire and ſworde, pilfering & taking of preys in euery part where they came. Neyther coulde King Egelred remedie the matter, becauſe the enimies ſtyll conueyed themſelues with their ſhippes into ſome contrarie quarter, from the place where they knew him to be, ſo that his trauaile was in vaine.

The Danes winter in the Ile of Wight. They inuade Hampſhire, Barkſhire, &c.

About the beginning of Winter they remayned in the Ile of Wight, and in the tyme of Chriſtmaſſe they landed in Hampſhire and paſſed through that Countrey into Barkeſhire, and came to Reding. And from thence to Wallingforde, and ſo to Coleſey, and then approching neare to Eſſington, came to Achikelmeſlawe, and in euery place whereſoeuer they came, they made cleane worke. For that which they coulde not carry with them, they conſumed with fire, burning vp theyr Innes and ſleaing their hoſtes. In returning back, the people of the weſt Countrey gaue them battail, but preuayled not, ſo that they did but enriche theyr enimies with the ſpoyle of their bodies.

Winchester.

They came faſt by the gates of Wincheſter, as it were in maner of tryumph, with theyr vyttayles and ſpoyles whiche they had fetched fiftie myles off from the ſea ſide.

In the meane tyme King Egelred lay about Shrewſburie ſore troubled with the newes herof.

1007

xxxvi. thouſand pound hath *Simon Dun.*

In the yeare next enſuing, the king by the aduice of his Counſaile gaue to king Sweine for the redeeming of peace, xxx. M. pound.

The ſame yeare King Egelred created the traytor Edricus Earle of Mercia.

Edricke de Strona made Duke or Erle of Mercia

This Edricus although hee had maryed the kings daughter Edgita, was yet noted to be one of thoſe which diſcloſed the ſecretes of the realme, and the determinations of the Counſaile vnto the enimies. But he was ſuche a craftie diſſembler, ſo greatly prouided of ſleight to diſſemble and cloke his falſehoode, that the king beeing to muche abuſed by him, had him in ſingular fauour, where as hee vppon a malicious purpoſe ſtudyed daply howe to bring the Realme into vtter ruine and deſtruction, aduertiſing the enimies from tyme to tyme howe the ſtate of thinges ſtoode, whereby they came to knowledge where they ſhoulde giue place, and when they mighte ſafely come forwarde, Moreouer, beeing ſent vnto them oftentymes as a Commiſſioner to treate of peace, hee perſwaded them to warre. But ſuche was the pleaſure of God, to haue him and ſuche other of lyke ſort aduaunced to honour in this ſeaſon, when by his diuine prouidence he ment to puniſhe the people of thys realme for theyr wickednes and ſinnes, whereby they had iuſtly prouoked his wrathe and highe diſpleaſure. *V Vil. Malm.*

Hen. Hunt. Simon Dun. An hundreth acres is called of lande

1008

Prouiſion for ſhippes and armour.

In the .xxx. yeare of King Egelreds raigne, whiche fell in the yeare of oure Lorde. 1008. hee toke order that of euery three hundred and tenne hydes of lande within this realme, there ſhoulde one ſhippe be buylded, and of euery. viij. hydes a complete armor furniſhed.

In the yeare following, the Kinges whole fleete was brought togither at Sandwiche, and ſuche ſouldiers came thither, as were appoynted to goe to Sea in the ſame fleete. There had not beene ſeene the lyke number of ſhippes ſo trimly rigged and furniſhed in all poyntes, in anye Kinges dayes before. But no greate profitable peece of ſeruice was wrought by them: For the King hadde aboute that tyme baniſhed a noble yong manne of Suſſex called Wilnote, who getting togither twentie ſayles, laye vppon the coaſtes, taking priſes where he might gette them. *Mat. VVeſt.*

Brithericke the brother of Earle Edricke, deſirous to wynne honour, toke forth foure ſcore of the ſayde Shippes, and promiſed to bring in the enimie deade or aliue. But as hee was ſayling forwarde on the Seas, a ſore tempeſt with an outragious winde roſe with ſuche violence, that his ſhippes were caſt vppon the ſhore. And Wilnote comming vpon them, ſet them on fyre, and ſo burned them euery one. The reſidue of the ſhips, when newes came to them of this miſhap, returned backe to London. And then was the armie diſperſed, and ſo all the coſt and trauaile of the Engliſh men proued in vaine.

After this, in the Haruell time a newe armie of Danes, vnder the conduct of three Captaynes, Turkell, Henuing, and Tulake, landed at Sandwiche, and from thence paſſed forth to Canterburie, and had taken the citie, but that the Citizens gaue them a thouſande pounde

Danes land Sandwich.

1009

Three thouſand pound hath *Simon Dun.*

to

to depart from thence, and to leaue the Countrey in peace. Then went the Danes to the Ile of Wight, and afterwardes landed and ſpoyled the Countrey of Suſſex and Hamſhire.

King Egelred aſſembled the whole power of all his ſubiectes, and comming to giue them battaile, had made an ende of their cruell harrying the Countrey with the ſlaughter of them all, if Earle Edrike with forged tales (deuiſed onely to put him in feare) had not diſwaded him from giuing battaile. The Danes by that meanes returning in ſafetie, immediately after the feaſt of S. Martyn, returned into Kent, and lodged with theyr nauie in the Winter folowing in the Thames, and oftentymes aſſaulting the Citie of Lõdon, were ſtill beaten backe to their loſſe.

After the feaſt of Chriſtmaſſe they paſſed through the Countrey and Woddes of Chilterne vnto Oxforde, whiche Towne they burned, and then returning backe they fell to waſting of the Countrey on both ſides the Thames. But hearing that an armie was aſſembled at London to gyue them battaile, that parte of theyr Hoſte whiche kepte on the North ſyde of the Ryuer, paſſed the ſame Ryuer at Stanes, and ſo ioyning wyth theyr fellowes marched forth through Southerie, and comming backe to theyr Shippes in Kent, fell in hande to repayre and amende theyr ſhippes that were in any wiſe decayed.

Then after Eaſter, the Danes ſayling about the coaſt, arryued at Gippeſwiche in Suffolke, on the day of the Aſcention of our Lorde: and inuading the Countrey, gaue battayle at a place called Wigmere, or Rigmere, vnto Vikell, or Vlfketell leader of the Engliſh hoſt in thoſe parties, the fifth of May.

The men of Norffolke and Suffolke ſtedde at the fyrſt onſet gyuen. But the Cambridgeſhire men ſticked to it valiantly, wynning thereby perpetuall fame and commendation. There was no mindefulneſſe amongeſt them of running awaye, ſo that a great number of the Nobilitie and other were beaten downe and ſlaine, tyll at the length one Turketell Mireneheued, that had a Dane to hys father, fyrſt beganne to take his flight, and deſerued thereby an euerlaſting reproch.

The Danes obteyning the vpper hande, for the ſpace of three monethes togyther, went vppe and downe the Countreys, and waſted thoſe parties of the Realme, that is to ſay, Norffolke, and Suffolke, with the borders of Lincolnſhire, Huntingtonſhire, and Cambridgeſhire where the fennes are, gayning exceeding ryches by the ſpoile of the great and wealthie Abbayes and Churches which had their ſituation within the compaſſe of the ſame Fennes.

They alſo deſtroyed Thetford, and burnt Cambridge, and from thence paſſed through the pleaſant mountain countrey of Belleſham, cruelly murthering the people without reſpect to age, degree or ſexe. Thetforde, Cambridge. *Hen. Hunt.*

After this they entred into Eſſex, and ſo came backe to theyr ſhips, whiche were then arriued in the Thames. But they reſted not any long time in quiet, as people that mynded nothing but the deſtruction of this Realme. So that ſhortly after they had somewhat refreſhed them, forwarde they ſet again into the Country, paſſing through Buckinghamſhire, and ſo into Bedfordſhire. And about S. Andrewes tide they turned toward Northampton, and comming thither, ſet fyre on that towne. The Danes arriue in the Thames. 1011. Northampton burnt by Danes.



And then returning through the weſt country, with fire and ſword waſted and deſtroyed a great part thereof, and namely Wilſhire, with other parties. And finally aboute the feaſt of Chriſtmaſſe they came againe to their ſhippes.

Thus had the Danes waſted and deſtroyed the moſt part of .xvj. or .xvij. ſhires within this realme as Norff. Suff. Cambridgeſhire, Eſſex, Middleſex, Hartfortſhire, Oxfordſhire, Buckinghãſhire, and Bedfordſhire, with a part of Huntingdonſh. and alſo a great portion of Northamptonſhire. How many ſhires the Danes waſted.

This was done in the Countreys that lie on the northſide the Riuer of Thames. And on the ſouthſide of the ſame Ryuer, they ſpoyled and waſted Kent, Southerie, Suſſex, Barkſh. Hãpſhire, and (as is before ſayd) a great part af Wilſhire. The king and the peeres of the realme not knowing otherwiſe how to redreſſe the matter, ſent Ambaſſadors vnto the Danes, offring them great ſummes of money to leaue off ſuche cruell waſting and ſpoyling of the lande. The king ſendeth to the Danes. *Simon Dun.*

The Danes were contented to retayne the money, but yet coulde not abſtayne from their cruell doyngs, neither was their greedie thyrſt of bloud and ſpoyle ſatiſfied with the waſting and deſtroying of ſo many Countieys and places as

they had paſſed through. Whereupon in the yeare of our Lorde. 1011. about the feaſt of Saint Mathew in September, they layde ſiege to the Citie of Canterburie, which by the Citizens was valiantly defended by the ſpace of .xx. dayes. In the ende of which terme it was taken by the enimies, through the treaſon of a Deacon named Almaricus, whome the Archbiſhop Elphegus had be- Canterbury wonne by the Danes.



fore that time preſerued from death.

Fabian ex Antonino. The Danes exerciſed paſſing great crueltie in the winning of that Citie (as by ſundrie Authors it doth and may appeare.)

The Archbiſhop Elphegus taken. *Hen. Hunt.* They ſlue of menne, women, and children about the number of .viij. thouſand. They toke the Archbiſhop Elphegus, with an other Biſhop named Godwyn. Alſo Abbot Lefwyn & Alſewold the kings Baylif there. They ſpared no degree, inſomuch that they ſlue and toke .900. prieſtes and other men of religion. And when they had taken their pleaſure of the Citie, they ſet it on fire, and ſo returned to their ſhips.

Antoninus. Vincentius. VVil. Lamb. ex Aſſerio Meneuenſis & alijs. There be that write that they tithed the people after an inuerted order, ſlaying the whole nines through the whole multitude, and reſerued the tenth: ſo that of all the Monkes there were but foure ſaued, and of the lay people .4800. whereby it followeth that there dyed .43200. perſons, and hereof is gathered that the citie of Canterburie, & the Countrey thereabouts (the people whereof belike fled thither for ſuccor) was at that time verie well inhabited, ſo as there haue not wanted (ſayth Maſter Lambert) which affyrme that it had then more people than London it ſelfe.

1012 *Hen. Hunt.* But now to our purpoſe. In the yeare next enſuing, vpon the Saterday in Eaſter weeke, after that the Biſhop Elphegus had bin kept priſoner with them the ſpace of .vj. or .vij. monethes, they cruelly in a rage led him forth into the fields and daſhed out his braynes with ſtones, becauſe he would not redeeme his libertie with three .M. pound, which they demaunded to haue bin leuied of his farmers and tenants.

The Archbiſhop Alphegus murthered.

This cruell murther was cõmitted at Grenewich foure miles diſtant from London, the .xix. of Aprill, where he lay a certaine time vnburied, but at length through miracles ſhewed (as they ſay) for myracles are all wrought now by deade men, and not by the liuing: the Danes permitted that his bodie might be caried to London, & there was it buried in the Church of S. Paule, where it reſted for the ſpace of ten yeares, till king Cnute or Knoght had the gouernment of this lande, by whoſe appoyntment it was remoued to Canterburie. Myracles. Elphegus ried to Lo Tranſlated Canterbury

VVil. M Turkillus the leader of thoſe Danes by whom the Archbiſhop Elphegus was thus murthered, helde Norffolke and Suffolke vnder his ſubiection, and ſo continued in thoſe parties as chief L. and gouernor. But the reſidue of the Danes at length, compounding with the Engliſhmen for a tribute to be payed to them of .viij. M. pounde. *Simon Du* ſpred abrode in the countrey ſoiourning in cities, townes and villages, where they might finde moſt conuenient Harborough. Turkillus held Nor and Suffol xlviii. thou pound a *Mat. Pa*

Moreouer for the ſtay of their Shippes, or rather, (as ſome write) .xlb. were retayned to ſerue the king, promiſing to defende the Realme, with condition that the Souldiers and Mariners ſhould haue proviſion of meate and drinke, with apparell, found them at the kings charges. *H. Hunt.*

As one Authour hath gathered, Sweyne king of Denmarke was in England at the concluding of this peace, which being cõfirmed with ſolemne othes and ſufficient Hoſtages, he departed into Denmarke.

Alſo the ſame Authour bringeth the generall ſlaughter of Danes vppon Saint Bryces daye, to haue chaunced in the yeare after the *Mat. Pa*

conclu-

conclusion of this agreement, that is to witte, in the yeare. 1012. at what tyme Gunthildis the ſiſter of King Swaine was ſlaine, with hir huſbande and ſonne, by the commaundement of the falſe traytour Edzike. But bycauſe all other Authours agree that the ſame murther of Danes was executed aboute tenne yeares before thys ſuppoſed tyme: wee haue made rehearſall thereof in that place. Howbeeit for the death of Gunthilde, it maye bee, that ſhee became Hoſtage eyther in the yeare. 1007. at what tyme King Egelred payed thirtie thouſande pounde vnto king Swayne to haue peace (as before you haue heard) or elſe myght ſhee bee deliuered in hoſtage, in the yeare. 1011. when the laſt agreement was made with the Danes (as aboue is mentioned.) But when or at what time ſoeuer ſhe became hoſtage, this we finde of hir, that ſhe came hither into England with hir huſband Palingus, a mightie Earle, and receyued baptiſme here. Whereupon ſhe earneſtly trauailed in treatie of a peace betwixt hir brother & king Egelred, whiche being brought to paſſe chiefely by hir ſuyte, ſhee was contented to become an Hoſtage for perfourmance thereof (as before is recyted.) And after by the commaundement of Earle Edzicke ſhee was put to death, pronouncing that the ſhedding of hir bloude would cauſe all England one day ſore to rue.

She was a right beautifull Ladie, and toke hir death without all feare, not once chaunging countenaunce, though ſhe ſaw hir huſbande and hir onely ſonne (a yong Gentleman of much towardneſſe) firſt murthered before hir face.

Turkillus in the meane tyme had aduertiſed king Swayne in what ſtate things ſtoode here within the Realme: howe King Egelred was negligent, only attending to the luſtes and pleaſures of the fleſhe: howe the Noble menne were vnfaythfull, and the Commons weake and feeble through waute of good and truſtye leaders.

Some wryte yet that Turkyll, as well as other of the Danes whiche remayned here in Englande was in league with King Egelred, inſomuche that he was with him in London to helpe to defend the Citie againſt Swayne when hee came to aſſault it, (as after ſhall appeare.) Whiche if it bee true, a doubt may riſe whether Swaine receyued any aduertiſement from Turkill to moue him the rather to inuade the realme: but ſuche aduertiſements might come from him before that he was accorded with Egelred.

Swayne therefore as a valiaunt Prince deſirous both to reuenge his ſiſters death, and win honour, prepared an huge armie, and a greate number of Shippes, with the whiche hee made towardes Englande, and firſte comming to Sandwiche, tarryed there a ſmall while, and taking cuſtomes the Sea, compaſſed aboute the coaſtes of the Eaſt Angles, and arryuing in the mouth of Humber, ſayled vp the water, and entring into the Ryuer of Trent, he landed at Gaynesbourgh, purpoſing to inuade the Northumbers: But they as ſoon brought into great feare, for that they had beene ſubiect to the Danes in tymes paſt, and thinking therefore not to reuolte to enimyes, but rather to theyr olde acquaintaunce, if they ſhoulde ſubmitte themſelues to the Danes, ſtreyght wayes offered to become ſubiect vnto Swayne, togither with theyr Duke named Wightred.

He landeth at Sandwich. 1013

Gaynesbourgh

The Northumbers yeeld to Swayne.

Also the people of Lyndeſey and all thoſe of the Northfolke of Watlingſtreete yeelded themſelues vnto him, and deliuered pledges. Then he appoynted his ſonne Cnutus to haue the keping of thoſe pledges, and to remain vpon the ſafegard of his ſhips, whiles he himſelfe paſſed forward into the Countrey. Then marched he forwarde to ſubdue them of South Mercia: and ſo came to Oxford, & to Winchiſter, making the countreys ſubiect to him throughout wherſoeuer he came.

The people of Lyndeſey yeeld themſelues to him.

Sim. Dunel.

South Mercia.

With this proſperous ſucceſſe, Swayne being greatly encouraged, prepared to go vnto London where king Egelred as then remayned, hauing with him Turkillus the Dane, which was retayned in wages with other of the Danes (as by report of ſome Authours it may appeare) and were nowe readie to defende the Citie againſte theyr Countrey men in ſuppoſt of King Egelred togyther with the Citizens. Swayne bycauſe hee would not ſtepp ſo farre out of the way as to goe to the nexte bridge, loſt a greate number of his menne as hee paſſed through the Thames.

Simon Duni.

At his comming to London, he begonne to aſſaulte the Citie right fiercely, in hope eyther to put his enimie in ſuch feare that he ſhould diſpaire of all reliefe and comfort, or at the leaſt to trye what hee was able to doe. The Londoners on the other part, although they were brought in ſome feare by this ſodaine attempt of the enimyes, yet conſidering with themſelues, that the hazarde of all the whole ſtate of the Realme was annexed to theyrs, ſithe theyr Citie was the chiefe and Metropolitane of all the Kingdome, they valyantly ſtoode in defence of themſelues, and of their king that was preſent there with them, beating backe the enimies, chaſing them from the walles, and otherwiſe doing their beſt to keepe them of. At length although the Danes did moſt valiantly aſſault the Citie, the Engliſh men yet to defend their prince from all iniurie of enimies, did not ſhrinke, but boldly ſallied forth at ye gates in heapes togither, & encountred with theyr aduerſaries, and began to fight with the right fiercely.

Sweine aſſaulteth London.

Polidor.

Sweyn whileſt he goeth about to keepe his men in order, as one moſt deſirous to retayne the victorie nowe almoſte gotten, is compaſſed ſo about with the Londoners on eche ſyde, that after he had loſt a greate number of his men, he was conſtrayned for his ſafegarde to breake out through the myddeſt of his enimyes weapons, and was gladde that hee might ſo eſcape. And ſo with the reſidue of his armie ceaſſed not to iourney day and night tyll hee came to Bathe, where Ethelmere an Earle of greate power in thoſe Weſt parties of the Realme, ſubmitted himſelfe wyth all hys people vnto him, who ſhortly after neuertheleſſe (as ſome write) was compelled through want of vitayles to releaſe the tribute lately couenanted to bee payed vnto him for a certaine ſumme of money, which when hee had receyued, he returned into Denmarke, meaning ſhortly to returne againe with a greater power.

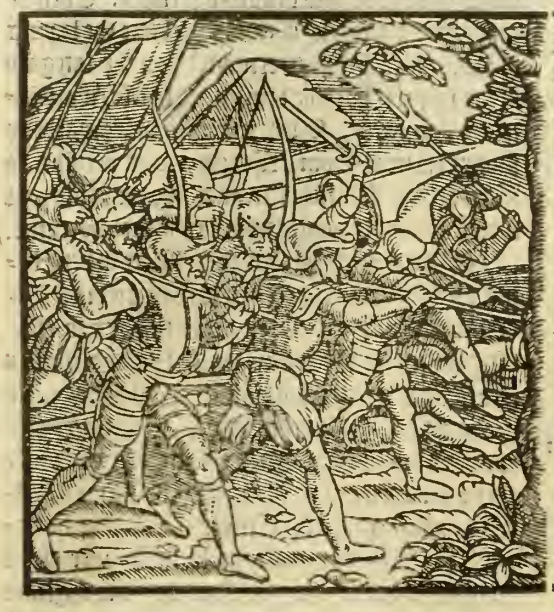
Wil. Mal. Earle of Deuonſhire as hath *Mat. Weſt.*

Polidor.

Swain returneth into Denmarke.

King Egelred ſuppoſed that by the payment of that money he ſhould haue beene rid out of all troubles of warre with the Danes. But the Nobles of the realme thought otherwiſe, and therfore willed him to prepare an armie with al ſpeed that might be made. Sweyn tarryed not long (to proue the doubt of the noble men to be grounded of foreknowledge) but that with ſwift ſpeede he returned againe into Englande, and immediatly vppon his arriuall was an armie of Engliſh men aſſembled and led againſt him into the field. Herevpon they ioyne in battaile, which was fore foughten

Swain returneth into England to make warre.





for a time, til at-length by reaſon of diuerſe Engliſhmen that turned to the enimies ſide, the diſcomfiture fel with ſuch ſlaughter vpon the Engliſh hoſt, that king Egelred well perceyued the ſtate of his regall gouernment to be brought into vtter daunger. Whereupon after the loſſe of this fielde, hee aſſembled the reſt of his people that were eſcaped, and ſpake vnto them after thys maner.

King Egelred diſcomfited in battaile.

The Oration of K. Egelred.

I ſhoulde for euer bee put to ſilence, if there wanted in vs the vertue of a fatherly minde, in giuing good aduice and counſaile for the well ordering the adminiſtration of things in the common wealth, or if there lacked courage or might in our ſouldiers and men of warre to defende our Country. Truly to die in defence of the Country where we are borne, I confeſſe it a worthie thing, and I for my part am readie to take vpon me to enter into the middeſt of the enimies in defence of my kingdome. But here I ſee our countrey and the whole Engliſh nation to be at a poynt to fall into vtter ruine. We are ouercome of the Danes, not with weapō or force of armes, but with treaſon wrought by our owne people: wee did at the firſt prepare a nauie againſte the enimies, the which that falſe traytor Elfrik betrayd into their handes. Againe oftentymes haue we giuen battaile with euill ſucceſſe, and onely through the fault of our owne people, that haue beene falſe and diſloyal, wherby we haue bene conſtrayned to agree with the enimies vpon diſhonorable conditions, euen as neceſſitie required, which to ouercome reſteth only in God. Such kind of agreemēt hath bin made in deed to our deſtruction, ſith the enimies haue not ſticked to breake it (they being ſuch a wicked kinde of people as neither regarde God nor man) contrarie to right & reaſon, and beſide all our hope & expectation. And ſo is the matter come nowe to this paſſe, ẏ we haue not cauſe only to feare the loſſe of our gouernment, but leaſt the name of the whole Engliſh natiō be deſtroyed for euer. Therfore ſithence the enimies are at hād, and as it were ouer our heades, ye to whō my cōmandemēt hath euer bin had in good regard, prouide, take counſell, & ſee to ſuccor the ſtate of your cūtry now redy to decay & to fal into irrecouerable ruine.

ruine. Herebpon they fel in cõsultation euery one, alledging and bringing forth his opinion as seemed to him best, but it appeared they hadde the Wolfe by the eare, for they wist not which way to turne them: If they shoulde give battayle it was to be doubted, least through treason amongst themselues, the armie shoulde be betrayed into the enimies hands, the which would not fayle to execute all kinde of crueltie in the slaughter of the whole nation. And if they did not stand valiantly to shewe themselues ready to defende their countrey, there was no shifte but to yeeld themselues, whiche though it were a thing reprochfull and dishonorable, yet shoulde it be lesse euill as they toke the matter, for thereby myght many bee preserued from deathe, and in time to come, be able to recouer the libertie of their countrey againe when occasion shoulde thereto be offered.

This poynt was allowed of them all, and so in the ende they rested vpon that resolution.

King Egelred therefore determined to committe himselfe into the hands of his brother in lawe Richarde Duke of Normandy, whose sister (as ye haue heard) he hadde married. But bycause he woulde not do this vnaduisedly, firste he sent ouer his Wife Queene Emme, with his sonnes which he hadde begotten of hir, Alfred and Edwarde, that by their entertaynemente hee might vnderstande how hee shoulde be welcome. Duke Richarde receyued his sister and his Nephewes right ioyfully, and promised to ayde his brother King Egelred in defence of his Kyngdome. But in this meane while had Sweyne conquered the more part of al England, and brought (by little and little) that whiche remayned, vnder his subiection. The people through feare submitting themselues on each hand, King Egelred in this meane time, (for the Londoners had submitted themselues to Sweyne) was first withdrawē vnto Greenewiche, and there remayned for a time with the nauie of the Danes, which was vnder the gouernemente of Earle Turkill, and from thence sayled vnto the Isle of Wight, and there remayned a great part of the Winter, and finally after Christmas, sayled himselfe into Normandy, and was of his brother in law ioyfully receyued, and greatly comforted in that his time of necessitie. Sweyne hauing now gote the whole rule of the lande, was reputed for King, and so commanded that his army shoulde be prouided of wages and victuals to bee taken vp and leuied through the Realme. In like manner Turkill cõmanded that to his army which lodged at Greenewhich, shoulde wages and victuals be deliuered sufficiente for the finding and sustentation therof. Sweyne vsed the victory very cruelly against the Englishmen, oppressing them on each hand, to the intent that they being broughte lowe, he might gouerne in more surelie. The yere in which he obteined the rule thus of this Realm, and that King Egelred was constreyned to flee into Normandy, was in the fiue and thirtith yere of the same Egelredes his raigne, and after the birth of our Lord. 1014. Sweyne being once established in the gouernemente, did not onely vse much crueltie, in oppressing the laitie, but also he stretched forthe his hande to the Churche and to the Ministers in the same, fleecing them and spoyling both Churches and Ministers, without any remorse of conscience, in so muche, that hauing a quarrell against the inhabitantes within the precinct of S. Edmonds land in Suffolke, he did not onely harry the countrey, but also ryfled and spoyled the Abbey of Bury, where the body of Saint Edmond rested.



Wherupon shortly after as hee was at Grimelborough or Thetforde (as some haue) and there in his iollitie talked with his Nobles of his good successe in conquering of this lande, he was suddaynly striken with a knife, as it is reported, miraculously, for no man wist how or by whome: and within three dayes after, to wit, on the thirde of February, hee ended his life with greeuous payne and torment in yelling and roring, by reason of his extreme anguish beyonde all measure. There hathe sprong a pleasant tale amongst the posteritie of that age, how he should be wounded with the same knife whiche King Edmonde in his life time vsed to weare. Thus haue some of our Writers reported, but the Danishe Chronicles recorde a farre more happy ende whiche should chaunce vnto this Sweyne, than is before mentioned, out of our Writers: for the sayde Chronicles reporte, that after he had subdued England, he toke order with King Egelred, whome they name amisse Adelstane, that he shoulde not ordeine any other successor, but only the same Sweyne. Then after this, he returned into Denmarke, where liuing himselfe like a right godly

Fabian. Saint Edmond fighteth for the wealth, but not for the slaughter of his people. *Simon Dun.* 115

Albertus Crantz. Saxo Grammaticus.

Prince, at length he there ended his life, being a very old man. But when, or how soeuer he dyed, immediately after his decesse, the Danes elected his son Cnute or Knought to succeede in his dominions. But the Englishmen of nothing more desirous than to shake the yoke of the Danishe thraldome besides their neckes and shoulders, straight wayes vpon knowledge had of Sweynes deathe, with all speede aduertised King Egelred thereof, and that they were ready to receiue and assist him if he would make hast to come ouer to deliuer his countrey out of ẏ hands of strãgers. These newes were right ioyful vnto Egelred, who burning in desire to be reuenged on thẽ that had expulsed him out of his Kingdom, made no long tarriance to put that enterprise forward. But yet doubting ẏ inconstancie of the people, sent his elder son (named Edward) to trie the minds of them, & to vnderstand whether they were cõstant or wauering in ẏ they had promised. The yong Gentleman hasting ouer into Englande, & with diligẽt enquirie perceyuing how they were bent, returned with like speede as he came into Normandie againe, declaring to his father, that all things were in safetie if hee would make hast. K. Egelred then conceiued an assured hope to recouer his Kingdome, ayded wt his brother in lawes power, & trusting vpon ẏ assistance of the Englishmẽ, returned into England in ẏ time of Lẽt. His returne was ioyfull & most acceptable to the English people, as to those that abhorred the rule of ẏ Danes, which was most sharp and bitter to them, although Cnute did what he could by bountifulnesse and curteous dealings to haue retayned

Vvil. Mal. Hen. Hunt.

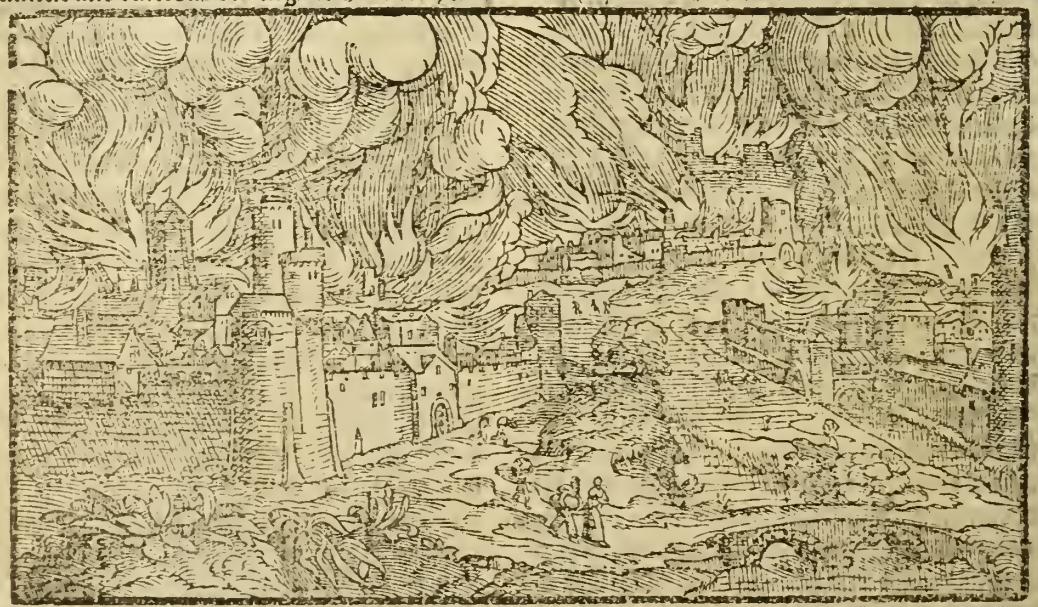
Canute or Cnute.

Egelred sent for home.

Edward King Egelredes eldest soone.

King Egelred returneth into England.

Cnutes endeuor to establish himselfe in the Kingdome.



Cnute driuen to forsake the lande.

He was driuen thyther by force of contrary windes as should appere by M.W.

thẽ vnder his obeisance. And to ẏ intẽt to procure Gods fauour in the well ordering of things for ẏ administration in ẏ common wealth, he sought te first to appease his wrath, & also to make emends to S. Edmond for his fathers offence committed (as was thought) against him: in so much, ẏ after he had obteyned the Kingdome, he caused a great ditche to be cast round about the land of S. Edmond, & graunted many liberties to the inhabitants, and acquit them of certain taskes and payments, vnto ẏ which other of their neighbors were contributaries. He also builded a Church on ẏ place wher S. Edmond was buried, & ordeined an house of Monkes there, or rather remoued the Canons or secular Priests that were there afore, and put Monkes in their rowmes. He offred vpp also hys Crowne vnto the same S. Edmonde, & redemed it again with a great summe of money, which maner of doing grewe into an vse vnto other kings ẏ folowed him. He adorned ẏ Church there with many riche iewels, and endowed the Monasterie with greate possessions. But these things were not done now at the first, but after that he was stablished in the Kingdome. For in the mean time, after that K. Egelred was returned out of Normandie, Cnute as then sojourning at Farnelbrough, remayned there till the feast of Easter, and made agreemente with them of Lindsey, so that they finding him horses, they should altogither goe forth to spoyle their neighbours. King Egelred aduertised thereof, sped him thither with a mighty host, and with greate cruelty brenned vp the Countrey, and slewe the more part of the inhabitantes, bicause they hadde

S. Edmonds ditche.

Polidor. Fabian.

take part wt his enimies. Cnute as ẏ was not of power able to resist Egelred, and therefore taking his Ships whiche lay in Humber, fled from thence, & sailed about ẏ coast, til he came to Sandwich, and there sore grieued in his mind to remẽber what mischiefe was fallen & chanced to hys frends & subiects of Lindsey, only for his cause, he cõmanded ẏ such pledges as had bin deliuered to his father by certaine noble men of this Realme, for assurance of theyr fidelities, should haue their noses slit, & their eares stourd, or as some write, their handes and theyr noses cut off.

The cruelty of Cnute against the Englishmẽ. *Vvil.*

When

When this cruell acte according to his commaundement was done, he taking the Sea, sayled into Denmarke, but yet he toke not al the Danes with him whiche his father broughte hither, for Earle Turkill perceyuing the welthinesse of ẏ lande, compounded with the Englishmen, and chose rather to remayne in a region replenished with all riches, than to returne home into hys owne countrey that wanted suche commodities as were here to be had. And yet as some thought, hee did not forsake his soueraigne Lorde Cnute for any euill meaning towards him, but rather to ayde him when time serued, to recouer the possession of Englād againe, as it afterwards wel appeared: for notwithstanding that he was now rereyned by King Egelred with fortie shippes, and the floure of all the Danes that were menne of war, so as Cnute returned but with .60. Ships into his countrey, yet shortly after, Earle Turkill with nine of those Ships sailed into Denmarke, submitted himselfe vnto Cnute, counselled him to returne into Englande, and promised him the assistaunce of the residue of those Danish Shippes whiche yet remayned in England, beeing to the number of thirtie, with all the Souldiers and mariners that to them belonged. To conclude, hee did so much by his earnest perswasions, that Cnute (through ayde of his brother Harrold Kyng of Denmarke) gote togither a nauie of two hundred Shippes, so royally decked, furnished, and appoynted, both for braue shewe and necessary furniture of all manner of weapon, armour and munition, as it is strange to consider that whiche is written by them that liued in those dayes, and toke in hand to register the doings of that time. But nowe to returne to our purpose, to shewe what chaunced in Englande after the departure of Cnute. The same yeare vnto these accustomed mischieues an vnwonted misaduenture happened, for the Sea rose with suche high spring tydes, that ouerflowing the countreys nexte adioyning, diuers billages with the inhabitantes were drowned vp and destroyed. Also to encrease the peoples miserie, K. Egelred commaunded, that .xxx. thousande. ℔. shuld be leuied to pay the tribute due to ẏ Danes which lay at Greenewiche.

This yere also, King Egelred held a counsell at Oxforde, at the whiche, a great number of noble men were present, both Danes and Englishmen, and there did the King cause Sigeferd and Morcade two noble personages of the Danes to bee murthered within his owne chamber, by the traytorous practise of Edericke de Streona, whiche accused them of some conspiracie, but the quarrell was onely as men supposed, for that the King had a desire to their goodes and possessions. Their seruauntes toke in hand to haue reuenged the death of their maisters, but were beaten backe, wherevppon, they fledde into the Steeple of S. Friswydes Churche, and kepte the same, till fyre was set vpon the place, and so they were brenned to death. The wife of Sigeferd was taken, and sente to Malmesbury, beeing a woman of hygh fame and greate worthinesse, wherevppon the Kyngs eldest sonne named Edmond, toke occasion vppon pretence of other businesse to goe thyther, and there to see hir, with whome hee fell so farre in loue, that he toke and married hir. That done, hee required to haue hir husbandes landes and possessions, whiche were an Earles lyuing, and lay in Northumberland, and when the K. refused to graunt his request, he goeth thither, and sealed the same possessions and landes into hys hands, without hauing any commission so to do, finding the farmours and tenauntes there ready to receiue him for their Lord. While these things were a doing, Cnute hauing made his prouision of Ships and men, with all necessary furniture (as before yee haue heard) for his returne into England, set forward with full purpose, eyther to recouer the Realme out of Egelredes handes, or to die in the quarrell. Hereupon he landed at Sandwich, and firste Earle Turkill obteyned leence to goe against the Englishmen that were assembled to resist the Danes, and finding them at a place called Scorastan, he gaue them the ouerthrow, gote a great bootie, and returned therewith to the Ships. After this, Eric gouernor of Norway, made a roade likewise into another parte of the countrey, and with a rich spoyle, and many Prisoners, returned vnto the nauie.

vvil. Malm Mat. vvest.

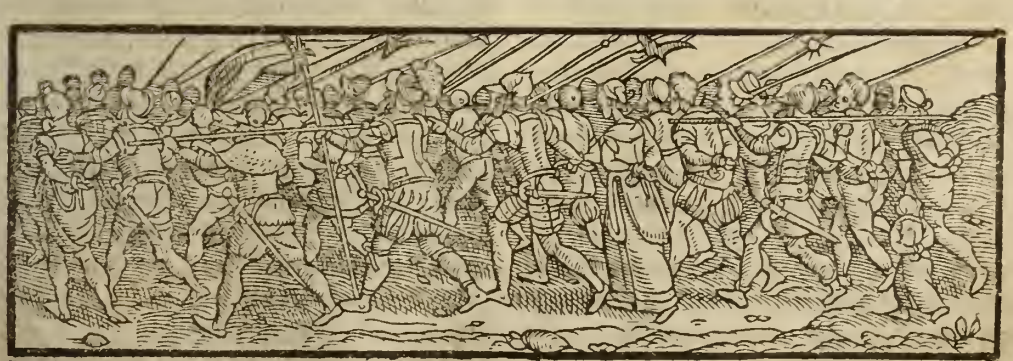
A counsell at Oxforde.

Sigeferd and Morcade murthered.

Edmond the Kings eldest sonne marrieth the Widow of Sigeferd.

Cnute returneth into England.

Encomium Emmæ.



After

After this iourney atchieued thus by Eric, Cnute commaunded that they ſhoulde not waſt the countrey any more, but gaue ouer to prepare all thynges ready to beſiege London. But before hee attempted that enterpriſe, as other write, hee marched forth into Kent, or rather ſailing round about that countrey, toke his iourney Weſtward, and came to Fromundham, and after departing from thence, waſted Dorſetſhire, Somerſetſhire, and Wiltſhire. Kyng Egelred in this meane time lay ſicke at Coſſam. His ſonne Edmond had gote togither a mighty hoſt, howbeit, ere hee came to ioyne battayle with his enimies, he was aduertiſed, that Earle Edricke wer about to betray him, and therefore he withdrewe with the army into a place of ſurety. And Edricke to make his traiterous purpoſe manifeſt to the whole worid, fled to the enimies with fortie of the Kings Shippes, fraughte with Daniſhe Souldiers. Herevpon, al the Weſt countrey ſubmitted it ſelfe vnto Cnute, who receyued pledges of the chiefe Lords and Nobles, and then set forward to ſubdue them of Mercia. The people of that countrey woulde not yeelde, but determined to defend the quarrell and title of King Egelred ſo long as they mighte haue any Captayne that would ſtand with them, and help to order them.

Vvil. Malm. H. Huntin. Math. Vveſt. Simon Dun.

King Egelred ſicke. *Mat. Vveſ.*

Edricke de Streona flee to the Dane *Sim. Dun.*

The Weſt countrey.

The people Mercia wo not yeelde *Mat. Vveſ. Hen. Hunt.* 116

In the yere. 1016. in Chriſtmas, Cnute & Earle Edricke paſſed the Thames at Krikelade, and entring into Mercia, cruelly beganne with fire and ſword, to waſt and deſtroy the countrey, and namely Warwikeſhire.

Warwikeſh waſted by Danes.



King Egelred recouered of his ſickneſſe.

He aſſembleth an army in vayne.

In the meane time was King Egelred recouered of his ſickneſſe, and ſent ſommonance forth to rayſe all his power, appoynting euery man to reſort vnto him, that he mighte encounter the enimies and giue them battaile. But yet when his people were aſſembled, hee was warned to take heede to himſelfe, and in any wiſe to beware how he gaue battayle, for his owne ſubiects were purpoſed to betrary him. Herevpon, the armie brake vp, and King Egelrede withdrew to London, there to abide his enimies within walles, with whome in the fielde hee doubteth to trie the battayle. His ſonne Edmond gote him to Utred, an Earle of great power, inhabiting beyond Humber, and perſwading him to ioyne his forces with his, forthe they wente to waſt thoſe countreyes that were become ſubiect to Cnute, as Staffordſhire, Leceſterſhire, and Shropſhire, not ſparing to exerciſe great cruelty vpon the inhabitants, as a puniſhmēt for their reuolting, that other might take enſample thereof. But Cnute perceyuyng whereabout they went, politikely deuiſed to fruſtrate their purpoſe, and with doyng of like hurte in all places where he came, paſſed through Buckinghamſhire, Bedforſhire, Huntingtonſhire, and ſo through the Fennes, came to Stamford, and then entred into Lincolnſhire, and from thence into Notinghamſhire, and ſo into Yorkſhire, not ſparing to do what miſchiefe myght be deuiſed in all places where he came. Uthred aduertiſed hereof, was conſtreyned to departe home to ſaue his owne countrey from preſente deſtruction, and therefore comming backe into Northumberlande, and perceyuing himſelfe not able to reſiſt the puiſſaunt force of his enimies, was conſtreyned to deliuer pledges, and ſubmit hymſelfe vnto Cnute: but yet was hee not hereby warranted from danger, for ſhortly after he was taken, and put to death, and then were his lands giuen vnto one Iricke or Iricius, whome afterward Cnute did baniſhe out of the Realme, bycauſe that he did attempt to chalenge like authoritie to him in all poynts, as Cnute himſelfe had.

Cnute, with countreye paſſed thr

Earle Vth deliuereth pledges to Cnute.

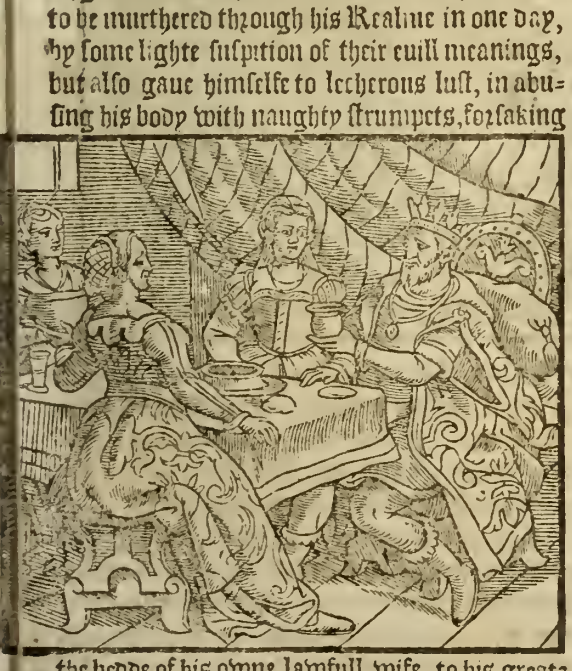
Alias Egric

After that Cnute had ſubdued the Northumbers, hee purſued Edmond till hee heard that hee had taken London for his refuge, and ſtayed there

Vvil. Mal. Edmond king Egelredes ſonne.

with

with his father. Then didde Cnute take his Shippes, and came about to the coaſt of Kente, preparing to beſiege the Citie of London: but in the meane time, King Egelred ſore wexne with long ſickneſſe, departed this life the. 23. of Apryll, being S. Georges daye, or as other haue, on S. Gregories day, being the twelfth of Marche, but I take this to be an error growen, by miſtakyng the feaſt day of S. Gregory for S. George. Hee raigned the tearme of. 37. yeres, or little leſſe. His body was buryed in the Churche of S. Paule, in the North Ile beſides the Choyre, as by a memoriall there in the wall it may appeare. He had two Wiues as before is mentioned, by Elgiua his firſt Wife, he had iſſue three ſonnes, Edmõd Edwine and Adelſtane, beſides one daughter named Edgiua. By his ſecõd wife Emma, daughter to Richarde the firſte of that name, Duke of Normandy, and ſiſter to Richard the ſecond, he had two ſonnes, Alfride and Edward. This Egelfred as you haue heard, had euill ſucceſſe in his warres againſt the Danes, and beſides the calamitie that fell thereof to his people, many other miſeries oppreſſed this lande in his dayes, not ſo much through his lacke of courage and ſlothfull negligẽce, as by reaſõ of his preſumptuous pryde, wherby he alienated the hartes of his people from him. His affections he could not rule, but was led by them without order of reaſon, for hee did not only diſinherite diuerſe of his owne Engliſh ſubiects without apparant cauſe of offence by plaine forged cauillatiõs, and alſo cauſed all the Danes to be murthered through his Realme in one day, by ſome lighte ſuſpition of their euill meanings, but alſo gaue himſelfe to lecherous luſt, in abuſing his body with naughty ſtrumpets, forſaking



the bedde of his owne lawfull wife, to his greate infamie and ſhame of that high degree of Maieſtie, whiche by his Kingly office hee bare and ſuſteyned. To conclude: he was from his tender youth, more apt to idle reſt, than to the exerciſe of warres, more giuen to pleaſures of the body, than to any vertues of the minde, although that toward his latter ende, beeing growen into age, and taught by long experiẽce of worldly affaires, and proofe of paſſed miſeries, hee ſoughte (though in vayne) to haue recouered the decayed ſtate of his common wealth and countrey.

Edmond ſurnamed Yronſide.



Edmõd Ironſide

After that Kyng Egelred was dead, his eldeſt ſonne Edmond ſurnamed Ironſide was proclaymed K. by the Lõdoners and others, hauing the aſſiſtance of ſome Lordes of the Realme, although the more parte, and ſpecially thoſe of the ſpiritualty fauoured Cnute, becauſe they had afortetime ſworn fealtie to his father. Some write, that Cnute had planted his ſiege both by water & land very ſtrongly about the Citie of London before Egelred departed this life, and immediately vppon his deceſſe, was receyued into the Citie, but the army that was within the Citie, not conſenting vnto the ſurrender made by the Citizens, departed the night before the day on the whych Cnute by appoyntment ſhould enter, and in company of Edmonde Ironſide (whome they had choſen to be their King and gouernour) they prepared to increaſe their numbers with newe ſupplies, meaning eftſoones to trie the fortune of battell againſte the Daniſh power. Cnute perceyuing the moſt parte of all the Realme to bee thus againſt him, and hauing no great confidẽce in the loyaltie of the Londoners, toke order to leauie money for the payment of his menne of warre and Mariners that belonged to his nauie, left the Citie, and embarquing himſelfe, ſayled to the Ile of Sheppey, and there remayned all the Winter. In whiche meane while, Edmonde Ironſide came to London, where he was ioyfully receyued of the Citizens, and continuing there till the ſpring of the yere, made himſelfe ſtrong againſt the enimies.

The King-dome goeth where the ſpiritualtie fauoureth.

The author of the Booke entituled Encomiũ Emmæ ſaith, that it was reported that Edmond offered the combate vnto Cnute at this his going frõ the citie, but Cnute refuſed it.

This Edmond for his noble courage, ſtrẽgth of body, and notable patience to endure and ſuffer all ſuche hardneſſe and paynes as is requiſite in a man of warre, was ſurnamed Ironſide, and began his raigne in the yere of our Lord. 1016. in

1016

the

the ſixteenth yeare of the Emperour Henry the ſecond ſurnamed Claudius, in the twentith yere of the raigne of Robert King of Fraunce, and about the ſixth yeare of Malcolme the ſeconde K. of the Scottes. After that Kyng Edmund hadde receyued the Crowne in the Citie of Londō by ẏ hands of the Archb. of Yorke, he aſſembled togyther ſuch a power as he cold make, & with ẏ ſame marched forthe towardes the Weſt partes, and made the countrey ſubiect to him. In the meane time was Cnute proclayned and ordeyned K. at Southampton by the Biſhops and Abbots, and diuers Lordes alſo of the Temporaltie there togyther aſſembled, vnto whome he ſware to bee their good and faithfull ſouereigne, and that hee would ſee Juſtice truely and vprightly miniſtred. Then after hee had ended his buſineſſe at Southampton, hee drewe with his people towards London, and comming thither, beſieged the Citie both by water and lande, cauſing a great trenche to be caſt about it, ſo that no man might eyther get in or come forth. Many greate aſſaultes he cauſed to bee gyuen vnto the Citie, but the Londoners and others within ſo valiantly defended the walles and gates, that the enimies gote ſmall aduauntage, and at length were conſtreyned to depart with loſſe. Cnute then perceiuing that he might not haue his purpoſe there, withdrewe Weſtward, and beſides Gillingham in Dorſetſhire, encountred with K. Edmund in the Rogation weeke, and after ſore and ſharp battayle, was put to the worſe, and conſtreyned to forſake the fielde by the high prowes and manhode of the ſayde Edmund. King Cnute ẏ ſame nighte, after the armies were ſeuered, departed towards Wincheſter, ſo to get himſelfe out of danger. Shortly after, King Edmund hearing that an other army of the Danes had beſieged Saliſbury, he marched thither to ſuccour them within, and immediatly Cnute followed him, ſo that at a place in Worceterſhire called Scorſtan, on ẏ foure and twentith of June, they encountred togyther, and fought a right cruell battayle, which at length the nighte parted with equall fortune. And likewiſe on the next day they buckled togyther agayne, and fought with like ſucceſſe as they hadde done the day before, for towardes euening they gaue ouer well wearied, and not knowyng to

Ran. Higd.

Hen. Hunt.

Simon Dun.

London beſieged.

Cnute at Gillingham in Dorſetſhire put to flight.

Polidor.

Saliſbury beſieged.

Simon Dun. Mat. Weſt. Will. Malm.

A battell of equall fortune.

An other battel with like ſucceſſe.



whome the victory ought to be aſcribed.

Edrick de Streona his treaſon.

Simon Dun.

Writers haue reported, that this ſeconde daye when Duke Edricke perceyued the Engliſhmen to be at poynte to haue gote the vpper hande, hee withdrewe aſide, and hauing by chaunce ſlayne a common Souldioure called Osmear, which in viſage muche reſembled King Edmunde, hee cut off his head, helde it vp, and ſhaking his ſworde bloudy with the ſlaughter, cried to the Engliſhmen, flee ye wretches, flee and get away, for your Kyng is dead, behold here his head which I hold in my hands. Herewith had the Engliſhmenne fled immediately, if King Edmunde aduiſed of this ſtratageme, had not quickly gote him to an high ground wher his men might ſee him aliue & luſtie. Herewith alſo ẏ traytor Edricke eſcaped hardly ẏ daunger of death, ẏ Engliſhmen ſhot ſo egrely at him. At length as is ſaid, the night parting them in ſunder, they withdrewe the one army from the other, as it had bin by conſent.

The third day they remayned in armour, but yet abſteyning from battayle, ſate ſtill, in taking meate and drinke to releeue their wearied bodies, and after gathered in heapes the dead carcaſes that had beene ſlayne in the former fighte, the nūber of which on eyther partie reconed, roſe to the poynt of twentie thouſand and aboue.

Twentie thouſand dead bodies.

In the night following, Cnute remoueth his camp in ſecret wiſe, and marcheth towardes London, which Citie in a manner remayned beſieged

The armie diſlodged.

by the

by the naute of the Danes. King Edmond in the morning when the lighte had diſcouered the departure of his enimies, followed thē by the traĉt, and comming to London with ſmall adoe, remoued the ſiege, and entred the Citie like a conquerour. Shortly after he foughte with ỹ Danes at Brentford, and gaue them a great ouerthrow. In this meane while, Queene Emme the widdow of King Egelred, doubting the fortune of the warre, ſente hir two ſonnes Alfred and Edwarde ouer into Normandy vnto hir brother Duke Richard, or rather fled thither hirſelfe with them (as ſome write.) Moreouer, Earle Edricke perceyuing the great manhode of K. Edmund, began to feare, leaſt in the ende he ſhoulde ſubdue and vanquiſhe the Danes, wherefore hee foughte meanes to conclude a peace, and take ſuche order with him as might ſtand with both their contentations, which ere long he brought about. And this was done as you ſhall heare by the conſente of Cnute (as ſome write) to the intente that Edricke being had in truſt with King Edmunde, mighte the more eaſily deuiſe wayes how to betray him. Cnute diſappoynted of his purpoſe at London, fetching a greate booty and pray out of the coūtreys next adioyning, repaired to his ſhips, to ſee what order was amongſt them, the whych a little before were withdrawen into the Riuer that paſſeth by Rocheſter called Medway. Heere Cnute remayned certayne dayes, both to aſſemble a greater power, and alſo to hearken & learne what his enimies meant to do, the which he eaſily vnderſtode. For K. Edmund who hated nothing worſe thā to linger his buſineſſe, aſſembled his people, and marching forwarde towarde hys enimies, approched neere vnto them, and pighte downe his tents not farre frō his enimies camp, exhorting his people to remember their paſſed victories, and to doe their good willes, at length by one battayle, ſo to ouerthrowe them, that they mighte make an ende of the warre, and diſpatche them cleerely out of the Realme. He ſo much encouraged his Souldiers with theſe and the lyke wordes, that they diſdeyning thus to haue the enimies dayly to prouoke them, and to put them to trouble, with egre mindes and fierce courages offered battayle to the Danes, whiche Cnute had prepared to receyue whenſoeuer the Engliſhmē approched: and heerewith bringing his men into aray, he came forth to meete his enimies. Then was the battaile begunne with great earneſtneſſe on both ſides, and continued foure houres, till at length the Danes begaune ſomewhat to ſhrinke, which when Cnute perceyued, hee commaunded his Horſemen to come forward into the forepart of his hoſt. But whileſt one parte of the Danes giue backe with feare, and the other come ſlowly forwarde, the array of the whole army is broken, and then without reſpect of ſhame they fledde amayne, ſo that there dyed that daye of Cnutes ſide foure thouſand and fiue hundred men, and of Kyng Edmunds ſide, not paſt ſixe hundred, and thoſe were footemen. This battell was foughte as ſhoulde appeare by dyuers writers, at Okeford or Otesforde. It was thought, that if king Edmund had purſued the victory and followed in chaſe of his enimies in ſuche wiſe as hee lykely might haue done, hee had made that day an ende of the warres: but he was counſelled by Edricke as ſome write, in no condition to folow them, but to ſtay and gyue tyme to hys people to refreſhe theyr weery bodyes. And ſo Cnute with his army paſſed ouer the Thames into Eſſex, and there aſſembled all his power togither, and began to ſpoyle and waſt the countrey on eathe hande. King Edmund aduertiſed thereof, haſted forthe to ſuccoure his people, and at Aſhdone in Eſſex three miles from Saffron Walde gaue battayle to Cnute, where after ſore and cruell fight continued with greate ſlaughter on both ſides a long time, Duke Edricke fledde to the comforte of the Danes, and to the diſcomfort of the Engliſhmē: ſo that Kyng Edmunde was conſtreyned in the ende to depart out of the fielde, hauing firſte done all that could be wiſhed in a worthy Chieftayne, both by wordes to encourage his men, and by deedes to ſhewe them good example, ſo that at one time the Danes were at poynte to haue gyuen backe, but that Cnute aduiſed thereof, ruſhed into the left wing where moſt daunger was, and ſo relieued his people there, that finally the Engliſhmen, both awearied with long fight, and alſo diſcouraged with the running away of ſome of theyr company, were conſtreyned to giue ouer, and by flighte to ſeeke their ſafegarde, ſo that K. Edmund myght not by any meanes bring them agayne into order. Hereuppon all the wayes and paſſages beeyng forelayde and ſtopped by the enimies, the Engliſhmenne wanting bothe carriage to make longer reſiſtaunce, and perceyning no hope to reſt in fleeing, were beaten downe and ſlayne in heapes, ſo that fewe eſcaped from that dreadfull and bloudy battayle.

The number of Danes ſlain.

Polidor.
Fabian.
Ran. Higd.
Mat. VVeſt.
H. Hunt.
VVil. Mal.

Edrickes counſell.

There dyed on Kyng Edmundes ſyde, Duke Edmund, Duke Alfricke, and Duke Godwin, with Earle Alfketell, or Urchell of Eaſt Angle, and Duke Ayleward, that was ſonne to Ardelwine, late Duke of Eaſt Angle, and to bee briefe, all the floure of the Engliſhe nobilitie.

Noble men ſlayne at the battell of Aſhdone.

Sim. Dunel.
VVil. Mal.

There was alſo ſlayne at this battayle many renoumed perſons of the ſpiritualty, as ỹ Biſhoppe of Lincolne, and the Abbot of Ramſey, with other. Kyng Edmund eſcaping away, gote him into Glocesterſhire, and there began to rayſe a new army.

King Edmund withdraweth into Glocesterſhire.

In

In the place where this field was fought, are yet ſeuen or eyght hilles, wherein the carcaſſes of them that were ſlayne at the ſame field, were buried, and one beeing digged downe of late, there were foũd two bodies in a coffin of ſtone, of whiche the one lay with his head towards the others foote, and many chaynes of iron, like to the water chaynes of the bittes of Horſes were found in the ſame hill. But nowe to the matter, in the meane while that Edmonde was buſie to leauie a newe army in Glowceſt. and other parties of Mercia, Cnute hauing got ſo great a victory, receiued into his obeiſance, not only ẏ Citie of Londõ, but alſo many other Cities and townes of great name, & ſhortly after haſted forward to purſue his enimie K. Edmũd, who was ready with a mighty hoſte to trie the vttermoſt chaunce of battayle if they ſhoulde eftſoones ioyne.

Polidor. Mat. VVeſt. Herevpon, both the armies being ready to giue the onſet, the one in ſyghte of the other at a place called Dearehurſt, nere to the Riuer of Seuerne, by the drifte of Duke Edrick, who then at lẽgth, beganne to ſhewe ſome token of good meanyng, the two Kings came to a communication, and in the end concluded an agreement, as ſome haue written, without any more adoe.

Simon Dun. Other write, that when both the armies were at poynte to haue ioyned, one of the Captaynes, but whether he were a Dane or an Engliſhmã, it is not certaynely tolde, ſtood vp in ſuch a place, as he mighte be hearde of both the Princes, and boldly vttered hys wordes in forme followyng.

Math. Weſt. ſayth this was Eadricke.

The ſaying of a Captayne. We haue moſt worthy Chiefetaynes fought long ynoughe one againſte another, there hathe bene but to muche bloud ſhed betweene both the Nations, and the valiancie of the Soudiours on both ſides is ſufficiently ynough tried, & eyther of your manhods lykewiſe, & yet cã you beare neyther good nor euill fortune, if the one of you win the battayle, he purſueth him ẏ is ouercome, and if hee chaunce to be vanquiſhed, hee reſteth not till he haue recouered newe ſtrengthe to fight eftſoones with him that is victor. What ſhoulde you meane by this youre inuincible courage? At what marke ſhooteth youre greedy deſire to beare rule, and youre exceſſiue thirſt to atteyne honor? if you fyghte for a Kyngdome, deuide it betweene you two, which ſometume was ſufficient for ſeuen Kyngs, but if you couet to winne fame and glorious renowme, and for the ſame are driuen to trie the hazarde, whether yee ſhall commaund or obey, deuiſe the way whereby ye maye without ſo greate ſlaughter, and without ſuche pitifull bloudſhed of both youre giltleſſe peoples, trie whether of you is moſt worthy to be preferred.

Thus made hee an ende, and the two Princes allowed well of his laſt motion, and ſo order was taken, that they ſhould fighte togither in a ſingular combate within a little Flande encloſed with the Riuer of Seuerne called Olney, with condition, that whether of them chaunced to be Victor, ſhould be King, and the other to reſigne hys title for euer into his hands.

The two Princes entring into the place, appointed in faire armoure, beginne the battaile in ſight of both their armies, raunged in goodly order on eyther ſide the Riuer, with doubtfull mindes, and nothing ioyfull, as they that wauered betwixt hope and feare. The two Champions manfully aſſaile eyther other, without ſparing. Firſt, they went to it on horſebacke, and *Mat. W*



after on foote. Cnute was a man of a meane ſtature, but yet ſtrong and hardy, ſo that receyuing a great blowe by the hande of his aduerſary, whiche cauſed him ſomewhat to ſtagger, hee yet recouered himſelfe agayne, and boldly ſtepte forwarde to bee reuenged, but perceyuing hee coulde

Cnute of what ſtature he was

not

not find aduantage, and that he was rather too weake, and ſhrewdly ouermatched, he ſpake to Edmunde, with a lowde voyce on this wyſe: What neceſſitie (ſayth he) ought thus to moue vs, moſt valiant prince, that for the atteyning of a kingdome, we ſhould thus put our lyues in danger, better were it that laying armoure and malice aſide, wee ſhoulde condeſcende to ſome reaſonable agreement: lette vs become ſworne brethren, and parte the kyngdome betwixt vs: And let vs deal ſo frendly, that thou mayeſt vſe my things as thyne owne, and I thyne as though they were myne.

King Edmunde with thoſe wordes of his aduerſarie was ſo pacified, that immediately he caſte awaye his ſworde, and comming to Cnute, ioyneth hands with him. Both the armies by their enſample did the lyke, which looked for the ſame fortune to fall to their countreys, whiche ſhoulde happen to their Princes by the ſucceſſe of that one battayle.

After this there was an agreement deuiſed betwixt them, ſo that a partition of the realm was made, and that part that lieth foreaneinſt Fraunce, was aſſigned to Edmunde, and the other fell to Cnute.

Ther be that write, how the offer was made by king Edmunde for the auoyding of more bloudſhed, that the two Princes ſhould try the matter thus togither in a ſingular combate. But Cnute refuſed the combate, becauſe (as he alledged) the matche was not equall. For although he was able to matche Edmund in boldneſſe of ſtomacke, yet was he far to weake to deale with a man of ſuche ſtrength as Edmunde was knowne to bee.

But ſith they did pretend title to the realme by due and good directe meanes, he thoughte it moſte conuenient, that the kingdom ſhould be deuided betwixt them. This motion was allowed of bothe the Armies, ſo that Kyng Edmunde was of force conſtrayned to bee contented therewith. Thus our common writers haue recorded of this agreement, but if I ſhould not be thought preſumptuous, in taking vppon mee to reproue, or rather but to myſtruſt that whiche hath bin receyued for a true narration in this matter, I would rather giue credite vnto that whiche the authoure of the booke intituled by ſome *Encomium Emmæ*, dothe repoꝛte in this behalfe. Whiche is, that thoꝛough perſwaſion of Edꝛike de Streona, Kyng Edmunde immediatlye after the battayle fought at Aſhdonne, ſente Imbaſſadoꝛs vnto Cnute, to offer vnto hym peace, wyth halfe the Realme of Englande, that is to witte, the noꝛthe partes, wyth condition that King Edmunde myghte quyetly enioye the South parte, and thereuppon to haue pledges delyuered interchaungeably on eyther ſide. Cnute hauing heard the effecte of thys meſſage, ſtayed to make aunſwere tyll he had vnderſtoode what hys counſell woulde aduyſe hym to doe in thys behalfe: and vppon good deliberation taken in the matter, conſidꝛeyng that he had loſte no ſmall number of people in the foꝛmer battayle, and that being farre out of his countrey, he coulde not well haue anye newe ſupplye, where the Engliſhemen although they hadde lykewyſe loſte very manye of their menne of warre, yet beeyng in theyꝛ owne countrey, it ſhoulde bee an eaſye matter for them to reſtoꝛe theyꝛ decayed nnmbers, it was thought expedient by the whole conſente of all the Daniſhe Capitayns, that the offer of kyng Edmunde ſhoulde bee accepted. And herevpon Cnute calling the Imbaſſadours afoꝛe hym agayne, declared vnto them, that hee was contented to conclude a peace vppon ſuche conditions as they hadde offered: but yet with thys addition, that their King whatſoeuer he ſhoulde bee, ſhoulde pay Cnutes ſouldiours their wages, with money to bee leuied of that parte of the Kingdome whiche the Engliſh king ſhoulde poſſeſſe. For this (ſayth he) I haue vndertaken to ſee them payde, and otherwyſe I wyll not graunte to any peace. The league and agreement therfoꝛe beyng concluded in this foꝛte, pledges are deliuered and receyued on both partes, and the armies diſcharged. But God (ſayth myne Authour) being myndefull of his olde doctrine, That euery kingdome diuided in it ſelfe can not long ſtande, ſhoꝛtely after tooke Edmunde oute of this lyfe: and by ſuche meanes ſeemed to take pitie of the Engliſhe kingdome, leaſt if bothe the kinges ſhoulde haue continued in life together, they ſhoulde haue liued in daunger. And incontinently herevpon was Cnute choſen and receyued for abſolute King of all the whole Realme of Englande.

Thus hath he written that lyued in thoſe dayes, whoſe credite thereby is muche aduanced. Howbeit the common repoꝛte of writers touchyng the deathe of Edmunde varyeth from this, who doe affirme, that after Cnute and Edmund were made friends, the ſerpent of enuie and falſe conſpiracie, brent ſo in the hearts of ſome traiterous perſons, that within a while after king Edmund was ſlain at Oxforde, as he ſatte on a priuie to doe the neceſſaries of Nature. K. Edmunde traiterouſly ſlaine at Oxforde.

The common repoꝛte hath gone, that Erle Edꝛicke was the procurer of this villainous acte, and that (as ſome write) his ſonne did it. *Fabian.* *Simon Dun.*

But the ſame authour that wrote *Encomium Emmæ*, wryting of the death of Edmunde hath theſe woꝛdes, (immediatly after hee hath firſte declared in what ſoꝛte the two Pꝛinces weꝛe agreed, and had made partition of the realme betwixt them:) But GOD (ſayeth he) beyng myndefull of his olde doctrine, That euery kingdome deuided in it ſelf can not long ſtand, ſhoꝛtly after toke Edmunde out of this lyfe: and by ſuche meanes ſeemed to take pitie vpon the Engliſhe kingdome, leaſt if bothe the kings ſhoulde haue continued in lyfe togither, they ſhould bothe haue liued in great daunger, (and the Realme in trouble.

Wyth this agreeth alſo *Simon Dunelmenſis*, who ſayeth, that Kyng Edmunde dyed of naturall ſickeneſſe, by courſe of kynde at London, aboute the feaſt of Saincte Andꝛewe nexte enſuyng the late mencioned agreement.

Fabian.

And this ſhoulde ſeeme true: foꝛ wheras theſe Authours whiche repoꝛte, that Earle Edꝛyke

Ran. Higd

was the pꝛocurer of his death, they alſo wꝛite, that when he knewe the acte to be done, hee haſted vnto Cnute, and declared vnto hym what

H. Hunt.

he had bꝛought to paſſe foꝛ his aduauncement to the gouernement of the whole realme.

Wherevppon Cnute abhoꝛryng ſuche a deteſtable facte, ſayde vnto hym: Becauſe thou haſte foꝛ my ſake, made awaye the woꝛthyeſt bodye of the woꝛld, I ſhall rayſe thy head aboue all the Lꝛdes of Englande, and ſo cauſed him to be put to death. Thus haue ſome bookes.

Howbeit this repoꝛte agreeth not with other wꝛiters whiche declare howe Cnute aduaunced Edꝛyke in the beginning of his reigne vnto high honour, and made hym gouernour of Mercia, and vſed his counſell in manye things after the death of king Edmund, as in baniſhing Edwin, the bꝛother of kyng Edmunde, with his ſonnes alſo, Edmunde and Edward.

Some ſt. that he Duke o cia befo nowe ki ſex adiu therto.

But foꝛ that there is ſuche diſcoꝛdaunce and variable repoꝛte amongeſt wꝛyters, touchyng the deathe of kyng Edmunde, and ſome Fables inuented thereof (as the maner is) we wyll lette the reſidue of theyꝛ repoꝛtes paſſe: Sith certaine it is, that to his ende he came, after he had reigned about the ſpace of one yeare, and ſo muche moꝛe as is betweene the moneth of June, and

Diuers diſcord repoꝛt mond *Ran. H VVil.*



the latter ende of Nouember.

His body was buryed at Glaſtenbury, neere his vncle king Edgar.

With thys Edmunde, ſurnamed Ironſyde, fell the gloꝛious Maieſtie of the Engliſh kingdome: The whiche afterwarde as it had beene an aged bodye beyng ſoꝛe decayed and weakened by the Danes, that nowe got poſſeſſion of the whole, yet ſomewhat recouered after the ſpace of .xxvj. yeres, vnder kyng Edward, ſurnamed the Confeſſoꝛ: and ſhoꝛtely therevpon as it had bin falne into a reſiluation, came to extreme ruine by the inuaſion and conqueſt of the Noꝛmans: as after by gods good helpe and fauoꝛable aſſiſtance it ſhall appeare.

Canute oꝛ Cnute.



CInute, oꝛ Cnute, whom the engliſh Chꝛonicles doe name Knought, after the deathe of Kyng Edmunde, toke vpon hym the whole rule ouer all the realme of Englande in the yeare of our Lord. 1017. in the .xvij. yeare of the emperoꝛ Henry the ſeconde, ſurnamed Claudus, in

Cnut knou or C

the

the. xx. yeare of the reigne of Roberte king of France, and aboute the. xij. yeare of the reigne of Malcolme king of Scotlande.

Canute ſhortely after the death of king Edmunde, aſſembled a Councell at London, in the whiche he cauſed all the nobles of the realme to do vnto him homage, in receiuing an othe of loyall obeyſance. Hee deuided the realme into foure parts, aſſigning Northumberlande vnto the rule of Irke or Iricius, Mercia vnto Edzike, & Eaſtangle vnto Turkyl, reſeruing the weſt part to his own gouernance. He baniſhed (as before is ſayd) Edwyn, the brother of king Edmunde, but ſuch as was ſuſpected to bee culpable of Edmundes death, he cauſed to be put to execution, wherof it ſhould appeare, that Edzick was not then in any wyſe detected or once thought to bee giltie. The forſayd Edwyn afterwards returned, and was then reconciled to the Kings fauour (as ſome do write) and was ſhortly after trayterouſly ſlaine by his owne ſeruants. He was called the king of Churles. Other write, that he came ſecretely into the realme after he had bin baniſhed, and keeping him ſelf cloſely out of ſighte, at length ended his lyfe, and was buried at Tauceſtocke.

Moreouer Edwyn and Edwarde the ſonnes of king Edmund were baniſhed the lande, and ſent firſt vnto Sweno king of Norway to haue bin made awaye: but Sweno vppon remorſe of conſcience ſent them into Hungarie, where they founde great fauour at the handes of king Salomon, in ſo muche that Edmunde married the daughter of the ſame Salomon, but had no iſſue by hir. Edward was aduaunced to marry with Agatha, the daughter of the Emperour Henrye, and by hir had iſſue two ſonnes, Edmunde and Edgar, ſurnamed Adelyng, & as many daughters, Margarete and Chriſtine, of the whiche in place conuenient more ſhall be ſayd.

When Kyng Cnute hadde eſtabliſhed thynges, as hee thoughte, ſtoode moſte to his ſuretie, he called to remembrance, that he had no iſſue but two baſtarde ſonnes Harrolde and Sweno, begotten of his concubine Alwyne. Wherfore he ſent ouer vnto Richarde Duke of Normandie, requiring that he might haue Queene Emme, the widow of king Egelred in mariage, & ſo obteyned hir, not a little to the wonder of manye, which thought a great ouerſight both in the woman and in hir brother, that would ſatisfye the requeſte of Cnute herein, conſidering hee hadde bin ſuch a mortall enimie to hir former huſband. But Duke Richarde did not only conſent, that hys ſayd ſiſter ſhould be maryed vnto Cnute, but alſo he hymſelfe toke to wyfe the Lady Heſtritha, ſyſter to the ſayd Cnute.

Heere ye haue to vnderſtande, that this mariage was not made without greate conſideration and large couenants granted on the part of king Cnute: for before he could obtain queene Emme to his wife, it was fully condiſcended and agreed that after Cnutes deceaſſe, the crowne of Englande ſhould remaine vnto the iſſue borne of this mariage betwixte hir and Cnute, whiche couenant although it was not perfourmed immediatly after the deceaſſe of kyng Cnute, yet in the ende it toke place, ſo as the right ſeemed to bee deferred, and not to be taken awaye nor aboliſhed: for immediatly vpon Haroldes death that had vſurped, Hardicnute ſucceeded as right heire to the crown, by force of the agreement made at the tyme of the mariage ſolemniſed betwixt his father and mother, and being once eſtabliſhed in the Kingdome, hee ordeyned his brother Edwarde to ſucceede hym, whereby the Danes were vtterly excluded from all ryghte that they hadde to pretende vnto the Crowne of this land, and the Engliſhe bloud reſtored thereto, chiefly by that gracious concluſion of this mariage betwixt king Cnute and Queene Emme: for the which no ſmall prayſe was thoughte to bee due vnto the ſayd Queene, ſith by hir politike gouernement, in making hir matthe ſo beneficiall to hir ſelfe and hir lyne, the Crowne was thus recouered out of the handes of the Danes, and reſtored againe in time to the right heire, as by an auncient treatiſe whiche ſome haue intitled *Encomium Emmæ*, and was written in thoſe dayes it doth and may appere. Whiche booke although there bee but fewe Copies therof abroade, gyueth vndoubtedly greate light to the hiſtorie of that tyme.

The couenants made at the mariage betwixt Cnute and Emme.

The Engliſhe bloud reſtored.

The praiſe of Queene Emme for hir wiſedome.

En comium Emmæ.

But nowe to our purpoſe. Cnute the ſame yeare in whiche he was thus maryed, thorought perſwaſion of his wyfe Queene Emme, ſent away the Daniſhe nauie & armie home into Denmark, giuing to them fourſcore and two thouſande pounds of ſiluer, whiche was leuied throughout this lande for their wages. *Mat. VVeſt.*

In the yeare a thouſande and eighteene, Edzycke de Streona Erle of Mercia, was ouerthrowen in his owne turne: for being called afore the King into his priuie chamber, and there in reaſoning the matter about ſome quarell that was piked to him, hee begaunne very preſumptuouſly to vpbrayde the king of ſuche pleaſures as he had before tyme done vnto him: I did (ſayde he) for the loue which I bare towardes you, forſake my ſouereigne Lorde king Edmunde, and at length for your ſake ſlewe him. *VVil. Mal.*

At whiche wordes, Cnute beganne to change countenaunce, as one meruaylouſly abaſhed, and ſtreightwayes gaue ſentence againſt Edzike in this wiſe: Thou art worthy (ſaith he) of death, and dye thou ſhalte, whiche art giltie of treaſon both towardes God and me, ſith that thou haſt

ſlayne thyne owne ſouereigne Lorde, and my deare alyed brother. Thy bloud therfore be vpon thyne owne head, ſith thy toung hath vttered thy treaſon. And immediatly hee cauſed his throate to be cut, and his bodie to be throwen out at the chamber windowe into the riuer of Thames.

Edrike put to death.

This was the ende of Edryke, ſurnamed de Stratten, or Streona, a man of greate infamie for his craftie diſſimulation, falſhod and treaſon, vſed by him to the ouerthrowe of the Engliſhe eſtate, as partly before is touched.

But ther be that concerning the cauſe of this Edriks death, ſeeme partly to diſagree from that whyche before is recited, declaryng that Cnute ſtanding in ſome doubt to be betrayed thorough the treaſon of Edricke, ſoughte occaſions howe to ryddе him and other (whome hee lykewyſe myſtruſted) out of the waye. And therfore one daye when Edryke craued ſome preferremente at Cnutes handes, and alledged that he had deſerued to be wel thought of, ſith by his flight from the battaile at Aſhendone, the victorie therby inclined vnto Cnutes parte. Cnute hearing hym ſpeake theſe wordes, made this aunſwere: And canſt thou (quoth he) be true to me, that thorough fraudulent meanes diddeſt deceyue thy ſouerain Lorde and maiſter? but I will reward thee according to thy deſertes, ſo as from henceforth thou ſhalte not deceyue any other, and ſo forthwith cõmaunded Erick one of his chief captains to diſpatch him, who incõtinẽtly cut off his head with his axe or halbert. Verily Simon Dunelmenſ. ſayth, kyng Cnute vnderſtanding in what ſorte both king Egelred, and his ſonne king Edmunde Ironſide had bin betrayed by the ſayde Edricke, he ſtoode in great doubt to be lykewyſe

Simon Dun.

Encomium Emmæ.

deceyued by him, and therfore was glad to haue ſome pretended quarrell, to diſpatche both hym and other, whome he lykewyſe myſtruſted, as it well appeared. For at the ſame tyme there were put to death with Edricke Earle Norman the ſonne of earle Leofwyn, and brother to Earle Leofryke: alſo Adelwarde the ſonne of Earle Agelmare and Brightricke the ſonne of Alfegus gouernour of Deuonſhire (without all guilt or cauſe as ſome wryte.) And in place of Norman his brother Leofryke was made earle of Mercia by the king, and had in great fauour.

This Leofricke is cõmonly alſo by writers named Earle of Cheſter.

After this, likewiſe Cnute baniſhed Iric and Turkyll, two Danes, the one (as before is recited) gouernor of Northumberland, and the other of Norfolke and Suffolk, or Eaſtangle.

Then reſted the whole rule of the realme in the kings hands, wherupon he ſtudied to preſerue the people in peace, and ordeyned lawes according to the whiche, bothe Danes and Engliſhemenne ſhoulde bee gouerned in equall ſtate and degree.

Diuers greate lordes whome hee founde vnfaithfull or rather ſuſpected, he put to death, as before ye haue hearde) beſyde ſuche as he baniſhed out of the Realme. He rayſed a taxe or tribute of the people, amounting to the ſumme of fourſcore & two thouſand pound, beſide. xj. M. pound which the Londoners payde towards the maintenance of the Daniſh Armie

H. Hunt. Lordes death.

A taxe.

But wheras theſe things chaunced not all at one time, but in ſundry ſeaſons, we will retourne ſomwhat backe to declare what other exploites were atchieued in the meane time by Cnute, not



Si. Dunelm.

onely in Englande, but alſo in Denmarke, and elſewhere.

In the thirde yeare of his reigne hee ſayled with an armie of Engliſhemen and Danes into Denmarke to ſubdue the Vandals there, whiche then ſore annoyed and warred agaynſt his ſubiectes of Denmarke.

1019.

King Cnute paſſeth into Denmarke.

Erle Godwyn his ſeruice in Denmarke.

Erle Godwyn which had the ſouerain conduct of the Engliſhmen, the night before the day appoynted for the battayle gote him forthe of the campe with his people, & ſodeynly aſſaylyng the Vandals in their lodgings, eaſily diſtreſſed them ſleaing a great number of them, and chaſing the reſidue. In the morning early when Cnute herd that the Engliſhemen were gone forth of their lodgings, he ſuppoſed that they were eyther fled awaye, or elſe tourned to take part with the enimies. But as he approched to the enimies campe he vnderſtode howe the matter wente, for hee founde nothyng there but bloud, deade bodyes, and the ſpoyle.

For thys good ſeruice, Cnute had the engliſhmen

men in more eſtimation euer after, and highely reward ded they ye leader the ſame Earle Godwin.

When Cnute had ordered all things in Denmarke, as was thoughte behouefull, he returned agayne into Englande. And within a few dayes after, hee was aduertiſed that the Swedeners made warre againſt his ſubiectes of Denmarke, vnder the leading of two greate Princes. Vlfe and Eulafe.

Cnute therefore to defende his dominions in thoſe parties, paſſed agayne with an armie into Denmarke, encountred with his enimies, and receyued a greate ouerthrowe, loſing a greate number both of his Danes and Engliſhemen. But gathering togither a newe force of nienne, he ſette agayne vpon his enimies, and ouercame

Cnute paſſeth againe into Denmarke.

VV. Mal.



them, conſtrayning the two foreſayd Princes to agree vpon reaſonable conditions of peace.

Mathewe Weſtm. recounteth, that at thys tyme Earle Godwyn, and the Engliſhmenne wrought the enterprile aboue mentioned, of aſſaultyng the enimies campe in the night ſeaſon, after Cnute had fyrſte loſte in the daye before no ſmall number of his people. And that then the foreſayde princes or kyngs, as hee nameth them Vlfus and Eulafus, which latter he calleth Eiglafe, were conſtrayned to agree vpon a peace.

The Daniſh Chronicles alledge, that the occaſion of this warre roſe hereof: This Olauus ayded Cnute (as the ſame writers reporte) againſt kyng Edmunde and the Engliſhemenne. But when the peace ſhould be made betweene Cnute and Edmunde, there was no conſideration had of Olauus: where as throughe hym the Danes chiefly obteyned the victorie.

Herevpon Olauus was ſore offended in hys mynde againſte Cnute, and nowe vpon occaſion ſought to be reuenged. But what ſoeuer the cauſe was of this warre betwixte theſe two Princes, the ende was thus: That Olauus was expulſed out of his kingdom, and conſtrained to flee to Eer thallans, a duke in the parties of Caſtlande.

And afterwarde returning into Norwaye, was ſlayne by ſuche of his ſubiectes, as toke part with Cnute, in manner as in the hiſtorie of Norway, it appereth more at large, with the contrarietie found in the writing of them which haue recorded the hiſtories of thoſe North regions.

But here is to be remembred, that the fame and glorie of the Engliſh nation was greately aduaunced in theſe warres, as well againſte the Swedeners as the Norwegians: ſo that Cnute began to lone and truſt the Engliſhmen muche better than it was thought he woulde euer haue done. Shortly after that Cnute was returned into Englande, that is to wit (as ſome haue) in the. xv. yeare of his reigne, he went to Rome to perform his vow which he had made to viſite the places where the Apoſtles Peter and Paule had their burial. He was honorably receyued of Pope John the xx. that then held the ſea. When he had done his deuotion there, hee returned into Englande. In the yeare following, he made a iourney againſt the Scottes, whiche as then had rebelled. But by the princely power of Cnute, they were ſubdued and brought agayne to obedience: ſo that not onely king Malcolme, but alſo two other kinges Melbeath and Jeohmare, became his ſubiectes. Finally after that this noble prince king Cnute had reigned the tearme of. xx. yeares currant, after the death of Ethelred, hee died at Shaftesbury, as the engliſhe writers affirme, the. xij. daye of Nouember, and was buried at Wincheſter. But the Daniſh chronicles record, that he died in Normandie, and was buryed at Roan (as in the ſame Chronicles ye maye reade more at large.) This Cnute was the mightyeſt

Magnus Olauus.

Fabian.

Polyd.

H. Hunt.

Other ſay, that he vvente forth of Denmark to Rome.

Sim. Dunel. An. 1031.

1032

VVil. Malm.

Mat. VVeſt.

1033.

Scots ſubdued.

H. Hunt. Anno. 1035.

VVil. Mal.

The death of king Cnute.

H. Hunt.

Al. Grantz.

The large dominion of kyng Cnute.

H. Hunt.

Albertus Crantz.

prince that euer reigned ouer the Englishe people: for he had the soueraigne rule ouer al Denmark, Englande, Norway, Scotland, & part of Sweden. Amongst other of his royall actes, he caused suche tolles and tallages as were demaunded of waygoers at bridges & streetes in the high waye betwixte Englande and Rome to be diminished to the halfes, and agayne got also a moderation to be had in the payemente of the Archbishoppes fees of his realme, whiche was leuied of them in the Court of Rome when they shoulde receyue their palles, as may appeare by a letter which he himselfe being at Rome, directed to the Bishops and other of the nobles of England. In the whiche it also appeareth, that besides the royal entertaynment, which he had at Rome of pope John, he had conference there with the Emperor Conrade, & with Rafe king of Burgoingne, and with many other great princes and noble men, which were present there at that time. Which at his request in fauor of those Englishmē that shuld trauaile to Rome, graunted (as we haue said) to diminish such duties as were gathered of passingers. He receyued there many great giftes of the Emperor, and was highly honored of him, and likewise of the Pope, & of al other the high princes at that tyme present at Rome: so that when hee came home (as some write) hee shoulde growe greatly into pride, insomuche that being neere to the Thames, or rather (as other write) vppon the sea stronde, neere to Southhampton, and perceyuyng the water to ryse, by reason of the tyde, hee caste off his gowne, and wrappyng it rounde togither, threwe it on the sandes beyne neere the increasing water, and sate him downe vpon it, speaking this or the lyke wordes to the sea. Thou art (sayth he) within the compasse of my dominion, and the grounde whereon I sitte is myne, and thou knowest that no wyght dare disobey my cōmandements, I therfore do now commaund thee not to ryse vpon my grounde, nor to presume to wet any part of thy soueraine Lorde and gouernour. But the sea keeping his course, rose still higher and higher, and ouerflowed not only the kings feete, but also flashed vp vnto his legs & knees. Wherwith the king starte sodenly vp, & withdrew from it, saying withal to his nobles that were about him: Behold you noble men, you cal me king, which can not somuch as stay by my cōmaundement this smal portion of water. But knowe ye for certaine, that there is no king but the father only of our Lord Jesus Chriſte, with whome he reigneth, and at whose becke all things are gouerned, let vs therfore honour him, let vs confesse and professe him to bee the ruler of heauen, earth, and sea, and besides him none other. From thence he went to Winchester and there with his own hands set his crown vpō the head of the image of the Crucifix, which stode there in the church of the Apostles Peter & Paul, and frō thenceforth he wold neuer weare ỳ crown nor any other. Some write, that he spake not the former words to ỳ sea vpon any presumptuousnes of mynd, but only vpon occasion of the vain title, which in his cōmendation one of his gētlemen gaue him by way of flatterie (as he rightly toke it) for he called him the most mightiest king of all kings, which ruled most at large both men sea and land. Therfore to reproue the vayn flatterie of such vain persons, he deuised such maner of mean as before is mencioned: wherby both to reproue such flatterers, & also that men might be admonished to consider the omnipotencie of ỳ almightie God. He had issue by his wife Queene Emme a son, named by the Englishe chronicles Hardiknought, but by ỳ Danish writers Knute, or Knutte: also a daughter named Gonilda, ỳ was after maryed to Henry the son of the emperor Conrade, which also was afterward Emperor, & named Henry the third. By his concubine Alwynne, that was daughter to Alselme, whom some name erle of Hampton: he had two bastard sons, Harold & Sweno. He was much giuen in his latter dayes to vertue, as hee that considered howe perfect felicitie rested only in godlynes and true deuotion to serue the heauenly king and gouernour of all things.

Polidore.

Mat. VVest.

Fabian.

Polidore.

Albert. Crantz.

Polidore.

Fabian.

Graunted made to the benefite of Englishmen at the instance of kyng Cnute.

He caused his chaire to bee set there, as Math. VVest. hath.

Hen. Hunt.

The saying of kyng Cnute.

Zealously ynough, if it had bin according to true knowledge.

He repaired in his time many churches, abbeis, and houses of religion, whyche by occasion of warres had bin sore defaced by him and by his father, but specially he did greate coste vpon the Abbey of saint Edmund, in the town of Bury, as before partely is mēcioned. He buylt also two Abbeys from the foundation, as Saint Benets in Norffolke, seuen myles distant from Norwyche, and an other in Norwaye. He did also buylde a Churche at Assdowne in Essex, where he obteyned the bisshopric of king Edmund, and was present at the hallowing or consecration therof with a greate multitude of the Lordes and nobles of the Realme, bothe Englishe and Danes. He also holpe with his owne handes to remoue the body of the holy Archbishop Elphegus, when the same was translated from London to Canterbury. The royall and moste riche iewels whiche he and his wyfe Queene Emme gaue vnto the Churche of Winchester, might make the beholders to wonder at such their exceeding and bountiful munificence.

VVhich posed to Barlow Ashdon is halfe from thē 10

Sim. Dun.

Thus did Cnute striue to reforme all suche thynges whiche hee and his auncestors had done amisse, and to wype awaye the spot of euill doing, as surely to the outward sight of the world he did in deed. He had the Archbishoppe of Canterbury Achelnotus in singular reputation, and vsed his Counsell in matters of importaunce.

He

He alſo fauoured highly Leofrike Earle of Cheſter, ſo that the ſame Leofryke bare great rule in ordering of things touching the ſtate of the Cõmon wealth vnder hym as one of his chief counſellours.

Diuers lawes and ſtatutes he made for the gouernment of the cõmon wealth, partly agreeable with the lawes of king Edgar, and other the kinges that were his predeceſſors, and partely tempered according to his owne liking, and as was thought to him moſt expediẽt: among the which there be diuers that concerne cauſes as wel eccleſiaſticall as tempozall. Wherby as M. Fox hath noted, it may be gathered, that the gouernement of ſpirituall matters dyd depend then not vpon ỹ Biſhop of Rome, but rather appertayned vnto the laufull authozitie of the tempozall Pzince, no leſſe than matters and cauſes tempozall. But of theſe lawes and ſtatutes enacted by king Cnute ye maye reade moze as ye finde them ſette forth in the before remembred booke of Maſter William Lambert, whiche for bꝛeuitie we here omitte.

Harolde, the baſe ſonne of Cnute.



After that Cnute was departed this lyfe, there arose great variance amongſt the peeres and great Lozdes of the realme about the ſucceſſion. The Danes and Lõdoners (which throughe continuall familiaritie had with the Danes, were become lyke vnto them) elected Harolde the baſe ſonne of king Cnute, to ſucceede in his fathers rome, hauing Earle Leofrike, and diuers other of the noble menne of the Nozthe partes on theyr ſide.

But other of the Engliſhmẽ, and namely Erle Godwyn Erle of Kent, with the chiefeſt lozdes of the weaſt partes, coueted rather to haue one of K. Egelreds ſons, which were in Nozmandie, oz elſe Hardiknought the ſonne of kyng Cnute by his wife Quene Emme, which remained in Denmarke, aduaunced to the place.

Thys controuerſie helde in ſuche wyſe, that the Realme was deuided (as ſome write) by lotte betwixte the two bꝛethꝛen, Harolde, and Hardicnute.

The nozth parte as Mercia and Nozthumberlande fell to Harrolde, and the ſouth part vnto Hardicnute: but at length the whole remained vnto Harrolde, bycauſe his bꝛother Hardicnute refuſed to come out of Denmarke to take the gouernment vpon him.

But yet the authozitie of Earle Godwyn who had the queene and the treaſure of the realm in his keeping, ſtayed the matter a certayn time, (hee profeſſing hymſelfe as it were Gardian to the yong men, the ſonnes of the Queene, tyll at length he was conſtrayned to gyue ouer hys holde, and conforme hym ſelfe to the ſtronger parte and greater number.) And ſo at Oxforde, where the aſſemble was holden aboute the election, Harolde was proclaymed kyng, and ſacred accozdyng to the manner (as ſome write) But it ſhoulde appeare by other, that the Archbiſhoppe of Canterburye Elnothus, a manne endued with all vertue and wyſedome refuſed to crowne hym: Fox when kyng Harolde beeing elected of the nobles and peeres, requyred the ſayde Archebiſhoppe that he myght be of him ſacred, and receyue at hys handes the Regall Scepter wyth the Crowne, whyche the Archebiſhoppe harde in hys cuſtodie, and to whome it onely did appertayne to inueſte hym therewyth, the Archebiſhop flatly refuſed, and wyth an othe proteſted, that he woulde not ſacre any other for Kynge, ſo long as the Queenes thyldren lined: Fox (ſayth he) Cnute committed them to my truſte and aſſurauncе, and to them will I keepe my fayth and loyall obedience. The ſcepter and crowne I heere laye downe vpon the aulter, and neyther doe I denye nor deliuer them vnto you: but I forbid by the Apoſtolyke authozitie all the Biſhoppes, that none of them preſume to take the ſame away, and delyuer them to you, oz sacre you for kyng. As for your ſelfe, if you dare, you maye vſurpe that whyche I haue committed vnto God and hys table.

The authoritie of Erle Goodwyn. *H. Hunt.*

The refuſall of the Archb. Elnothus to ſacre king Harolde.

But whether afterwardes the Kyng by one meane oz other, cauſed the Archebyſhoppe to crowne hym Kyng, oz that he was ſacred of ſome other, he was admitted for kyng of al the Engliſhe people, beginning hys reygne in the yeare of our Lozde a thouſande thirtie and ſixe, in the fourteenth yeare of the Emperour Conrade the ſeconde, in the ſixte yeare of Henrye the firſte, kyng of Fraunce, and aboute the ſeuen and twentie yere of Malcolme the ſecond, king of Scotlande. 1036.

Thus Harold for his great ſwyftneſſe, was ſurnamed Harefoot, of whom little is written touchyng hys doyngs, ſauyng that he is noted

Harold vvhy he is ſurnamed Harefoote.

to haue ben an oppressour of his people, and spotted wyth manye notable vices. It was spoken of dyuers in those dayes, that thys Harrolde was not the sonne of Cnute, but of a shoemaker: and ẏ his supposed mother Elgiua, king Cnutes concubine, to bring the king further in loue with hir, fayned that she was with child: and about the time that she shuld be brought to bed (as she made hir accompt) caused the sayd Shoemakers son to be secretly brought into hir chamber, and then vntruly caused it to be reported, that she was deliuered, and the child so reputed to bee the kings sonne.

Harolde euill spoken of.

Ran. Higd ex Marione.

Mat. Weſt.

Immediatly vpon aduertisement had of Cnutes death, Alfred the sonne of king Egelred, with fifty saile landed at Sandwich, meaning to chalenge the crowne, & to obteyn it by lawful clayme with quietnes if he might, if not, then to vse force by ayde of his frends, and to assay that way forth to winne it, if he might not otherwyse obteyne it. From Sandwiche he came to Canterbury, and shortly after, Earle Godwyn feygnyng to receyue hym as a friend, came to meet hym, and at Gilford in the night season, appointed a number of armed men to fall vpon the Normans as they were a sleepe, and so toke them together with Alfred, & slewe the Normans by the poll, in suche wise that .ix. were slaine, and the .x. reserued. But yet when those that were reserued seemed to him a greater number than he wished to escape, he fell to and againe tithed them as before. Alfred had his eyes put out, and was conueyed to the Ile of Elye, where shortely after he died. How Alfred should clayme the crowne to himselfe, I see not: for verily I can not be perswaded that he was elder brother, although diuers authors haue so written, sith that Ernesticensis and the authour of the booke called *Encomium Emmæ*, plainly affirme, that Edward was the elder: but it might bee, that Alfred being a man of a stouter stomacke than his brother Edward, made this attempt, eyther for himself, or in the behalfe of his brother Edward, being as then absent, and gone into Hungarie, as some write: but other saye, that as well Edwarde as Alfred came ouer at this tyme with a number of Norman knights, & men of war embarqued in a few shippes onely to speake with their mother, which as then laye at Winchester, whether to take aduise with hir howe to recouer their right here in this lande, or to aduaunce their brother Hardicnute, or for some other purpose, our authors do not declare.

Ra. Higd.

See M. Foxe Acts & Mon. Eng. nz.

S. Dunelm.

But the Lordes of the realme that bare their good willes vnto Harold, and (although contrarie to right) ment to maynteine him in the estate, seemed to be much offended wyth the comming of these two brethren in suche order: for Earle Godwin perswaded them, ẏ it was great danger to suffer so many straungers to enter the realm, as they had brought with them.

Wherupon Earle Godwyn with the assent of the other Lordes, or rather by commaundemente of Harolde, wente forthe, and at Gildforde met with Alfred that was comming towardes Kyng Harrolde to speake wyth hym, accordingly as he was of Harolde required to doe. But newe being taken, and hys companie miserably murthered (as before ye haue herd) to the number of six hundred Normans, Alfred hymselfe was sente into the Ile of Elye, there to remayn in the Abbey in custodie of the Monkes, hauyng his eyes put out as sone as he entred firste into the same Ile. William Malmsburye sayeth, that Alfred came ouer, and was thus handeled betwixte the tyme of Harolds death, and the comming in of Hardicnute: and other write, that this chaunced in hys brother Hardicnutes dayes, whiche seemeth not to bee true: for Hardicnute was knowne to loue hys brethren by his mothers side too dearely, to haue suffred any suche iniurie to be wrought to eyther of them in hys tyme.

Thus ye see how writers dissent in this matter, but for the better clearing of the truthe touching the tyme, I haue thought good to shewe also what the author of the sayd booke intituled *Encomium Emmæ* writeth hereof, whiche is as followeth.

When Harolde was once established kyng, he sought meanes howe to rid Queene Emme out of the waye, and that secretely, for that openlye as yet he durste not attempte any thing againste hir. Shee in silence kepte hir selfe quiet, lokyng for the ende of these thyngs.

But Harrolde remembryng himselfe of a malicious purpose, by wicked aduise toke counsell howe hee might gette into his handes and make awaye the sonnes of Queene Emme, so to bee out of daunger of all annoyance that by them myght be procured againste him: and therefore hee causeth a Letter to bee written in name of their mother the sayde Emme, whiche he sente by certayne messengers suborned for the purpose into Normandie, where Edwarde and Alfred as then remayned. The tenour of whiche letter here ensueth.

A counterfet letter.

Emma tantum nomine Regina filijs Edwardo & Alfrido materna impertit salutamina: Dum domini nostri Regis obitum separatim plangimus, (filij charissimi) dum q̃ diutim magis magisq́ regno hereditatis vestræ priuamini, miror quid cæpetis consilij, dum sciatis intermissionis vestræ dilatione inuasoris vestri imperij fieri quotidiè soliditatem. Is enim incessanter vicos & vrbes circuit,

The tenor of the letter.

filij

& ſibi amicos principes muneribus, minis, & precibus facit: ſed vnum è vobis ſuper ſe mallent regnare quàm iſtum (qui nunc eis imperat) teneri ditione. Vnde rogo vnus veſtrũ ad me velociter & priuatè veniat, vt ſalubre à me conſiliũ accipiat, & ſciat quo pacto hoc negotium quod volo fieri debeat, per præſentem quoq; internunciũ, quid ſuper his facturi eſtis remandate. Valete cordis mei viſcera.

The ſame in effect in engliſhe is thus.

Emme in name onely Queene, to hir ſonnes Edwarde and Alfred, ſendeth motherly greting: Whyleſt we ſeparately bewayle the death of our ſoueraigne Lorde the kyng (moſte deare ſonnes) and whyleſt you are euery daye more and more depriued from the kingdom of your inheritance, I mervaile what you doe determine, ſithe you knowe by the delaye of youre ceaſſyng to make ſome enterpriſe, the grounded force of the vſurper of your kingdome is daily made the ſtronger: for inceſſantly goeth he frõ towne to towne, from citie to citie, and maketh the Lordes his frends by rewardes, threattes, and prayers, but they had rather haue one of you to reigne ouer them, than to be kepte vnder the rule of this man that nowe gouerneth them. Wherfore my requeſt is, that one of you do come with ſpeed, and ỹ priuately ouer to me, that he maye vnderſtande my wholſome aduiſe, and know in what ſort this matter ought to be handled, which I would haue to goe forward, and ſee that you ſend me worde by this preſent meſſenger what you mean to do herein. Fare ye well, euen the bowels of my heart.

These Letters were deliuered vnto ſuche as were made priuie to the purpoſed treaſon, who beyng fully inſtructed howe to deale, wente ouer into Normandie, & preſentyng the Letters vnto the young Gentlemenne, vſed the matter ſo, that they toke it verily that this meſſage had bene ſente from their mother, and wrote agayn by them that broughte the Letters, that one of them woulde not fayle but to come ouer vnto hir according to that ſhe had requeſted, and withal appointed the day and tyme.

The meſſengers returning to king Harolde, enformed him howe they hadde ſped.

The younger brother Alfrede, with his brothers conſente, toke with hym a certayne number of Gentlemen and men of warre, and firſt came into Flanders, where after he had remayned a whyle with Earle Baldwyne, he increaſed his retinue with a few Bolongners, and paſſed ouer into Englande, but approchyng to the ſhore, he was ſtreyghtwayes deſcried by his enimies, who haſted forth to ſette vpon him: but he perceyuing their purpoſe, commanded ỹ ſhippes to caſte aboute, and to make agayne to the



ſea: And after this landing at an other place, he mente to haue gone the nexte waye to his mother.

But Earle Godwyn hearyng of his arriual, met him, receyued hym into his aſſurence, and bynding his credite with a corporal othe became his manne, and therewith leading hym oute of the highe way that leadeth to London, he brought him vnto Gildforde, where hee lodged all the ſtraungers, by a score, a dozeyn, and halfe a a ſcore together in Innes, ſo as but a fewe remayned aboute the yong Gentleman Alured to attende vpon him.

Goodvvyn vvas ſuſpected to do this vnder a colour to betray him as by vvruers it ſeemeth.

There was meate and drynke plentie prepared in euery lodgyng, for the refreſhyng of all the companie. And Godwyn takyng hys leaue for that nyght, departed to his lodgyng, promiſing the nexte morning to come agayne to giue his dutifull attendaunce on Alured.

But beholde, after they had filled themſelues with meates and drinkes, and were gone to bed, in the dead of the nyght came ſuche as king Harold had appointed, and entring into euery Inne, firſt feyſed vppon the armour and weapons that belonged to the ſtraungers: Whiche done, they toke them, and chayned them faſte with fetters and manacles, ſo keeping them ſure till the nexte morning. Which being come, they wer brought forthe with their handes bounde behynde theyr backes, and deliuered to moſt cruell tormentors, who were commaunded to ſpare none, but euery tenth man, as he came to hand by lot, and ſo they ſlew nyne and left the tenth alyue. Of thoſe that were lefte alyue, ſome they kepte to ſerue as bondmen, other for couetouſneſſe of gayne they ſolde, and ſome they put in priſon, of whome yet diuers afterwardes eſcaped.

Not only Goodvvyn but other ſuche as king Harold apointed, toke Alvred vvith his Normans.

This with more hath the forſaid author written of this matter, declaring further, that Alured being conueyed into the yle of Ely, had not only his eyes put out in moſt cruell wyſe, but was alſo preſently there murthered. But hee ſpeaketh

not further of the maner howe he was made away, ſaying that he ſaith, he forbeareth to make long recitall of this matter, bycauſe he will not renewe the mothers greefe in hearyng it, ſithe there can be no greater ſorow to the mother than to heare of hir ſonnes death.

I remember that in Caxton we reade, that his cruell tormentours ſhoulde cauſe his belly to be opened, and taking out one ende of his bowelles or guttes, tyed the ſame to a ſtake whiche they had ſet faſt in the ground, and then with needels of yron pricked his bodie, and cauſed him to run rounde about the ſtake, tyll he had wound out all his entrailes, and ſo ended his innocente lyfe, to the great ſhame and obloquie of his cruell aduerſaries. But whether he was thus tormented or not, or rather dyed (as I thinke) of the anguiſhe by putting out his eyes, no doubte but his death was reuenged by Gods hande in thoſe that procured it.

But whether Erle Godwyn was chief cauſer thereof, in betraying him vnder a cloked colour of pretended frendſhippe, I can not ſaye: but that he tok him and ſlew his companie, as ſome haue written, I can not thynke it to bee true, both as well for that whiche ye haue heard recited out of the author that wrote *Encomium Emmæ*, as alſo for that it ſhould ſeme he myght neuer be ſo directly charged with it, but that he had matter to alledge in his owne excuſe.

But nowe to retourne vnto other doings of king Harolde.

After he had made away his halfe brother Alured, his mother in law Queene Emme he ſpoiled of the moſte parte of hir riches, and therwith baniſhed hir out of the realme: ſo that ſhe ſayled ouer into Flaunders, where ſhe was honorably receyued of Earle Baldwyne, and hauyng of hym honourable prouiſion aſſigned hir, ſhe continued there for the ſpace of three yeeres, tyl that after the death of Harolde, ſhe was ſent for by hir ſonne Hardiknought, that ſucceded Harolde in the kingdome.

Simon Dun. Queene Emme baniſhed.

Moreouer, Harolde made ſmall accompte of his ſubiectes, degenerating from the noble vertues of hys father, folowing hym in few things, (except in cracking of tributes and paymentes.) He cauſed in deede. viij. markes of ſiluer to bee leuyed of euery porte or hauen in Englande, to the retayning of. xvj. ſhippes furniſhed with men of warre, why che continued euer in a readineſſe to defende the coaſtes from pyrates.

Polidor. Harold degeneareth from his father. *Hen. Hunt.*

A nauie in a readineſſe.

To conclude, with this Harrold. His ſpeedy death prouided well for his fame, bycauſe (as it was thought) if his lyfe had bene of long continuance, his infamie had bin the greater.

Euil men, the longer they liue, the more they growe into miſerie.

But after he had reigned foure yeres or (as Harriſon gathereth) iij. yeres x. iij. monethes, he departed out of this worlde at Oxforde, and was buryed at Wincheſter (as ſome ſay:) other ſay he dyed at Henefordе in the moneth of Apryll, and was buryed at Weſtminſter, whiche ſhould appeare to be true by that whiche after is reported of his brother Hardiknoughtes cruell dealyng, and great ſpite ſhewed towarde his dead bodye, as after ſhall be ſpecified. *VVil. Ma. H. Hun. VV. Mal.*

Hardiknought, or Hardicnute.



Hardicnute.

After that Harrolde was dead, all the nobles of the realm, both Danes and Engliſhmen agreed to ſende for Hardiknoughte, the ſonne of Canute by his wyfe Queene Emme, and to make him kyng. Here is to be noted, that by the death of king Cnute, the ſtate of thinges was muche altered in thoſe countreys of beyonde the ſea where he had rule and dominion. For the Norwegians cleſted one Magnus, the ſonne of Olaus, to be their king, and the Danes choſe this Hardiknought, whom theyr writers name Kanute the thirde, to their king and gouernor.

Alteration of the ſtate of things.

This Hardiknought or Canute being aduertiſed of the death of his halfe brother Harold, and that the Lordes of England had choſen him to their king, with all conuenient ſpeed, prepared a nauie, and imbarquing a certain number of men of warre, toke the ſea, and had the wynde ſo fauourable to his purpoſe, that he arriued vpon the coaſt of Kent the. vj. day after he ſet out of Denmark, and ſo comming to London, was ioyfully receyued, and proclaymed king, & crowned of Athelnotus the Archb. of Canterbury, in the yere of our Lord. 1041. in the firſt yere of the Emperor Hery ỹ third, in the. ix. of Henry the firſt of that name king of Fraunce, and in the firſt yere of Magſinloch, *alias* Machabeda king of Scotlande. Incontinently after his eſtabliſhemente in the rule of this realme, he ſent into Flaunders for his mother Queene Emme, who during the tyme of hir baniſhment, had remayned there. For Normandie in that ſeaſon was gouerned by the French king, by reaſon of the minoritie of Duke Willia. ſurnamed the baſtard.

Si. Dunel ſaith M. VVeſt. that he vvas Bruges in Flanders vvhilſt mother vvas he vvas then ſent for, but come thither to viſite hir.

Queene Emme ſent for.

Moreouer, in reuenge of the wrong offered to Queene Emme by hir ſonne in lawe Harrolde, kyng Hardiknoughte dydde cauſe

Alfrike

Alfrike archbishop of Yorke and Erle Godwin, with other noble men to go to Westminster, and there to take vp the bodie of the same Harold and withall appointed, that the head therof should be striken of, and the trounke of the body to be cast into the riuer of Thames. Whiche afterwarde beyng found by Fishers, was taken vp and buried in the Churchyard of Saint Clement Danes without Temple barre at London. He committed the order and gouernement of thyngs to the handes of his mother Queene Emme, and of Godwyn that was Erle of Kent. He leuied a sore tribute of his subiectes here in Englande to paye his souldiers and mariners of his nauie, as first .xxj. M. pound. and. xcix. pound: and afterward vnto .xxxij. shippes, there was a payement made of eleuen thousand and .xlviij. pound. To euery mariner of his nauie he caused a payment of. viij. markes to bee made, and to euerye maister. xij. markes. Aboute the payment of this money, great grudge grew amongst the people, insomuche as two of his seruants, whiche were appointed Collectors in the citie of Worcester, the one named Feader, and the other Turstane, were there slain. In reuenge of which contempt a great part of the countrey with the Citie was brent, and the goodes of the Citizens put to the sacke by such power of Lords, and men of warre as the king sent against them.

Shortly after, Edward, king Hardiknoughts brother, came forth of Normandie to visyte him and his mother Queene Emme, of whome he was moste ioyfully and honorably welcomed and entertayned, and shortly after made returne backe againe. It should appere by some writers, that after his comming ouer out of Normandie he remayned still in the Realme, so that he was not in Normandie when his halfe brother Hardiknoughte dyed, but here in Englande: although other make other reporte, as after shall be shewed.

Also (as before ye haue heard) some writers seeme to mean, that the elder brother Alfrid came ouer at the same tyme.

But surely they are therein deceyued: for it was knowne well inough howe tenderly kyng Hardicnute loued his brethren by the mothers syde, so as there was not any of the Lordes in his dayes, that durste attempte any suche iniurie agaynste them. True it is, that as well Earle Godwyn, as the bishop of Worcester, (that was also put in blame & suspected for the apprehending and making away of Alured (as before ye haue heard,) were charged by Hardicnute, as culpable in that matter, insomuch that the sayd Bishop was expulsed oute of his sea by Hardiknought: And after twelue monthes space was restored by meanes of such summes of money, as he gaue by waye of amendes.

Earle Godwyn was also put to his purgation, by taking an othe that hee was not giltie. Whiche othe was the better allowed, by reason of suche a present as he gaue to the king for the redemyng of his fauour and good will, that is to wit, a shippe with a sterne of gold, conteyning therin. lxxx. souldiours, wearing on eche of their armes two bracelettes of golde of. xvj. ounces weyght, a triple habergion gylte on their bodies, with guilt burgenets on their heads, a swoorde with gilt hiltes girded to their wastes, a battaile Axe after the maner of the Danes, on their lefte shulder: a targat with bosse & mailes gilt in their left hand: a darte in their right hande: And thus to conclude, they were furnished at all peeces with armour and weapon accordyng.

Erle Goodwin excuseth selfe.

The gift which Erle Goodwin gaue to the king.

It hath bin sayd, that Erle Godwyn mynded to marrie his daughter to one of these brethren, and perceyuing that the elder brother Alfred would disdayne to haue hir, thought good to dispatche him, that the other taking hir to wyfe, might be nexte heire to the Crowne, and so at length enioy it, as it afterwardes came to passe. *Polidor.*

Also about that tyme, when the lineage of the kings of Englande was in maner extincte, the English people were muche carefull (as hathe bene sayde) aboute the succession of those that shoulde enioy the crowne.

Whereupon as one Brightwold, a Monke of Glastenburye, that was afterwarde Bishop of Winchester, (or as some haue written) of Worcester, studyed oftentymes theron: It chaunced that he dreamed one nyght as he slepte in bedde, that he sawe Sainct Peter sacre and annoynt Edwarde the sonne of king Egelred (as then remaining in exile in Normandie) king of Englande. And as he thought, he dyd demaunde of Sainct Peter, who shoulde succeede the sayde Edwarde? Whereunto aunswere was made by the Apostle, Haue thou no care for such matters: for the kingdome of Englande is Gods kingdome, which surely in good earnest may appeare by many great argumentes to be full true vnto suche as shall well consider the state of this realme from time to tyme, howe there hath bin euer gouernours raysed vp to mayntayn the maiestie of the Kingdome, and to reduce the same to the former dignitie, when by any infortunate mishap, it hath bin brought in daunger.

But to return now to Kyng Hardiknought, after that hee had reygned two yeares lacking fiftine dayes, as hee satte at Table at a greate feast holden at Lambheth, he fell downe sodenly with the pot in his hande, and so dyed, not without some suspition of poyson. *Sim. Dunel. Math. West.* 1042.

The death of K. Hardicnute.

Thys chaunced the. 8. daye of June at Lambheth aforesaid, where the same daye a marriage

was

was solemnised betweene the lady Githa, the daughter of a noble man called Osgote Clappa, and a Danishe lorde called Canute Pryan. His bodie was buried at Winchester besides his fathers. He was of nature very curteous, gentle, and liberall, specially in keeping good cheere in his house, so that he would haue his table couered foure tymes a day, furnished with great plentie of meats and drinks, wishing that his seruantes and all straungers that came to his palaice, might rather leaue than want. It hath bin commonly told that Englishmen learned of him their excessiue gourmandize and vnmeasurable filling of their panches wyth meates and drinks, wherby they forgate the vertuous vse of sobrietie, so muche necessarye to all estates and degrees, so profitable for all common wealths, and so commendable both in the sight of God, and all good men. In this Hardiknought ceased the rule of the Danes within this lande, with the persecution which they had executed against the English nation, for the space of .250. yeres and more, that is to witte, euer sith the .x. yeare of Brithrike the king of Westsarons, at what time they first began to attempt to inuade the Englishe coastes.

K. Hardicanute his conditions. His liberalitie in housekeping.

Hen. Hunt.

Of whome the englishemen learned excessiue feedlng.

The end of the Danish rulers.

Howbeit (after Harison) they should seeme to haue ruled heere but .207. reckening from their bringing in by the Welchemen in despite of the Sarons, at which time they first begã to inhabit here, whiche was .835. of Christe. 387. after the comming of the Sarons, and .35. neere complet of the reigne of Egbert.

Edwarde.



Edward.

H. Hunt.

Polidore.

IMmediatly vpon ỹ death of Hardiknought and before his corps was committed to buryall, his halfe brother Edwarde, sonne of kyng Egelred begotten of Queene Emme, was chosen to be king of Englande, by the generall consent of all the nobles and comons of the realme. Therevppon were Ambassadours sente with all speede into Normandie, to signifie vnto him his election, and to bring him from thence into Englande, in delyuering pledges for more assurance, that no fraude nor deceipte was ment of the Englishmen. But that vpon his comming thyther, he should receyue the Crowne without all contradiction. Edwarde then ayded by hys cousin William Duke of Normandie, toke the sea, and with a small companye of Normans came into Englande, where hee was receyued with greate ioye as king of the realme, and immediatly after was crowned at Winchester by Edsinus then archbishop of Canterbury, on Easter day in the yeare of our Lorde. 1042. whiche fell also about the fourth yeare of the Emperor Henrye the thirde, surnamed Niger, in the .xij. yeare of Henry the first of that name kyng of Fraunce, and about the third yeare of Makbeth king of Scotland.

H. Hunt. V Vil. Malm. The. 3. ech. 10.

This Edwarde the third of that name before the conquest, was of nature more meeke & simple than apte to the gouernement of the realme, and therfore did Erle Godwyn not only seeke the destruction of his elder brother Alfred, but also holpe in that he might to aduaunce this Edwarde to the crowne, in hope to beare great rule in the realme vnder him, whome hee knewe to be softe, gentle and easy to be persuaded.

But whatsoeuer writers do report hereof, sure it is, that Edwarde was the elder brother, and not Alured, so that if erle Godwyn did shew his furtherance by his pretensed cloake of offring his frendship vnto Alured to betraye him, he did it by king Harolds cõmandement, and yet it may be that he ment to haue vsurped the crowne to himself, if eche poynt had aunswered his expectation in the sequele of things as he hoped they would, and therfore had not passed if bothe the brethren had bin in heauen. But yet when the worlde framed contrary (peraduenture) to his purpose, he didde his best to aduaunce Edward, trusting to beare no small rule vnder him, being knowne to be a man more appliable to be gouerned by other than to trust to his owne wit, and so chiefly by the assistance of Erle Godwyn: whose authoritie (as appeareth) was not small within the Realme of Englande in those dayes, Edwarde came to attayne the Crowne: wherevnto the erle of Chester Leofryke also shewed all the furtherance that in him lay.

Some write (which seemeth also to be confirmed by the Danish chronicles) that king Hardiknought in his lyfe tyme had receyued this Edwarde into his Courte, and reteyned him still in the same in moste honourable wyse.

Ran. Hig. ex Marian. Albert. Cra.

But for that it maye appeare in the abstracte of the Danishe Chronicles, what their writers hadde of this matter recorded, we doe here passe ouer, referring those that be desyrous to knowe the diuersitie of oure writers and theyrs, vnto the same Chronicles, where they may fynd it more at large expressed.

Thys in no wyse is to be lefte vnremembred, that immediatly after the death of Hardiknought it was

It was not only decreed and agreed vppon by the greate Lords and nobles of the Realme, that no Dane from thenceforth shoulde reigne ouer them, but also all menne of warre and souldiours of the Danes whiche lay within anye Citie or Castell in garrison within the realme of Englande, were then expulsed and put out, or rather slayne (as the Danishe writers do rehearse.

Amongst other that were banished, the ladie Gonild neece to king Swayn by his sister, was one, beeing as then a widdowe, and with hir two of hir sonnes, whiche she had then lying, Heming and Turkyll, were also causeed to auoyde.

There be that write, that Alfred the brother of king Edwarde, came not into the realme till after the death of Hardiknought, and that he dydde helpe to expulse the Danes, and that doone, was slaine by Erle Godwin and other of his complices. But how this may stande, considering the circumstãces of the tyme, with suche things as are written by diuers authors hereof, it may well be doubted.

But whether Earle Godwyn was guiltie to the death of Alfred, eyther at this time, or before, certayne it is, that he so cleered him selfe of that crime vnto King Edwarde, the brother of Alfred, that there was none so highly in fauoure with hym as Earle Godwyn was, insomuche that king Edwarde maryed the lady Editha, the daughter of erle Godwyn, begotten of his wyfe Thira, that was syster to King Hardiknought, and not of his seconde wyfe, as some haue written.

But so it was, that King Edwarde neuer had to doe with hir in fleshly wyse. But whether he abstained bicause he hadde haply vowed chastitie, eyther of impotencie of nature, or for a priuie hate that hee bare to hir kinne, men doubted. For it hath bene thoughte, that he esteemed not Earle Godwyn so greatly in his hearte, as he outwardely made shewe to doe, but rather for feare of his puissaunce, dissebled with him, least he shoulde otherwise put hym selfe in danger both of losse of life & kingdom. Howsoeuer it was, he vsed his counsel in ordering of things concerning the state of the cõmon wealth, and namely in the harde handelyng of his mother Queene Emme, agaynste whõ diuers accusatiõs were brought & alledged: as first for ỹ she consented to marrie with king Cnute, the publike enimie of the realme. Againe, that she did nothing ayde or succoure hir sonnes whyle they liued in exile, and that worse was, contriued to haue made them away. For which cause she was dispoyled of al hir goodes: And bicause she was defamed to be naughte of hir bodie with Alwyne or Adwine bishop of Winchester, both she, and the same bishop were cõmitted to prison within the citie of Winchester, (as some write:) but other affirme, that she was straytly kepte in the Abbey of Warwell, tyl by way of purging hir selfe, after a marueilous manner, in passyng barefooted ouer certaine hot shares or ploughyrons, according to the lawe *Ordalium*, she cleered hir selfe (as the world toke it) and was restored to hir first astate and dignitie. Hir excessiue courtousnesse without regarde had to the poore, caused hir also to be euil reported of. And ageyne, for that she euer shewed hir selfe to be more naturall to the issue whiche she had by hir second husband Cnute, than to hir children which she had by hir firste husbande kyng Egelred (as it were declaryng howe she was affected toward the fathers, by the loue borne to the children) she losse a greate peece of good will at the handes of hir sonnes, Alfred & Edwarde: So that nowe the said Edwarde enioying the realme, was easily enduced to think euill of hir, and thereuppon vsed hir the more vncourteously. But hir greate liberalitie employed on the churche of Winchester, whiche she furnished with marueilous rich iewels and ornamentes, wan hir great commendation in the worlde, and excused hir partly in the sight of many, of the infamie imputed to hir for the immoderate filling of hir coffers by all wayes and meanes shee coulde deuise. And after that she had purged hir self, as before is mẽcioned, hir sonne king Edwarde had hir euer after in great honor and reuerence. And wheras Robert Archbishop of Canterbury, had ben sore against hir, he was sore abashed of the matter that hee fledde into Normandye, where hee was borne.

But it shoulde seeme by that whiche after shall be said, that he fled not the realme for this matter, but for that he counselled the king to banish Erle Godwyn, and also to vse the Englishmen more straitly thã reson was he shuld.

Ye must vnderstande, that kyng Edwarde brought diuers Normãs ouer with him, whiche in tyme of his banishment had shewed him great friendship, wherefore he nowe sought to recompense them. Amongest other, this Robert was one, which before his comming ouer was a Monke in the abbey of Gemeticum in Normandie, & by the king was first aduanced to gouern ỹ sea of London, & after was made archbishop of Cant. & bare great rule vnder ỹ king, so that he coulde not auoyde the enuie of diuers noble men, & specially of erle Godwin as after shal appere. About ỹ third yere of K. Edwards reigne, Osgod Clap was banished

She is accused of dissolute liuing

Ran. Higd.

She purgeth hir selfe by the lawe Ordalium

VV. Malm.

Ran. Higd.

Robert Archbishop of Canterbury.

Frenchmen or Normans firste entered into Englande.

1046.

the

the Realme. And in the yeare folowyng, that is to witte, in the yeare.1047. there fell a meruailous great ſhowe, couering the grounde fro the beginning of Januarie vntill the. xvij. daye of Marche. And beſides this, there hapned the ſame yeare ſuche tempeſte and lyghtenings, that the corne vpon the earth was brent vp and blaſted: by reaſon whereof, there folowed a great dearthe in England, and alſo death of men and cattell.

A great dearth. *Ran. Higd*

Svvayn Goodvvins ſonne banished. Edgiua abbeſſe of Leoffe.

About this time Swain the ſon of erle Godwin was baniſhed the land, & fled into Flanders. This Swayne kepte Edgiua, the Abbeſſe of the Monaſterie of Leoffe, and forſaking his wife meante to haue marryed the foreſayde Abbeſſe. Within a certain tyme after his baniſhement, he returned into Englande, in hope to purchaſe the kings peace by his fathers meanes and other his frendes. But vpon ſome malicious pretence, he ſlewe his couſin Erle Bearne, which was about to labour to the king for his pardone, and ſo then fledde againe into Flaunders, till at length Aldred the Archbiſhop of Yorke obteyned his pardon, and founde meane to reconcile him to the kings fauour.

This Bearne vvas the ſon of Vlfus a Dane, vncle to thys Svvane by his mother, the ſiſter of Kyng Svvayne.

H. Hunt. In the meane tyme about the. bj. yere of king Edwards reigne, certaine pirates of the Danes arriued in Sandwiche hauen, and entring the lande, waſted and ſpoyled all abont the coaſt.

H. Hunt. The Danes ſpoyle Sandvviche. There bee that write, that the Danes had at that tyme to their leaders two Capitaynes, the one named Lother, and the other Irlyng. After they had ben at Sandwiche, and brought from thence great riches of golde and ſiluer, they coaſted about vnto the ſide of Eſſex, & there ſpoyling the countrey, went backe to the ſea, and ſayling into Flanders, made ſale of their ſpoyles & bootes there, and ſo returned to their countreys.

After this, during the reigne of king Edward, there chaunced no warres, neyther forrayne nor ciuile, but that the ſame was eyther with ſmall ſlaughter luckily ended, or elſe without any notable aduenture, chaunged into peace.

Ryſe and Griffyn Princes of VVales. The Welchemen in deede with theyr princes Ryſe and Griffyn wrought ſome trouble, but ſtill they were ſubdued, and in the ende both the ſayd Ryſe and Griffyn were brought vnto confuſion: although in the meane tyme they didde muche hurte, and namely Griffyn, who wyth ayde of ſome Iriſhmen, with whome he was aſſyſted, aboute this tyme entred into the Seuerne ſea, and toke preyes aboute the riuer of Wye: and after returned without any battaile to him offered.

1049. *Sl. Dunelm.* Aboute the ſame tyme, to witte, in the yeare 1049. the Emperour Henry the third made warres againſt Baldwyn Erle of Flaunders, and for that he willed to haue the ſea ſtopped, that the ſayde Earle ſhoulde not eſcape by flight that waye forth, he ſente to king Edwarde willing him to kepe the ſea with ſome number of ſhippes, *Herman Contract Ia. Mem* King Edwarde furniſhyng a nauie, lay wyth the ſame at Sandwiche, and ſo kept the ſeas on that ſide, till the Emperoure had his will of the Earle.

At the ſame tyme Swayne, ſonne of Earle Godwyn came into the realme, and traiterouſly ſlewe his couſin Bearne (as before is ſayd,) the whiche trauayled to agree him with the king.

Alſo Goſpat Clappe, who had lefte his wyfe at Bruges in Flaunders, comming amongeſt other of the Daniſhe pirates, whiche had robbed in the coaſtes of Kente and Eſſex, as before ye haue hearde, receyued hys wyfe, & departed back into Denmark with ſix ſhips, leauyng the reſidue, being. xviij. behynde him. *Simon D*

Aboute the tenthe yeare of king Edwardes reigne, Euſtace Erle of Bolongne, that was father vnto the valiant Godfreye of Bovillon and Baldwyn, both afterwarde kings of Hieruſalem, came ouer into Englande in the moneth of September, to viſite his brother in lawe Kyng Edwarde, whoſe ſiſter named Goda, he had maryed, ſhe then being the wydow of Gualter de Maunte. He founde the kyng at Glouceſter, and beyng there ioyfully receyued, after he had once diſpatched ſuche matters for the which hee chiefly came, he toke leaue, and returned homeward. But at Canterbury one of his herbingers dealyng roughly with one of the Citezens aboute a lodging, whiche he ought to haue rather by fayre than by entreatance, occaſioned his owne death. *Fabian.* 1051 *Mat. VV.* The earle Flanders meeth in glande. *Ra. Hig VV. Ma* Goda ſiſt K. Edvv. *VVil.* Douer in VVeſt.

Whereof when the earle was aduertiſed, hee haſted thither to reuenge the ſlaughter of his ſeruaunt, and ſlewe both that Citizen whiche had killed his man. and. xviij. others.

A fray terbury twixt of Bolog and the men. The Citizens herewith in a great furie, gotte them to armour, and ſette vpon the earle and his meynie, of whome they ſlewe twentie perſons out of hande, and wounded a greate number of the reſidue, ſo that the erle hardly might eſcape with one or two of his men from the fraye, and with all ſpeede returned backe to the kyng, preſenting greeuous information againſte them of Canterbury, for their cruel vſing of hym, not only in ſleayng of his ſeruauntes, but alſo in putting him in daunger of his lyfe.

The Kyng crediting the Earle was highely offended againſte the Citizens, and wyth all ſpeede ſendyng for Earle Godwyn, declared vnto hym in greeuous wyſe, the rebellyous acte of them of Canterbury, whiche were vnder his iuriſdiction.

The erle plaineth king. The Erle who was a man of a bold courage and quicke witte, didde perceyue that the matter was made a greate deale worſe at the fyrſte

in

In the beginnyng, than of lykelyhoode it woulde proue in the end, thought it reaſon therefore that firſte the aunſwere of the Kentiſhemen ſhoulde be hearde before any ſentence were giuen againſt them. And herevpon although the king comanded hym forthwith to goe with an armie into Kent, and to puniſh them of Canterbury in moſt rigorous manner, yet he woulde not be to haſty, but refuſed to execute the Kinges commaundement, both for that hee bare a piece of grudge in his mynde, that the kyng ſhoulde fauour ſtraungers ſo hyghly as he did, And agayne, becauſe hereby he ſhuld ſeme to do pleſure to his coũtreymen, in taking vppon hym to defende their cauſe againſte the rough accuſations of ſuche as had accuſed them. Wherfore he declared to the king that it ſhoulde bee conueniente to haue the ſuppoſed offendours fyrſte called afore hym, and if they were able to excuſe themſelues, then to bee ſuffered to departe without further vexation: and if they were found faultie, then to be put to their fine, bothe as well in ſatiſfying the King, whoſe peace they had broken, as alſo the Erle, whom they had indamaged.

Earle Godwyn departed thus from the king, leauing him in a greate furie: howbeit hee paſſed little thereof, ſuppoſing it would not long continue. But the king called a greate aſſemble of his lordes, together at Gloceſter, that the matter might be more deepely conſidered. Syward Erle of Northumberland and Leofryke Erle of Cheſter, with Rafe Erle of Hereford, the kings nephew by his ſiſter Goda, and al other the noble men of the realme, only Erle Godwyn and his ſonnes, meant not to come there, excepte they myght bring with them a great power of armed men, and ſo remained at Beuerſtane, with ſuch bandes as they had leuyed vnder a colour to reſiſt the Welchemen, whome they bruted abroade to bee readie to inuade the marches aboute Hereforde.

But the Welchemen preuenting that ſlaunder, ſignified to the king that no ſuch matter was ment on their parties, but thát Earle Godwyn and his ſonnes with their complices, went about to moue a commotion againſt him. Herevpon a rumour was rayſed in the Courte that the kings power ſhoulde ſhortely marche forth to aſſayle Earle Godwyn in that place where hee was lodged. Wherevpon the ſame Erle prepared himſelfe, and ſent to his frendes, willing to ſticke to this quarrell, and if the king ſhould go about to forcet them, then to withſtande him, rather than to yelde and ſuffer themſelues to be troden vnder foote by ſtraungers.

Godwyn in this meane tyme had got together a greate power of his countreys of Kente, Southerie, and other of the weaſt parts. Swayn lykewiſe had aſſembled muche people out of his countrys of Barkeſhire, Oxfordſhire, Somerſetſhire, Herefordſhire, and Glouceſterſhyre. And Harolde was alſo come to them wyth a greate multitude whiche hee had leuyed in Eſſex, Norffolke, Suffolke, Cambridgeſhire, and Huntingdonſhire. *Ran. Higd. Mat. VVeſt. Sim. Dunel.. Harolde.*

On the other parte the Erles that were with the king, Leofryke, Syward, and Raufe, reyſed all the power whiche they might make, and the ſame approching to Gloceſter, the king thoughte him ſelfe in more ſuretie than before, in ſomuche that where as Earle Godwin (who lay with his armie at Langton there not farre off in Glouceſterſhire) had ſente vnto the king requiryng that the Earle of Bolongne with the other Frenchmen and alſo the Normans which helde the Caſtell of Douer, might bee deliuered vnto him, *si. Dunelm.*

The King although at the firſte hee ſtoode in great doubt what to do, yet hearing now that armye of his friendes was commyng, made anſwere to the meſſengers, which Godwin had ſent, that hee woulde not deliuer a man of thoſe whome Godwin required, and herewith the ſaid meſſengers being departedthe kings army entred into Glouceſter and ſuch readie good willes appeared in them all to fight with the aduerſaries, that if the kyng woulde haue permitted, they woulde forthwith haue gone forth and gyuen battaile to the enimies. And thus the matter was at poynt to haue put the realme in hazarde not only of a field, but of vtter ruine that might therof haue enſued: for what on the one parte and the other, there were aſſembled the chiefeſt Lordes and moſt able perſonages of the lande. But by the wyſedome and good aduiſe of Earle Leofrike and others, the matter was pacified for a tyme, and order taken, that they ſhoulde come to a parliament or communication at London, vppon pledges giuen and receyued as well on the one parte as the other.

The king with a mightie armye of the Northumbers, and them of Mercia, came vnto London, and Earle Godwyn with his ſonnes, and a greate power of the Weaſt Saxons, came into Southwarke, but perceyuing that many of his companie ſtale awaye and ſlipte from hym, he durſte not abyde any longer to enter talke with the Kyng, as it was couenaunted but in the nyghte nexte enſewing, fledde away with all ſpeede poſſible.

Some write, howe an order was preſcribed that Swanus the eldeſt ſonne of Godwyn ſhoulde departe the lande as a banyſhed manne to qualifye the Kynges wrathe, and that Godwyn and one other of his ſonnes, that is to wite, Harrolde, ſhouldecome to an other *VV. Mal.* Svvayn eldeſt ſonne to Good vvin banished.

aſſemble

aſſemble to bee holden at London, accompanyed with twelue ſeruauntes onely, and to reſygne all his force of Knights, Gentlemen and Souldiours vnto the Kings guyding and gouernement.

But when this laſt article pleaſed nothing erle Godwyn, and that he perceyued howe his force beganne to decline, ſo as hee ſhoulde not be able to matche the kinges power, he fledde the realme, and ſo likewiſe did his ſonnes. He himſelfe with his ſonnes Swanus, Toſtie, and Gurth, ſayled into Flaunders: and Harrolde with his brother Leofwyn gat ſhippes at Briſtow, and paſſed into Irelande. Githa the wyfe of Godwyn, and Judith the wife of Toſtie, the daughter of Baldwyn Earle of Flaunders wente ouer alſo with their huſbands.

Earle Goodwin fled the realme.

The king hauing perfect knowledge, that erle Godwyn had refuſed to come to the Courte in ſuche order as he had preſcribed hym, and that he was departed the realm with his ſonnes: he proclaymed them outlawes, and gaue the landes of Harrolde vnto Algar, the ſonne of Erle Leofrik, who guyded the ſame right worthyly, and reſigned them agayne withoute grudging vnto the ſame Harrold when he was returned out of exile.

Goodwin and his ſonnes proclaymed outlawes.

Alſo vnto Erle Odo were giuen the counties of Deuonſhire and Somerſetſhire.

Moreouer, about the ſame time ỹ king put his wife Queene Editha from him, and appoynted hir to ſtraight keeping in the Abbey of Warwel.

The King awayy his Queene E.

This Editha was a noble Gentlewoman, well learned, and experte in all the ſciences, yet hir good name was ſtayned ſomwhat, as though ſhee had not lyued ſo continently as was to be wiſhed, both in hir huſbands lyfe tyme, and after his deceaſe. But yet at the houre of hir deathe (whyche chaunced in the dayes of Wylliam Conquerour,) ſhee cleared hir ſelfe, in takyng it vpon the charge of hir ſoule, that ſhee hadde euer lyued in perfecte chaſtitie: For kyng Edwarde (as before is mentioned) neuer touched hir in any actuall manner.

By thys ſtraight dealyng with the Queene that was daughter to Earle Godwyn, now in tyme of hir fathers exile, it hath ſeemed to many, that Kyng Edwarde forbare to deale with hir in carnall wyſe, more for hatred of hir kin, than for any other reſpecte. But to proceede.

In the ſeconde yeare of Godwyns baniſhmente, both he and his ſonnes hauyng prouyded them ſelues of ſhippes and menne of warre

1051

H. Hunt



conueniente for the purpoſe, came vpon the coaſtes of Englande, and after the manner of Rouers, toke praye where as they eſpyed aduauntage, namely on the coaſtes of Kente and Suſſex.

In the meane tyme alſo Griffyn the kyng of Wales, deſtroyed a great parte of Herefordſhire agaynſte whome the power of that countreye and alſo manye Normans that laye in garriſon wythin the Caſtell of Hereforde, commyng to gyue battayle, were ouerthrowne on the ſame daye, in the whyche aboute two and twentie yeares before (or as ſome Copies haue thirteene yeares) the Welchemen hadde ſlayne Edwyn, the brother of Earle Leofrike.

Griffin kyng of VVales deſtroyeth Herefordshire.

Shortely after, Earle Harrolde and his brother Leofwyn returning out of Ireland, entred into the Seuerne ſea, landing on the coaſtes of Somerſette and Dorſet ſhires, where fallyng to ſpoyle, they were encountred by a power aſſembled oute of the Counties of Deuonſhire and Somerſetſhire: but Harolde putte his aduerſaries to flight, and ſlewe thirtie Gentlemen of honoure, or Thanes (as they called them) with a great number of others.

Harold diſcomfiteth the men of Dorſet Somerſet.

Earle Harrolde then and his brotherne, returning

turning with their pray and bootie to their ships, and coasting about the poynte of Cornewalle, came and ioyned with their father and their other brethrē, as then soiourning in ẏ Isle of Wight.

King Edward to withstand their malice, had rigged and furnished fourty sixtie Ships of warre, with the which he himselfe went to the water, not sticking to lie aboorde at that season, although he had appoynted for Captaynes and admirals two Earles that were his cousins, Odo and Raufe, who had charge of the whole armie. Raufe was his nephew, as sonne to his sister Goda by hir first husband Gualter de Maunte. But although they were knowen to bee sufficiente men for the ordering of such businesse, yet he thought the necessitie to be suche, as his person coulde not be presently spared. Therefore he was diligent in foresceyng of things by good aduice, although age woulde not giue him leaue to execute the same by hys owne hand, and force of body: but as the Nauies on both partes were ready to haue ioyned, they were seuered by reason of a thicke mist that then rose, whereby theyr furious rage was restrayned for that time: and immediately therevpon, Eodwin and his complices were forced by a contrary winde, to returne to the places from whence they came. And shortly after by mediation of friends, a peace was made, and Earle Godwine restored home, and obteined againe bothe ẏ kings fauour, and al his former liuings: for he was such an eloquent wise man, that he cleared and purged himselfe of all such crimes and accusations, as in any sort had bin layde against him. Thus haue some written concerning this agreement betwixt King Edward and Earle Godwin, where other make somwhat larger report therof, as thus. The same time that the two sonnes of Earle Godwin, Harrold and Leofwine came fourth of Ireland and inuaded the West countrey, King Edwarde rigged forthe fortie Shippes, the whyche throughly furnished with men, munition, & victayles, he sente vnto Sandwich, commaundyng the Captaynes there to awaite for the comming of Earle Godwin, whome he vnderstood to be in a readinesse to returne into Englande: but notwithstanding, there wanted no diligence in them to looke to their charge, Earle Godwine secretly with a few Shippes whiche he had got togither, arriued in Kent, and sending forth his letters and messengers aboorde vnto the Citizens of Canterbury, to the of Sussex, Southrey, and others, required them of ayde, who with one consente, promised to liue and die with him. The Captaines of the naule at Sandwich aduertised hereof, made towardes the place where they thoughte to haue found Erle Godwin: but he being warned of their comming, escaped by flight, and gote him out of their daunger, wherevpon they withdrew to Sandwiche, and after returned to London. Earle Godwin aduertised therof, sayled to the Isle of Wight, and waited vp and downe those Seas, til his sonnes Harrold and Leofwine came and ioyned their naule with his, and ceasing from spoyle, only sought to recouer battailes to serue their turne. And increasing their power by suche ayde as they might any where procure, at length they came vnto Sandwiche, whereof K. Edward hauing knowledge, being then at London, hee sente aboorde to reyse all the power hee might make, but they that were appoynted to come vnto him, lingered time, in whiche meane while, Earle Godwin came into the Thames, & so vp the Riuer, arriued in Southwarke, on the day of the exaltation of the Crosse in September, being Monday, and there staying for the tide, solicited the Londoners, so as hee obteyned of them what hee coulde desire, and afterwardes withoute disturbance, with the tide passed vp the Riuer through the South arche of the Bridge, & at ẏ same instant, a mighty armie whiche he had by land, mustred in the fieldes on that South side the same Riuer, and herewith his naule made towardes the Northe side of the Riuer, as if they mentto enclose ẏ kings naule, for ẏ K. had also a naule and an armie by land: but yet sith ther were few either on the one part or the other, that were able to do any great feate except Englishmē, they were loth to fight one against another, whereupon, the wiser sort on both sides sought meanes to make an atonemente: & so at length by their diligent trauel, the matter was taken vp, and the armies being dismissed on both partes, Erle Godwin was restored to his former dignitie. There were pledges deliuered on his behalfe, that is to wit, Wilnotus one of his sonnes, and Hacun the son of Suanus, that was the eldest son of Godwin. These two pledges were sent vnto Willia Duke of Normandy, to bee kepte with hym for more assurance of Godwines loyaltie. Some write, that Suanus ẏ eldest son of Godwin was not reconciled to ẏ kings fauour at this time, but whether he was or not, this is reported of him for a troth, ẏ after he had attempted sundry rebellions against K. Edward, he lastly also rebelled against his father Godwin, & his brother Harrold, & became a Pyrat, dishonoring ẅ such manifold robberies as he made on the Seas, ẏ noble progenie whereof he was discended. Finally, vpō remorse of cōscience (as hath bin thought) for ẏ murthering of his cousin (or as some say his brother) Earle Biorne, he went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, & died by the way in returning homeward of cold which he caught (as some write) in Licia: but other affirme, that he fell into the hands of Sarasins, that were robbers by the high wayes, and so was murthered of them. The forsayd William Duke of Normandy (that after conquered thys lande (during the time of Godwines outlary,

It seemeth that Earle Goodwine was well friended.

Ran. Higd. Mat. VVest. Simon Dun. VVil. Malm.

Ran. Higd. VVil. Mal.

William Duke of Normandy commeth ouer into England.

William Duke of Normandy commeth ouer into England.

came ouer into this lande with a faire retinue of men, and was ioyfully receyued of the King, and had great cheere: and after he had tarried a ſeaſon, he returned into his countrey, not without great giftes of iewels and other things, whiche the K. moſt liberally beſtowed vpon him. And as ſome write, the King promiſed hym at that tyme, to make hym his heire to the Realme of England, if he chaunced to die without iſſue.

Polidor. King Edwards promiſe to duke William

Shortly after, or rather ſomewhat before, died Q. Emme the kings mother, and was buryed at Wincheſter. After that Earle Godwin was reſtored to the Kynges fauoure, becauſe hee knewe that Robert the Archbiſhop of Canterbury hadde bin the chiefe procurer of the Kings euill will towards him, he founde meanes to weare him out of credite, and diuers other ſpecially of the Normans, bearing the world in hande, that they had ſoughte to trouble the ſtate of the Realme, to ſet variance betwixte the King and the Lordes of the Engliſhe nation: whereas the Normans agayne alleaged, that Earle Godwin and hys ſonnes abuſed the Kings ſoft and gentle nature, and woulde not ſticke to ieſt and mocke at hys curteous and milde proceedings. But howſoeuer the matter went, the Archbiſhop Robert was glad to depart out of the Realm, and going to Rome, made complaynte in the Court there, of the iniuries ỹ were offered him: but in returning through Normandy, he dyed in the Abbey of *Gemmeticum*, where he had bin Monke before his cõming into England. Diuerſe other were compelled to forſake the Realme at the ſame time, both ſpiritual men and temporal, as William Biſhoppe of London, and Ulf Biſhop of Lincolne. Oſberne ſurnamed Pentecoſt, and his companyon Hugh, were conſtreyned to ſurrender their Caſtels, and by licence of Earle Leofrike withdrewe through his countrey into Scotlande, where of Kyng Mackbeth they were honorably receyued. These were Normans: for as partly yee haue heard, Kyng Edwarde brought with him no ſmall number of that nation, when he came from thence to receyue the Crowne, and by them hee was altogither ruled to the greate offending of his owne naturall ſubiects the Engliſhmẽ, namely Earle Godwine and his ſonnes, who in thoſe dayes for their greate poſſeſſions and large reuenewes, were had in no ſmall reputation with the Engliſh people.

The Archbiſhop of Canterbury baniſhed.

Normans baniſhed the Realme.

After that the Archbiſhop of Canterbury Robert was departed the Realme, as before ye haue heard, Stigand was made Archbiſhop of Canterbury, or rather thruſt him ſelfe into that dignitie, not being lawfully called, in like manner as he had done at Wincheſter: for where as he was firſt Biſhop of Shireborne, he left that Churche, and toke vpon him the Biſhoprycke of Wincheſter by force, and nowe attayning to be Archbyſhop of Cãterbury, he kept both Wincheſter and Canterbury in his hand at one inſtant. Thys Stigand was greatly infamed for his couetous practiſing in ſale of poſſeſſions appertayning to ỹ Church. He was nothing learned, but that want was a common fault amongſt the Biſhops of ỹ age, for it was openly ſpoken in thoſe dayes, that he was meete onely to be a Biſhop, which could vſe the pomp of the world, voluptuous pleaſures, rich rayment, and ſet himſelfe forthe with a iolly retinue of gentlemen and ſeruauntes on horſebacke, for therein ſtoode the countenance of a Biſhop as the worlde then framed; and not in ſtudy how to haue the people fed with the word of lyfe, to the ſauing of their ſoules. King Edward now in the twelfth yere of his raigne, hauing brought the ſtate of the Realme quite from troubles of warre both by Sea and land, he began to foreſee as well for the welth of his ſubiects, as for hy mſelfe, being naturally enclined to wiſh well to all men. He therfore conſidered, how by the manifolde lawes which had bin made by Britaynes, Engliſhmen and Danes within this lande, occaſion was miniſtred to ſome, whiche meaſured all things by reſpect of their owne priuate gaine and profit, to peruert iuſtice, and to vſe wrongful dealing in ſtede of right, clouding the ſame vnder ſome braunche of lawe, naughtily miſconſtrued, wherevpon to auoyde that miſchiefe, he piked out a ſumme of that huge and innumerable maſſe and heape of lawes, ſuche as were thought moſt indifferent and neceſſary, and therewith ordeyned a fewe, and thoſe moſt wholeſome, to bee from thenceforth vſed, according to whoſe preſcript men might line in due forme and rightfull order of a ciuill life. Theſe lawes wer afterwards called the common lawes, and alſo Saincte Edwarde his lawes, ſo muche eſteemed of the Engliſhmen, that after the Conqueſt, when the Normans oftentimes wente about to abrogate the ſame, there chaunced no ſmall mutenies and rebellions for reteyning of thoſe lawes. But heere is to bee noted, that although they were called Saint Edwardes lawes, they were for the more part made by King Edgar, but now by K. Edwarde reſtored, after they had bin abrogated for a time by the Danes.

Stigand Archbiſhop of Cãterbury.

About this time, Erle Godwin died ſuddainly (as ſome haue recorded) as he ſate at table with the King: and vpon talke miniſtred of the deathe of Alfred the Kyngs brother, to excuſe himſelfe, he toke a peece of bread, and eate it, ſaying: God let mee neuer ſwallow this bread downe into my cheſt, but that I may preſently bee choked therewith, if euer I was weeting or conſenting vnto Alfredes death: and immediately therewith, hee fell downe ſtarke dead. Other ſay, that hee ended his

105 1040 1040

Ran. Hig. Fabian. Stigand infamed of ſimony.

What men of mens ſonnes were Biſhops in the ſeaſon.

Polidor.

The lawes Saint Edwardes inſtituted.

Hec. Bo. Polidor. Ran. H. ex Mat.

his life at Winchester, where being suddaynely surprised with sickenesse, as hee sate at the Table with the King vpon an Easter Monday, he lyued yet till the Thursday following, and then dyed. Hys Earledome was giuen vnto his sonne Harrold, & Harrolds Erledome which was Oxeford, was gyuen vnto Algar the son of Leofricke.

This Godwin, as hee was a man of greate power, wise, hardie, and politike, so was hee ambitious, desirous to beare rule, and soth that any other person should passe him in authoritie. But yet whether all be true that Writers report of his malitious practises to bryng hymselfe and hys sonnes to the chiefe seate of gouernemente in the Kingdome, or that of hatred such slaunders were reysed of him, it may of some perhappes be doubted, bycause that in the dayes of King Edwarde (whiche was a soft and gentle Prince) hee bare greate rule and authoritie, and so mighte procure to himselfe euill report for euery thing that chanced amisse, as oftentimes it commeth to passe in suche cases, where those that haue greate doyngs in the gouernemente of the common wealthe, are commonly euill spoken of, and that now and then without their gilt. But truth it is, that Godwin beeing in authoritie both in the dayes of K. Edward and his predecessors, did many thyngs as should appeare by Writers, more by will than by law, and so likewise did his sonnes vpō presumption of the great puissance that they and theyr father were of within the Realme. Hee had to wife the sister of K. Cnute, Editha, of whome hee begate three sonnes (as some write) that is to saye, Harrolde, Bioxne, and Tostie: also his daughter Editha, the which he found meanes to bestowe in marriage vpon King Edward as before ye haue heard. But other write, that he had but one sonne by Cnutes sister, the whiche in riding of a rough horse, was throwen into the Riuer of Thames, and so drowned. His mother also was striken with a thunderbolte, and so perished worthely, as is reported for hir naughty doyings. She vsed to buy great numbers of yong persons, and namely maides that were of any excellencie in beutie and personage, ẏ which she sent ouer into Denmarke, and there sold them to hir most aduantage. After hir decesse as the same authours record, Godwin married another woman by whome he had issue sixe sonnes, Suanus or Swayne, Harrolde, Tostie or Tosto, Wilnote, Gurth and Leofricke: of them mention is, and shall bee further made, as places conuenient shall serue thereto.

Polidor.

Vvil. Malm.

About the thirteenth yeare of King Edwardes raigne (as some write,) or rather about the nineteenth or twentith yere as should appeare by the Scottishe Writers, Siward the noble Earle of Northumberlande with a great power of horsemenne went into Scotland, and in battell put to

Mat. Vvest. 1054

Hec. Boetius.



flight Mackbeth that had vsurped the Crowne of Scotland, and that done, placed Malcolme surnamed Camoyr, the son of Duncane, sometime King of Scotlande, in the gouernement of that Realme, who afterward slew the sayd Macbeth, and then raigned in quiet. Some of our Englishe writers say, that this Malcolme was K. of Cūberlande, but other reporte him to be sonne to the K. of Cumberland. But heere is to be noted, that if Mackbeth raigned till the yere. 1061. and was then slayne by Malcolme, Earle Siwarde was not at that battaile, for as our writers do testifie, he died in the yere. 1055. whiche was in the yeare next after (as the same writers affirme) that hee vāquished Mackbeth in fight, & slew many thousands of Scottes, & all those Normans which as ye haue heard, were withdrawē into Scotlande, when they were driuen out of England. It is recorded also, that in the foresaid battayle, in which Earle Siwarde vanquished the Scottes, one of Siwards sonnes chaunced to be slayne, whereof, though the father had good cause to be sorowfull, yet whē he heard that he dyed of a wound which hee had receyued in fighting stoutely in the forepart of his body, and that with his face towarde the enimie, hee greatly reioyced thereat, to heare that he died so manfully. But here is to be noted, ẏ not now, but a little before, (as Henry Hunt. saith.) ẏ Earle Siward, wente into Scotlande himselfe in person, hee sent his sonne with an army to conquere ẏ land, whose hap was ther to be slaine: and when his father heard ẏ newes, he demaunded whether he receiued the wound whereof he died, in ẏ fore parte of the body, or in the hinder part: and when it was tolde him ẏ he receyued it in the foreparte, I reioyce (saith he) euen with all my harte, for I would not wishe eyther to my sonne nor to my selfe, any other kind of death.

Mat. VVeſt. 1057

Shortly after, Aldred the Biſhop of Worceſter was ſent vnto the Emperour Henry the third, to fetch Edwarde the ſonne of Edmunde Ironſide into England, whome King Edward was deſirous to ſee, meaning to ordeyne him heire apparant to the Crowne: but hee dyed the ſame yeare after he came into England. This Edward was ſurnamed the outlawe: his body was buried at Weſtminſter, or as an other ſayth in the Church of S. Paules in London. About the ſame tyme, King Edward by euill counſell, I wote not vpon what occaſion, but as it is thought without cauſe, baniſhed Algar the ſon of Earle Leofricke: wherevpon he gote him into Irelande, and there prouiding xbiij. Ships of Rouers, returned, and

Hen. Hunt. 1055

landing in Wales, ioyned him ſelfe with Griffin the king, or Prince of Wales, and did much hurt on the borders about Hereford, of whiche place Raufe was then Erle, that was ſonne vnto Goda the ſiſter of King Edward by hir firſt huſbande Gualter de Maunt. This Earle aſſembling an army, came forth to giue battayle to the enimies, appoynting the Engliſhmen contrary to their manner to fight on horſeback, but being ready (the two and twetith of October) to giue the onſet in a place not paſt two miles from Hereford, he with his Frenchmen and Normans fled, and ſo the reſt were diſcomfited, whome the aduerſaries purſued, and ſlew to the number of fiue hundred, beſide ſuche as were hurt and eſcaped with

Mat. VV Sim. Dun

The Welſhmen obteine the victor againſt Engliſhmen Normans



life. Griffin and Algar hauing obteyned this victory, entred into the Towne of Hereford, ſet the Minſter on fire, ſlew ſeuen of the Cannons that ſtode to defende the doores or gates of the principall Church, and finally, ſpoyled and brente the Towne miſerably. The King aduertiſed hereof, gathered an army, ouer the whiche, Harrolde the ſonne of Earle Godwine was made generall, who followed vpon the enimies that fled before him into Northwales, and ſtayed not, till hauing paſſed through Stradluyd, hee came to the Mountaynes of Snawdune, where hee pitched his fielde. The enimies durſt not abide hym, but gote them into Southwales, whereof Harrolde being aduertiſed, left the more parte of his army in Northwales to reſiſt the enimies there, and with the reſidue of his people he came backe vnto Hereford, recouered the Towne, and cauſed a greate and mighty trench to be caſt round aboute it, with an high rampire, and fenſed it with gates and other fortificatiõs. After this, he did ſo much, that comming to a communication with Griffin & Algar at a place called Biligelhage, a peace was concluded, and ſo the nauie of Earle Algar

Stradcluid. Snawdune.

The Citie of Hereford fortified by Harrold.

ſayled about, and came to Cheſter, there to remaine till the men of warre and Marriners were payed their wages, whileſt he went to the Kyng, who both pardoned his offence, and reſtored hym to his Earledome. After this, the very ſame yere being the. 15. yeare of King Edwardes raigne, as ſome writers affirme, the noble Earle of Northumberlande Siwarde dyed of the flixe, of whome it is ſayde, that when hee perceyued the houre of death to be at hand, he cauſed himſelfe to be put in armour, and to be ſet vp in his chayre, affirming, that a Knighte and a man of honor, oughte to die in that ſorte, rather than lying on a couch like a feeble and faint harted creature: and ſitting ſo vpright in his chaire armed at all peeces, hee ended his life, and was buried at Yorke. He was a man of a Giantlike ſtature, and thereto of a righte ſtoute and hardy courage, becauſe hys ſonne Waltef was but an infant, and as yet not out of his cradell, the Earledome was giuen vnto Earle Toſtie one of Godwines ſonnes.

The de Siward of Northberlan Ran.

Shortly after, in the yeare. 1057. Aldred Biſhop of Worceſter, was ſente ouer vnto the Emperoure Henry the third, to fetche Edwarde the

ſonne

sonne of Edmund Ironside into Englād, whom King Edwarde was desirous to see, meaning to ordeyne him heire apparante to the Crowne: but he died the same yere, after he was now returned into England. This Edward was surnamed the outlawe: his body was buryed at Westminster, or as other say, in ỹ Church of Saint Paule within London.

The same yeare, that is to witte, in the seuententh or in the sixtenth yeare of King Edwards raigne (as some write) Leofricke the noble Earle of Chester, or Mercia, that was sonne to Duke Leofwine, departed this life in his owne Towne of Bromeley the last day of August, and was buried at Couentrie in the Abbey there which he had builded. This Earle Leofricke was a man of greate honor, wise and discret in all his doynges. His high wisedome and policie stode the Realm in great steede whilest he lined. He had a noble Lady to his wife, named Godwina, at whose earnest suite he made the Citie of Couentrie free of all manner tolle, except for Horses: and to haue that tolle layde downe, also, his foresaide Wife rode naked through the middest of the Towne, without other couerture, saue only hir heare.

Moreouer, partly moued by his owne deuotion, and partly by the perswasion of that noble Lady his wife, he builded or beneficially augmēted and repared many Abbeyes and Churches, as the saide Abbey or Priory at Couentrie, the Abbeyes of Wenlocke, Worceter, Stone, Euesham, and Leof beside Hereford.

Also, he buylded two Churches within the Citie of Chester, the one called S. Johns, and the other Saint Werburgh. The valew of ỹ iewels and ornaments which he bestowed on the Abbey Church of Couentrie, was inestimable.

After Leofrickes death, his sonne Algar was made Earle, and entituled in all his landes and Seigniories. In the yeare following, to witte, 1058. the same Algar was accused again (through malice of some enuious persons) of treason, so that he was exiled the land, wherevppon, he repared agayne vnto his old friend. Griffin Prince of Northwales, of whome hee was ioyfully receyued, and shortly after by his ayde, and also by the power of a navie of Ships that by chaunce arriued in those parties at that selfe season vnlooked for out of Norway, the said Algar recouered hys Earledome by force, as some haue written. King Edward about the twentith yere of his raine, as then remayning at Glocester, appoynted Earle Harrolde to inuade the Dominions of Griffin King of Wales. Harrold taking with him a power of Horsemen, made speed, and came to Rutland, and there brenned Griffins Palace, and also his Shippes, and then about midlent returned againe into England.

After this, about the Rogation weeke, Harrold exersones by the Kings commaundemente, went against the Welchmen, and taking the Sea, sayled by Bristowe, round about the coast, compassing in maner al Wales. His brother Tostie that was Earle of Northumberland, met him by appointment with an host of Horsemen, and so ioyning together, they destroyed the countrey of Wales in suche sorte, that the Welchmen were compelled to submit themselues, to deliuer hostages, and conditioned to pay the auntient tribute which before time they had payd. And moreouer, they renounced their Prince the forenamed Griffin, so that he remayned as a banished person: and finally, about the fifth day of August, they slewe him, and sent his head to Earle Harrold. Afterwards King Edward graunted ỹ rule of Wales vnto Blengent or Blethgent, and Rivall Griffins two brethren, whiche did homage vnto hym for the same, and hadde serued vnder Harrold against their brother the foresaid Griffin. There be that write, that not onely Griffin, but also another of his brethrē also called Rise, was brought to his death by the manfull meanes, and politike order of Earle Harrold, and all the sauadge people of Wales, reduced into the forme of good order vnder the subiection of King Edwarde.

Wales destroyed and harried by the Englishmē. The Welchemen agree to pay their accustomed tribute.

1064

Will. Malm. Sim. Dunel.

Will. Malm.

Shortly after, Earle Harolde chaunced to passe ouer into Normandy, whether of happe or of purpose it is harde to define, writers varry so much in report thereof. Some write, that he made earnest suite to King Edward, to haue licence to goe ouer to see his brother Wilnote, and his nephewe Hacun, which as yee haue heard, were deliuered as pledges to Kyng Edwarde, and sente into Normandy to remayne there with Duke William, and at length with muche adoe, gote leaue: but yet he was told afore hand of the King: that he would repēt his iourney, and do the thing that should be preiudiciall to the Realme.

Harrold goeth ouer into Normandy. *Polidor.*

Edmerus.

Other write, that Harrold lying at his manor of Bosham, went aboord one day into his fishers boate or Crayer, and caused the same to launche forth to the Sea for his pleasure: but by misfortune at the same time, a contrary winde suddainly came about, and droue the vessell a lande into Fraunce vppon the coast of Ponthieu, where hee was taken by the countrey people, and presented to the Earle of Ponthieu named Guy or Guido, who kept him as a prisoner, meaning to put him to a greeuous raunsome. But Harrold remembring himselfe of a wile, dispatched a messenger forthe with all speede vnto William Duke of Normandy, signifying vnto him, that he beeyng sente from Kyng Edwarde to confirme suche Articles as other meane men that had bin sente to him afore hadde talked of, by chaunce hee was fallen into the handes of the Earle

Mat. Weſt. Will. Malm.

of Ponthieu, and kepte as priſoner againſt all order of law, reaſon, or humanitie. Duke William thus enformed by the meſſenger, ſent to the Erle of Ponthieu, requiring hym to ſet Earle Harrold at libertie, that he might repare to him accoꝛding to his commiſſiõ. The Earle of Ponthieu at the Dukes requeſt, did not onely reſtoꝛe Harrolde to libertie, but alſo bꝛoughte hym into Noꝛmandy, and preſented him there to the Duke, of whome he was moſt ioyfully receyued.

Harold is preſented to Duke William Duke of Normandy. *Hen. Hunt.*

There be that agree partly with this repoꝛte, and partly vary: foꝛ they wꝛite, that Earle Harrold toke the Sea vppon purpoſe to haue layled into Flaunders, and that by foꝛce of wind he was dꝛiuen to the coaſt of Pouthieu, and ſo after came into Noꝛmandy in manner as befoꝛe is mentioned. But by what meanes oꝛ occaſion ſoeuer hee came thither, certayne it is, that hee was ioyfully receyued, and had great cheere made vnto hym by Duke William, ẏ which at that time was ready to make a iourney againſte the Bꝛitaynes, and toke Earle Harrolde with him to haue his company in armes in that iourney, that hee myghte haue the better triall of his valiancie. Earle Harrold behaued himſelfe ſo, ẏ he ſhewed good pꝛoofe both of his wiſedome and policie, and alſo of hys foꝛwardneſſe to execute that with hand, which by wit he had deuiſed, ſo that Duke William hadde him in high fauour, and as it hath bin ſayd, Erle Harrolde (to pꝛocure him moꝛe friendſhip at the Dukes handes) declared vnto him, that Kyng Edwarde had oꝛdeyned him his heire if hee dyed without iſſue, & that he woulde not fayle to keepe the Realme of England to the Dukes vſe, accoꝛding to that oꝛdenance, if King Edwarde dyed without iſſue. And to perfoꝛme this pꝛomiſe, he receyued a coꝛpoꝛall othe, whether willingly to winne the moꝛe credite, oꝛ foꝛced therto by Duke William, wꝛiters repoꝛt it diuerſly.

Harold was highly welcomed of duke William.

Math. VVeſt. Duke William promiſed to Harroide his daughter in marriage.

At the ſame time, Duke William pꝛomiſed vnto him his daughter in marriage, whom Harrold couenaunted in like manner to take to wife. Finally, when he ſhould returne into Englande, Duke William deliuered vnto him his Nephew Hacun, but kepte his bꝛother Wilnote with hym ſtill as a pledge. Earle Harrold then returned into England, and declared vnto King Edwarde what he had done, who then ſayd vnto him: Dyd not I tell thee that thou wouldeſt doe the thyng whereof thou ſhouldeſt repent thee, and pꝛocure a miſchiefe to follow vnto thy countrey. But God of his mercie turne that euill happe from thys Realme, oꝛ at the leaſt, if it be his pleaſure, that it muſt needes come to paſſe, yet to ſtay it till after my dayes.

Polidor.

Thus they wꝛite, that affirme, howe Harrolde went ouer of purpoſe into Noꝛmandy: and gather thereof, that Kyng Edward foꝛeſaw the cõming of the Noꝛmanes, and that he meante nothing leſſe, than to perfourme the pꝛomiſe made vnto Duke William, as to adopte hym hys heire, which pꝛomiſe ſhoulde ſeeme to be made in time of his baniſhmente, when hee ſtoode in neede of his friendſhippe, as the manner of men in ſuche caſes is, to pꝛomiſe muche, howſoeuer they intend to fulfill. But rather it may be thought, that King Edwarde had made no ſuch pꝛomiſe at al, but pereeiued the ambitious deſire of Duke William, and therefoꝛe would not that any occaſion ſhoulde bee miniſtred vnto him to take holde of. Wherefoꝛe, he was ſo loth that Harrold ſhoulde goe ouer vnto him, leaſt that might happe, which hapned indeede. In the four and twentith and laſt yeare of King Edwarde his raigne, oꝛ thereabout, there fell variance betwixt the two bꝛethren, Erle Harrold, and Erle Toſtie at Windſoꝛ, where the Courte then lay, in ſo muche that Earle Harrold caught Toſtie by the heare of the head in the Kings pꝛeſence, and ſtroke him.

When the promiſe was made by K. Edwarde to make Duke William heire.

Hen. Hunt. Mat. VVeſt. Fabian. Falling betwixt theſe.

Hereupon, Toſtie departing from the Courte in great anger, came to Herefoꝛde in the marches of Wales, where Harrolds ſeruants were pꝛeparing foꝛ the Kings comming to theyꝛ maiſters houſe, which ſeruantes he toke and ſlew, chopped them in peeces, and thꝛewe into that hogſhed of wine a legge, into that barrell of cyder an arme, into this veſſel of ale an head, and ſo into ẏ lemes of methe, and tubbes of bꝛine, and other licoꝛ, he beſtowed the partes of the dead carcaſſes of his bꝛothers ſeruauntes, ſending the king woꝛd, that he had pꝛouided at his bꝛothers manoꝛ, againſte his comming, good plentie of ſouſe, and poudꝛed meate, what ſo euer he ſhould finde beſide. Thys rumoꝛ of this cruell deede, ſpꝛang ouer all the Realme, whereupõ the Noꝛthumbers, whom he hadde gouerned foꝛ the ſpace of tenne yeares very cruelly, toke occaſion to rebell againſte him, and ſlew his ſeruants both Engliſhmen and Danes, ſpoyled his houſes, and toke away his hoꝛſes, his armoure, and all other his goodes and houſehold ſtuffe. The chiefeſt cauſe (as is remembꝛed by ſome wꝛiters) that moued the Noꝛthumbers thus to riſe and rebell againſt Toſtie, was foꝛ ẏ deteſtable murther of certain Gentlemen of their countrey, ſeruauntes vnto Goſpatricke, whiche the Quene in behalfe of hir bꝛother had cauſed to be ſlayne in the Courte by treaſon, in the fourth night of Chꝛiſtmas laſt paſt, and alſo in reuenge of other noble men which in the laſt yeare Toſtie himſelfe had commaunded to bee murthered in his owne chamber at Yoꝛke; whither hee had allured them to come vnder colour of concludyng a peace with them. Alſo the greeuous payments wherewith hee charged the people of that countrey, ſet them in a great rage againſte hym.

The cruell dealing of Earle T.

The Noꝛthumbers againſt Toſtie.

But the Kyng aduertiſed heereof, liked not

not their doings, for that they had done it without commaundement or commiſſion, and therefore ſent Earle Harrold with an army to chaſtice them, but they were ſtrong ynough to withſtand him, as thoſe whiche were aſſembled in armoure togither with the people of Lincolneſhire, Nottinghamſhire, and Derbiſhire, and hauing with them Marcherus or Malcharus, the ſon of Erle Algar, were come as farre as Northampton, doing muche hurte in the parties thereaboutes: but yet to haue ẏ kyngs peace, they offered to returne home, ſo that they might haue an other Earle appointed them, for that they plainely proteſted, ẏ they beeyng free men, borne and bred out of bondage, might not ſuffer any cruell gouernour to rule ouer them, being taught by their auncetors, eyther to liue in libertie, or to die in defence thereof. If therfore it might pleaſe the King to aſſigne Marcharus the ſonne of Earle Algar to be theyr Ruler, hee ſhoulde ſee how obedient ſubiects they would proue and ſhewe themſelues to be, when they ſhould be vſed after a reaſonable & courteous manner. All things conſidered, their requeſt ſeemed reaſonable, or at leaſt, it was thought neceſſary, that it ſhuld be graunted. And ſo was Marcharus or Malcherus made Earle of Northumberland. Teſtie in great diſpleaſure with his wife and children ſayled ouer into Flaunders, & there remayned till after the deceaſe of King Edward. Finally, after that this courteous Prince Kyng Edwarde had raigned three and twentie yeares ſeuen monethes and odde dayes, he departed this life at London the fourth of January, and was buried in the Church of Weſtminſter whyche he had in his life time royally repayred after ſuche a ſtately ſort, as few Churches in thoſe dayes were like thereto within this Realme, ſo that afterwardes the ſame was a patrone for other to bee built after the ſame fourme. This Edward was a Prince of ſuch a vertuous diſpoſition of minde, that his fame of holyneſſe ſprang ouer all. He abhorred warres and ſhedding of bloud, in ſo much, that when hee liued as a baniſhed man in Normandy, hee hadde this ſaying oftentimes in hys mouth, that he had rather liue a priuate life for euer, than to attein the Kingdome by the ſlaughter and deathe of any man. Hee coulde not abide to haue the people oppreſſed with tributes or exactions, in ſo much, that he cauſed the paymente called Danegelt, whiche had continued for the ſpace almoſt of fortie yeres to ceaſſe. It hath bin ſayd, that when the collectors of this money, or ſome other ſubſedy had gote an huge quãtitie of threaſure togyther, they brought it vnto him, and layd it altogither vppon an heape, ſo to delighte hys eyes: but he declaring that he ſawe a Deuil playing and fetching gambals about that heape of money, commaunded that it ſhoulde bee had away, and reſtored againe to them of whome it was leuied.

In dyet and apparrell hee was ſpare and nothing ſumptuous: and although on high feaſtes he ware rich apparrell, as became the Maieſtie of his royall perſonage: he ſhewed yet no proude nor lofty countenance, rather praying God for hys bountifull goodneſſe towardes hym extended, than eſteemyng therein the vayne Pompe of the worlde.

The pleaſure ẏ he toke chiefly in this worlde for refreſhing of his wittes, conſiſted onely in Hawking and Hunting, whiche exerciſes he dayly vſed, after he had firſt hin in the Church at deuine ſeruice.

In other things he ſeemed wholly gyuen to a deuoute trade of life, charitable to the poore, and very liberall, namely to Hoſpitalles and houſes of Religion in the parties of beyonde the Sea, wiſhing euer, that the Monkes and Religious perſons of his Realme, would haue followed the vertue and holineſſe of life vſed amongſt them of forraine parties. Is hath bin thought he was inſpired with the gift of Prophecie, and alſo to haue hadde the gift of healing infirmities and diſeaſes.

Namely, he vſed to help thoſe that were vexed with the diſeaſe, commonly called the Kyngs euill, and left that vertue as it were a portion of inheritance vnto his ſucceſſors the Kyngs of this Realme.

A tale of a Ring.

Hee was warned (as hath bin reported) of hys death certaine dayes before hee dyed, by a Ring that was brought to him by certaine Pilgrimes comming from Hieruſalem, which ring he hadde ſecretly giuen to a poore man that aſked his charitie in the name of God and Sainte Iohn the Euangeliſt. But to conclude, ſuche was the opinion conceyued of his holyneſſe of life, that ſhortly after his deceaſſe, hee was canonized amongſt the number of Saintes, and named Edward the Confeſſor.

King Edwarde canonized for a Saint.

Whileſt hee lay ſicke of that ſickneſſe whereof at length hee died, after he hadde remayned for two dayes ſpeechleſſe, the third day after when he had layne for a time in a ſlumber or ſoft ſleepe, at the tyme of his wakening, hee fetched a deepe ſigh, and thus ſayde, Oh Lorde God Almighty, if thys bee not a vaine fantaſticall illuſion, but a true viſion which I haue ſeene, graunt me ſpace to vtter the ſame vnto theſe that ſtande heere preſente, or elſe not. And heerewith hauing hys ſpeeche perfect, he declared how he had ſeene two Monkes ſtand by him as he thoughte, whome in his youth he knewe in Normandy to haue liued Godly, and died Chriſtianly. Theſe Monkes (ſaid hee) proteſting vnto mee that they were the meſſengers of God, ſpake theſe wordes, becauſe ẏ chiefe gouernours of England, the Biſhops and

Will. Malm. Mat. Weſt.

Abbots, are not the Miniſters of God, but the Diuels, the Almighty God hath deliuered this Kingdome for one yere and a day into the hands of the enimie, and wicked ſpirites ſhall walke abrode throughe the whole land. And whē I made aunſwere that I woulde declare theſe thyngs to the people, and promiſed on theyr behalfe, that they ſhoulde doe penaunce in following the example of the Niniuites. They ſayde agayne, that it would not be, for neyther ſhould the people repente, nor God take any pitie vpon them. And when is there hope to haue an ende of theſe miſeries ſayd I, then ſayde they, when a greene tree is cut in ſunder in the middle, and the parte cut off, is carried three acres breedth from the ſtocke, & returning agayne to the ſtoale, ſhall ioyne therewith, and begin to budde and beare fruite after the former manner, by reaſon of the ſappe renewing the accuſtomed nouriſhmente, then I ſay, may there be hope that ſuch euils ſhall ceaſſe, and diminiſhe: Although other that ſtode by, were brought in feare with thoſe the Kyngs wordes, the Archbiſhoppe Stigande yet made but a ieſt therof, ſaying, that the olde man raued nowe in hys ſickneſſe, as men of great yeares vſe to do. But the trouth of that Prophecie afterwards too playnely appeared, when Englande became the habitation of newe ſtraungers, in ſuche wiſe, that there was neyther gouernoure, Biſhoppe, nor Abbot remayning therein of the Engliſhe Nation.

But now to make an ende with K. Edward, hee was of perſon comely, and of an indifferente ſtature, of white heare, both head and beарde, of face ruddy, and in all other partes of his body fayre ſkinned, with due ſtate and proportion of limmes as was thereto conueniente.

In the yeare before the deathe of Kyng Edwarde, a blaſing Starre appeared, the whyche when a Monke of Malmeſbury that highte Eylmer beheelde, hee vttered theſe wordes (as it were by way of Prophecying:) Thou arte come (ſayth he) thou art come, muche to be lamēted of many a mother: it is long agone ſith I ſaw thee, but nowe I doe beholde thee, the more terrible threatning deſtruction to this countrey by thy dreadfull appearance.

In the perſon of Kyng Edward ceaſed by his deathe the noble progenie of the Weſt Saxon Kings, which had continued from the firſt yeare of the raigne of Cerdicke or Cerditius, the ſpace of fiue hundred. 47. yeares complete. And from Egbert two hundred ſixtie ſixe yeres, as by William Harriſons Chronologie is eaſie to bee collected, whoſe poſitions as moſt exact for the computation of the tyme, I chiefly followe.

MOreouer, ſith the progenie of the Saxon Kyngs ſeemeth wholly to take ende wt this Edward ſurnamed the Confeſſor, or the third of that name before the Conqueſt, we haue thought good for the better help of memorie, to ſet downe in order, the names as well of thoſe that reigned among the Weſt Saxons, (who at length as yee haue heard, obteyned the whole Monarchie) as alſo of them which ruled in the other ſeaue kyngdomes before the ſame were united vnto the ſayd Kingdome of the Weſt Saxons.

The

The line of the Kentiſh kings.

Hengeſt
Oiſc
Oth, or Occa
Ermenricus
Ethelbert the firſt Chriſtian.
Eadbalde
Ercombert
Egbert
Lothair
Eadricke
VVithred and Syward
Ethelbert
Eadbert
Ethelbert
Eadbert Pren
Cuthred
Baldred
Athelſtan.

From this Athelſtane the kingdome of Kent was tranſlated vnto the kings of the Weſt Saxons.

Of the Kings of Mercia.

Crida or Creodda
VVibba
Cearli
Penda
Peada, or rather
VVeada, that was the firſt Chriſtian.
Alfhere
Ethelfred
Kinred
Ceolred
Ethelbalde
Beornred
Offa, ſurnamed Magnus, or the great.
Egfrid
Kenulfe
Kenelme
Ceolulf
Bernulf
Ludican, or
Ludicene
VViglaf
Bertulf
Burthred.

From this Burthred was the Kingdome of Mercia tranſpoſed ouer to the kings of the weſt Saxons.

Of the Kings of VVeſt Saxons.

Cerdic, or
Cerdicius
Kenric
Ceaulin
Ceolric
Ceolulf
Kinegiſe, or
Quicheline, the firſt Chriſtian.
Kinewalke
Sexburga
Eaſcwine
Keniwine
Ceadwalla
Inas
Ethelhard
Cuthred
Sigebert
Kineulf
Brithric
Egbert
Ethelulf
Athelbalde
Ethelbert
Ethelred
Alfred, or
Alvred.

This Alfred, or Alvred was the firſt Monarke of the Engliſhe kings, whoſe ſucceſſion continued vnto the cõming in of William the Cõquerour.

Of the Kings of Northumberland.

Ida
Adda
Glap
Theodwald
Fretewulfe
Theodoricke
Athelfride
Edwine, the firſt Chriſtian king of Deira.
Eaufride
Oſwalde
Oſwic
Aelfride
Egfride
Ealfride
Oſred
Kenrede
Oſrike
Ceolwulfe
Eadbert
Oſulfe
Acthelred Mello
Ealdred
Aetheldred
Alfwolde
Oſred
Ethelred agayne
Oſred
Eardulfe
Alfwolde
Eandred
Aethelred
Readwulf
Osbert
Ella
Egbert
Ricſie
Egbert
Cuthred

Of the Kings of Deira.

Ella

This Ella raigned in Deira whyleſt eyght Collaterall kings raigned in Bernicia.

Aethelfride
Eadwine
Oſricke
Oſwine

The kingdome of Deira was tranſlated from Oſwine to Oſwie K. of Bernicia, and by this meanes ỹ kingdom of ỹ Northũbers was vnited. Whoſe bounds did extẽd frõ Hũber northwards to the Scottiſhe ſea, and in the end came vnder the power of the Weſt Saxons.

Of the Kings of East Angles.

Vffa
Titellus
Redwalde
VVibert
Corpenwalde

the firſte Chriſtian.

Sigebert
Egricke
Anna
Aethelhere
Aethelwalde
Ealdulphe
Ealfwalde
Beorna
Aethelred
Aethelbert
Eadmund
Gytro the Dane.

From Gytro the Dane, the kingdome of the East Angles was tranſlated to the Weſt Saxons.

Of the Kings of the East Saxons.

Earkenwine
Sledda
Sebert

the firſte Chriſtian.

Sexred, and
Siwarde
Sigebert the little
Switheline
Sigehere and Sebba
Sigeharde, and
Seofride
Offa
Selred
Suithred.

From this Suithred, ỹ kingdome of the East Sarõs was tranſlated to the Weſt Saxons.

Of the Kings of the South Saxons.

Ella
Ciſſa
Ethelwalde

the firſte Chriſtian.

Berthune
Aldhune.

From this Aldhune the kingdome of the South Saxons was trãſlated to the weſt Saxons.

Here is to be remembred, that as partly before is expressed, wee finde in some olde Writers, howe the fyrst Kings of seuen of these Kingdomes of the Germaine Nation that bare rule in this Isle, fetched theyr pedegrees from one Woden, who begatte of Frea his wyfe seuen sonnes, that is to witte, 1. Uecta, of whom came the kings of Kent. 2. Fethelgeta, or Frethegeath, from whome the kings of Mercia discended. 3. Balday of whose race the Kings of the West Saxons had theyr originall. 4. Beldagius, auncetour to the kings of Bernicia, and the Northumbers. 5. Wegodach, or Wegdagus, frō whom came the kings of Deira. 6. Casser, from whom proceeded the kings of the East Angles. 7. Nascad alias Saxuad, of whom the kings of the East Saxons had their beginning.

Mat. VVest.

And here you must note, that although the kings of the .viij. kingdome, that is, of the South-Saxons or of Sussex, were discended of the same people, yet were they not of the same line. By other it should seeme, that Woden had but fiue sonnes: as Uecta, great Grandfather to Hengest: Wepedeg, antecessor to the kings of the East Angles: Uclac, from whom proceeded the kings of Mercia: Saxuad, from whom the kings of Essex came: & Beldeg, of whose generatiō proceeded the kings of the South Saxons, West Saxons, and the Northumbers. Moreouer, there bee that bring the genealogie from Noe or Noah, the son of Lamech, which Noe was the .ix. in discent frō Adam, & Woden the .xv. frō Noah, as thus: Noe was the father to Sem ẏ father of Bedwi, the father of Wala, the father of Hatria or Hathra, the father of Itermod, ẏ father of Heremod, the father of Sheaf or Seaf, the father of Seldoa or Seeldua, the father of Beatu or Beau, ẏ father of Teathwij alias Tadwa or Teathwy, the father of Geta, reputed for a God among the Gentiles, the father of Fingodulph otherwise Godulfe, the father of Fritwolfe otherwise Frinin the father of Freolaf alias Freolater, the father of Frethwold or Friderwold, the father of the aforenamed Woden or Othen.

Simon Dun. Iohn Texter.

Harolde.



Harold

King Edwarde departed this life An. christ 1065. after the account of the church of England.

Mat. VVest. Polidor.

KIng Edwarde beeing thus departed this life the Peeres of the lande were in great doubt and perplexitie to whom they might best cōmit the royall gouernmēt of the realm. For ther was not any among them that had iust title thereto, or able and apt to take the charge vpō him: for although Edgar surnamed Edeling, the sonne of Edward the Outlaw, that was sonne of Edmond Ironside, was the same time lately come into Englande, with his mother and sisters oute of Hungarie where he was borne: yet for that hee was but a child, and not of sufficient age to beare rule, they durst not as then commit the gouernment of the realme vnto him, least (as some haue thought) his tendernesse of age might first breed a contempt of his person, and therewith minister occasion to ciuil discord, whereby a shipwrak of the estate might to the great annoy and present ouerthrow of such ensue, as then liued in the same. But what consideration so euer they had in this behalf, they ought not to haue defrauded the yong Gentleman of his lawfull right to the Crowne. For as we haue heard and seene, God whose prouidence & mightie power is shewed by ouerthrowing of high and mightie things now and then, by the weake and feeble hath gouerned states and kingdoms oftentimes in as good quiet and princely policie by a childe, as by menne of ryper age and greate discretion.

Edeling was, a noble and such one as is come of the kings bloud.

But to the purpose, beside the doubt whiche rested among the Lordes, howe to bestowe the Crowne, the manifold and straunge wonders which were seene and heard in those days, betokening (as men thought) some chaunge to bee at hande in the estate of the realme, made the Lordes afrayde, and namely because they stode in great doubt of William duke of Normandie, who pretended a right to the crowne, as lawful heyre appoynted by king Edward, for that he was akinne to him in the secōd and third degree. For Richard the first of that name duke of Normandie, begot Richard the seconde, and Emme, which Emme bare Edward by hir husband Ethelred. Richarde the second also had issue Richard the thirde, and Robert, which Robert by a Concubine had issue William, surnamed the bastard, that was nowe Duke of Normandie, and after the death of hys cosin king Edwarde, made clayme (as is sayde) to the crowne of Englande. Whilest the Lordes were thus studying and consulting what shoulde be best for them to doe in these doubtes, Haraldo (the sonne of Godwin Earle of Kent, proclayned himselfe king of England.) The people beeing not much offended therewith, because of the great cōfidence and opinion which they had lately conceyued of his valiancie.

Dukes of Normandie.

Harold clayme to the crowne of England.

Some write, among which Edmerus is one, how king Edwarde ordeyned before his death, that Harold shoulde succeed him as heyre to the crowne, and that thereupon the Lordes immediately after the sayde Edwardes decease, crowned Harolde for their king, and so he was sacred by Aldred Archb. of Yorke, according to the custome

Edmerus

and

and maner of the former kings, or as other af-
ſyrme, he ſet the crowne on his owne head with-
out any the accuſtomed ceremonies, in the yeare
after the byrth of our ſauiour. 1066. or in the yere
of Chriſt. 1065. after the account of the Church of
Englād (as before is noted.) But how and when-
ſoeuer he came to the ſeate royall of this King-
dome, certaine it is, that this Harolde in the be-
ginning of his raigne, conſidering with him-
ſelfe howe and in what ſort hee had taken vppon
him the rule of the kingdome, rather by intruſion
than by any lawfull right, he ſtudied by all mea-
nes which way to winne the peoples fauour, and
omitted no occaſion whereby hee might ſhewe
any token of bounteous liberalitie, gentleneſſe, &
courteous behauiour towardes them. The grie-
uous cuſtoms alſo and taxes which his predece-
ſors had rayſed, he either aboliſhed or diminiſhed:
the ordinarie wages of his ſeruauntes and men
of warre he encreaſed, and further ſhewed hym-
ſelfe very well bent to all vertue and goodneſſe,
wherby he purchaſed no ſmal fauour among ſuch
as were his ſubiectes.

Whyleſt Harolde went about thus to ſteale
the peoples good willes, there came ouer vnlo-
ked for ſundrie Ambaſſadours from William



the baſtarde Duke of Normandie, with com-
miſſion to requyre hym to remember his othe
ſometime made to the ſayde William in the
tyme of his extremitie, whiche was, that hee
the ſayde Haralde ſhoulde ayde him in the at-
teyning of the Crowne of Englande, if King
Edwarde ſhoulde happen to dye without
iſſue.

This couenaunt he made (as it is ſuppoſed)
in king Edwards dayes, (when by lycence of the
ſame Edwarde, or rather (as Edmerus wry-
teth) agaynſt his will) he went ouer into Nor-
mandie to viſite his brethren, which lay there as
pledges: howbeit at this preſent, Haroldes aun-
ſwere to the ſayde Ambaſſadours was, that hee
would be readie to gratifie the Duke in all that he
coulde demaunde, ſo that he would not aſke the
realme, which alredy he had in his full poſſeſſion.
And further he declared vnto the (as ſome write) Edmerus.
that as for the othe which hee had made in tymes
paſt vnto Duke William, the ſame was but a
conſtrayned and no voluntarie oth, which in law
is nothing, ſince thereby hee toke vppon him to *Mat. VVeſt.*
graunt that whiche was not in his power to
giue, hee beeing but a ſubiect whileſt King Ed-
warde was lyuing: for if a promiſed vowe or
othe which a Mayde maketh concerning the be-
ſtowing of hir bodie in hir fathers houſe without
his conſent is made voyde, much more an othe
by him made that was a ſubiecte, and vnder the
rule of a king without his ſouereignes conſent,
ought to be voyde and of no value.

He alledged moreouer, that as for him to
take an othe to deliuer the inheritaunce of anye
Realme withoute the generall conſent of the
eſtates of the ſame, coulde not bee other than a
greate peece of preſumption, yea althoughe hee
might haue iuſt tytle thereunto, ſo it was an vn-
reaſonable requeſt of the Duke at this preſent to
will him to renounce the Kingdome, the gouer-
nance whereof hee had alreadie taken vpon him,
with ſo great fauor and good lyking of all men.

Duke William hauing receyued this anſwer, Duke Willis eſſoones ſendeth to king Haroldo.
and nothing lyking therof, hee ſendeth once a-
gaine to Harolde, requyring him then at the leaſt
wiſe, that hee would take his daughter to wife,
according to his former promiſe, in refuſal wher-
of he could make no ſound allegation, becauſe it
was a thing of his owne motion, and in his ab-
ſolute power, both to graunt and to perfourme.
But Harolde beeing of a ſtoute courage, with
prowde countenaunce, frowned vpon the Nor-
man Ambaſſadors, and declared to them that his
minde was nothing bent as then to yeelde there-
vnto in any maner of wiſe. And ſo with other
talke tending to the like effect he ſent them away
without any other anſwere.

The daughter of Duke William which Ha-
rold ſhould haue maried, was named Adeliza, as
Gemeticenſis hath, and with hir (as the ſame au- *Gemeticenſis.*
thour writeth) it was couenanted by Duke Wil-
liam that Harold ſhould enioy halfe the Realme
in name of hir dower. Howbeit ſome write that *VVil. Mal.*
this daughter of Duke William was departed
this life before the cōming of theſe Ambaſſadors,
and that Harold therevppon thought himſelf diſ-
charged of the oth and couenants made to Duke
William, and therfore ſent them away with ſuch
an vntoward anſwere.

But howſoeuer it was, after the departure of *Polidor.*
theſe Ambaſſadours, King Harrolde (doubting
what would enſue) cauſed his ſhippes to be new-
ly rigged, his men of warre to be muſtred, & ſpee-
dily put in a readineſſe, to the ende that if any ſo-

paine

dame inuaſion ſhould be made and attempted by his enimie, he might be able to reſiſt them.

About the ſame time alſo, and vpon the .xxiiij. of Apꝛill (whileſt Harold was making pꝛouiſion to withſtande the Nꝛoꝛman foꝛce) there appeared a blaſing Starre, which was ſeene not onely here in Englande, but alſo in other partes of the woꝛlde, which continued the ſpace of .vij. dayes.

R. Houed. Sim. Dun.

In this meane while, Toſtie the bꝛother of king Harolde (who in the dayes of king Edward foꝛ his cruelties had beene chaſed out of the realme by the Nꝛothumbers) returning out of Flanders aſſembled a Nauie of ſhippes from diuerſe partes to the number of .lx. with the which he arriued in the Ile of Wight, and there ſpoiled the Country, & afterward ſayling about, by the coaſts of Kent, he toke ſundꝛie pꝛayes there alſo, and came at the laſt to Sandwich: So that Harolde was nowe conſtrayned to appoynt the Nauie whiche hee had pꝛepared agaynſt the Nꝛoꝛmans, to goe agaynſt his bꝛother Earle Toſtie: whereof the ſaid Toſtie being aduertiſed, dꝛewe towardes Lyndſey in Lincolnſhire, and there taking lande did muche hurt in the Countrey, both with ſwoꝛde and fire, till at length Edwyne Earle of Mercia, and Nꝛoꝛkarus Earle of Nꝛothumberlande, ayded with the Kings nauie, chaſed him from thence, and cauſed him to flee into Scotlande, not withoute ſome loſſe both of his menne and ſhippes.

Toſtie ſeeketh to diſquiet his brother.

Mat. VVeſt. hath but .xl.

Polidor.

Ran. Higd.

Simon Dun.

VVil. Mal.

Toſtie repulſed.

Polidor.

Ran. Higd.

This trouble was vneth quieted, when ſtreight wayes another came in the necke thereof, farre moꝛe daungerous than the fiꝛſt. Foꝛ Toſtie pꝛeceyuing that he coulde get no ayde in Scotlande to make any account of, he ſayled foꝛth into Nꝛoꝛway, and there pꝛerſwaded Harold Harfager king of that Realme, to ſayle with an armie into England, pꝛerſwading him, that by meanes of a ciuill diſſention lately kindled betwixt the king and his Lꝛoꝛds, (which was not ſo) it ſhould be an eaſie matter foꝛ him to make a conqueſt of the whole Realme, and raigne ouer them as his pꝛedeceſſoꝛs had done befoꝛe.

Harold Harager king of Norway.

Some Authours affyꝛme, how Harolde king of Nꝛoꝛway toke this enterpꝛiſe in hande of hys owne minde, and not by pꝛocurement of Toſtie, ſaying that Toſtie meeting with him in Scotland, did pꝛerſwade him to go foꝛward in his pꝛoꝛpoſed buſineſſe, and that the ſayde Harolde Harfager with all conuenient ſpeede paſſed foꝛth, and with a Nauie of thꝛee hundꝛed ſayle, entred into the riuer of Tine, where after he had reſted a few dayes to refreſh his people, Erle Toſtie came alſo with his powꝛe (accoꝛding to an appointmẽt which ſhould be made betweene them.) They adde furthermoꝛe, that they ſayled foꝛth alongeſt the coaſt, till they arriued in the mouth of Humber, and then dꝛawing vp agaynſt the ſtreame of the riuer Oꝛſe, they landed at length at a place called Richehall, fꝛõ whence they ſet foꝛward to inuade the Countrey, and neare vnto Yoꝛke on the Nꝛothſide of the Citie, they fought with the powꝛer of the Nꝛothumbers, which was led by the Earles Edwyn and Marchar (two bꝛethꝛen) and there diſcomfited and chaſed them into the Citie, with great ſlaughter and bloudſhed.

Mat. VVeſt. Simon Dun.

500. hath *Simon Dun.*

The Norwegians arriue in Humber.

Richall. *H. Hunt.*

The Engliſhmen diſcomfited.

Harolde King of Englande beeing aduertiſed of this chaunce, hee made the moꝛe haſte foꝛwardes (foꝛ he was alreadie in the fielde with his armie, intending alſo to come towardes hys enimies) ſo that vpon the fifth day after he came to Stanfoꝛde Bꝛidge, finding there the ſayde King Harfager and Toſtie readie embattayled, hee fyꝛſte aſſayled thoſe that kept the Bꝛidge, where (as ſome Wꝛyters affyꝛme) a Nꝛoꝛwegian Souldier with his Axe defended the paſſage, mangre the whole hoſt of the Engliſh men, and ſlue foꝛtie of them oꝛ moꝛe with hys Axe, and might not bee ouercome, till an Engliſhe man went with a Boate vnder the Bꝛidge, and thꝛough an hole thereof, thꝛuſt him vppe into the bodie with his Speare: although Mat. Weſtm. noteth that hee was ſlaine with a Dart whiche one of King Harolde his ſeruauntes thꝛewe at him, and ſo ended his life. Which Bꝛidge being wonne, the whole hoſte of the Engliſh men paſſed ouer, and ioyned with theyꝛ enimies, and after a right great and ſoꝛe battayle, put them all to flight.

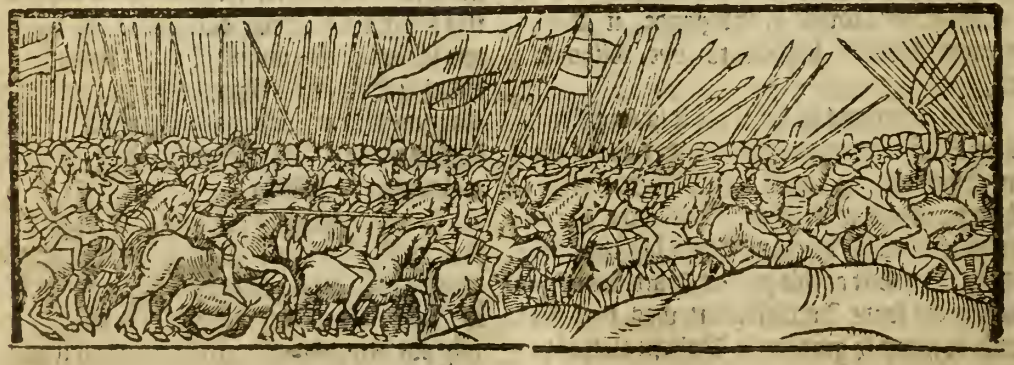
This battaile was fought the euen of S. Mathew the Apoſtle, anno *Simon Dun.*

VVil. Mal. Hen. Hunt. Mat. VVeſt.

The Nꝛoꝛwegians diſcomfited.

In this conflicte Harolde Harfager King of the Nꝛoꝛwegians was ſlain, and ſo likewiſe was Toſtie, the King of Englande hys Bꝛother,

The king of Norway and Toſtie ſlaine.



beſides

beſides a great number of other, as well in the battaile as in the chaſe: neyther did the Engliſhe men eſcape all free, for the Norwegians fought it out a long time very ſtoutly, beating downe and killing great numbers of ſuche as aſſayled them with great courage and aſſurauncē. The reſidue of the Norwegians that were left to kepe theyr ſhippes vnder the guiding of Olaue ſonne to the king of Norway, and Paule Earle of Orkney, after they vnderſtode by theyr fellowes that eſcaped from the field, how the matter went with Harkagar and Tolkie, they hoyſed vp their ſayles and directed theyr courſe homewardes, bearing ſorrowfull newes with them into theyr Countrey, of the loſſe of theyr King, and ouerthrowe of all his people.

Some write, that the K. of England permitted them frankly to depart with .xx. ſhippes, hauing firſt cauſed them to deliuer ſuche Hoſtages as they had receyued of the Citizens of Yorke. But howe ſo euer it was, Harolde, reioyſing in that he had atteyned ſo glorious a victorie, and being nowe ſurpryſed with pryde and couetouſneſſe togyther, he deuided the ſpoyle of the field nothing equally, but to ſuche as he fauoured, hee diſtributed liberally, and to other (though they had muche better deſerued) hee gaue nothing at all, reteyning ſtyll the beſt part of all to himſelfe, by reaſon whereof he loſt the fauor of many of his men, who for this his vncurteſie, did not a little alienate their good willes from him.

This done, he repayred to Yorke, and there ſtayed for a time to reforme the diſordered ſtate of the Countrey, which by reaſon of theſe warres was greatly out of frame.

In the meane tyme, William Duke of Normandie (hauing knowledge after what manner king Harolde was buſied in the Northy parties of his realme, and vnderſtanding that the ſouth parties thereof remayned without prouiſion of neceſſarie defence) haſted with all diligence to make his puruеyance of men and ſhippes, that he might vpon ſuch a conuenient occaſion ſet forward ſodenly to inuade his enimie. And amongſt other of his friends, vnto whom he laboured for ayde, his father in lawe Baldwine Earle of Flaunders, was one of the chiefe, who vpon promiſe of great ſummes of money and other large offers made, did ayde him with men, munition, ſhippes, and victayles very freely.

The French king alſo did as much for hys part as lay in him to helpe forwarde thys ſo high an enterpryſe. Wherefore when all things were now in a readineſſe, hee came to the towne of Saint Valerie, where he hadde aſſembled togyther an huge Naule of Shippes (to the number (as ſome Authours affyrme) of three hundred ſayle) and when he had tarryed there a long time for a conuenable wind, at length it came about euē as he himſelf deſired. Then ſhipping his armie which conſiſted of Normans, Flemings, French men, and Britonnes, with all expedition he toke the Sea, and directing his courſe towardes Englande, hee finally landed at a place in Suſſex, auncientlye called Peuenſſey the. 28. day of September, where he did ſette his men a lande, and prouided all things neceſſarie to encourage and refreſh them. Now Pemſey. Duke William landed at Pemſey.

At his going out of his ſhippe vnto the ſhore, one of his feete ſlipped as he ſtepped forward, but the other ſtacke faſt in the ſande, the whiche ſo ſoone as one of his knightes had eſpied, and ſeeing his hand whereupon he ſtayed full of earth, when he roſe, he ſpake aloude and ſayde. Now ſir Duke thou haſt the ſoyle of Englande faſt in thy hand, and ſhalt of a duke ere long become a King. The Duke hearing his tale laughed merily thereat, and comming a lande, by and by hee made hys Proclamation, declaring vpon what occaſions he had thus entred the Realme.

The firſt and principall cauſe whiche hee alledged was for to chalenge his right, meaning the Dominion of the lande that to him was gyuen and aſſigned (as hee ſayde) by hys Nephew king Edwarde late ruler of the ſame lande. *Hen. Hunt.*

The ſeconde was, to reuenge the death of hys Nephewe Alured or Alfred the brother of the ſame King Edwarde, whome Godwyn Earle of Kent, and his adherents had moſt wickedly murthered.

The thirde was, to be reuenged of the wrong done vnto Robert Archebiſhoppe of Canterburie, who as hee was enfourmed, was exiled by the meanes and labour of Harolde, in the dayes of King Edwarde. Wherein wee haue to note, that whether it were for diſpleaſure that the Pope hadde ſometyme conceyued for the wrong done to the Archebiſhoppe, or at the onely ſuyte of Duke William, certaine it is that the Pope as then named Alexander the ſeconde, fauoured thys enterpryſe of the Duke, and in token thereof ſent him a white Banner, whiche hee willed him to ſette vp in the decke of the Shippe, wherein hee himſelfe ſhoulde ſayle. *VVil. Malm.* The Pope fauoured Duke Williams enterpriſe.

In deede (as writers report) the Pope with hys Cardinalles, and all the whole Courte of Rome, had King Harolde euer in greate hatred and diſdeyne, becauſe that he had taken vppon hym the Crowne without theyr conſent, or any Eccleſiaſticall ſolemnitie or agreement of the Byſhoppes. And although the Pope, and his brethren the ſayde Cardinalles diſſembled the matter for the tyme, yet nowe beholding to what ende hys bolde preſumption was like to come, they with frowning for- *Mat. VVeſt*

tune

tune ſhewed themſelues alſo open aduerſaryes, inclyning ſtreyght wayes to the ſtronger part, after the manner of couetous perſones, or rather lyke to a Reede ſhaken with a ſodaine puft of winde.

Gemeticenſis. At hys fyrſt landing at Peuenelley or Pemley (whether you will) hee fortifyed a peece of ground with ſtrong Trenches, and leauing therin a competent number of menne of warre to keepe the ſame, hee ſpedde hym towardes Haſtings, and comming thither, he buylt an other Fortreſſe there with all ſpeede poſſible without ſuffering hys Souldiours to robbe or harry the Countrey adioyning, ſaying that it ſhoulde bee greate folly for him to ſpoyle that people, which ere many dayes to come were lyke to bee hys ſubiectes.

VVil. Mal. King Harolde beeing as yet in the North partes, and hearing that Duke William was thus landed in Englande, hee ſpedde him ſouthwarde, and gathering his people togither out of the Countreys as he went forwardes, at length he came neare to his enimies, and ſending eſpyals into their Campe to vnderſtande of what *Mat. VVeſt.* ſtrength they were: the vnſkilfull meſſengers regarding ſmally their charge, brought worde againe of nothing elſe but that all Duke Williams Souldiers were Prieſtes. For the Normans beards ſhauen. mans had at that time theyr ouer lyps & cheekes *VVil. Mal.* ſhauen, whereas the Engliſhe menne vſed to *Hen. Marle.* ſuffer the heare of theyr ouer lyppes to growe at length: but Harolde aunſwered, that they were not Prieſtes, but ſtalworth and hardie Souldiours, and ſuche as were like to abide well by their Captaine.

Gyrth woulde not haue hys brother king Harold fight himſelfe. In the meane ſeaſon, Girth one of Haroldes yonger brethren (conſidering that periurie is neuer left vnpuniſhed) aduyſed his brother not to aduenture himſelfe at this preſent in the battaile, forſomuch as he had beene ſometyme ſworne to *Gemeticenſis.* Duke William, but rather to ſuffer him and other of the Nobilitye to encounter wyth the ſayde Duke, that were not bounde to him by former othe or otherwiſe: but Harolde aunſwered that hee was free from anye ſuche othe, and that in defence of hys Countrey he woulde fight boldely wyth him as wyth hys greateſt enimie.

VV. Mal. Before they came to fight alſo, diuerſe offers were made on both partes for an vnitie to haue beene had betwixte the two Princes: but when no conditions of agreement coulde take place, they forthwith prepared themſelues to trye the matter by dynt of ſworde. And ſo on the .xiiij. day of Octobet, beeing Saterdaye, both the Hoſtes mette in the fielde at a place in Suſſex not farre from Haſtinges, where as the Abbay of Battaile was afterwards buylded.

The Engliſhe menne were all brought into one entyre maine battaile a foote, wyth huge Axes in theyr handes, and paled afront wyth Pauyſes, in ſuche wyſe that it was thoughte impoſſible for the enimye to breake theyr array. The order of the Engliſh men.

On the other ſyde the Normans were deuided into ſeuerall battayles, as fyrſt the ſotemenne that were Archers, and alſo thoſe that bare Gleyues and Axes, were placed in the foreſroute, and the Horſemenne deuyded into Winges, ſtoode on the ſydes in verie good order. *Mat. VVeſt.* The array of the Normans.

All the nyght before the battayle, the Engliſhe menne made greate noyce and ſlept not, but ſang and fell to drinking and making of reuell and paſtime, as thoughe there had beene no accounte to bee made of the nexte dayes trayuayle. But the Normans behaued themſelues warily and ſoberly, ſpending all that night in prayer and confeſſing theyr ſinnes vnto God, and in the Morning earely they receyued the Communion before they wente forth to the battayle. *Hen. Hunt. VVil. Mal.*

Some wryte that when Duke William ſhoulde putte on hys armour to goe to the fielde, the backe halfe of his Curaſſes by chaunce was ſette on before by ſuche as holpe to arme hym, at whiche chaunce hee toke occaſion of laughter, ſaying merily to them that ſtood by, No force thys is good lucke, for the eſtate of my Dukedome ſhall bee ere night chaunged into a Kingdome.

Beſide this, hee ſpake manye comfortable wordes vnto his menne, to encourage them to the battayle. Neither was Harolde forgetfull in that poynte on his part. And ſo at conuenient tyme when both partes were readie, they made forwarde eche to encounter wyth other, on the foreſayde fourtenth daye of October, with great force and aſſurance.

In the beginning of the battayle, the Arrowes flewe abroade freſhly on both ſides, tyll they came to ioyne at hande ſtrokes, and then preaſſed eche ſyde vpon hys counterparte wyth Swordes, Axes, and other hand weapons tight egrely. *Polidor.* The battell betwixt king Harolde and Duke William is begun.

Duke William commaunded his Horſemenne to giue the charge on the breaſtes of hys enimyes battayles: but the Engliſhe menne keeping themſelues cloſe togyther wythoute ſcattering, receyued theyr enimyes vppon the poyntes of theyr Weapons wyth ſuche fiercenelle and in ſuche ſtyffe order, that manye of the Norman horſemen were ouerthrowne without recouerie, and ſlaine at the firſte brunte. When Duke William perceyued this inconuenience (as hee that well and throughlye vnderſtoode

the

the ſkilfull poyntes of warre as well as the beſt) he gaue a ſigne to his men, (according to an order appoynted before hande vpon any ſuch occaſion,) that they ſhoulde giue backe, and make a countenaunce as though they did flee, which was quickly done by the Normans, and withall they embattayled theyr footemen in new order, ſo that their Horſemen ſhifted themſelues on the wings, readie to reſkue the footemen if their array ſhoulde happen to be diſturbed. By this wilie ſtratageme and pollicie of warre, the Engliſh men were deceyued: for they beholding the Normans ſomewhat to ſhrinke backe to bring themſelues into the aboueſayde order, thought verily that they had fledde, and thereuppon meaning to purſue them before they ſhoulde recouer theyr grounde, they brake theyr array, and beganne to followe the chaſe: whereupon the Normans (perceyuing nowe that all things came to paſſe as they deſired) ſpeedily returned, and caſting themſelues togyther quickly into arraye, beganne to charge them againe of newe, and ſo hauing them at that aduauntage, they ſlue them downe on euerie ſyde. The Engliſhe men on the other parte fought ſore, and thoughe theyr king were beaten downe among them and ſlayne, yet were

A ſore foughten battaile. King Harold ſlaine.



they lothe to flee or giue ouer, ſo ſharpe was the battaile, that Duke William himſelfe had three horſes ſlaine vnder him that day, and not without great daunger of his perſon.

Some of the Engliſhe men got them to the heigth of an hill, and beate backe the Normans that forced themſelues to wynne the hill of them, ſo that it was long ere the Normans could preuaile, beeing oftentymes driuen downe into the bottom of the valley beneath.

At length the Engliſh men perceyuing themſelues to bee ouermatched and beaten downe on euerye ſide, and thereunto greatlye diſcouraged wyth ſlaughter of theyr King, beganne firſt to giue ground, and after to ſcatter and to runne away, ſo that well was him that might then eſcape by flight, after that they had fought the moſt part of all that Saterday.

The Normans followed the chaſe, with ſuche egre raſhneſſe, that a great number of them falling with theyr Horſes and armour into a blinde ditche (hadowed with Reede and Sedges which grewe therein) were ſmouldred and preſſed to death, ere they coulde be ſuccoured or get any reliefe.

The next day the Normans fell to gathering in the ſpoyle of the fielde, burying alſo the deade bodies of their people that were ſlaine at the battaile, gyuing licence in ſemblable maner to the Engliſh men to doe the like.

Of the death of Harolde diuerſe report diuerſly, inſomuch that Giral. Cambren. ſayth, how after king Harold had receyued many woundes, and loſt his left eye, hee fledde from the fielde vnto the Citie of Weſtchester, and liued there long after an holy life, as an Ankre in the Cell of S. James, ſtil by Saint Johns Church, and there made a godly ende. But the ſaying of Giral. Cambren. in that poynt is not to be credited, bycauſe of the vnlikelyhoode of the thing itſelfe, and alſo generall conſent of other writers, who affyrme vniuerſally that he was killed in the battayle, firſt beeyng ſtryken through the left eye by the ſcull into the braync with an arrow, whereupon falling from his horſe to the grounde, hee was ſlaine in that place, after hee had reigned nine Monethes and nine dayes, as Floriacenſis doth report.

Giral. Camb.

VVil. Mal.
Hen. Hunt.
Mat. VVeſt.

He was a man of a comely ſtature, and of a haute courage, and albeit that for his valyancie he was highly renowmed and honoured of all men, yet through his pryde and Ambition he loſt

Floriac.
Simon Dun.

lost the hartes of many.

n. Hunt. Vigor. The Chronicles o Normandie saue 67974. Englishmen slaine. and of Normans. 6013.

There was slaine in this battaile besides king Harolde and his two brethren, Gyth and Leofrike, what on the one side and on the other, aboue twentie thousande menne. And finally hereby the bloud of the Saxons ceassed to raigne in Englande after they had continued possession of the same, from the fyrst comming of Hengist, which was about the yeare of our Sauiour. 450. alias. 449. vntill that present yeare of King Harolds death, which chaunced in the yeare. 1066. So that from the beginning of Hengist hys raigne, vnto Haroldes death, are reckened. 616. yeares, or (after some) 617. as by supputation of the time will easily appeare.

1066

616

By all the which time there raigned kings of the Saxons bloud within this lande, except that for the space of. xx. yeares and somewhat more the Danes had the dominion of the Realme in their possession: for there are reckened from the begynning of King Suenois reigne, (which was the first Dane that gouerned England) vnto the last yeare of King Hardicnute, (the last Dane that ruled here) .xxviij. yeares, in whiche meane space Egelred recouering the Kingdome reigned two yeares, and after him his sonne Edmonde Ironside continued in the rule one yeare, so that the Danes had the whole possession of the lande but. xxv. yeares in all.

The bodie of king Harolde being founde among other slaine in the fielde, was buryed at Waltham, within the monasterie of the holye Crosse which hee before had founded & endowed to the behoofe of suche Canons as he had placed there, with fayre possessions.

The bodie of king Harold is buried at Waltham.

Verily, as some writers haue reported, there was nothing in this manne to bee in any wyse dispraysed, if his ambitious mynde coulde haue beene stayed from coueting the Kingdome, and that hee could haue beene contented to haue liued as a subiect.

Among other manifest proufes of his highe valiancie, this is remembred of him, that beeing sent agaynst the Welchmen (as before is partly mentioned) hee knowing theyr readie nymblenesse in seruice, and howe with their light armed menne they were accustomed to annoy and distresse those that shoulde assayle them, hee likewise (to matche them) prouided light armed men for the purpose, and so being furnished with suche bandes of nymble men and light Souldiers, hee entered vpon the Mountaynes of Snowdone, and there remaynyd amongest the crimpes for the space of two yeares. Hee sore afflicted the Welche Nation, toke their Kings, and sent theyr heades vnto the King that sent him aboute this businesse, and proceeding in suche rigorous manner as mighte moue the hearers to lament and pitie the case, hee causeд all the masle kinde that might be mette with, to be miserably slaine: and so with the edge of his swoorde he brought the Countrey to quiet, and wythall made this lawe, that if anye Welcheman from thencefoorth shoulde presume to passe the limittes ouer Offes ditch with any weapon about him, he should lose his right hand.

Ex. 6. libro Policraticon, siue de nugis curialium Ioh n Sarisb.

To conclude, by the valiant conduct of this Chieftaine, the Welche men were then so sore brought vnder, that in maner the whole Nation might seeme to faile, and to be almost vtterly destroyed. And therefore by permission of the king of England, the women of Wales ioyned themselues in mariage with English men. But to returne where we left.

Nowe forsomuch as it pleased God by hys hidde and secrete iudgements so to dispose the Realme of Englande, and in suche wise as that the gouernaunce thereof shoulde fall after thys maner into the handes of William duke of Normandie, I haue thought good before I enter further into this Historie (beeing nowe come to the conquest of the Realme, made by the foresayde Duke of Normandie) to set down his pedigrew, thereby to shewe howe he discended from the first Duke of that Countrey, who was named Rollo (and after by receyuing baptisme cleped Robert.)

The sayde Rollo or Rou, was sonne to a greate Lorde in Denmarke called Guyon, who hauing two sonnes, the sayde Rou, and Gourin, and being appoynted to depart the Countrey, as the lottes fell to him and other, according to the maner there vsed (in time when their people were encreased to a greater number than the Countrey was able to sustaine) refused to obey that order, and made warre agaynst the King there, who yet in the ende by practise founde meanes to slea the foresayde Guyon, and his sonne Gourin, so that Rou, or Rollo, hauing thus lost his father and brother, was compelled to forsake the countrey, with all those that had holpe his father to make warre agaynst the king. And thus driuen to seeke aduentures, at length he became a Christian, and was created Duke of Normandie, by gift of Charles King of Fraunce, surnamed Le Simple, whose daughter the Ladie Gilla hee also maried: but shee departing this life without issue, hee maryed Popee daughter to the Earle of Bessin and Bayeulx, whome hee had kept as his wyfe before hee was baptised, and had had by hir a sonne named VVilliam Longue espee, and a daughter named Erlota.

William Long espee, or *Longa Spata* had to wife the Ladie Sporta, daughter to Hubert Earle of Senlis, by whome he had issue Richard the second of that name duke of Normandy, who maryed the Ladie Agnes, the daughter of Hugh le Grand

le Grande, Earle of Paris, of whome no issue proceeded: but after hir decease, he maryed to his seconde wife a Gentle woman named Gonnor, daughter to a knight of the Danishe line, by whō hee had three sonnes, Richarde that was after Duke of Normandie the third of that name, Robert, † Mauger. He had also by hir three daughters. Agnes, otherwise called Emme, maried first to Egelred king of Englande, and after to King Cnute: Helloye, otherwise Alix, bestowed vpon Geffrey Earle of Britaigne: and Mawde coupled in mariage with Eudes Earle of Charters and Blais. Richard the thirde of that name maried Judith, sister to Geoffray Earle of Brytaigne, by whome he had issue three sonnes, Richarde, Robert, and William, and as manye daughters: Alix, maried to Reignault Earle of Burgoyne: Alienor, maried to Baldwin Earle of Flaunders: and the thirde dyed yong, being affianced to Alfonse King of Nauarre. Their mother deceased after she had beene maried tenne yeares, and then Duke Richard maried secondly the Ladie Estric, sister to Cnute king of Englande and Denmarke, from whome hee purchased to be deuorced, and then maried a Gentlewoman called Paule, by whom he had issue two sonnes, William Earle of Arques, and Mauger Archbishop of Rouen.

Richarde the fourth of that name Duke of Normandie, eldest sonne to Richarde the thirde, dyed without issue, and then his brother Robert succeeded in the estate, whiche Robert begatte vppon Arlete or Harleuina daughter to a Burgesse of Felais, William surnamed the bastard, afterwardes Duke of Normandie, and by conquest king of Englande.

Hitherto haue we continued the Hystorie of this land, wherein may appeare the variable chaunges of states by course of times, and especially foure notable Conquests: as first by the Romans, secondly by Saxons, thirdly by the Danes, and now lastly by the Normans: in euerie of which alterations of the state, what is chiefly to be considered (bycause wee haue partly touched the same in the Proheme) we here omit to make any further discourse, and so proceede to the second Booke as followeth.

t.

1577.

THE

Hiſtorie of Scotlande,

conteyning the beginning, in-
creaſe, proceedings, continuance,
Actes and Gouernemente of the
Scottiſh nation, from the originall
thereof vnto the yeare. 1571. Gathered
and written in the Engliſh
tongue by R. H.

AT LONDON,
¶ *Imprinted for Iohn*
Hunne.



God ſaue the Queene.

¶ The Authours out of whome this Hiſtorie of *Scotlande hath bene gathered.*

Hector Boece.
Iohannes Ferrarius Pedemontanus.
Iohannes Maior.
Iohannes Fourdon.
Rogerus Houeden.
Richardus Southvvell.
VVilhelmus Paruus, ſiue Neoburgēſis
Albertus Crantz.
Aeneas Siluius.
Edward Hall.
Richard Grafton:
Iohn Stovv: And others.



TO THE RIGHT

Honorable the Lorde Robert Dudley, Earle of Leyceſter, Baron of Denbigh, Knight of the *moſt noble order of the Garter, Maiſter of the* Queenes Maieſties Horſe, and one of hir highneſſe priuy Counſell.



IT may ſeeme (right *honorable*) *a gret preſumptiõ in me, to haue taken in hand the collection of this Scottiſh hiſtory, and other of diuers regiõs, conſidering ſo many ſufficient men as liue in theſe dayes, far more able to performe the ſame. But where at the motion of a ſpecial frend, I vndertooke to deale therin, more vpõ truſt of his promiſed ayde than of mine owne abilitie, it pleaſed God to cal him to his mercy before the worke could be fully brought to end: but yet to anſwere the expectatiõ of his frends, and truſt, which he had cõmitted to thẽ and me in this behalf, I haue done my good will to accõpliſh part of that, which in his life time was intended, although not to my wiſhed deſire, by reaſon of ſuch wantes as had bene ſupplied if he had liued to haue ſeene it publiſhed himſelf. It reſteth (right noble Earle) that it may pleaſe your Honor to accept my doinges in good parte, to whom I offer this parcell of my trauayles in this Hiſtorie of Scotlande, in regarde of the honour due to your noble Father, for his incomparable valure well knowen and approued, aſwel within that realme as els where in ſeruice of two Kings of moſt famous memory,* Henry the. viij. *and* Edward the ſixte, *ſounding ſo greatly to his renowme as*

Reginald VVolfe.

the same can not passe in silence, whileſt any remembraunce of thoſe two moſt pereleſſe Princes ſhall remain in written Hiſtories. I therfore moſt humbly beſeeche your honour to beare with my boldeneſſe in preſenting you with ſo meane a gifte, proceeding from one, although vnknowen to your Lordſhippe, yet not without experience of your bountifull goodneſſe extended towardes thoſe, to whome I recken myſelf, moſt beholden: as what is he within this realme almoſt of any degree, which findeth not himſelfe bounden to your Honour, either in his owne cauſes or his frendes? for ſuche is your inclination to pleaſure all men, as the ſame may ſeeme a peculiar vertue planted in your noble harte, mouing you ſo much to delite therin, as no time is thought by your Honour better ſpent, than that whiche you employ in doing good to others. But leaſt I ſhoulde enter into ſo large a diſcourſe as might be framed of this and other your excellent vertues (a matter far exceding my ſimple knowlege) I wil ceaſe to ſpeake further thereof, ſith the ſame is ſpread ouer al, aſwel this as other regions: for no where doe want greate numbers of ſuch as haue aboundantly taſted of your exceeding courteſies. In making you owner therfore of this abſtract of the Scottiſh hiſtories, I moſt humbly beſeech your honour if any thing be amiſſe, to impute the ſame to the imperfectiō and defect of better inſtructions, and with your benigne & fauourable interpretation to haue me therein excuſed. Suche as it is I addreſſe it to your good Lordſhip with ſo dutiful a mind as may be imagined, beſeeching God to preſerue your honor in long life, with plentiful increaſe of wiſedome, vertue & al wiſhful proſperitie.

Your honours moſt humble to commaunde
RAPHAEL HOLINSHED.

THE DESCRIPTION OF Scotlande, written at the firſt by Hector Boethus in Latin, and afterwarde tranſlated into the Scottiſh ſpeech by Iohn Bellendon Archdeacon of Murrey, and now finally into Engliſh, for the benefite of ſuch as are ſtudious in the Hiſtories, by W.H.

The Contents of the Chapters conteyned in this Booke.

1 OF the boundes of Albion, with the ſundrie commodities thereof, and of the great infirmities that fall vnto the people there for their intemperancie: and finally of the religion vſed there in olde tyme.

2 The deſcription of the Eaſt, VVeſt, and middle borders of Scotlande, with the moſt notable townes and floudes thereof.

3 The deſcription of Galloway, Kile, Carricke, and Cunningham, with the notable townes, lakes, and riuers in the ſame.

4 The ſituation of Renfrew, Cliddeſdale, Lennox Lowmund, Argile, Louchquaber, Lorne, and Kentire, with all the notable things conteyned in the ſame.

5 Of Ros, Stranauerne, and Murray lande, with ſuch Lakes and Riuers as are to be touched there.

6 Of Boene, Anze, Buquhane, Mar, Mernes, Fiffe, and Angus, with the Lakes, Flouddes, Abbeyes, Townes, and other notable commodities there to be ſeene and founde.

7 Of Louthian, Striuelin, Menteith, Calidon wood, Bowgewall, Gareoth, with the notable Cities, Caſtels and Flouds thereof.

8 Of the greate plentie of Hares, Hartes, and other wilde beaſtes in Scotland, alſo of the ſtraunge nature of ſundrie Scottiſh dogges, and of the nature of Salmon.

9 Of the ſundrie kindes of Muskels and Cockles in Scotlande, and Perles gotten in the ſame. Of vncouth and ſtrange fiſhe there to be ſeene, and of the nature of the herbe *Citiſus* commonly called Hadder.

10 Of the Iles of Scotlande, and ſuch notable things as are to be found in them.

11 Of the nature of their Claike Geeſe, and diuerſe maner of their procreation, and of the Iſle of Thule.

12 The deſcription of Orkenay, and Shetlande, with ſundrie other ſmall Iſles, and of the maners and conditions of the people dwelling in the ſame.

13 Of the maners of the Scottes in theſe dayes, and their compariſon, with the behauiour of the olde, and ſuch as liued long ſince within this Ilande.

14 The deſcription of an auncient Pict, and ſuch as dwelled beyond the wall of Hadrian.

15 Of Biſhoprikes, Vniuerſities, and Counties in Scotland.

TO THE RIGHT VVORSHIPFVL Maiſter Thomas Secford Eſquier and Maiſter of the Requeſtes, William Hariſon vvisheth all knovvledge of God, with dayly increaſe of his giftes at this preſent, and in the worlde to come life eueriaſting.

HAuing by your ſingular curteſie receyued great helpe in my deſcription of the riuers and ſtreames of Britain, and by conference of my trauaile vvith the platformes of thoſe fevv ſhires of England vvhich are by your infinite charges alreadie finiſhed (as the reſt ſhall be in time by Gods helpe, for the ineſtimable benefite of ſuche as inhabite this Ilande) not a little pulliſhed thoſe rough courſes of diuerſe vvaters not exactly before time deſcribed by Leland our Countreyman, or any auncient vvriter, I coulde not deuiſe anye thing more agreable vvith mine abilitie & your good nature (vvhich greatly fauoureth anye thing that is done for a commoditie vnto many) than to ſhevv ſome token of my thankefulneſſe for theſe your manifold kindneſſes, by the dedication of my ſimple tranſlation of the deſcription of Scotland at this tyme vnto your vvorſhip. In deede the trauaile taken herein is not great, bycauſe I tie not my tranſlation vnto his letter, neither the treatiſe of it ſelfe ſuch, as taketh vp any huge rovvme in the volume of this Chronicle. But ſuch as it is, & vvhat ſoeuer it is, I yeeld it vvholy vnto you, as a teſtimonie of my good vvill, vvhich deteſteth vtterly to receyue any benefit though it be neuer ſo ſmal, and not to be thankfull for it. Certes my vocation is ſuch, as calleth me to a farre other kind of ſtudie, ſo that I exerciſe theſe things onely for recreation ſake: and to ſay the truth, it is muche vnſitting for him that profeſſeth Diuinitie, to applie his time any other vviſe vnto contemplation of ciuill Hiſtories. And this is the cauſe vvherfore I haue choſen rather, onely vvith the loſſe of three or foure dayes to tranſlate Hector out of the Scottiſh (a tongue verie like vnto ours) than vvith more expence of time to diuiſe a nevve, or followv the Latin copie, vvhich is farre more large and copious. Hovv excellently if you conſider the arte, Boethus hath penned it and the reſt of his Hiſtorie in the Latin, the skilfull are not ignorant: but hovv profitably and compendiouſly Iohn Bellendon Archdeacon of Murrey his interpretour hath turned him from the Latin into the Scottiſh tongue, there are verie fevve Engliſh men that knovv, bycauſe vve want the bookes. VVherefore ſith the learned reade him in his ovvne ſtile, and his Countreymen in their naturall language, vvhy ſhould not vve borovv his deſcription and read the ſame in Engliſh likevviſe, ſith the knovvledge thereof may redounde to the great benefit of ſo many as heare or read the ſame. Accept therefore (right vvorſhipfull) this my ſimple offer, and although I aſſure my ſelfe, your naturall inclination to be ſuch, as that it vvill take nothing in ill part that is vvell meant tovvard you, hovve rudely ſoeuer it bee handled in the doing, yet I vvill not let to craue pardon for my preſumption, in that I dare be ſo bold as to offer ſuch a trifle vnto you, whom more vveightie affayres doe dayly call from things of ſo ſmall importaunce. Almightie God keepe your vvorſhip from time to time in his feare, and bleſſe you and my good Ladie your vvife, vvith ſuch increaſe of his benefites, as may moſt redounde to his glorie, and your ovvne aduauntage.



¶ The boundes of Albion

with the sundry commodities thereof, *and of the great infirmities that fall vnto the people there for their intemperancy, and finally of the Religion vsed there in old tyme.* *Chap. 1.*

THe Ile of *Albion* containeth in the whole circũference two thousande myles, hauing in length 700. and in breadth 300. as appeareth well by the coast therof that lieth ouer against Fraunce where it is broadest, and from whence it gathereth narrower and narrower, till it come to the vtter Marches & last boundes of England and Scotland. For betwixte the Mule of Galloway that is on the west side ouer against the Irish seas, and Saint Ebbes head, that lieth vpon the Germaine Ocean towarde the east, are scarcely 130. myles, and thencefoorth it groweth smaller and smaller till it touch vpõ the North seas, where it is not aboue 30. miles, as I noted before in the description of Brytaine. This Ile is replenished with people, horses, and all other kindes of cattell and corne in moste aboundant maner, except it be in suche places where as God of his singular goodnesse hath otherwise indued the soyle with ritche mynes of Gold, Siluer, Tinne, Brasse, Copper, & quicksiluer, whiche for the most parte are so plentiful, that they suffise not onely for the necessaries of the whole Iland, but also of sundry regiõs that are situate round aboute it, if the inhabitauntes were skilfull and painefull to deale withall accordingly. But the abundaunce of all other things requisite for the vse of man, that is found generally in our Iland, maketh the people lesse carefull of these commodities, and more geuen to idlenesse. For beside the great plenty of those things whiche heauen and earth do minister, as grasse, corne, and cattell, and foules of sundry kindes, there is suche store of fishe in all parties of our seas, especially towarde the North, that the same would suffise to feede and sustayne all the people of the Iland, if there were none other commodities to be found within the same. For the inhabitants of all countries that border vpõ vs. as Fraunce, Flaunders, Zealande, Holande, and a great part of Germany (especially those whiche lie neare vnto the coast) do saile hither with great numbers of vessels daily to fishe vpon our coasts, and buie such as we haue already caught, not only for their owne vse, but also for the Lenton prouision of such nations as lie vpon the Leuant seas, where they sell the same at theyr owne willes, with very speedy vtterance. Many other riche and precious cõmodities are to be gotten in the sayd Ile, whereof the aforenamed nations do make no small accompte, besides these common things. What shall I say of our wolles, whiche are in so high estimation in all landes, because of their necessary vses, and wherof a great part is so fine, and softe, that of it are made, the costly skarlettes, pliaunt gloues, and many other grayned and delicate clothes, of whiche I thought good to make this mention, because the reporte thereof is not yet made common and generally knowe to all men.

Dionysius Alexandrinus saith that the wool of Brytaine is often sponne so fine that it is in manner comparable to the spyders draught.

Certes this I dare boldly affirme, that if the kingdomes of Brytaine had suche grace geuen them from aboue as that they might once liue in vnitie, or by any meanes be brought vnder the subiectiõ of one Prince, they should ere long ferle such a sauour in this amity, that they wold not onely liue frankly of their owne, without any forain purchase of things, but also resist all outward inuasion, with smal trauayle and lesse dammage. For as touching their persons, and likewise theyr notable wittes, apt bothe for the attayning of learnyng and knowledge of handycraftes, they are inferiour to no other nation.

Therevnto we finde them to be couragious and hardy, offering themselues often vnto the vttermost perils with great assurance, so that a man may pronounce nothing to be euer harde or past their power to performe, if they would giue themselues to liue temperately, and follow their predecessors in moderation of diet. Therfore it (is as I thinke) that almighty God in his prouidente disposition of al things, hath ordeyned their grounde (otherwise plentifully indued with all kindes of commodities) to be destitute and voyde of wine, as foreseeing that the sayde liquor whiche bringeth greatest benefite vnto other countries, would come in the ende to be most pernicious and noysome vnto them. For they are giuen to such vnnatural rauening and greedy desire of forraine thinges (whilest they contempne or not regarde their owne) that they cannot refrayne the immoderate vse of Wine, and excesse vsed in drinking of the same: In so much that we may see diuers to be ouertaken & haũted, not only with sundry kinds of grieuous maladies common to vs & them of the mayne, but also many other whiche they haue not, neyther be any thing at all acquainted, with as experience dayly teacheth. Some by long sicknesse and languishing greefes do grow into suche deformitie only through excessiue feeding, & greedy abuse of wine, that if you knew them whe they were children and young men, you shall hardly remember them when they be old and aged: and that which more is in comparison of other that

lme more soberly, you will hardly thinke thē to be borne in the Ile, but rather suppose them to be chaungelings and monsters, brought out of other countries to gaze & looke vpon: diuerse of them thorow the cōtinuall vse of wine, are molested in their age, with phreneticall pangs and passions? seldome also shal you see those that are giuen much vnto wine and such welfare, to become parents of many children, sith their naturall moysture and generatiue force, is much abated, if not altogither extinguished by such immoderate diet. But to returne to our purpose, the Albanes or Brytons, as *Cesar* in his Commentaries, & *Tacitus* in his Annales do report, were very religious, after the maner of religion vsed in old time. For in those dayes the Priests of Brytaine named *Druides*, were very expert both in naturall and Morall Philosophy, and from thence came the first professors of that sect and opinion into Fraunce. The principall seat also of their Priestes was in the Ile of Man, whiche was reputed at that season, for the welspring and fountayne of all learning and knowledge, and after that their Priestes were ones conuerted to the Catholike fayth, they persevered in the same with great constancie, without any note of Heresie.

The description of the East west and middle borders of Scotland, with the most notable townes and flouds therof. Chap. 2.

The Pictes had sometimes the principall & most fertile parte of that countrey, whiche now is vnder the regiment of the Scottes, and after they had cōtinued in the same by the space of. 1171. yeares, ioyned in maner in perpetuall league with the Scots, & maintening mutually the warres sometimes with the Brytaines & Romaines, & sometimes also iarring with their Scottish neighbours, at the last they fel into extreme hatred one vnto another, till it was brought to passe by the diuine prouidence, that the sayde Pictes were ouerthrowen, their name extinguished, & the kingdome united vnto that other of the Scots for euermore. After this time furthermore, although the Scottes haue bene very oftentimes assayled with most daungerous and terrible warres & oftētimes inuaded by enimies from diuers regions, yet such hath bene the fauour of almighty God towards them, that still they flourish & retaine their estate inuiolate.

Whatsoeuer wee haue generally spoken of Albion, that is chiefly to be vnderstanded of the Scottes, & farre greater, especially among the Scottes, as they call them in the high lande, as people that haue lesse to do with forraine Merchants, & therfore are lesse delicate, & not so much corrupted with strange bloud and alliaunce. Hereby in like sorte it cōmeth to passe, that they are more harde of constitution of body, to beare off the colde blastes, to watche better, & abstayne long, wherevnto also it appeareth that they are bolde, nimble, and thereto more skilfull in the warres. As for their faith & promise, they holde it with greatest constancie, as *Hector* hath set downe. Towardes the Almaine sea, I find, that Scotland hath the Mers, sometime the moste plenteous region of the Pictes for their marche, which so long as the sayd people did inhabite it, was called Deera, or Dere, but after their expulsion it was named Mers, that is to say, the Merches or limites of their coūtrey. In processe of time also the Scottes extended their boundes euen vnto ẏ Twede, which now diuideth Northumberlande from the Mers. On the other side of the countrey towarde the West, sundry small bournes descend from the Cheriot hilles, & other mountaynes lying thereabout into the Solue, diuiding Cumberlād from Annandale, & so being brought into one chanel, they fall togither into the Irishe Ocean, and stande for the bounds of Scotland vpō that halfe of the countrey. The Cheriot hilles are in like sorte taken for the middle Marches of the region, whiche with certaine smal brokes that fall frō the same, do separate both the countries, whereby their limites are knowen. The Mers hath vnder marches at seuerall places (whether it is extended) as sometime the Germayne sea, sometime East Lowthian, sometime the Twede, & sometime the Forth, & among many strong holds & Castels, that stand vpon the borders, is the towne & Castell of Barwick in time paste called *Ordoluicium*, as the inhabitantes are called *Ordoluci* (if *Hector* be not deceiued.) The Twede springeth out from a meane head, and after his augmētation, with other small waters that fall into the same, it descendeth with a large course into the Almayne sea. Beyond ẏ Twede, to the middle March vnder the Cheriot hilles lieth Teuidale, that is to say, the vale of Tiffe: Beyond it is Eskedale, or the vale of Eske, of a riuer so called that runneth thorow the same: ouer against Eskedale on the other side lieth Eusdale, so named of the riuer *Eus* that passeth thereby, & falleth into the water of Annande: But Tif and Eske do runne into the Twede: furthermore on the west side ouer against ẏ Irish sea, lieth Innandale, wherevnto the Annand water giueth denomination, which marcheth sometimes without the boūdes of Middesdale, where al the three riuers aforesayd, that is to say, Eus, Annand & Sulway descende togither in one bottome into the Irish seas.

In Innādale is a Loch or lake named Lochmaben. 5. miles in legth & 4. in breadth, not only very

very ful of fish, but of such kinde as few men are acquainted with. Beside this lake also there is a castell of ỳ same name builded of purpose to restraine the furious dealing of theeues whiche do great hurt in those quarters. For not only in Innandale, but in all the Dales or Vales afore rehearsed, are many strong theeues, which often spoile the countrey, and exercise much cruel slaughter vpon such as inhabite there in any troublous time. These robbers (because the English do border vpō their dry marches, & are their perpetual enimies) do oftē make forcible rodes into the English boundes, for their better maintenaunce & sustētation, or els they pilfer priuily from them, as men leading in the meane season a poore beggerly & very miserable life. In the time of peace also, they are so inured to theft and rapine, that they cānot leaue off to steale at home: & notwithstāding that they be often very sore handled therefore, yet they thinke it prayse worthy to molest their aduersaries, as they cal the truer sorte, whereby it cōmeth to passe, ỳ many riche & fertile places of Scotlād lie wast & voyde of culture for feare of their inuasion.

Not far from the Sulway (a water where great plenty of fish is to be had) are many quicke sandes, & those so perillous that no man may well go ouer the same, but with great difficultie & daunger of his life. This vale of Annand was somtime called *Ordouitia*, & the people thereof *Ordouices*, whose auncient barbaroulnesse is reported to be suche, that in times past they refused not to kill and eate such prisoners as had yeelded themselues vnto them. The very womē in like sort would slea their husbands, if at any time they fled frō the field, and returned to their houses, only to giue occasion vnto other mē to stand to their tacklings at euery such aduenture.

On the West borders & toward the North lieth Middesdale, so called of the water of Midde. It beginneth with a very narrow course, and increasing broder in the middle marches of Scotland, it finally restrayneth it self againe, till it cōmeth at the sea, whether it ranneth with a swift course, as ỳ Scottish writers do report. In this vale stādeth a towne named Dunfrise, wherein many fine clothes especially whites are made, which are brought vp & carried into England, Fraunce, Flaūders & Germany where they are had in great price and estimation.

The Description of Galloway, Kyle, Carricke and Cunningham, with the notable Townes, Lakes and Riuers in the same. Chap. 3.

Aboue Middesdale is Galloway (named somtime Brigantia) the people whereof were in times past called *Brigantes*: this region is deuided by the water of Cree into two partes, whereof that which lieth nearest to Middesdale, is called nether Galloway, & the other that is aboue the Cree is named vpper Galloway. In nether Galloway is Kirkcowbry, a rich towne & of a good trade in merchaundize, and in vpper Galloway is Whitherne in Latine *Candida casa*, an Abbay dedicated to S. Minian the Bishop, & there lieth his carcase, which is honored of the people with great superstition and errour. Aboue Whitherne is Wigton towne, & not far from thence is the great lake of Myrton, the one half whereof doth freze by naturall congelation as other poles and plashes do, but the other is neuer seene to beare any Ice at all, whiche vnto me doth seeme to be great wonder. In Galloway moreouer are two other lakes, the Salset and the Neutramen, of equall length and breadth with the Lochmyrton: As for Galloway it selfe, it yeeldeth out a great point promontory or cape (which the Scots call a Mule or Nuke) into the Irish sea. The common sorte name it the Mules Nuke, & by the rounding of it selfe, it maketh two great lakes, named Rean and Lowis, except I be deceyued, one of these lakes or poles is xxx. and the other xvj. myles of length, & both full of Oysters, Herring, Congers, Cockles, and other like kindes of fishe.

Some are of the opinion that *Brigantia* was the same region of Britain ỳ is now called Wales, wherein the Britons inhabited many yeares after their expulsion out of Britaine. But this opiniō is false, sith the Romaynes write how that Man the Iland lieth ouer against *Brigantium* and midde-way betwene the same and Ireland: for albeit that the bayes or bayes are now worne wider and farder distant ech from other by the washing and working of the sea, yet the same latitude and eleuation of the pole that *Ptolomy* ascribed to the Brygantes, agreeth well to the height of the pole ouer Galloway, which is very farre from Wales, sithence the Ile of Man lieth also 300. miles from thence, and in the sight of Galloway. In like sort by the testimony of sundry Authors both Irish and Spanish, we affirme that out of *Brigantium*, a citie of Spaine, (now named *Compostella*) there came a new company of people into Ireland called Spaniardes, & out of Irelād another crew of the same nation with king Fergus into Albion, and in remembraunce of the citie Brigance, wherein they inhabited whilest they were in Spayne, they called themselues *Brygantes*. To this opinion in like sort *Cornelius Tacitus* doth seeme to leane, who saith, that the Brygantes descended from the Spaniardes, whiche in his time dwelled in the vttermost partes of Britaine, including vnder ỳ name the whole Iland of Albion. These regions afore rehersed, that is to say, Innandale, Middesdale and Galloway, beside fine wolles and store of cattell, doth also abounde with all kindes of graine, wheate onely excepted.

Aboue Galloway is Carrike, sometime a portion of the region of the Silures, of whose name it is not yet certainely knowne, whether it was deriued from the famous citie Carricke, whose ruines do yet remaine, or not. Silury is diuided into three

parts, *videlicet* Carrick, Kyle & Cunningham: In the first as I sayd, was Carrick the noble citie: and in this countrey are many strong Castels, bothe by naturall situation and policy of mã: herein also are fayre kine, and oxen whose flesh is delicate, and very tender to be eaten. the tallow moreouer of theyr wombes is so moyst & sappy that it neuer wareth harde; but relenteth of the owne accorde, and becõmeth like vnto oyle. Beyond Carrick is Kyle, so called of Coile King of Brytaine, sometime slaine in the sayd region, and therein is a stone, not much aboue xij. miles from the towne of Air, ful xxx. foote high, & three elles of breadth, called the deafe stone, not without cause: for when a man is on the one side thereof, he shal not heare what is sayde or done on the other, though there be neuer so great noyse made, no not if a Canon should be discharged of set purpose, which to me doth seeme impossible, neuertheles the farder a man standeth from the same, the better shall he heare what soeuer the noyse be. Next vnto Kyle is Cunninghã the third part of Silurie, whose inhabitãts in time past were most noysome to ỳ Romaines. In Kyle is a pole named Doune, from whence the riuer Doune, doth runne thorow the middest of that region into the Irishe sea. In Cunningham likewise is a lake called Garnoth, equall in quantitie vnto the Doune, and no lesse famous for the abundance of fish that is dayly found therein: and not farre from the same is the towne called Largis, where Alexander the third King of Scotland of that name, sometime ouercame the Danes and Norwegians, whereby it grewe to be famous, and of more reputation among vs.

Reade in the Latin Hector, 12 foote highe 30 foote in length, & three elles thicke.

The situation of Renfrew, Cliddisdall, Lennox, Lowmund, Argile, Louchquhaber, Lorne, and Kentyre, with all the notable things contayned in the same. Chap. 4.

THe water of Clide, deuideth Lennor on the North side from the Barrony of Renfrew, & it riseth out of the same hill in Caledon wood, from whence the Annand falleth, and goeth with a long course into the Irish sea: some cal this riuer Gluda, & Cluda, but *Tacitus* nameth it Glota. Not far also from the fountaines of Clide, ariseth the water of Forth, that runneth on the contrary side into the Germaine Ocean. In like sorte after the water of Clude hath run for a season towarde the North, it gathereth somwhat inward til it come to the moũtaine of Granzeben, & from thence holdeth on with a swift course, til it fall as I sayd into ỳ Irish seas. The coũtrey where it rũneth is named Clidesdale. Betwixt Clide & Lennox lieth ỳ Barony of Renfrew, wherin are two poles named Quhinsouth & Leboth, of which the first is xij. miles in compasse, the other xx. and both very riche & plentifull of fish. But in Lennox that lieth next aboue Renfrew toward the Ocean (called by *Ptolomy* Lelgouia) is a great mere or lake that hight Lochmond, of xxiij. miles in length, & eight in breadth, and within this Lhin or pole, are 30. Ilandes wel replenished with Churches & dwelling houses, & in the same also are three things worthy consideration, whereof the first is, that the pleasant & very delicate fishe there breddeth doth want finnes. The secõd is, that the water will often swell with huge waues though no winde be stirring, and that in such wise that the best Mariners in the countrey dare not aduenture to sayle thereon. There is also a very fruiteful and commodious Ile therein, very necessary for the pasturage of cattel, whiche fleeteth hither and thither as the winde bloweth. This lake is situate at the foote of the hill called Granzeben, whiche were sometime the marches or limites betwixt the Scots & Pictes, & are extended frõ Lochlowmund to the mouth of Dee. Certes the Pictes had no parte of the country beyond the Granzeben, nor toward the Irish seas, for this region was inhabited by the Scots. Eight miles frõ Lochlowmund is the castel of Dumbritaine named sometime Alcluid, and here the water of Leuen falleth into the Clide.

Beyond Lochlowmũd is Argile, an hilly coũtry and full of cragges and mountaines, therin also are two lakes Lochfine and Lochquho, that diuide the region into three partes, that in the middest beyng called Knapdale. In Lochfine likewise is more plenty of herring than in any parte of the coast that compasseth the Iland, but in Lochquho are suche kindes of fishe to be dayly had as are commonly breddе in fresh waters. There are moreouer in Argile two castels Glenunquhart and Enconell, and in it are 12. Iles, whose chiefe commoditie resteth rather in pasturage for cattell, than abundance of grayne. In Argile furthermore are many riche mynes full of mettall, but the people there haue no skill to find and trie out the same. The constant report also goeth there, how there is a stone of suche nature, that if it be hidde in straw for a certaine season, it will kindle of it selfe & consume the straw to ashes. There are seuen other lakes in Argile, whereof some are thirty miles in length and breadth, and other lesse. It was told me once by *Doncan Campbell* a noble Knight, that out of Garloll one of the poles of Argile, there came a terrible beast in the yeare of grace, 1510. which was of the bignesse of a Greyhound, and footed like a gander, and issuing out of the water early in the morning about Midsomer time, did very easily and without any visible force or strayning of himselfe ouerthrow huge okes with his tayle, and therevnto killed three men out right that hunted him with three strokes of his sayd tayle; the reste of them saued themselues in trees there aboutes, whyleste the afore sayde Monster returned to the water. Those that are giuen to the obseruations of rare and vncouth sightes, beleeue that

that this beast is neuer seene but against some great trouble & mischief to come vpō the realme of Scotland. For it hath ben discried also before that time, although not very often. Lorne abutteth vpon Argile, which was once a part of Argile, and reacheth out into the Irishe sea, in maner of a cape or toūg, full 60. miles. This point also was called *Nouantia*, but now it is named Kyntyre, that is to say, the head of Lorne, whose vttermost part is not full 16. miles frō Ireland. Some Authors affirme, that both Argile and Cantyre, were called *Nouantia* in old time, sith *Ptolomy* maketh no mention of Argile in his Cosmography. In this Lorne is great abundance of Barley whiche the Scottes call Beir. Beyond Lorne is Lochquhaber, heretofore a portion of Murrayland, very riche in mines of Iron & Lead, & no lesse beneficial to the countrey in all kindes of cattel. There are likewise many woodes, many lakes, & many riuers, but two of them are most notable for the plenty of Salmons, & other delicate fishe, aswell of the salt as fresh water, which is there taken & almost without any trauaile: neyther is there any where els in all the Ile such store. The one of these is named Lochty, and the other Spanze, but vpon what occasiō these names were giuen vnto the I finde as yet no certainty. The Lochty riseth not aboue eight miles from Lochnes, & falleth beneath the same into the Germaine Ocean, & beside it, there is a rocky cragge, running out at length into the sea, named Hardnemouth. In ỹ mouth of Lochty likewise was somtime a riche towne named Innerlochty, whether the marchaunts of Fraunce and Spaine did make their dayly resort, till at the last it was so defaced by the warres of the Danes, that it neuer was able sithence the sayde time to recouer hir pristinate renowne. But whether the negligēce of the due repayre of this towne, procedeth of the slouth of our people, or hatred that some enuious persons do beare to cities & walled townes in our countrey, as yet it is vncertayne. Beyond Lochty is the castell of Dunstafage, in time past named *Euonium*: beyōd Dunstafage also is the mouth of the water of Spanze, where it falleth as I heare into the Germaine Ocean.

The discourse of Ros, Stranauern, and Murrayland, with the lakes, riuers and notable townes in them. Chap. 5.

BEyond the water of Spanze lieth Ros somtime called *Lugia*, a very narrow regiō God it wote, but running out in greate legth thorow the middest of the Iland, being enuirōned on both sides with the Ocean. That portion thereof whiche lieth nearest to the Irish seas, is very difficulte for suche as trauell by the countrey, by reason of the high Mountaynes, whiche maketh the countrey more apt for wilde beastes than mankind to inhabite: neuertheless waxing more fertile on that part whiche stretcheth toward ỹ Germaine sea, it yeldeth it self to culture, & rendreth some grayne. In pasture also it is not altogither vnprofitable, sith there is good grasse, and very batable for their beastes: for the baleys there, being watered with sundry pleasant streames, do yeelde a sweete & very sauoury grasse, wherewith all sortes of cattell are very much delited. In Ros are sundry lakes, but Lochbrun is the greatest. There are also many fresh riuers, fraught with excellent fishe, and finally a notable Futh or safe hauen called Cromart, whereunto diuers in time of necessitie do resort, to auoyde the daunger of shipwracke, that otherwise would assuredly annoy thē. The Scottish men call it hell of shipmen. In this regiō moreouer is ỹ towne called Thaue, where the bones of Duthoc an holy man (as they say) do reste, & are had in greater estimation among the superstitious sorte (as sometime ouer the whole Iland) then the holy Gospel of God and merites of his Sonne, whereby we are onely saued. Two auncient houses are likewise maintained in one vale of the Ros, whose fornices resemble so many belles, but to what ende as yet I do not find. Next vnto the sayd Ros lieth the Stratnauerne, as the vttermost regiō of Scotland, ỹ coastes whereof abutting for a while vpō the Deucalidon sea, do afterwarde turne againe towarde the Almaigne seas, hauing partly the Deucaliden coast, and partly Cathenese vpon the North side, Sutherland on the east, Rossia on the south, & Deucalidō againe vpō the west. There are three great cragges or pointes lying on the vttermost side of Stranauerne, that is to say, the Hoye, Howbrun the greatest of ỹ three) and Downisby, which bicause they shote farre off into the sea, do make two great Futhes and lakes, eche of them being seuerally distinguished from other. Next vnto Cathenese lieth Sutherland, a profitable regiō both for grayne and all kindes of prouision, but chiefly for the nourishment of bestial, whervnto it chiefly enclineth, as do the other two last before rehearsed. On the farder side also of this, lieth Murray land, somtime called *Varavis*, although the marches therof are changed from that they were of old. For whereas in time past all the regiō lying betweene Spay and Nesse to the Irelād sea, was named Murray, now it is knowen to be only beyond the water of Spay & Lossocke, & reacheth on vntill it come to the Irish sea. Betwixt Ros and Murray land, is a great Baie, & likewise a diseet of sundry waters: for thervnto fal the Nesse,

Mardin, Findorn, Los and Spay, whereof this latter runneth with so fierce and violent a streame, that the force of the sea at the flood striuing to enter into the same, is put backe & may not resist ỳ inuincible fal, & beats backe the water that descendeth into the Ocean. The Nesse issueth out of a lake of the same name (which is not passing eight myles from the sayde plaine, from whence the Lochtie runneth) and thence goeth into the Irishe seas: And this properly it hath, that neither the streame, neyther the lake it selfe will yeelde to be frozen in the very deepe of winter. Such also is the force therof, that if any Ice or whatsoeuer frosen substance be cast therinto, it will by and by relent and dissolue againe to water, whereby it becommeth very profitable for suche cattell as are benūmed with colde. In the mouth of the Nesse, standeth a towne called Inuernesse, where sometime was great abūdance of herring taken, but now they be gone, by the secrete working of God. The common people put the fault in the riche & men of higher calling, who enuying the commoditie of the poore inhabitantes, will often seeme to bereeue them of this emolumēt, by force and slaughter. Whereupon (as they say) it cōmeth to passe, that the encrease ceaseth decayeth, & very smal store is taken there by many yeares after such iniurie offered. But to proceede: beside Lochnesse, which is 24. miles of length & 4. in breadth; by reason of the great woods there standing, is great store of sauage beasts, as Harts, wild Horses, Roes, and suche like. There are likewise Martirnes, Beuers, Foxes, & Weesselles, whose skinnes and tales are solde vnto straungers at huge and excessiue prices. In Murray land also is not allonly great plenty of wheate, Barley, Otes, and such like grayne, beside Nuttes and Apples, but likewise of all kindes of fishe, and especially of Salmon. The people thereof in like sort do vse a strange maner of fishing: for they make a lōg Weele of wicker, narrow necked & wide mouthed, with such cunning, that whē the tide commeth the fishe shoote themselues into the same, & forthwith are so inclosed, that whilest the tide lasteth he cannot get out, nor after the water is gone, escape the hands of the fishers. In this region moreouer is a lake named Spiney wherein is exceeding plenty of Swannes. The cause of their increase in this place is ascribed to a certaine hearbe which groweth there in great abundāce, and whose seede is very pleasant vnto the sayde foule in the eating, wherfore they call it Swan Grys: & hereunto such is the nature of ỳ same, that where it is once sowen or plāted, it wil neuer be destroyed, as may be proued by experience. For albeit that this lake be fiue myles in length, & was sometime within the remembrance of man very well stored with Salmon and other great fishe, yet after that this hearbe began to multiply vpon the same, it became so shallow, that one may now wade thorow the greatest parte therof, by meane whereof all the great fishe there is vtterly consumed. In this portion furthermore, is the Churche of Pette, where the bones of litle John remayne in great admiration. Certes this carcase hath bene 14. foote long, his members well proportioned according to his stature, and not fully fiue yeares before this booke was written (by *Boethus*) hee sawe his hanche bone, whiche seemed so great as the whole thighe of a man, and he did thrust his arme into the hollownesse therof, whereby it appeareth what mighty people grew vp in our region before they were ouercome with gluttony and excesse. In this quarter finally is the towne called Elgyn, not farre from the mouth of Spaye, and therin is a Cathedral church furnished with Chanons: there are thereto sundry riche and very wealthy Abbayes in Murray, as Kyllos of the order of the *Cisteaux*, and Pluscardy of the Cluniackes.

This no S... an E... man, it into ... and th... Scot...

Of Boene, Anze, Buchquhane, Mar, Mernis, Fiffe, and Angus, with the lakes, floudes, Abbayes, townes, and other notable things conteyned in the same. Chap. 6.

NExt vnto the Murray lieth Boene, and Anze, two fertile and plentifull regions, which extend their boundes euen vnto the seas. They are both very notably indued with batable pastures, and by reason therof are very full of cattell, they yeelde moreouer excellent corne, & by meanes of their large woodes and forests not without great store of wilde beastes, of sundry kindes and natures. Neare also vnto the Douerne water, which is a riuer marueylously stored with fish, stādeth a towne named Bamf, and vnder these two regions aforesayde lieth Buchquhane, a very batable soyle for all kindes of cattell, but especially of sheepe, whose woll exceedeth that of the like beast of all other countries there aboutes for whitenesse and finenesse. The riuers that are in this countrey do in lyke maner abound with Salmons, so that there is no one of them voyde of this commoditie, except the Rattra onely, wherein it is not heard that any hath ben seene: herein also standeth the castell of Slanis, in which the high constable of Scotlād dwelleth, and neare vnto the same is a marueylous caue: for the water that droppeth into the same, in a short processe of time becommeth an harde white stone, and except they had bene oft remoued heretofore, the caue it selfe had bene filled vp with the same many yeres agone.

This

This region is voide of ratte, & ſuch is the nature therof, that if any be brought thither from other places, they are found to die immediatly: finally it is moſt marueylous of all, ẏ as Otes do growe there in many places of themſelues without culture & tillage, ſo if a man come thither of ſet purpoſe to mow downe the ſame, he ſhal finde nothing els but empty hulles & ſtraw: but if he chaunce vpon the ſodaine and without premeditatiō of the thing to cut downe any (a matter impoſſible in my minde) he ſhall finde them ſo good & ful as any are elſwhere to be gathered & ledde home. Certes it appeareth hereby, that this is nothing els but an illuſion, wherewith the wicked fends do captiuate & blinde the ſenſes of the ſuperſtitious ſort: for that it ſhould be ſo by nature, it is a thing altogither impoſſible.

Nexte vnto this, lieth the greate region of Mar, whiche is very plentifull of cattell, and extendeth 60. miles in length, frō the Almaigne ſeas to Badzenoch.

In this is the Citie of Aberdene, wherein is a Biſhops ſea, and noble Vniuerſitie, ſometime founded by William Elphinſton Biſhop there. This citie lieth betwixt two riche riuers, the Done & the Dee, wherin is the greateſt ſtore of Salmons that is to be founde againe within the compaſſe of Albion, and likewiſe the greateſt & longeſt if you reſpect their quantitie. Next vnto Marre, we haue Mernis toward ẏ ſea, a very fatte ſoyle ful of paſture, & abundantly repleniſhed with euery ſort of cattell. In this portion ſtandeth Dunnother the Marſhall of Scotlands houſe, & likewiſe the towne of Fordon, in whiche the bones of *Palladius* do reſt, who is taken generally for the Apoſtle of our nation. The water of Eſke is bound vnto this region, whiche is otherwiſe called Mortheſke, a very daungerous chanell, & wherin many haue periſhed for default of a bridge, as they haue attempted to paſſe & repaſſe ouer the ſame. Angus bordereth vpon the Mernis, it was ſometime part of Horreſtia, & now watered with three notable riuers, as the Mortheſke already mentioned, & marueylouſly repleniſhed with Salmōs, likewiſe the Southeſke, & finally the Tay, the nobleſt water in all Scotland, and remembred by the Romayne writers vnder the name of Tau.

In Angus alſo is an highe Mountayne or Promontory, called the redde Brayes, whiche lieth out farre off into the Almayne ſeas. The Tay alſo riſeth farre beyond the Mountaynes of Granzeben out of Loch Tay, whiche is a poole of 24. miles of length, and 10. of breadth, wherein are not onely diuerſe Iſlandes with Caſtels in them, but the water of the lake it ſelf (beyng moſte fine and ſubtile) is notably repleniſhed with great ſtore of fiſh, and therfore very commodious for ſuch as dwell about it. It falleth into the Almayne ſea beſide Dundee, a towne called in olde tyme *Alectum*, wherein I was borne, and in whiche the people trauayle very painefully about weauing and making of cloth. There are in Angus alſo many other cities & riche Abbayes, as Muntros, Brechin & Forfayr, beſide ſo many Caſtelles as lieth not in me to number. This likewiſe is not to be paſſed ouer with ſilence, that whereas Forfair was in tyme paſt a notable Citie, ſtrengthened with two royall Caſtelles, as the ruynes do yet declare, now it is brought vnto litle more than a countrey village, repleniſhed with ſimple cotages. Many lakes and poles are alſo in Angus, and thoſe well fraught with fiſh. There is alſo in this countrey one place called the vale of Eſke, whoſe ſheepe haue ſuch white, fine, and excellent woll, as the lyke vnto it is hardly to be founde againe within the whole Iſlande.

After wee be ouer the Tay, we come vnto Fife, ſometime a parte of Otholine: In this region groweth all maner of grayne ſo plentifully as elſwhere in any part of Albion, and where no corne, is there is no leſſe foyſon of cattell. There are blacke ſtones alſo digged out of the grounde, whiche are very good for firing, and ſuche is their intollerable heate when they are kindled, that they reſolue and melte yron and therefore are very profitable for Smithes, and ſuche Artificers as deale with other mettalles: neyther are they founde any where els (that I do knowe of) but betweene the Tay and the Tine within the whole Iſlande. Salt is likewiſe made in this region in great quantitie of Sea water, whiche they boyle according to theyr maner. There are furthermore ſundry cities in the ſame, of whiche S. Andrewes is the cheefe, wherein is bothe the ſeeof an Archbiſhop and a famous vniuerſitie. There are moreouer ſundry lakes, as Loch Tore and Loch Leuin, and in this later are diuerſe Iles, and in one of them alſo the Churche of Saint Phillane, a Scottiſhe ſaint, of no ſmall name and reputation.

Such are to be ſeene alſo in Luke.

Fife is diuided of Lowthian by the riuer of Forth that runneth a large and broade chanell into the Ocean ſeas. Certes it is a water very plentifully indued with Cockles, Oyſters, Muſkles, Scales, Pollockes, Herelwyne, Whales, and greate foyſon of white fiſhe: and among many other Iles that are to bee founde in this Fyrth, that of Maie is of greateſt fame, becauſe Adrian and his fellowes were killed in the ſame. In the middeſt of this Ile ſpringeth vp a fountayne of freſhe and

cleare water, from an high rocke, whiche is not a litle to be marueyled at, considering the quantitie and situation of the Ile. Beside this also is a wonderfull cragge, rysing within the Sea, whereunto is so striste and narrow a passage, that a man shall hardly come vnto it by a sisher boate, and thereto but at one place. This rocke (called the Basse castell) is inuincible, and therein are many caues very profitable for defence, made heretofore by great labour and industry of man. Certes, there is nothing in this rocke that is not full of admiration and wonder: therein also is great store of Soland geese (not vnlike to those which *Plinie* calleth water Egles or as we, sea Herons) & no where els but in Iulsay and this Rocke. At their first comming which is in the spring of the yeare, they gather suche great plenty of sticks & bowes together for the buylding of their nestes, that the same doth suffice the keepers of the castel, for the yearly maintenaunce of their fewel without any other prouision. These foules do feede their young with the most delicate fish that they can come by. For though they haue already prayed vpon any one, and haue it faste in their becke or talons, yet if they happen as they flie toward the land to espy a better, they let the first fall againe into the sea, & pursue the later, with great & egre swiftnesse vntill they take holde thereof. Sometimes their pray is taken from them by the keepers of the castel, as are also their sticks from time to time for the aforesayde vse: but they making small or rather no resistaunce, do turne againe forthwith, for more wood or sishe (as their losse requireth) not ceasing till they haue buylded their nestes with the one, & nourished vp their young with the other, so that what by the timber of their nests, the beguiling them of their pray, and stealyng away of their young, they bring yerely no small commoditie vnto the owner of the castell. Within the bowells of these geese there is a kinde of greace to be had of singular force in Medicine, and flaying likewise the skinne from their bodies with the fatte, they make an oyle very profitable for the Gowte and many other diseases in the haunches and groynes of mankinde. In this cragge more, there groweth an hearbe very pleasaunt & delicious for Salades, but if it be taken vp and planted elsewhere, it eyther groweth not at all, or vtterly giueth ouer the vertues wherewith it was earst indued. There was sometime a stone found here in this rocke much like to a water sponge or pumise, hollow on the one side, and of such nature, that if any salte water had bene powred thereinto, and suffred to runne thorow, it would forthwith lose the naturall saltnesse, and become fresh and very pleasant vnto the mouth and taste: we heare in these dayes that this stone is to be seene in Fast castell, whether it was brought after it had passed many handes for the triall of this matter.

In this Firth also is the Ile Aymon, wherein is an Abbay. There are likewise diuers other Ilandes, and those very full of Conies: and in the sayde Firth are sundry sisshes oftentimes seene of monstrous shape, with cowles hanging ouer their heades like vnto Monkes, and in the rest resembling the body of man. They shewe themselues likewise aboue the water to the nauell, howbeit they neuer appeare but against some great Pestilence of menne, or Murren of cattell: wherefore their onely sight doth breede great terrour vnto the Scottishe nation, who are very great obseruers of vncouth signes and tokens.

The description of Lowthian, Striueling, Menteith, Calidon wood, Bowgewall, Gareoth, with the notable Cities, Castels and Floodes thereof. Chap. 7.

On the Southside of the Forth lieth Lowthian, so called of Lothe or Loth, one of the Kinges of the Pictes, it was sometime named Pictlande: but nowe it is parcell of the Scottish kingdome, and thereto for bounty of soyle is not inferiour to any region of Scotlande. In Lowthian are many Abbayes, Castelles and townes, as Hadington, Dunbar, Northberwise and Leith: but Edenborow passeth them all, aswell in policy of regiment as in forme of buylding and wisedome, and riches of the inhabitantes: therein also is the castell of Maydens remembred by the moste renowned Authors, and also the Kings cheefe pallace, whiche tripleth the renowne of the aforesayde citie. Not farre from thence moreouer, is a certayne oyly spring whiche riseth out of the ground in suche aboundance, that the more is caried from thence, the more is restored: and the people are perswaded hereof, that it is very medicinable against all Cankers and skalles. Not farre from the mouth of Forth is the castel of Dunbar, whiche by naturall situation and industry of man, is now become one of the chiefe holdes in Albion. It was sometime the principall house appertayning to the Earles of Marche: and there harde by is a towne of the same name, wherein is a rich Abbay, or Colledge of Chanons founded by those Earles. Nexte vnto Lowthian lieth Mers, whereof I haue spoken already, but wee will nowe goe vp higher into the lande. Nearest vnto Mers therefore lieth Teuidale, and aboue it is Twedale: nexte vnto

Twedale

Twedale is Dzuysdale, Walcopdale, Douglasse-dale, and Clidisdale, and all these are suche names as the riuers haue that runne along their boromes. The principall towne of Clidesdale is Glasco the Archbishops see, wherein is a notable Church erected in the honour of Saint Mungow, and buylded with great magnificence. In Glasco also is a noble Vniuersitie where the liberal Artes and Sciences are very zealously taught. In this region mozeouer is a very riche mine of Gold, and another of Azure, the commoditie of whiche later is reaped with small trauayle. There are sometimes founde diuers precious stones also, as Rubies and Diamodes. Certes this myne was disclosed in the time of James the fourth, who would no doubt, haue brought it to full perfection if he had longer liued, whereas now litle profite redoundeth thereby to the common wealth, bycause it is eyther vtterly neglected oz not very much regarded. Nozth of Glasco lieth Menteith, and Striueling shire bordering vpon Argile & Lennor. In Striueling shyre is the towne of Striueling, and aboue it is the Castell of Striueling, which was sometime called the dolozous Mountaine. At this towne also began the great Calidon wood, whiche ranne thozow Menteith and Stratherne, to Atholl and Lochquhaber, as *Ptholomy* writeth in his first table. In this wood were somtime white Bulles with shagge heares and curled manes like fierce Lions, otherwise they were lyke vnto the tame, neuertheles so wilde and sauage, that they would neuer be made familiar, noz tast of any hearbe oz grasse that mans hande had once touched, after many dayes. Being taken also by the industry of man (whiche was very hard to do) they would refuse all sustenaunce, and sterue themselues to death. As sone as any did inuade them, they would rushe vpon him with great violence, and beare him to the earth: as foz Dogges, Nettes, oz any kinde of weapon they feared not, neyther cared foz any maner of engine. It is sayd that Robert Bruze after his Cozonation did hunt one of these Bulles in the aforesayde wood, being accompanied but with a small trayne, in whiche voyage he escaped narowly with his life. Foz after the beast felt himselfe soze wounded by the hunters, he rushed vpō the King, who hauing now no wrapon left in his hande wherewith to defend himselfe, he had surely perished if reskue had not come: howbeit in this distresse one came running vnto him who ouerthzew the Bull by playne force, and held him downe till the Hunters came that killed him out right. Foz this valiant acte also the King indued the aforesayd partie with great possessions, and his linage is to this day called of the Turnebulles, bicause he ouerturned the beast, and saued the kings lyfe, by such great prowes and manhood. Certes the flesh of these beastes were reputed in old time as a most delicate foode, and only meete foz the nobilitie, notwithstanding that it be very ful of sinewes and gristles, whereat some delicate feeders do often take offence. In times passe also they were bred in many places of the Caledon, but now they be all consumed by the gluttony of the inhabitants, so that none of them are left, but only in Comernald. On the east side of Menteith lieth Stratherne, & bozdereth also vpon Fife: thozow the valeys likewise of this region runneth the water of Ern, that falleth into Tay. This is mozeouer wozthy to be noted, that not foure miles from the confluence of Ern & Tay, there is a stone of small quantitie, and yet of great wonder, foz in what place soeuer it be layde, it will not be remeued from thence by manuall practise, arte oz engine, and yet one man may so sone moue it as an hundzed. On the other side of Tay beyond Angus and Gowzay lieth Sterimond, a region plentifully indued both with grasse and corne. Not farre from Sterimond is Athole, wherein are many noble valeys and ryuers full of fishe, as pikes Lempetnes &c. The soyle there also is so bountifull, that it yeeldeth corne in maner without any tillage: there is likewyse therein a towne called Kud, whose fieldes are so plentrous that (if they be well tilled and dressed) they will yeelde greate stoze of Barley without any sowing of seede. Howbeit as this is in that parte of the region often verified, so in other there is a contrarious disposition to bee founde in the earth, whiche turneth wheate sone into gold, & perfite Rye, the like whereof I heare, to be not farre from Luke and in the countreys thereaboutes. West of Buchquhane and Borne, lieth Bosgewell, and Carcoth very plentifull soyles bothe foz grasse and corne. In Carcoth also is an hill called Dundoze, that is to say, the Golden mountayne: foz the Sheepe that feede thereon are yellow, and their teeth of the same hewe, resemblyng burnished golde. Their fleshe mozeouer is redde as it were tyzned with Saffron, and so is their woll muche after the same maner. There is furthermoze in the same region, an heape of stones lying togither in maner of a Crowne which yeeld a founde when one of them is stricken as if it were a bell. Some are of the opinion, that one Idoll Temple oz other stode heretofoze in that place whyleft the Scottishe nation was addicted to the wozshipping of Diuels. Many other regions are in Scotlād, as Brzedalbane. Strabzann and Badzenoth with diuers small territozies and floudes, howbeit they are not so notable as those which we haue already touched, and therefoze I thinke it but folly to deale any farther with them.

Of the great plenty of Hares, redde Dere, and other wilde beastes in Scotland, of the strange properties of sundry Scottish Dogges, and of the nature of Salmon.

Chap. 8.

Hauing

HAuyng made this speciall description of the Realme of Scotland, now will I touche such thynges as concerne the same in generall. First of all therefore in the fieldes and wilde places of the countrey there is great plenty of Hares, red Dere, Fallow dere, Roes, wilde Horses, Wolfes and Foxes. These Horses are not gotten but by great slight and pollicie: for in the winter season the inhabitants turne certayne tame Horses and Mares amongst them, wherewith they growe in the ende to be so familiar, that afterward they go with them to and fro, and finally home into theyr Maisters yardes, where they be taken & soone broken to their handes. The Wolues are most fierce and noysome vnto the heardes and flockes in all partes of Scotland, sauing in one parcell of Angus, called Glennoys dale, where these beastes do no maner of hurt vnto the domesticall cattell, but pray only vpon the wilde. Foxes do much mischiefe generally in all steades, but chiefly in the Mountaynes, where they be very hardly hunted, howbeit arte hath deuised a meane to preuent their malice, and to preserue theyr poultrie. Certes there is almost no house that dothe not for certayne dayes cherishe vp a yong Foxe, which the Scottes do call a Todde, and then killing the same, they mince the flesshe thereof amongst suche meate, as they giue vnto their foules and other litle beastial, and by this meanes so many foules and cattell as eate hereof are preserued from daunger of the Foxe, almost by two monethes after, so that they may wander whether they will, for the Foxes as it were winding or smelling the flesshe of their fellowes yet in their croppes, will in nowise meddle with them, but eschew and knowe suche a one, although it were among an hundred of other. In Scotland moreouer are Dogs of meruailous condition: for beside the common nature and vniuersall properties of Dogges of all other countries, there are three sortes with vs, whiche are not seene elswhere in any quarter of the worlde. The first is an Hounde of greate swiftnesse, hardinesse, and strenght, fierce and cruell vpon all wilde beastes, & egre against theeues, that offer their Maisters any violence. The second is a rache or hound very exquisite in followyng the foote (which we call drawing) whether it be of man or beast, yea he will pursue any maner of foule, and finde out whatsoeuer filth is cast vp, or lurketh among the rockes, by that excellent sence of smelling wherewith he is indued. The thirde sorte is no greater than that of Raches, in collour for the most parte red with blacke spots, or els blacke and full of redde markes. These are so skilfull that they will pursue a theefe or theefe stolen goodes in moste precise maner, and finding the trespasser, with great assurance, they will make a rayse vpon him. Or if it be so that he haue taken the water for his sauegarde, he shrinketh not to follow him, and entring and issuyng at the same places where the partie went in and out, he neuer ceaseth to raunge til he haue noised his footing, and be come to the place wherein the theefe is shrowded. The Dogges of this kinde are called Sleuthhoundes. Certes this report would seeme more incredible, excepte it were dayly had in experience vpon the borders of Englande and Scotland, where pillage is good purchase indifferently on both sides. There is a lawe also among the borderers in time of peace, that who so denieth entraunce or sute of a Sleuthhound in pursuyte made after fellons and stolen goodes, shalbe holden as accessary vnto the theft or taken for the selfe theefe.

Of foules suche (as I meane) as liue by pray, there are sundry sortes in Scotlande, as Egles, Faucons, Gosshaukes, Sparhaukes, Marlions and such like, but of water Foules there is so great store that the report thereof may seeme to exceede all credite. There are other kindes of birdes also in this countrey, the like of whiche is no where els to be seene, as the Capercailze or wilde Horse greater in body than the Rauen, and liuing only by the rindes and barkes of the Pine trees. We haue in like maner many Moore cockes and Hennes, whiche absteyning from corne do feede vpon nought els, but the leaues of *Cytisus*, whiche the Scottes do commonly call Hadder. These two are very delicate in Eating. The thirde sorte is reddish blacke of colour, in quantitie comparable to the Phesaunt, and no lesse delicious in taste and sauour at the table, our countrey men call them wild Cockes, and their cheefe sustenaunce is by wheate. Beside these, we haue moreouer another foule in Mers more straūge and vncouth than all these afore mentioned, called a Gustard, fully so great as a Swanne, but in colour of feathers and taste of flesshe, little differing from a Partriche, howbeit these byrdes are not very common, neyther to be seene in all places, suche also is their qualitie, that if they perceiue their egges to haue bene touched in theyr absence by mans hād (whiche lie commonly on the bare earth) they forsake those nestes and lay in other places. All other our foules are common to vs and other nations. Salmon is more plentifull in Scotland than in any other region of the worlde, and bicause the nature of this fish is strange, I wil set downe somuch as I do knowe hereof at this present time as followeth. The Salmon in Harueste time, commeth vp into the small riuers, where the water is moste shallow, and there the male & female rubbing their wombe one agaynst another, they shedde theyr spawne, which forthwith they couer with sand and grauell & so depart away, from henceforth they are gaunt & slēder, & in apparance so leane ẏ thei appeare nought els but skin & bone, & therfore worthely sayd to be growne out of vse and season, it is sayd also ẏ if they touche any of their full fellowes, during the time of this theyr leanneſſe, ẏ same side which they touched

touched will likewise become leane, whereby it cometh to passe, that a Salmō is oft seene to be fat on the one side of ẏ chyne, & leane on ẏ other. But to proceede, the aforesayd spawne & milte being hidden in the sande (as you haue heard) in the next spring doth yeelde great numbers of litle frie, but so nesshe & tender, for a long time that till they come to be so great as a mans finger (if you catch any of thē) you shal perceyue them to melt & their substance to dissolue & fade euen as if it were gelly, or if layd forth against ẏ sunne. Frō henceforth they go to the sea, where within the space of xx. dayes they grow to a maruelous greatnesse, & then returning againe toward the place of their generation, they shew a notable spectacle not unworthy to be considered of. Certes in Scotlande there are many linnes or poles, whiche being in some places among the rockes very shallow aboue, & yet deepe beneath, with the fall of the water, & thereto the Salmon not able to pearce thorow the Chanell, either for swiftnesse of the course or depth of the discent, of such water as cōmeth against him, he goeth so neare vnto the side of the rocke or damme, if I shall so call it, as he may, & there aduentureth to leape ouer & vp into the lin, if he leape well at the first, he obtaineth his desire, if not he, assayeth eftsones the second or third time, till he returne now into his coūtry: a great fish able to swimme against the streame, that before was a litle hod & maugre his resistence, caried with the violent course of the water into the mayne Ocean, such as assay often to leape, and cannot get ouer, do browse thēselues & become Measelled: others that happen to fal vpon dry land a thing often seene, are taken by the people (that watch their times) in cawdrons of hote water, which they set vpon the shallow & dry plottes with fire vnder them, in hope to catche the fattest, & suche as by reason of theyr weight do oftenest leape shorte. Certes ẏ tast of these is reputed to be most delicate, and therfore their price is cōmonly greater than of the rest. It is inhibited in Scotland to take any Salmon from the eight of September, vntill the xv. of Nouember. Finally there is no mā that knoweth readily whereon this fishe liueth, for neuer was any thing yet found in their bellies, other than a thicke slymy humour.

Of the sundry kindes of Muskles and Cockles in Scotland, and pearles gotten in the same: of the vncouth and strange fish there to be seene, and of the nature of the herbe Cythisus commonly called Hadder. Chap. 9.

HEre it resteth that I shewe the nature of Muskles & Cockles, wherof we haue many & sundry kindes amongst vs: of these also some are small, and yet if they be eaten fresh, are not without a naturall delicacy in tast. Others are greater & not vnlike in forme & quātitie to those that haue the purple: & albeit that they are vterly voyde thereof, yet is their meate and substance right pleasant in the eating. There are of an other sorte whiche are longer & greater, than either of these, called horse Muskles, to be had in the Dee & the Done, & in these are the pearles ingendred. Certes they loue to be resident in the deepest and clerest waters that are voyde of mudde & filth, & such is their estimation among the delicatest kindes of foode, that they were not vnworthely called of old time, widowes lustes. Their shelles also are as it were wrought euen from the very toppes, and thereto ful of spottes, wherein (as in yeld of gaine) they farre exceede al other. These early in the morning, in the gētle, cleere, & calme ayre, lift vp their vpper shells & mouthes, a litle aboue the water, and there receiue of the fine & pleasant breath or dew of heauen, & afterwardes according to the measure & quantitie of this vitall force receyued, they firste conceyue, then swell, and finally produce the pearle. They are so sensible & quicke of hearing, ẏ although you standing on the bray or banke aboue them, do speake neuer so softly, or throw neuer so small a stone into the water, yet they wil descrie you, and settle againe to the botome, without returne for that time. Doubtlesse they haue as it were a naturall carefulnesse of their owne commodity, as not ignorant, how great estimation wee mortall men make of the same amongst vs, and therefore so soone as the fisher men do catche them, they binde their shelles together, for otherwise they would open, and shead theyr pearles of purpose, for whiche they know themselues to be taken and pursued. Their maner of apprehension is this, first foure or fiue persons go into the riuer together, vp vnto the shoulders, and there stand in a compasse one by another with poles in their handes, whereby they rest more surely, fith they fixe thē in the ground, & stay with one hand vpon them: Then casting their eyes downe to the botome of the water, they espie where they lie by their shining and clearenesse, and with their toes take them vp, for the deapth of the water will not suffer them to stoupe for them (& giue thē to such as stand next them. The perles that are so gotten in Scotlād, are not of small value, they are very orient and bright, light & round, & somtimes of the quantitie of ẏ naple of ones litle finger, as I haue had & seene by mine own experience. Almost such another muskle found on the coast of Spaine, the shels whereof are gathered by such as go in pilgrimage to S. Iames, & brought into Scotlād, but they are wont perles, bicause thei liue in salt water, which is an enimy to ẏ Margarite: but

Cardane denieth this, lib. 7. de Subtilitate.

but Cardane alſo denieth it. In all the ſea coaſtes alſo of Scotlãd are Cockles & Muſkles of the ſame forme, but without this commodity. Many vncouth and ſtrange ſhapes of fiſh likewiſe are ſeene there, whereof ſome are armed with ſhelles, ſome with harde ſkales, and diuers round as a ball ſkinned like an Irchcon or Hedgehogge, hauing but one conduct bothe for purgation of their excrements, and reception of their ſuſtenaũce. To ſhew euery kinde of fiſh that is in Scotlãd, it were but a vaine trauaile, ſith the ſame are knowẽ almoſt in euery region. In like ſorte we haue ſuch pleuty of fiſhe vpon our ſeuerall coaſtes, that although Millions & infinite numbers of them be taken on the one day, yet on the nert their loſſe wil ſo be ſupplied with new ſtore, that nothing ſhal be miſſing by reaſon of the yeſterfang: ſo bountifull is God in theſe his benefites vnto vs. Furthermore, there is another gift beſtowed vpon vs by the ſingular prouidence of God. For the greater dearth and penury of fleſh and corne is ſeene in Scotland, the greater ſtore of fiſhe is taken vpon our ſhores. In like ſorte in the deſertes and wilde places of this realme, there groweth an hearbe of it ſelf called Hadder or Hather very delicate, as *Columella lib. 9. cap. 4.* ſayth, for Goates and all kinde of cattell to feede vpon, and likewiſe for diuers Foules, but Bees eſpecially. This herbe in June yeeldeth a purple floure, ſweete as hony, whereof the Pictes in time paſte did make a pleaſaunt drinke, and very wholeſome for the body: but for aſmuche as the maner of making hereof is periſhed in the hauocke made of the Pictes, when the Scottes ſubdued their countrey, it lieth not in me to ſet downe the order of it, neyther ſhewed they euer the learning hereof to any but to their owne nation. Finally there is no parte of Scotland ſo barren and vnprofitable, but it produceth eyther yron or ſome other kinde of mettall, as may be proued eaſely thorow out all the Iles that are annexed to the ſame.

Galen lib. 1. de Anti. loris ſaith that Cytiſus is no hearbe but a ſhrubbe, and ſo dothe Pliny lib. 12. cap 3. lib. 13. cap 24. lib 16. cap. 8. And Columella in the end of his 5. boke, where he accompteth it amog trees.

Of the Iles of Scotland, and ſuch notable things as are to be found in them. Chap. 10.

BEing fallen at the laſte into mention of our Iles, I wil addreſſe my ſelf to deſcribe the ſame in maner and forme as followeth. In the Iriſhe ſea betwixt Ireland and Scotlande are forty and three Iles, whereof ſome are xxx. myles long, diuers xij. and others more or leſſe. Theſe are called by ſome writers *Euboniæ*, and by other *Hebrides*. But the principall of them all is that of Man, whiche lieth ouer againſt Galloway, and was ſometime the principall ſeate of the *Driuydes*, as *Cornelius Tacitus*, *Ceſar* in his Cõmentaries, and other Romayne writers do teſtifie at large. Forth from the Ile of Man lieth Arran, otherwiſe named Botha, after S. Brandons time, who dwelled there in a little cottage, whiche (as all other the like were in thoſe dayes) was called Bothe. Frõ Arran wee go to Hellaw and Rotheſay, whiche later is ſo named of ỹ Scot, which brought the Scottes firſte out of Ireland into Brytaine. Not farre from this Ile is Iſlay, where there is ſuch ſtore of Soland geeſe as the ſayde before to be in Bas. Beyond Iſlay lie many other diſtinguiſhed by their ſeuerall names, but full of mynes, as of Iron, Tinne, Lead, and ſundry other mettals. Howbeit the moſte notable Ile belonging to Scotland is Ila, that lieth beyond the promoutory of Nouant cliffe, (in Scottiſh the toũ of Lorne) within ſight of Lochquhabre. Certes it is a riche parcell, xxx. miles of length, and full of corne and mettall, if the people were cunning to finde and trimme the ſame. Not farre from thence is Cumbra, and Mula, fully ſo large as Ila both for length and breadth. In Mula is a fayre ſpring two miles from the ſea, from whence runneth a little brooke or ſtrippet, whereof you ſhall reade more in the deſcription of Brytaine, *lib. 1. cap. 8.* Neare vnto this is Iona, otherwiſe called Columkill, in whiche is an Abbay, wherein the Kings of Scotlande were commonly buried from the time of Fergus the ſecond, vnto Malcoline Canmor, who erected the Monaſtery of Dunfermelin, where ſithence that time the moſte parte of our Kings haue bene of cuſtome interred. Paſſing forward to ỹ Northnorthweſt ſeas, ouer againſt Roſſe is an Ile named Lewis. lx. myles in length, in this Ile is but one fiſhe riuer, and it is ſayd that if a womã wade thorow the ſame at the ſpring of the yere, there ſhall no Salmon be ſeene there for a twelf moneth after, whereas otherwiſe that fiſhe is knowen to abounde there in very great plenty. Beyonde Lewis lie the Sky and the Rona, in the later wherof, it is incredible to ſay what of Seale, of Pellock & Porpaſſe is to be ſeene, whiche are nothing abaſhed at the ſight of any man. The laſt and vttermoſt Ile is named Hirtha, where the eleuation of the pole, is lxij. degrees, and ſithence the latitude of Man, is but lvij. I conclude, that from the Ile of Man the firſt Ile of Albion, to Hirtha the laſt Ile hereof are 377. myles, after 62. miles and an half to euche degree, as *Ptholomy* hath ſet down. It is named Hirtha, which in Iriſh ſoundeth ſo much as a Sheepe in Engliſh, for herein that kinde of cattell aboundeth, euche one being greater than any Bucke, their hornes longer and thicker than of the Bugle, and thereto they haue ſide tailes that reach vnto the earth. It is enui-

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rõned on euery part with rochy or rocky crags, whereby fewe vessells may lande there but at one place, where the working of the sea is often times so terrible and rough, that no man dare aduenture thither without daunger of his lyfe. They that go thither therefore, do watch theyr times when the sea is calme and still. In the moneth of June also, a Priest commeth vnto them out of Leuissa, and ministreth the sacrament of Baptisme to all the children that haue bene borne there sithe that moneth in the yeare precedent: whiche beyng done, and a certayne number of Masses sayde, he receyueth Tithes of all their commodities, & then returneth home againe.

In the Ile of Lewis are two Churches or Chappels, wherof one is dedicated to S. Peter, another to S. Clement. The same is, that so soone as the fire goeth out in this Ile, the man that is holden of most cleane and innocent life, goeth to the Aultare with great solemnity, and there layeth a wisp of straw, which being done they fall all to prayer, in the middest whereof fire commeth downe from Heauē and kindleth or setteth the same on fire.

Beyond this, is yet another Ile, but voyde of people and all other liuing Creatures, sauing certen kinde of beastes like vnto Sheepe, whose nature and forme I haue already touched in the description of Brytaine, and therefore omitte it here, for haste and breuitie sake. Betwixt these Iles also is a right daungerous passage, sith the sea by working of opposite streames hath ingendred a goulf, whiche sometime taketh in an incomprehensible deale of water, and somtimes casteth it forth agayne, by meanes wherof many shippes that by rage of winde and weather are inforced to come that way, are eyther swallowed vp by the waues, or throwen against the rockes to their bitter daunger and ruine. The greatest rage of this confluēce is at a place called Corebrecke, where it will eyther sinke or at the least wise draw any ship vnto it, though it be a full myle distant from the same.

Of the nature of the Claike geese, and sundry maners of their procreation, and of the Ile of Thule. Chap. ii.

NOw it is come to hande that I entreate of those Geese, which are ingendred by the sea, whose procreatiō hath hitherto bene thought to haue bene made vpon trees. But the opinion is false, and yet sith theyr generation is strange in deede, I haue not a litle trauayled, and with no small diligence indeuoured to search out the truth hereof, whereby I learne that their ingendrure is rather to be referred to the sea, than any thing els, if my coniecture be oughtes: for although that they are in sundry wise produced, yet I finde the same to be performed continually in the sea, and not elswhere, as shal appeare hereafter. All trees cast into the Element in processe of tyme become wormeeaten, & in the holes thereof are the sayde wormes to be founde though very little and small (in comparison to that they be afterwarde) to be perceyued at the first. In the beginnyng, these wormes do shew their heades and feete, & last of all their plumes and winges. Finally when they are come to the iust measure and quantitie of Geese, they flye in the ayre as other foules do. This was notably proued in the yeare of grace 1490, in sight of many people, beside the Castell of Petslego, whether the body of a greate tree was brought by working of the sea. This tree beyng taken, it was carried to the Lord of the soyle, who sone after caused it to be slitte in sunder with a sawe which being done, it is incredible to see, what a multitude of wormes came out of these holes. Of these also some appeared as if they had bene but newe shapen; diuerse had head, foote and winges, but no fethers, the rest were formed into perfite foules. At the last when the people had gazed thereon by the space of an whole day, they caried it to S. Andrewes Churche beside Tire, where the saide blocke remayneth still to be seene. Within two yeares after there happed such another tree to come into the fyrth of Tay beside Dundee, wormeeaten and full of young geese after the same maner: the thirde was seene in the hauen of Leith beside Edenborow: also within a fewe yeares, in like sorte a ship named the Cristopher, after she had lien three yeares at ancre in one of these yles was brought to Leith, where because hir timber was found to be rotten shee was taken in sunder, and in hir keele were found infinite holes as if they had bene eaten with wormes or bored with a wimble, and eche one of them filled with such creatures as I haue sayde before. Here if any man will alledge that the Christopher was buylded of such timber onely as grew in these Iles, and that all rootes & trees there growing, are of such nature as in their corruptiō do turne into these foules, I will disproue his assertion by one notable example shewed before mine eyes. Master Alexander Galloway parson of Kinkell, was with vs in these Iles, and giuing his minde with attentiue diligence to searche out a full resolution with vs of these obscure and hidden matters, it happed on a tyme that he tooke vp a braunche of Alga, called in Scottishe, Seatangle, whiche hanged ful of muskle shelles from the roote euen to the very top. Being also desirous to see what was in them, he grewe to be more astonished

than before: for when he had opened one or two of them, he saw no fish but a foule perfitely shaped, fully answering to the capacitie of the shell.

Finally, knowing that I was very inquisitiue of these and the like rare nouelties, he came hastily with the sayde hearbe and shewed it vnto me, who founde no lesse by experience than I before reported. By these and many other reasons and examples I cannot beleeue that these Claikes (or Barnacles as I call them) are produced eyther by the qualities of the trees or the rootes thereof, but only by the nature of the sea, whiche is the cause and productrix of so many wonderfull creatures. Furthermore, because the rude and ignorant people saw oftentimes the fruytes that fell from trees, which stode neuer in the sea, conuerted within shorte time into geese, they beleeued that these geese growe vpon trees, hanging by their nebbes as apples and other fruyte do by their stalkes, but their opinion is vtterly to be reiected. For so soone as these apples or fruyte fall from the tree into the Sea, they grow first to be worme eaten, and in processe of time to be conuerted into geese.

Thus haue I spoken sufficiently of the Iles of the Hebrides adiacent vnto the realme of Scotland, and therewith all would shut vp my discourse of the same, were it not that I haue somwhat to say also of Thule, not vnknowen vnto the Romaynes, as may appeare by *Tacitus*, who telleth how the Romaine nauy by the cõmaundement of *Agricola*, was sent to vewe the coastes of the whole Iland of Brytaine; and in their returne reported how they had seene the Thule, with other Ilandes lying aboute the same. *Ptholomy* writeth that the Ile of Thule is one of the Shetland Iles, whiche lie neare vnto Norway, and beyond the Orchades, but this cannot be proued so by late experience: for Thule is many miles distant from Shetland. Some say that Thule is the same whiche wee call Iland: other write that it is the last Ile of the Ocean sea, and so is Iland, which lieth in the colde frosty sea, beyond the Artike circle toward the North pole. The people of Iland bycause no corne groweth among them, lyue onely by fishe, whiche they drie and powder so small as meale doth come backe from the mill, afterward they mixe it with water, and worke it vp for bread.

Of the description of Orkenay, and Shetland with sundry other smal Iles, and of the maners and conditions of the people dwelling in the same. Chap. 12.

BEyond the Iles of Scotlond lie those of Orkenay partly toward the Northwest, and partly toward the Almaine seas. The principall Ile of these is called *Pomonia*, wherein is a Bishops see, and two strong castels. In these groweth no wheate, they are in like sorte voyde of wood, howbeit al other graine groweth there very plentifully, they be without all venemous beasts: also neither can such as are brought thither liue any while, more than in Irelãd, which sufferyneth no creature that is aduersarie to mãkinde, ouer and beside this, there are no frogges: as for Eels they are seldome found & to be seene in the Orchades. Hauing thus fallen into the mentiõ of Ireland, I thinke it good among diuers other rare gifts of nature to remember one thing that I haue proued by experience to be done there (although the tractation of Ireland & hir commodities appertaine not to this place) whiche farre passeth all that euer I haue redde in bookes. Certes there is a Loch, linne, or poole there, neare vnto the whiche by many miles, there groweth neyther hearbe nor tree, howbeit such is the qualitie of this water, that if a stake be pitched in the same, the nature thereof dothe within one yeeres space, alter and change exceedingly, for that parte thereof which standeth in the grounde is conuerted into harde stone, the same that is enuirõned with water turneth into tough yron, onely that portion whiche is aboue the sayd Element retaining hir former woddy substaunce, whereby it is often seene how in one and the same body, three distinct substances are found, that is to say, stone, yron, & wood, which farre exceedeth all credite. But to returne againe to our Orchades, whereof things of litle or no lesse importaunce are to be rehearsed, for sith there is great abundance of Barley whereof they make the strongest Ale that is to be founde in Albion, and thereto knowen, that they are the greatest drynkers of any men in the worlde, yet was there neuer dronken or man disguised with drinke seene there, neyther any fole, or person otherwise bereft of his wittes thorow phrenesie or madnesse. There is herevnto small vse of Phisicke: for mankinde liueth there most commonly vnto extreme age in sound & perfite healthy, whose bodies also are of strong constitution & very white of colour. The Ewes that are to be found in these Ilandes haue for ỹ most part two or three Lãs a peece, at euery eening, and therewithall they haue in this countrey suche plenty of foules bothe wilde and tame, as the lyke number agayne is not to be founde in Brytaine. Their horses are litle greater than the French Asses, but in their labour they exceede all other, what shoulde I speake of the plenty of fishe there to be had, which passeth al credite: among whiche there is one sorte greater than any horse, of marueylous and incredible

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sluggye desire to sleepe. This fish when she prouideth to sleepe, fastneth hyr huge teeth vpon some cragge that lieth aboue the water, & then slumbreth or falleth into a moste sounde reste, whiche the seafaring men espying, they forthwith cast ancre, and then letting downe theyr shippe boates, they conueigh themselues to the fishe, and bore a greate hole thorow hir tayle, whereinto they put one ende of a cable, and so make it sure, the other ende is fastned to a great ancre, whiche is let fall of purpose into the sea, and thus is their enterprise attempted ere long to be atchieued. For after this wounde, it is not long ere the fishe awaketh, who feeling hir selfe to be hurt, leapeth at once into the sea, thinking to hide and shrowde hir in the deepes: but being staied by the weight of the ancre, and indeuouring in vayne to breake the cable, she laboureth so vehemently, that at the last she windeth hir selfe out of hir skinne, for the which she is commonly taken) and some after also turneth vp hir belly, yeelding hir life vnto the waues, and hyr body to the Mariners, who make an excellent oyle of hir greace, and passing strōg cables of hir hide or skinne. Certes such is the force of Rope made of the skinne of this fishe, that they will holde at a plunge no lesse than the Spanishe *Sparto*. Herein also they exceede ẏ same in that they will continue very long without fretting asunder.

In hundred miles beyond the Orchades are the Schetland Iles, whose chiefe commodities stande onely by fish which is dried in the sunne. There are brought also into Scotland out of these Ilandes great store of Sheepes felles, oxe hides, Goate skins, & cases of Martienes dryed in the sunne. And in the same maner the Marchaunts of Hollande, Zeelande and Germany, fetch them yearely by barter and exchaunge for other common and necessary wares, with the people of that nation, who for maners and conditions resemble much the Orchanois. The same in like sorte that is sayde of the Orchanoys, concerning drunkennesse and frenesy, is verified on them, as is also their length of lyfe, although not in so rare maner: Sith these in steede of strong Ale, content themselues with water, and very slender diet. Beyōd the Schetlandes there are diuers other Ilandes, of lyke condition, but without corne and all maner of flesshe to feede vpon. These dry their fishe at the Sunne, and when they are thorowe stiffe, they grinde them to smal powder, which they worke vp with water into loaues, and so vse the same in lieu of other bread. Theyr liuing consisteth of the boanes of suche fishes as they take, and yet they content themselues in suche maner with this their poore kinde of lyuelode, that they thinke their estate moste happy in respect of such as inhabite in the Maine. Certes there is no quarelling amongst these for wealth or gaine, but eche one prouideth suche store of fishe in Somer whiche he taketh himselfe, as shall finde his family for keepe his house in winter. They are voyde of all ambitious mode, & neuer troubled with ciuile or forren warres, as men that deeme firme peace and quietnesse, with mutuall loue and amity, to be the chiefe felicity to be sought for in this life, and to remaine therin, eche one to his power dothe shewe his whole indeuour. This finally is to be added vnto their cōmendation, that they are simple, playne, voyde of crafte, and all maner of Serpentine suttlety, whiche endeth commonly with mischiefe, and reigneth in the Maine. Once in the yeare there commeth a Priest vnto them from Orkenay (of whiche Diocesse they are) who ministreth vnto them the Sacrament of Baptisme, and after a certayne tyme (hauing taken vp in the meane time his Tithes in fishe, whiche is their sole increase, and very truly payde) he returneth home againe the same way that he came. If any giftes of nature are to be numbred as parcelles of worldly riches and renowne, they are not without these also: for the people of these Iles are lusty, fayre, strong of body, and highe of stature, so ẏ nature hath not failed to indue them with these things, and that in most excellent maner. What should I say of their helth, whiche is and may be preferred aboue all treasure, as they well know that are oppressed with long and grieuous infirmities: for here among these men, you shall very seldome heare of sickenesse to attache any, vntill extreame age come that killeth them altogither, and this is that exceeding benefit naturally appropried vnto their carcases. As for their quietnesse of minde, it is alwayes suche as is constant, vnchaungeable, and therefore incompareable vnto any riches or huge masse of worldly treasure.

Herevnto furthermore, if it be true riches (as it is in deede) for eche one not to couet other mēs goodes, but to content himself with that which is his owne, and not to stande in neede of any thing, can any men be founde in any other region more riche and fortunate than the Shetland men and these Ilanders? Finally, if those be the true honors, and reuerent dueties whiche the obedient sonne with greate sincerity and boyde of all flattery, doth shewe vnto his good parents, and wherewithall the best sort do meruaylously reioyce and delite themselues, & that these are also not wanting in these regions, can we iustly say that these mē do lacke any thing, or shall we not rather affirme with greate assurance that they rather stand in neede of nothing

that any mortal man can iustly wish or desire? But if there be any man that will accuse me of vntruth in the recitall of these things, as one that lieth lowde and by authoritie of a people dwelling far off, for so much as I my selfe was neuer in those Ilandes, he shal vnderstand that I learned all these things of the reuerent father Edward Bishop of the Orchades, with whom one of these Ilanders dwelled, who not onely made a like rehearsall of these things with his owne mouth, but also verified the same in his owne person, for his height farre passed the cõmon stature of men, thereto he was excellently well featured in his limmes, so white of skinne ouer all, that he might contend in beauty with any lady of the lande, & finally so wight & strõg of body, that no man in all those quarters durst rũne or wrestle with him. Hereby also we may see, how far they are deceyued whiche iudge thẽ to be barbarous, & miserable creatures that inhabite far from the Tropike lines, for there are no people more happy than those that dwell in these quarters, as I haue proued already.

See Matthiolus vpon the first booke of Dioscorides, capite de populo alba & nigra.

Furthermore, among the rockes & cragges of these Iles groweth the delectable Amber, called *Electrum*, *Chrysolectrũ*, or as *Dioscorides* hath *Pterygophoron*, indued with so vehemẽt an attractiue force, ẏ being chafed it draweth straw, flore, and other like light matter vnto it. This gumme is ingendred of the sea froth whiche is throwen vp by continuall repercussion of crags & rockes against the sea walles, & through perpetual working of ẏ waues groweth in time to become tough as glew, til it fall at ẏ last from ẏ rocke againe into the sea. Suche as haue often viewed & marked the generation of this gũme, whilest it hãgeth on ẏ rocke, affirme it to be like a froth & bubble of water without al massy sadnesse, bycause that as yet it is not sufficiently hardned by the working of the Element. Sometimes ẏ Seatangle is found enuironed also wõ al, bicause it is driuẽ hither & thither by the working of ẏ waues, & so lõg as it fleetes to & fro in this maner, so long is it apte to cleaue to any thing that it toucheth. Two yeeres before I wrote this booke, there came a great lompe of Amber into Buchquhane, in quantity so bigge as any horse, which the heardmẽ that kept their cattell neare hand caught vp, & not knowing in deede what it was, they caried it home, & threw a portion thereof into the fire: finally perceiuing a sweete & delectable sauour to proceede frõ the same, they ran by & by to the Priest of ẏ towne where they dwelled, telling him how they had found a peece of stuffe whiche would serue very well in steede of frãkensence, wherwith to perfume his sainctes or rather Idols in the church. These mẽ supposed that sir John had ben more

Alga.

cunning than themselues, but contrary to their expectation, it fell out that he was no lesse vnskilful & voyde of knowledge than they, & therefore refusing the whole lumpe, he took but a small portion therof, and returned the rest vnto thẽ, whereby it came to litle prowe & lesse gayne among the common sorte, who suffred it to perish by reason of their vnskilfulnesse. Certes when they brake it in peeces, it resembled in colour vnto the purest golde, & shined as if it had bene the late or flame of a cãdle. Herein also the Prouerb was proued true, that the Sow reckes not of Balme. But so sone as I vnderstode of the matter, I vsed such diligence, that one portiõ therof was brought to me at Aberden. And thus much of the *Hebrides*, *Orchades* & Shetland Iles subiect vnto the Scottish regiment. I might no doubt haue made rehersall of diuers other things worthy the noting in this behalfe. But I haue made choise onely of the most rare & excellent, and so would finish this descriptiõ, were it not that one thing hath stayed me right pleasant to be remembred, as an vncouth and strange incident, whereof master James Ogilby Imbassadour from James our King, (among other) vnto the King of Fraunce, hath certified me, & whereof he had experience of late at such time as he was constrayned by tempest of weather to get to land in Norway. Thus standeth the case, being driuen, as I saide, vpon the shore of Norway, he and his company saw a kinde of people raungyng vp & downe in the mountaynes there, much like vnto those which diuers pictures giue forth for wilde men, heary and vgly to behold. In the end being aduertized that they were sauage & wilde beastes, yet nevertheless deadly enimies to mãkind, they vnderstood therunto that although in the day time they abhorred & feared the sight of man, yet in the night they would by great companies inuade the small villages & countrey townes, killing & sleying so many as they found, or where no dogges were kept to put by their rage & fury. Certes such is their nature, that they stande in great feare of dogges, at whose barking & sight they flie and runne away with no small haste & terrour, wherefore the inhabitants are inforced to cherish great numbers of the said beasts, thereby to keepe off those wilde men that otherwise would annoy them: they are moreouer of suche strength, that sometimes they pull vp yong trees by the rootes to fight withall amõg themselues. The Imbassadors seyng these vncouth creatures, were not a litle astonied, & therfore to be sure frõ all inuasion, they procured a strõg gard, to watch al night about thẽ, with great fires to giue light ouer all that quarter, till on the morrow that they tooke the sea & so departed thence.

Finally

Finally the Norwegiãs shewed thẽ, that there was another people not far of, whiche liued all the Sõmer time in the sea like fish, & fed of such as they did catch, but in ẏ Winter half (bicause the water is cold) they prayed vpon such wilde beasts as fedde on the mountaynes, whiche cõming downe from the snowy hilles to grase in the baleys, they killed with dartes & weapons, & carried vnto their caues. In this exercise also they tie certaine litle bowdes to their feete, which beare them vp from sinking into the snow, & so with a staffe in their handes, they make the better shifte to clime vp and come downe from the cragges and mountaines, wherof in that region there is very great plenty and aboundance.

Of the maners of the Scottes in these dayes, and their comparison with the behauiour of the old, and such as liued long since within this Iland. Chap. 13.

FOrasmuch as diuers noble men haue desired me to shew apart the old maners of the Scots touched in my history, to the end it may be knowen how far our nation in these present dayes are different in their maners & behauiour frõ those of our forefathers, & herevnto although I assure my self already ẏ the reuealing of these things will procure vnto me the hatred of sundry worthy or renowmed personages (of which few wil yeelde to heare their doings touched, or their errours reproued) yet bicause I owe such duetie & seruice vnto those that haue made this request vnto me, & least I should seeme ingrate not to herken vnto thẽ in this behalf I haue cõdescended to the performaunce of their desires, & somuch the rather, for ẏ they alledge how it wil be very profitable vnto al readers, but especially such as are not immoderately giuen ouer vnto their owne affections, nor so wholly drowned in their owne sensuality & pleasures, but vpon consideration of wholsome admonition will be very willing to leaue what soeuer offendeth in them. First of al therfore, I will declare what vsages haue ben among our elders both in time of warre & peace, and by what wisedome & industrie they haue preuailed so long time against such & so many mighty aduersaries, as first the Brytons, then ẏ Saxons, next of al the Danes whiche haue entred into this Iland with huge armies, to spoyle and subdue the same. Furthermore, I wil set downe with somuch breuity as I can, how the failing by litle & litle frõ the frugalitie and customes of their Forefathers, their vertue & force also began in like order to decay. And finally how in these daies either by the clemẽcy of our neighbours, or by their delicate negligence rather than by our owne prowes, wee liue in security, & thereby as it were ouerwhelmed & wrapped vp in al auarice, & excesse, wherinto our want of exercise and martiall prowesse doth marueylously impell vs. Certes I beleue that by this meanes such as are of ẏ more couragious sort (& yet reteyning a sauour of the tẽperancie of theyr elders) will reioyce to heare their manhode and great prowes cõmended in this wise, as others of the cõtrary sect (in seruile maner addicted to gather good, and spende their times in idle excesse & riot) seeing their errours iustly reprehended, & the dishonor gotten thereby openly reuealed, will the rather addresse themselues to reformation of their estate, thereby to recouer the auncient renowme of their Forefathers, in answering to their prowes, than proue a reproche vnto their successours, thorow their lewde behauiours neuer to be forgotten. This also I protest before al men, that what soeuer I shall speake of the euill maners of our times, I do not meane it vnto all, but those only whome blind self loue, couetousnesse, intemperancy, excesse and abuse of al Goddes good giftes haue so touched, that they deserue much more to be reprehended then I will vouchsafe to attempt in this my lateward treatize, therefore if any man shall thinke him selfe to be rubbed on the gall by me, I counsell him that he conceale not his infirmity, by seeking reuenge on otherwhẽ, but rather indeuour to procure the remedy in first acknowledging his misdemeanors, whiche is the one and better halfe of his cure.

Our elders although they were right vertuous both in warre abrode, and at home in peace, were yet neuertheless in conuersation & behauiour very temperate, whiche is the fountaine & originall of al vertues. In sleepe they were cõpetent, in meate & drinke sober, & contẽted with such fode as was ready at hande and prepared with litle cost. Their bread consisted of suche stuffe as grew most readily on ẏ ground, without al maner of sifting and boulting, wherby to please the palate, but baked vp as it came frõ the mill without any suche curiosity, whiche is a great abasing of the force therof vnto our dayly nourishment. The flesh whereon they chiefly fed, was either such as they gate by hunting, wherin they toke great delite & which increased not a litle their strength and nimblenesse, or els suche tame cattell as they bredde vp at home, wherof beefe was accompted the principall, as it is yet in our dayes, though after another maner & far discrepant from the vse and custome of other countries. The stirkes or young befettes vngelded, we either kill yõg for beale, or geld, to the end that they may serue afterwarde for tillage in caring vp of the ground, but the cowcalues and heighfers, are neuer killed till they be with Calf, for then are they fattest & most delicious

cious to the mouth. The common meate of our elders was fish, howbeit not only or so much for the plenty therof, as for that our landes lay ofte waste and untilled, because of the great warres which they cõmonly had in hand. They breake also their fast early in the morning wᵗʰ some slender repast, & so cõtinued without any other diet untill supper time, in which they had but one dish, whereby it came to passe, ꝑ their stomackes were neuer ouercharged, nor their bones desirous of rest thorow the fulnesse of their bellies. At such time as they determined of set purpose to be merry, they vsed a kinde of Aquavite voyde of al spice, & only consisting of such herbes and rootes as grew in their owne gardens, otherwise their common drinke was Ale: but in tyme of warre when they were inforced to lie in campe, they contented thẽselues with water as rediest for their turnes. Euery souldier also had so much meale as might serue him for a day, which he made vp in cakes, and baked on the coles, as the Romaines sometimes vsed to do, and the Emperour *Caracalla* himselfe as *Herodian* hath remembred. Seldome did they eat any flesh in their tentes, except they gate it frõ their aduersaries, such as they had likewise was eaten half rawe, because they supposed the iuyce therof so vsed to nourish very abundantly. But fishe was much more plentifull amongst them, especially when they wãted their vsuall prayes, or could not attayne vnto them. They brought furthermore from their houses to the field with them, a vessel of butter, cheese, meale, milke, & vineger tempred togither as a shorte ancre against extreme hunger, on which they would feede & sucke out the moysture, when other prouision couldе not be gotten. In like maner whensoeuer they had entred into league and amity with their enimies, they would not liue in such security, that therby they would suffer their bodies and forces to degenerate, but they did keepe themselues in their former actiuity and nimblenesse of limmes, eyther with continuall hunting (a game greatly esteemed among our auncestors) or with running from the hilles to the valeys, or from the valeys to the hilles, or with wrestling, and such kindes of passime whereby they were neuer idle. Their heads were alwayes shauē, after the maner of ꝑ auncient Spaniardes, with a litle tuft of heare only left on their foreparts, & neuer couered, except whẽ they were troubled wᵗʰ sickenesse, by which meanes it came to passe that fewe of our nation in olde time was seene to be balde & hearelesse. They went also bare foted, or if they had any shone, they dipped them first in ꝑ water ere they did put thẽ on, especially in Winter when sharpest weather shewed it self, to the end that ꝑ soles of their feete (which were wel hardned in Sommer with heate and in winter with cold, might be more strong and able to sustayne great labour and dayly trauaile. Their apparell was not made for brauery & põpe, but as should seeme best to couer their bodies & serue their appointed vses, their hosen were shaped also of linnen or woollen, whiche neuer came higher than their knees, their breches were for the most part of hẽpe, clokes also they had for winter made of course woll, but in the sommer time they ware of the finest that couldе be gotten. They slept moreouer eyther vpon the bare floore or pallets of straw, teaching their childrẽ euen from theyr infancy to eschew ease, & practise the like hardnesse: & sith it was a cause of suspitiõ of the mothers fidelity towarde hir husbande, to seeke a strange nurse for hir childrẽ (although hir milke fayled) eche womã wold take intollerable paines to bring vp & nourish hir owne children. They thought them furthermore not to be kindly fostered, except they were so well nourished after their birthes with the milke of theyr breastes, as they were before they were borne with ꝑ bloud of their owne bellies, nay they feared least they should degenerate & grow out of kinde, except they gaue them sucke themselues, and eschewed strange milke, therfore in labour & painefulnesse they were equall, and neither sexe regarded the heate in sommer or cold in winter, but trauailed barefooted, & in time of warres the mẽ had their cartages & victuals trussed behinde thẽ on their horses, or els vpon their owne shulders without refusall of any labour, enioyned vnto them by their Captaines. If it hapned them at any time to be banquished, they fled with such speede to ꝑ mountaines, that no horse might ouertake thẽ, & very oft escaped. The violence that was done to any one of them, was reputed comon to al, & such was their deadly hate conceyued in these cases, that vntil they had requited the like with more extremity, they would neuer be quiet nor let go their displeasure. The noblest & most couragious Gentleman would soonest desire to be placed in the forewarde, where his vassalage or seruice & manhood should readiliest be seene, and such was the friendship of the nobility amongst thẽselues, that whylest they contended which of them should be most faithful & frendly to other, they would oft fal out, & quarel one wᵗʰ another. Somtimes it hapned ꝑ their Captaine was beset wᵗʰ extreme peril, or peraduenture some other of the nobility, in which cases they ꝑ were of his bãd wold suddenly rush in thorow ꝑ thickest of their enimies vnto him, & deliuer him, or els if they could not so do, they would altogither lose their liues with him, thinking it a perpetuall note of reproche to ouerliue their leader. The graues & sepulchres of our noblemen, had com-

monly

mõly ſo many Obeliſkes & ſpires pitched about them, as the deceaſed had killed enimies before time in ẏ fielde: if any ſouldier had ben found in the fielde without his flint & tinder bore, or had walked or gone vp & downe with his ſworde at his ſide, and not naked in his hãd, for then vſed they light armor for ẏ moſt part, he was terribly ſcourged: but he that ſolde or mortgaged his weapon, was forthwith cut frõ his company & baniſhed as an exile: he that fled or went frõ the battayle without leaue of his Capitayne, was ſlayne whereſoeuer he was mette afterwarde, without any iudgement or ſentence, and all his goodes cõfiſcated to the Prince: Their light armour in thoſe dayes conſiſted of the launce, the bow, the long ſword which hanged at the ſide of ẏ owner, & therto a buckler, but afterward heauier armour came into generall vſage. In theſe dayes alſo the womẽ of our country were of no leſſe courage than the men, for al ſtout maydẽs & wiues (if they were not with childe) marched ſo wel into the field as did the men, & ſo ſone as the army did ſet forward, they ſlew the firſt liuing creature ẏ they foũd, in whoſe blond they not onely bathed their ſwordes, but alſo taſted thereof with their mouthes, with no leſſe religiõ & aſſurance conceyued, than if they had already bene ſure of ſome notable & fortunate victory: when they ſaw their owne blond run frõ them in the fight, they wexed neuer a whit aſtonnied with the matter, but rather doubling their courages, with more egernelle they aſſailed their enimies. This alſo is to be noted of thẽ, that they neuer ſought any victory by treaſon, falſhed or ſleight, as thinking it a great reproch to winne the fielde any otherwiſe than by mere manhood, proweſſe, & playne dealing. When they went forth vnto the warres, eche one went with the King of his owne coſt (except the hyred ſoldier) which cuſtome is yet in vſe. If any were troubled with the falling Euyll, or Lepre, or fallen frantike, or otherwiſe out of his wits, they were diligẽtly ſought out: & leaſt thoſe diſeaſes ſhould paſſe further by infectuous generatiõ vnto their iſſue & poſterity, they gelded the mẽ. But ẏ womẽ were ſecluded into ſome odde place farre off from the cõpany of men, where if ſhe afterward hapned to be gotten with childe, both ſhe & the infant were runne thorow with a launce: gluttons & rauencrs, dronkardes, & egregious deuourers of victualles, were puniſhed alſo by death, firſt being permitted to deuour ſo much as they liſted, & thẽ drowned in one freſh riuer or other.

Furthermore, as iuſtice in time of warre was cõmonly vſed to perke, ſo in daies of peace our countreymen that offended, were oft ſeuerely puniſhed & with inconuenient rigor. For they wel conſidered that after their people ſhould returne and come home againe from the warres, they would be giuẽ to ſo many enormities, that the ſame theyr exceſſe ſhould hardly be reſtrayned but by extreme ſeuerity: ſuche alſo was theyr nature, that ſo ſone as they knew themſelues guilty of any offence committed againſt the eſtate or cõmon wealth, their firſt attempt was to ſet diſcord amongſt the Peeres & Princes of the realme, neuertheleſſe when they are gently intreated, & with courteous moderation, they are found to be very tractable, & pliant vnto reaſon: in priuate bargaines & contractes they are ſo willing to giue euery man his owne, that they will yelde the more. And ſo farre is it growne into a cuſtome euẽ in theſe our dayes, that except there be ſome ſurpluſage aboue the bare couenaunt, they will breake of and not go forwarde with the bargayne. They vſed at the firſt the rites and maners of the Egyptians frõ whence they came, & in al their priuate affayres they vſed not to write with common letters as other nations did, but rather with Cyphers and figures of creatures made in maner of letters as their Epitaphes vpon their tombes & ſepultures remayning amõgſt vs do hitherto declare. Neuertheleſſe in our times this Hieroglyphical maner of writing (I wote not by what meanes) is periſhed & loſt, and yet they haue certaine letters propre vnto thẽſelues, which were ſometime in cõmon vſe: but among ſuch as retaine the auncient ſpech, they haue their aſpiratiõs, dipthõgs, & pronunciation better than any other. The cõmon ſorte are not in vre withall, but onely they which inhabite in the higher part of the coũtry, & ſith they haue their language, more eloquent and apt than others, they are called Poetes, they make alſo Poetes wt great ſolemnity & honour, being borne out therein by the authority of the Prince. Beſide ẏ ſkil alſo of many other artes & ſciẽces, whoſe rules & Methodes are turned into ẏ ſayd language, are giuẽ by tradition frõ theyr elders, they chiefly excel in Phiſick, wherin they go far beyond many other, who learning of thẽ ẏ natures & qualitie of ſuch herbes as grow in thoſe quarters, do heale al maner of diſeaſes cuẽ by their only applicatiõ. Certes there is no regiõ in ẏ whole world ſo barrẽ & vnfruteful, through diſtaũce frõ the Sunne, but by ẏ prouidence of God all maner of neceſſaries for the ſuſtentatiõ of mankind dwelling there, are to be had therin, if ẏ inhabitants were ſuch as had any ſkil how to vſe ẏ ſame in order. Neuertheleſſe our elders which dwelled continually vpõ the Marches of England, learned ẏ Saxon toung through cõtinuall trade of marchandize and hazard of the warres, long ſince, whereby it came to paſſe that we neglected our owne language, and our owne maners, and thereto bothe our auncient

order in writing and speakyng is vtterly left among vs, that inhabite neare vnto the, whereas contrarywise those that dwell in the mountaines reteyne still their auncient speach & letters, & almost all their olde rites, whereunto in time past their Forefathers haue bene accustomed. One thing hereof also may euidently be seene (for an example) in their boates whiche they call Carrockes, for being made of Oziers & couered with Bull hides, they vse to passe & repasse with them ouer their riuers & waters in catching of Salmons, & when they haue done, they beare them on their backes vnto what place soeuer it pleaseth them. But we will now leaue the maners of our auncient friendes, & intreate of our later countreymen. In processe of time therfore, and chiefly aboute the dayes of *Malcolme Cammor*, our maners began greatly to chaunge & alter. For when our neighbours the Brytons began, after they were subdued by the Romaynes, to waxe idle & slouthful, and therevpon driuen out of their countrey into Wales by their enimies the Saxõs, we began to haue alliãce (by proximity of the Romaines) with Englishmẽ, especially after the subuersion of the Pictes, & thorow our dayly trades & cõuersation with them, to learne also their maners, & therewithall their lãguage as I haue sayd already. Hereby shortly after it came also to passe, that the temperaunce and vertue of our auncestors grew to be iudged worthy of small estimation amongst vs, notwithstanding that a certayne idle desire of our former renowne did still remayne within vs.

Furthermore as men not walking in ẏ right pathe, we begã to follow also the vaine shadow of the Germaine honor & titles of nobility, and boasting of the same after the English maner, it fell out ere long, that where as he in times past was accompted only honorable, which excelled othermen not in ritches and possessions, but in prowesse and manhode, now he would be takẽ most glorious that wẽt loden with most titles, whereof it came to passe, that some were named Dukes, some Erles, some Lords, some Barõs, in which vain puffes they fixed al their felicity. Before time the noble men of Scotlãd were of one condition, and called by the name *Thanes*, so much in Latine as *Questores regij*, gatherers of ẏ kings duties, in English: and this denomination was giuen vnto them after their desert & merite. But how far we in these present dayes are swarued from the vertues and temperaunce of our elders, I beleeue there is no man so eloquent, nor indued with such vtterance, as that he is able sufficiently to expresse. For whereas they gaue their mindes to doughtinesse, we apply our selues to dronkennesse: they had plenty with sufficiency, we haue inordinate excesse & superfluity: they were temperate, we effeminate: and so is the case now altered with vs, that he which can deuoure & drinke most, is the noblest man and most honest companion, and thereto hath no peere if he can once find ẏ vaine, though with his great trauaile to purucy himself of the plentifullest number of newe fine and delicate dishes, and best prouoke his stomacke to receiue the greatest quantitie of them, though he neuer make due digestiõ of it. Being thus drowned in our delicate gluttony, it is a woorld to see, how we stuffe our selues both day and night, neuer ceasing to ingorge and poure in, till our bellies be so full that we must needes depart. Certes it is not supposed meete that we should now content our selues with breakefast and supper only as our elders haue done before vs, nor inough that we haue added our dinners vnto their aforesayd meales, but we must haue thereto our beuerages and reare suppers, so that small time is spared wherein to occupy our selues vnto any godly exercise, sith almost the whole day & night do scarcely suffice for the filling of our paunches. We haue also our marchants, whose charge is not to loke out, and bring home suche things as necessarily appertaine to the maintenance of our liues, but vnto the furniture of our kitchen, and these search al the secrete corners of our forrestes for venison, of the ayre for foules, & of the sea for fishe, for wine also they trauayle not onely into Fraunce, whose wines do now grow into cõtempt, but also into Spaine, Italy and Greece: nay Affrike is not voyde of our factours, no nor Asia, and only for fine and delicate wines if they may be had for money. In like sorte they gad ouer all the woorld for sweete and pleasant spices, & drugges (prouokers vnto all lust and licentiousnesse of behauiour) as men that aduenture their owne liues to bring home poyson and destruction vnto their countreymẽ, as if the minde were not already sufficiently bereft of hir image of the Diuinity, but must yet more be clogged & ouerladen with such a franked case, therwithall to be extinguished outright whiche already dwelleth or is buried rather in such an vgly sepulchre. The body likewyse being oppressed with such an heape of superfluous fode, although otherwise it be indued with an excellent nature, cannot be able to execute his office, nor keepe it selfe vpright, but must needes yeelde as ouercome, & to be torne in peeces and rent with sundry maladies.

Hereof also it commeth to passe that our coũtreymen trauayling into the colder regions are now a dayes cõtrary to their former vsage taken sometime with feuers, whereby their inwards partes do burne & parch as it were with continuall fire, the onely cause whereof we may ascribe

alcribe vnto those hoate spices and drugges which are brought vnto vs from the hoate coũtreys. Others of them are so swollen & growen full of humors, that they are often taken sodenly and die of behemēt apoplexies, and although here & there one or two recouer for a litle while, yet are they but dead people reuiuing agayne, leading the rest of their lines like shadowes, and walking aboute as if they were buried already. Our youth also following these vnhappy steps of theyr parentes, giue themselues wholy to lust & licentiousnesse, hauing all vertue and knowledge in contempt, and eschewing the same as a Pestilence and subuersion of their pleasures, wherevnto they apply themselues as vnto the most excellent trade. But sithence they are now inured and as it were haunted with these vices, when tyme doth come of seruice and that our countrey shall stand in neede of manhood, these will be becomen so effeminate, that they must now ride on horsebacke as cladde in beauy armour, for on foote they cannot go by reason of their fatnesse whiche choketh vp their vitall forces, neyther be able to performe any thing at all in comparison of the soueraigne manhode and prowesse of theyr elders. So some also as they returne home, bicause their possessions are not otherwise able to nourishe them vp in pleasure and pampering of their mawes, they must fall to couetous and greedy practizes, thereby to enriche themselues, or els proue strong theeues, or finally sowers of dissention and discord among the Noble men, thereby to pray some commoditie. Certes these and other vices followyng them necessarily, proceede generally from none other fountayne than voluptuous life & intemperancy, the whiche if we would refrayne, there is no regiõ vnder the Sunne that would proue more wholesome, lesse subiect to Pestilence, nor more commodious and profitable for the sustẽtation of hir people. Certes I dispayre not of the redresse of these things, but still hope that in shorte tyme these corrupted maners of my coũtreymen will be turned into a better frame, wee are not yet become impudent, neyther altogither haue cast of vnshamefastnesse, sithe that in a great many some remaynder of our auncient soberneſſe and manhode doth yet appeare, and thereto newnesse of lyfe with feruent deuotion increase euery day, through the working of the zeale of our Christian religion in vs. This also will I adde, without offence I trust vnto other nations, that there was neuer people more stedfast to my knowlege in the Christian faith, nor more constant in theyr faithfull promises, than the Scots haue bene sithence their first beginning: and for a conclusion I will say more, not onely for their prayse, but also in exhorting them vnto perseuerance, that as our people now liuing do passe their auncestors in sumptuous & curious attyre, so they are more nette and fine in their houses, better giuen to learning, & much more magnificent in buylding and decking of theyr Churches. God graunt them also to returne to their former frugality, and that with speede. Amen.

Hetherto haue I translated *Hectors* description of Scotland out of the Scottish into the English toung, being not a litle ayded thereiñ by the Latine, frõ whence somtime the translator swarueth not a litle, as I haue done also frõ him, now and then following the Latine, and now and then gathering such sence out of both as most did stande with my purposed breuity. Now will I set downe the description of an Auncient Pict, as I haue gathered it out of *Herodian* & other, and then I will giue ouer not only to wryte more at this present, but for euer hereafter of any Historicall matters, sith I see that this honest kind of recreation is denied me, and all time spent about the same in these dayes vtterly condemned, as vayne and sauouring of negligence, and Heathenish impiety.

The description of an auncient Pict. Chap. 14.

THe Pict (saith *Herodian*) hath generally no vse of apparell, howbeit the nobler sorte of them do wrappe theyr heades and wombes in roules of yron, which they take for great bravery, esteeming this kinde of attyre in suche as weare the same, to be a token of wealth and riches, and so great an ornament, as if they had worne Golde or any costly iewelles. Beside this, and the shauing of theyr nether lippe, they paynted ouer their bodies with the images of al kindes of beastes, so that he was the gayest mã, that had his skinne most disguised in this maner. Certes none of them regarded to weare any apparell, bycause they esteemed it a greate glory to haue these paintings seene. In warres they were bolde, and desirous to shedde bloud, contenting themselues (in steede of other armour) with a shorte launce, and narrow target, or buckler, theyr swordes were tied to their naked sides with a thong, and as for Jacke, shirt of Mayle, or Helmet, they made no regarde of them, bycause they would trouble thẽ in swimming, or otherwise at a pinche, whẽ they should be compelled to wade. *Dion* wryting generally of the whole countrey, diuideth it with Herodian into the *Calidons*, and *Meates*, saying that the sayde countrey is very sauage, their Cities bereft of walles & fields, without townes: they liue moreouer (saith he) by hunting and pray, and often times with the fruite of their trees: & albeit that they haue exceeding plenty of fish,

yet

yet they eate not of it. They liue naked in tents and without shoes on theyr feete, theyr wiues are common, and children generally loked vnto: they haue moreouer a populous regiment, & are very ready to steale: they fight in wagons, & haue little light & swift horses, whiche runne also very swiftly, and stande at their feete with like stedfastnesse. In ẏ nether end of their launces they haue hollow bullets of Brasse, in eche is a litle peece or two of yron, whiche ratleth when they shake it, & maketh a strange noyse where many of them are togither. They haue also narrow daggers: but chiefly they can sustayne hunger and colde best of all men, & likewise sore labour: and if it happen them to hunger and haue no meate at hand, they wil sitte in the marrishes vp to the chinnes by many dayes togither. In the woodes they feede on rootes or barkes of trees, and they haue a kinde of meate among them, whereof if they take but so muche as a beane, they neyther hunger nor thirste in a long time after. And thus much of the meates (whiche were the nearest vs) and the Caledons that dwelled beyond the wall, and both in their prouince called *Maxima Cesariensis*, whereof let this suffice.

The number of Bishoppes in Scotland. Chap. 15.

The Archbishoprike of S. Andrewes.
Glasquen.
Dunkelden.
Dunblanen.
Aberden.
Brechen.
Mozany.
Ros.
Whitherne.
Cathnes.
Irgarie.
Orkeney.
Ymor one of the Iles whiche are exempt and pertayne vnto the Pope.

There are three Vniuersities.

Saint Andrewes.
Aberden.
Glasgus.

Dukedomes.

Rothsay.
Albany.

Erledomes.

Catnes.
Sotherland.
Rosse.
Mozauy.
Buchquhan.
Garuiach.
Garmozan.
Mar.
Mernis.
Angus.
Gowri.
Fiffe.
Marche.
Athole.
Stratherne.
Menteth.
Leuenor.
Wigton.
Duglasse.
Carryke.
Crawford.
Annandale.
Dumonth.
Huntley.

Viscounties.

Berwist, *alias* North Berwise.
Rothesow.
Selkyrk.
Twedale.
Dunfrise.
Middisdale.
Wigton.
Ire.
Lanarke.
Dumbritten.
Stewelin.
Lowthian.
Clakmanan.
Kynros.
Fiffe.
Perth.
Angus.
Marnis.
Aberden.
Bamph.
Foyes.
Innernes.

FINIS.

THE HISTORIE of Scotlande.



THE Scottiſh men, according to the maner of other nations, eſteeming it a glorie to fetche their beginning of great auncientie, ſay that their original diſcent came from the Greekes and Egyptians. For there was (as the Scottiſhe olde Hiſtoriographers haue left in writing) a certaine noble man among the Greekes, named Gathelus, the ſonne of Cecrops, which builded the City of Athens: or as ſome other would, he was the ſonne of Argus Nealus, the fourth king of the Argiues. This Gathelus playing in his youth manye wilde and vnruly partes in the Countrie of Macedonia and Achaia, was dyuerſe tymes ſharpely rebuked by his father and other of hys friends: ſo that in fine diſdeining their correction and wholſome admonitions, he was baniſhed by his father: after which he got togither a number of ſtrong and luſtie yong men, ſuch as had vſed the like trade of liuing, and togither with them fled ouer into Egypt: & comming thither in the xxxiij. yeare of Pharao Ozus, as then king of that Countrey, was receyued of him in moſt gladſome wiſe, for that his ſeruice (as it was thought) might ſtande in great ſtead, in thoſe warres which the Egyptians helde the ſame time with the Ethiopians that had inuaded the realme of Egypt, euen vnto Memphis. This Gathelus, to bee ſhort, went forth with his bandes agaynſt the ſame Ethiopians, vnder Moſes the Captaine generall of the armie, choſen thereto by diuine Oracle (as Joſephus writeth) which Moſes obteyned the victorie, and conquered Saba by force, he the chiefeſt and principall Citie which ſtoode in the Iſle Meroe.

Gathelus.

Gathelus gyuen to wil and pleaſure.

Gathelus went into Egypt, Anno mundi. 2416.

Gathelus was enterteyned of Pharao.

Gathelus went agaynſt the enimies.

Moyſes Captaine generall vnder Pharao. Lib. 2. Cap. 7.

For ſuch tokens of valiancie and worthie prowes as Gathelus ſhewed, both in this Countrey, & in other places, he grew alſo into ſuch eſtimation with Pharao, that he gaue him his daughter in mariage. But Moſes was rather enuied than honored for his doying, becauſe the Egyptians doubted leaſt the Iſraelites ſhould encreaſe to ſuch a puyſſant multitude, that in the ende they might vſurpe and chalenge the gouernance of the whole Realme, and bring it by rebelling into their owne handes: wherefore diuerſe informations were made to the king agaynſt him, ſo that when he once perceyued himſelfe to be in daunger of the lawe, and looked for no mercie at their handes, fled from thence out of the Countrey, and gate him into the lande of Madian.

Gathelus hiſt doings adnaunced.

Moiſes doings not alowed.

Moyſes fled.

Unto Gathelus and his people, there was giuen a Citie called Thebes (Egyptiaca) being taken from the Iſraelites.

The Citie Thebes was giuen vnto Gathelus.

Here muſt you vnderſtande, that Pharaos daughter whiche Gathelus thus maryed, was called Scota, of whom ſuch as came of the poſteritie of that nation, were afterwardes, and are at this preſent day called *Scoti*, that is to ſay Scottiſh men: and the land where they inhabite *Scotia*, that is to ſay, Scotlande.

Scota daughter to Pharao.

Gathelus thus being aduaunced by ſuch honourable mariage, lyued all the dayes of his father in law Pharao Ozus, in great honour. But after his diſceaſe, and in the thirde generation, an other king named Pharao Chencres, ſucceeded in his throne, who oppreſſed the people of Iſrael then abyding in Egypt, with more bondage, than euer his father, or grandfather had don before him. Neither was there hope of any redreſſe, till Moyſes returned by Gods appoyntment from amongſt the Madianites (where he had remayned in exile) into Egypt, and there declared vnto this Pharao Gods commaundement, touching the deliuerance of his people.

The credite of this hiſtorie of Gathelus, we leaue to the authors.

Iſrael oppreſſed.

Moſes called out of Madian into Egypt.

But forſomuch as his wordes were regarded, neyther with the king nor with his ſubiects, that lande was plagued in moſt horrible and terrible maner: and moreouer it was ſignified vnto ſuch as ſought to know what was meant by way of Oracles, that ſorer and more grieuous plagues ſhould after follow, if remedie were not founde the ſooner.

Moſes not regarded. Exodus. 5.

Gathelus leauing Egypt, seeketh other countreyes.

Gathelus therefore being certified hereof, and giuing credite to the Oracles aforesayde, determined out of hande to forsake the countrey, and seeke him a new place of abode in some other partyes of the worlde. Wherefore he caused a number of shippes to be rigged, and all necessarie purueyance to be prouided,, and when the same was once readie and all things set in order, he tooke with him his wife and children, and a great multitude of people both Greekes and Egyptians, whom he embarqued in those shippes, and hoysing vp sayles, departed out of the mouth of the riuer Nilus, in the yeare of the worldes creation 2453. when hee had dwelled in Egypt. 39. yeares and more.

Gathelus departing was, Anno mundi. 2453. W.H. 3643. H.B.

Being thus departed, after some trouble in the voyage, they arriued first on the coastes of Numydia, whiche is one of the regions of Affrike, now called Barbarie; but beyng put backe from thence by the stowte resistaunce of the inhabitauntes, they tooke the Seas agayne, and landed in a part of Spayne, whiche long after was called Lusitania.

He was repulsed in Barbary

There be that haue written how it should be cleped Portt Gathele of this Gathelus, and certaine yeares after Lusitania, and eftsones agayne in a maner to haue got the former name being somewhat corruptly called Portingale. But who is able in a mater of such auncientie to auowche any thing for truth?

He landed in Portingale.

Gathelus with his companie beyng thus come to lande, sought abrode in the countrey for bytayles and such other necessarie things as they wanted (for their long being on the Seas had wasted all their purueyance: whose arriual being once knowen in the countrey, the people assembled together, and fiercely encountring with the straungers, after sharpe and cruell fight, in the ende the Spanyardes were put to the worse and chased out of the fielde.

The inhabitants resist Gathelus.

Were ouerthrowne.



This victory put Gathelus and his folkes in hope of good successe to haue their a place for them to inhabite in, and so to end their long wandering in straunge and vncertaine places. And to the intent they might bring their purpose the more easily to passe, they found meanes by way of communication to ioyne in friendshyp with the Spanyardes, and obtayning of them a plotte where they might buylde a place for to inhabite in: shortly after they began the foundation of a Citie neare to the bankes of the Riuer called of auncient tyme Mundus, and afterwardes Bracchara.

A communication.

Gathelus buildeth the Citie Bracchara.

It chaunced after this, that the Spanyardes (perceyuing these straungers to increase further in puyssaunce, than (as they thought) stoode well with theyr securitie) sought diuerse occasions to fal at debate with them, and to make warres vpon them: But when they vnderstoode that Gathelus was as ready to defend, as they were to inuade, they eftsones fell to a communication, and perswaded with Gathelus that it should be best for him and his people, for the auoyding of variance, to remoue vnto the Northside of Spayne, lying vpon the coastes of the Cantabrian seas, nowe called Galitia (where he should finde much voyde grounde, by reason of the smal number of Inhabitants) adding that if they would so do, they would ayde them to the vttermost agaynst all such as shoulde attempt to disquiet their indeuours in any maner of wise.

A consultation

This offer Gathelus gladly accepted, and causing publike sacrifice to be celebrate in honour of the Goddes, he departed with all his people into Galitia, and there concluding a league with the inhabitants, buylded a Citie, which he named Brigantia, but after it was called Nouium, and nowe Compostella.

Gathelus left Portingale, and went into Galitia.

He builded a Citie called Brigantia, and nowe Compostella.

Here



HEre Gathelus being intituled by the name of a king, deuiſed and ordeyned lawes for his people to liue by, that the Citty myghte not only be fenced with ſtrong walles, but alſo with good and holeſome ſtatutes and ordinaunces, the chiefeſt fortifications that may be for al Cities and Countreys. And by cauſe he would not onely haue his ſayde people to liue vnder one lawe, but alſo to be knowne and called by one name, he gaue cõmaundement that they ſhould be all called Scottiſhmen (as before is ſayde) of his wife Scota.

In continuance of time, this nation grewe to a wonderful multitude, ſo that the Spaniards doubting the worſt, determined to forſee remedie in tyme, and hereupon purpoſing vtterly to deſtroy them, got them againe to armour, and with their whole puiſſance comming vpon the Scottiſh men, gaue them a ſore battaile, though in the ende they were put to flight, the victorie remayning with the Scottiſh men, albeit not without great bloudſhed on eyther part, as the Scottiſh hyſtorie ſayth.

The Spaniardes fight with the Scots infortunately.



At length a neceſſarie peace was agreed vpon betwixt both parties, the conditions whereof were theſe: that aſwell Scottiſh men as Spaniards ſhould liue after their owne lawes, and neither of them to inuade other.

Gathelus hauing peace thus with his neighbors, ſate vpon his Marble ſtone in Bigantia, where he gaue lawes, and miniſtred iuſtice vnto his people, thereby to mainteyne them in wealth and quietneſſe.



This ſtone was in faſhion like a ſeate or Chayre, hauing ſuch a fatall deſtinie, as the Scottes ſay, following it, that whereſoeuer it ſhould be founde, there ſhoulde the Scottiſh men raigne and haue the ſupreme gouernance. Hereof it came to paſſe, that firſt in Spaine, after in Irelande, and then in Scotlande, the Kings which ruled ouer the Scottiſh men, receyued the Crowne ſitting vpon that ſtone, vntill the time of Robert the firſt king of Scotlande. The inſcription alſo of the ſtone though ingraued long time after, as ſhoulde appeare, was this:

Ni fallat fatum, Scoti quocunq; locatum
Inuenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.

Which may be thus tranſlated:

Except olde ſawes do fayle,
and wiſards wittes be blinde,
The Scottes in place muſt raigne,
where they this ſtone ſhall finde.

But to returne where I lefte, touchyng Gathelus.

When he perceyued that his people multyplyed in ſuche wiſe, as the countrey which was appoynted him by the laſte agreement, was not able to ſuſteyne them, he was lothe to



Galitia not ſufficient to find the Scots.

breake the peace whiche he had eſtabliſhed wyth the Spaniards by ſeeking to enlarge the bounds of his dominion with breach of couenaunt: and therefore vnderſtanding that there was an Iſlād lying north ouer againſt Spaine, wherein were but fewe Inhabitours, he cauſed all ſuch ſhippes as he was able to make, to bee brought togither into an Hauen neare vnto Brigantia, and commaunding a great armie of his owne people and ſubiectes to bee aſſembled, he appoynted his two ſonnes whome hee had by his wife Scota, the one named Hyberus, and the other Himecus, to conuey them ouer into that Iſlande, whiche afterwardes they named *Hibernia*, after Hyberus, but nowe it is commonly called Irelande.

The Scottes ſeeke newe ſeates.

The Scots arriue in Ireland

At their firſt arriuall there, they came into the hauen of Dundalke, where getting a lande, they firſt encamped themſelues neare vnto the ſhore, and then ſente forth certaine of their folkes to ſearch if they could learne what people inhabited in the countrey, by whom at their returne, and by ſuch as they had happened vppon and brought with them, they vnderſtoode howe there was no great number of Inhabitants in that Iſle, and that they which dwelled there were verie ſimple, ſuch I meane as liued onely by mylke and hearbes, with other the like things as the earth by nature brought forth of hir owne accorde, without mans helpe or vſe of any tyllage.

Irish men liue by milke and hearbes.

Irish men are gently entreated.

Herevpon Hiber with his brother Himecus, went not aboute with force, but by gentleneſſe to wynne thoſe people, myndyng to ioyne them in friendſhippe ſo wyth theyr Scottiſhe men, that bothe the people myghte bee made as one.

Neyther was this harde to bee done, ſithence the Inhabitauntes (perceyuing the Scottiſhe men not to goe about to harme them) came flocking in wholy about them, ſubmitting themſelues into their handes with gladneſſe.

Hiber.



WHEN thynges were once ſette here in a ſtaye, and that orders were gyuen howe the land ſhoulde be conuerted vnto tillage, and manured for the better bringing forth of ſuche thynges as ſerue for mans ſuſtenance, Hiber (leauing his brother in charge with the gouernaunce of all thoſe whiche were appoynted to abyde there in Irelande with the moſt part of the ſhips and reſidue of the company, ſayled backe into Spaine, where finding his father Gathelus deade, hee ſucceeded in hys place of gouernment, to the great reioycing of all the people there.

Hiber returned into Spain.

Hiber ded Gathe

This Hiber was a man of great courage, and more gyuen to the warres than his father before him, ſo that where his father contenting himſelfe with the bounds and limittes of the Countrey aſſigned him by compoſition, ſought no further (as is ſayde) to enlarge the ſame: Hiber ceaſſed not to conquere Cities and townes neare adioynyng to the borders of his ſubiectes, by reaſon whereof hys fame ſpredde ouer all thoſe parties: And in the ende conſtreyned his enimyes to ſeeke for peace, whiche hee willingly graunted: ſo that a league being concluded betwixte the Scottes and Spaniardes, the ſame toke ſuche good ſucceſſe, that within certayne yeares after, both the Nations, what by mariage and other contractes whiche they exerciſed togyther, became one: The ſucceſſion alſo of the Kings continued after Hibers deceaſſe in hys poſteritie a long ſeaſon. Amongeſt the whiche, Metellus, Hermoneus, Ptolomeus, Hibertus, and Simon Brechus, were of moſt worthie fame, as is recorded by ſuche as haue wrytten the Hyſtories of that Nation more at large.

Hiber quero

A peace

Spanis Scots one p



IN the meane whyle that theſe things were thus a doing in Spaine, Himeeus being left, as is before remembred in Irelande, to haue the gouernaunce there, ruled bothe the people of Scottiſhe men, and the former Inhabitaunts, with as muche indifferencie as was poſſible: yet coulde he not ioyne them ſo in one, but that after his deceaſſe eyther of them woulde haue ſeuerall Rulers of their owne Nation to gouerne them: by reaſon whereof, falling eftſoones at diſcorde amongſt themſelues, there enſued ſharpe and cruell warres betwixte them, whiche being ended ſome tymes by truce (when bothe partyes happilye were throughlye wearyed,) they renued notwithſtanding theyr malicious ſtryfe againe, ſo ſoone as they had once recouered theyr decayed ſtrengthes, ſo that the one ſeeking the others deſtruction, they continued in great diſquiet for a long time.

He CHil

Hens in Ire

Diſſen

These Scottiſh men being thus troubled in Irelande, finally addreſſed an Ambaſſade vnto Metellus, who as then raigned amongeſt the Scottiſhe menne in Spaine, requiring him of ayde and ſuccour againſte theyr enimyes, who went aboute wyth tothe and nayle to expell all the Scottiſhe Nation out of Irelande, which

The ſcad baſſ to N in S

which they were like ynough to bring to paſſe, if in time there were not ſpedy remedie throughe his ayde prouided for the contrarie.

Metellus hearing theſe newes, as a man moued with a naturall zeale towarde all the Scottiſh linage, gaue care to their requeſt, ſuppoſing it ſhould be his part to defende his kinnel folke from all wrong and iniuries: immediately therefore he ſent his three ſonnes, Hermoneus, Ptolomeus, and Hibertus, with a choſen power of warriours ouer into Irelande, where vanquiſhing the enimies with fierce and cruell battailes, they ſet the Scottiſh men in ſure and quiet poſſeſſion of all their lands and liuings. This done, Ptolomeus, and Hibertus remayned there to rule and inhabite the countrey, but Hermoneus who was the eldeſt brother, returned backe againe into Spain, there to ſucceede his father when time ſhoulde ſerue thereto. After this the Scottiſhe eſtate continued many yeares in good quiet in Ireland, the people ſtill increaſing in welth and puiſſance, till proſperitie the mother of contention, ſtirred vp greadge and partialities amongſt them, whiche ſhortly would haue decayed the force of ẏ Scottiſh nation, if the auncient Lords had not prouided redreſſe in time, which was to perſwade the people to haue a king of theyr owne, who beyng partaker with none of them in their factions, might haue the abſolute gouernãce of the whole: ſo that by common cõſent they ſent into Spaine for one Simon Brek, whoſe name was right famous amongſt them in that ſeaſon, both aſwel for that hee was lineally deſcended of the bloud royall, as alſo for that he had ſhewed many proues of his noble valiancie in ſundrie aſſayres and buſineſſe.

This Simõ being glad of theſe tidings, ſayled quickly into Irelande, and brought thither with him amongſt other princely iewels and regall monuments, the fatal ſtone of marble, wherein he cauſed himſelfe to be crowned, in token of his full poſſeſſion, and eſtabliſhment ouer that kingdom.



Brechus beeyng thus crowned, was ẏ firſt king ẏ raigned ouer the Scottiſh men in Irelande, who began his raigne there, in the yeere from the creation of the worlde, 3270: which tyme by maiſter Harlons account is after the floud, 6161: from the firſt buylding of Rome, 55. after the entrie of Brutus into Brytaine, 870. and before the Incarnation of our Sauiour, 697.

And hauing ruled his ſubiects with great iuſtice by the ſpace of .xl. yeres or therabout, he died, after whoſe deceaſſe ſucceeded Fandufus, who had iſſue Ethion, and he begat Glaucus, whiche Glaucus begat Noitafilus, the father of Rothſay: all of them raigned ſucceſſiuely ouer the Scotiſh men in Irelande, as in the deſcription of that land more plainly may appeare. Fandufus.

This Rothſay (perceyuing the Scottiſh nation encreaſed to a greater multitude in Ireland than the country was wel able to ſuſtaine) tranſported ouer certaine numbers of them into the Iles auncientlie called *Ebonides*, afterwards *Hebrides*, but now by the Scottes, the weſtern Iles, becauſe they lie on the weſt halfe of Scotlande: and there they placed them to inhabite. He named alſo that Iſle which he firſt beganne to poſſeſſe, Rothſay, after his owne name. Which tranſlation of theſe Scottiſh men into thoſe Iles was 133. yeares after the coronation of Brechus. Rothſay. The Scottes ſerie ouer into the weſterne Iſles. They inhabite the Iſle of Rothſay.

This Rothſay had not beene long in thoſe Iles, but that hearing of his fathers deceaſſe, he returned into Irelande to ſucceede in his place. Where the Scottiſh men perceyuing the fertilitie of the Iles, and how the ſame ſerued wel for the breeding of cattel, became ſo deſirous to inhabite the ſame, that they went ouer thither dayly in greate numbers, with their wiues, children, and whole families, ſo that within a ſhorte time, they multiplied in ſuch wiſe, that the Iles were not large ynough to finde them ſuſtenance, by reaſon wherof diuerſe companies of them got them ouer into the maine lande of the North part of this our Bryttaine, called as then Albion, where they firſt inhabited a waſte and deſert portion thereof, lying towarde the weſt, ouer againſt the forerememberd Iles, by them alreadie inhabited. The Scottes inhabite the maine lande of Scotlande.

That part where they firſt beganne to ſettle themſelues, they named *Argathelia*, after the name of their firſt Captain and guide Gathelus, but the Inhabitantes at this day call it Argyle. They inhabite the country called Arguile.

At their firſt comming becauſe they perceyued they coulde not liue without lawes and ciuil gouernment they ſeuered themſelues into tribes, or as it were into hundreds, or weapentakes, euery of the ſame hauing a ſpeciall gouernour to ſee their lawes miniſtred, and iuſtice maintayned: whiche gouernours were had in ſuche reuerence, that they were as much afrayde to ſweare by the name of any one of them, as they were by the Goddes. They make lawes and ordinances. Gouernours had in reuerence.

In this ſtate they continued many a yeare, encreaſing in proceſſe of time vnto a mightie nation, and liued in good reſt without trouble of warres or inuaſion made vpon them by any forraine enimie. They liue in peace.

In this meane time alſo, the Pictes, whiche were a certain people of Germanie, as moſt writers do agree, came and ſet foote alſo in another The Pictes came into Scotland out of Germanie.

part of Brytayne, which nowe is comprehended likewiſe within Scotlande.

Some ſay that they came forth of the hyther part of Scithia, and other there be whiche holde opinion, that they diſcended of the people named in olde time *Agathirſi*, whiche inhabited in a part of Sarmatia, & were called Pictes, becauſe they vſed to paynt and colour theyr faces, or as ſome ſuppoſe, for that they vſed gay apparell of diuerſe and ſundrie colours: but the ſame wryters generally confeſſe, that they firſt came into Germanie or hyther Scithia (that is to meane Denmarke) many yeares before they entred into Brytaine.

Pictes came out of Denmarke.

Truth it is that they firſt came out of Germanie, into the Iſles of Orkeney, and there inhabiting for a ſeaſon, ferryed ouer into Cathenele, whereof it came to paſſe, that the ſtreyte there at this preſent is called Pictland firth: and ſo in continuance of time encreaſing in number, they paſſed further into the lande, and got poſſeſſion of Roſſe, Murray land, Merne, and Angus, and after that, entring into Fife, and Lowthian, they droue ſuch Brytaynes from thence as inhabited there before, whiche were but a ſimple kinde of people, as thoſe that applyed nothing but onely nouriſhing and breeding of cattaile.

The Pictes came firſt into Orkney, chaunging their ſeates came into the maine lande of Scotlande, Pictlande, Firth.

Theſe Pictes, as by conference of tymes may appeare, entred firſt into Scotlande, aboute the yeare after the creation of the worlde 3633, and being once ariued, they began to erect and builde certaine fortes, wherein they might defend themſelues, if any force of enimies ſhoulde chaunce to put them vnto ſuch ſhiftes: but perceyuing they could not continue any time without wiues to maintayne their ſtock and progenie by bringing forth iſſue, they thought it expedient to require of the Scottiſhe men ſome number of women to marrie with, that thereby a ſure alliance might be had betwixt both nations, and that if neede required, they might the better defende them from their common enimies the Brytaynes, whome they knewe woulde be lothe to ſee the encreaſe of eyther Scottes or Pictes, as thoſe that were ſtraungers to them, and vſurpers vpon theyr confines.

3363. H.B.

The Pictes make ſtrong holdes.

The Pictes require wome of the Sottes.

This requeſt was graunted, and a full league ratifyed betwixt the Scottiſhe men, and Pictes, with couenauntes, that neither of them ſhoulde ſeeke to vſurpe anye peece of that whiche the other helde, but content themſelues wyth theyr owne marches. And further, hee that attempted to wrong the one, ſhoulde bee accompted an enimie to bothe: and againſte whome they ſhoulde bee readie to ioyne theyr powers in eyther others defence.

A league made.

Alſo it was accorded, that if at any tyme it were doubtfull who ought to ſucceede in the gouernment of the Pictiſhe kingdome, ſome one diſcended of thoſe Scottiſh women ſhould be admitted to the throne.

The ſucceſsion of the gouernment.

This allyaunce was euen at the firſt miſlyked of the Brytaynes, who doubted that if theſe two Nations ſhoulde once bee ioyned inſeparatly togyther, they might in tyme to come, encreaſe to greater puiſſaunce than ſhould ſtand well with the ſuretie of their eſtate. Therefore ſtudying howe to preuent that daunger, they thought the readyeſt meane to deſtroy both thoſe Nations was (if they might bring it to paſſe) to ſette them firſte togither by the eares amongeſt themſelues, that afterwardes when their powers were by ſuche meanes ſore abated, they might the more eaſily ſubdue them at their pleaſures.

Their alliance miſliked.

Diſſention, preſent deſtroyer.

This deuiſe the Brytaynes kept ſecrete for a time, till occaſion ſerued to worke theyr intent. In whiche meane while the affinitie betwixt the Scottes and Pictes increaſed to the welth of both nations, and for the iſſue ſake great loue and friendſhippe was mainteyned amongſt them: the Pictes applyed themſelues to tylling the grounde, and buylding of fortreſſes: the Scottes ſette all their delighte in hunting and fowling, vſing about the ſame to go armed in Jackes and light iſſternes with bowe and arrowes, no otherwyſe than if it had beene in open warre: For in this exerciſe they placed all the hope of the defence of their poſſeſſions, lands, and liberties.

The Pictes good husbandmen.

The Scottes giuen to hunting and fowling. Good boys.

At length, the Brytaynes perceyuing happily ſome grudge or enuie to bee entred amongſt them, they ſende ſolemne Ambaſſadours vnto the Pictes, declaring that it were more honourable for them to ioyne in league with the Brytaynes, than with the Scottes: whiche Brytaynes were knowne to bee right famous, both in peace and warre, and inhabited a Countrey moſt fruitefull and replenyſhed with all commodities neceſſarie, hauing therein riche mynes of diuerſe kindes of mettall, where the Scottes being a rude Nation, wilde and ſauage, inhabited a barraine Countrey, full of roughe and fruitleſſe mountaynes, delyting therto in nothing but in the ſlaughter of men and beaſtes: And hereunto they added that, (whiche moſt moued the Pictes) howe it was foretolde by prophecies, that the Scottes through treaſon ſhoulde vtterly in time to come extinguiſhe and deſtroye all the Pictiſhe bloudde, whiche perſwaſions induced the Pictes at the laſt, to make a league with the Brytaynes, who promiſed their ayde at all tymes in whatſoeuer enterpriſe the Pictes ſhoulde take in hande againſt the Scottes, and as often as occaſion ſhould require.

The Brytaynes ſend an Ambaſſadour the Pictes.

A craftie geſtion.

Prophecies.

A league clude the Bry

This

Thys league thus beeyng confirmed wyth the Brytaynes, encouraged the Pictes so, that they sought dayly howe to pyke quarelles, and fall out with the Scottishe men: whereuppon making Proclamation that no Scottish man shoulde enter into their bozders, upon paine of death: some suche as they toke within the same, they cruelly slue, other they ransomed at excessiue summes: whereupon the Scottes beeing kyndled with iust displeasure, on the other side, requyted them with the like, euer as they caught any of the sayd Picts by hap or otherwise amongs them or in their walkes.

The one nation seeking thus to bee reuenged of the other, there ensued open warre betwyxte them: whereupon the Scottishe men, to the ende they mighte bee the better able to maintaine their quarell, sent ouer their Ambassadours unto their kinnesmen in Irelande, requyring them of ayde in that present daunger, as hauing nowe not onely warres with the Pictes, but also wyth the Brytaynes, who mynded nothing, but the vtter destruction of them and their linage, except speedie remedie were founde. And for that they saw it needefull, to haue one onely head and gouernor, they made sute also to haue some captayne of honour wyth them into Albion, unto whome as unto their king they woulde submyt themselues.

In that season amongest the Irish Scottishe men, there raigned a king named Ferguhardus, who inclyning to the petition of the Brytishe Scots, caused an huge army forthwith to be leuied, & thereto he appoynted his owne sonne Fergusius to be generall of the same, a worthie yong gētleman, and an expert warriour: whom he sent ouer with this puissant cōpany, with such speede as was possible. He had also with him the marble stone, that he might conceyue the better hope to raigne there as a king, bycause he went forth unto such a daungerous warre.

Such also as went with him in this iourney, had theyr wyues, their children, and all theyr substance with them, as the maner of the nation then was, when they went forth into any foreyn countrey.

Nowe it came to passe that this Fergusius was no sooner come into Albion amongest the Scottishe men there, but that in a Parliament called and assembled in Argile for the purpose, they first consulted after what sort they myghte mainteyne themselues against their enimies, and what order for gouernment shoulde be obserued amongst them: where finally for auoyding of such inconueniences, as might rise through many gouernours, they decreed to chose onely one, whom in all things as their king and heade, they would from thencefoorth follow and obey.



Fergusius the first king in Scotlande.

Fergusius.

But bicause there was none thought so meete to beare that office, as Fergusius, and that the chaire of hope was also broughte wyth him: they cōcluded by whole cōsent to commit that charge unto him, & so to the great reioysing of the people, he was placed upon his marble stone, and crowned king, being the first of the Scottish nation that euer ruled in Albion as absolute gouernour, who began his raign in the yeare after the creation of the worlde 3640, which is (as Harison sayth in his Chronologie) before the incarnation of our Sauiour 327. after the buylding of Rome 420. and after the entring of Brutus into Brytayne 790.

The kingdome of the Scottishe men beeing thus begunne in Albion, Fergusius toke upon him to rule as king, making prouision on al sides to resist his enimies: who whylest these things were a doing in Argile, had assembled theyr powers: unto whome also the Brytaynes had ioyned themselues, and were now entred into the Scottish bozders.

The Brytaines and Pictes agaynst the Scottes.

Fergus hauing hereof knowledge, speedily got togyther hys people, and came wyth Banners displayed to encounter hys enimyes. In king Fergusis Banner, there was a redde Lion portrayed rampant, wyth hys tayle folden towardes his backe, as thoughe hee dyd beate the same, whiche is the maner of them, when they bee mooued to displeasure.



The kings Banner with a Lion gueles in it.

Fergus was the first that bare this cognisance in Albion, which euer sithence hath bene borne by those Kings that haue successiuely raigned after him there.

Both the armies were nowe come within ſight of other, and readie to haue giuen the onſet, when there went a murmuring amongeſt the Pictes, that their companions the Brytaynes were gotten to a hyll a little beſide them, minding to ſee the ende of the battell before they did ſturre, and then if occaſion ſerued (as theyr hope was it ſhoulde) they purpoſed to fall vpon both partyes, as well Pictes as Scottes, and ſo to deſtroy them both, the vanquiſhers togyther with the vanquiſhed, as they founde them out of aray in following the chaſe.

The Brytayns are about to deceyue the Pictes.

The like repoꝛt was brought vnto Fergus, by one that fled vnto his ſyde from the enimies campe, touching this treaſon of the Brytaynes, conſpiring the extermination of both the people. By reaſon whereof, eyther parte being put in feare of that whiche might enſue through the malicious purpoſe of the Brytaynes, they kept their tents certaine dayes togither without making any haſte to battayle. And in the meane while Fergus ſent a meſſenger vnto the King of the Pictes, requyring him to come to a communication before they ſhould fight, for that he had to informe him of ſuch matters as pertayned no leſſe to the ſafegarde and preſeruation of the Pictes, than of his owne people the Scottes.

Treaſon reuealed vnto Fergus.

Fergus ſendeth to the Pictes.

The king of the Pictes willingly gaue eare to this meſſage, and ſo a little beſide both the armies ſtanding in battayle array, the two kings accompanied with a fewe of their nobles mette togither, where in the ende the danger in whiche they both ſtoode, beeing plainly diſcloſed, and throughly wayed, they condiſcended to haue a further treatie of peace, whiche the King of the Pictes alledged hee might not conclude without the publike conſent of his ſubiects, and therfore he appoynted on the day following to returne to the ſame place againe, there to giue a reſolute anſwere, after he had vnderſtoode the mindes of his lords and commons in the ſame.

A peace to be concluded.

The king of the Pictes called his counſaile and commons.

Herevpon therfore returning to his campe, he called his counſaile afore him, declaring the ſubſtaunce of the communication which had bene betwixt king Fergus and him, whiche was in effect tending to this ende. Firſt conſydering the preſent deuiſes of the Brytaynes, there was nothing more expedient than a peace to be agreed vpon, as well for the commoditie of the Pictes, as Scottes, if they would yeeld withall to auoid the imminent perill of their vtter ruine and common deſtruction intended by the Brytaynes.

Herevpō alſo he required their aduiſe what they thought good to be don: declaring that according as they counſayled him he would worke therin.

Diuerſe heads, diuerſe opinions.

This matter being thus propoſed, as there were diuerſe heades, ſo were there ſundrie opinions. Some iudged that in no wiſe they coulde enter friendſhip againe with the Scottes, who had ſo cruelly ſlaine and murthered a great number of the Pictiſh nation: and had ſhewed ſuch tokens of a beaſtlyke furious nature, that there was no hope to continue long in amitie with ſuche a raging kind of people: & hereto they held that it was not vnknowne how the prophecie went that the Scots ſhoulde in the ende deſtroy all the Pictiſh progenie. So that it were wiſdom to keepe their power vnder ſo lōg as was poſſible, & not to encreaſe the ſame by ioyning with thē in frendſhip. A Prophee

Other were of a contrarie minde, eſteeming that in no wiſe the Scottiſh mens friendſhippe ought to be refuſed, vnleſſe they would determin to ſeeke newe dwellings in ſome other forrayne parties, ſith the Brytaines would not fayle, but vpon occaſion take what vantage they could to expulſe them both, aſwel Scottes as Pictes, out of the countreys nowe by them poſſeſſed. And as for that, which was alledged touching the prophecie, if the Goddes had ſo determined, then might no policie of man preuent it: and if there were no ſuch thing appointed by the ſame gods, what follye then were it to caſt ſuche dreadfull doubtes where no cauſe was. Ouer and beſides this, they had taken them wiues of the Scottiſh nation, and therby ingrafted their ſeede (the hope of their poſteritie) in that ſtock, which is the neareſt meane and forcibleſt occaſion to nouriſhe friendſhip, that is or may be amongſt people deuiſed: therefore it ſhould not be onely profitable but neceſſary alſo, to haue peace with the Scots, to renue againe with them the former league to the perpetual ſtrengthning and aduancement of both the nations.

The Pictes admoniſhed by their wiues to peace.

Whileſt the Picts were thus in debating the matter, their wiues alſo being preſent there in the armie, came in amongeſt them with their children, & in moſt lamentable wiſe beſought their huſbands to haue pitie vpon them, in their ſo ſorowfull caſe, and not to ſuffer thtir handes to be defiled with vnnaturall murther, ſithe it were leſſe diſcōfort to them with their ſillie little ones to die any kynd of death whatſoeuer it were, rather than to behold theyr huſbands with their fathers, their brethren, and other kinneſfolke ioyne togyther in battaile, and there to kill one another wythout all mercie and compaſſion.

The Picte moued to pitie.

The Nobles and Gentlemen of the Pictes hearing the cries of theſe women, and being nowe ſomewhat moued to pitie, conſented at laſte to haue peace with the Scottiſh men, and to renew againe the olde league that was heretofore betweene them: And for mutuall iniuries heretofore committed, that there ſhould be had a mutuall recōpence according as might ſtande with equitie & reaſon. So that where the Bryttains had bene the chiefe procurers of all that miſchiefe

and

and diſcorde betwixt them, in hope therby to deſtroy bothe the parties, they ſhould now be reputed from henceforth as cõmon enimies to them both: as for all other articles or conditions of agreement, it was ordeined that their king ſhould do therein as vnto him might ſeeme good.

In the morning therefore, as was appointed, the king of Pictes meeting with king Fergus, declared what his ſubiectes were agreed vpon: & further opening his mind touching the eſtabliſhment of the peace, thought it conuenient to haue a day of meeting betwixt them to ratify the ſame. Wherwith Fergus being well contented & glad that through his motion a peace ſhould thus enſue, a day was appointed betwixt them and kept accordingly, ſo that comming together, the auncient league was in all poynts renewed, with ſome conditions added therto, auaylable as was thought, for the ſtronger confirmation therof.

Before this, & after the firſt meeting betwixt the Scottes and Pictes, I meane ſo ſone as the Brytains had vnderſtanding of this agreement, they had no luſt to tarie longer in the fielde, but rayſing their power, they departed their wayes homewardes, doubting leaſt the ſayd agreement might turne finally to their gayne.

The Pictes and Scottiſh men alſo after they had thus fully ratified the peace and league betwixt them, brake vp their campes, euery man repayring to the place of his abode.

The kyng alſo of the Bryttaines named Coil (ſoiourning in that ſeaſon neare aboute Yorke,) being informed of this ſodeyne renouation of the league betwixt the Scottiſh men and Pictes, was nothing ioyfull of the newes: for he doubted leaſt in time to come their confederacie might be occaſion of their further increaſing in puiſſance, and after that ſome new occaſion of his trouble. Wherefore ſtudying by what wayes and meanes he might beſt prouide remedie for ſuche inconueniences as might enſue, he attempted nothing openly for the ſpace of two yeares, but onely watched his time, to the ende that if he might in that ſeaſon chaunce (through the inſolent courage of eyther nation) to eſpie any occaſiõ ſeruiſeable for his turne, he might ſet vpon and be a plague vnto them bothe.

At length alſo he cauſed his ſubiectes (ſuch I meane as bordered neare to the marches of both the people) to fetche prayes and booties out of the Pictiſh confines. So that when the Pictes ſent thither with requeſt to haue reſtitution made, it was by and by aunſwered that the Scottes had done ſuch treſpaſſes, (being a people inured vnto ſuch feates by nature,) and not the Bryttaines, who were nothing guilty in that kind of matter: & thus would the Bryttans do in like ſort when they had robbed the Scots, ſo that with ſuch iniurious diſſimulation, aſwel Scots as Pictes being not a litle offended, they entred ſone after into the Bryttiſh confines, robbing & ſpoyling the ſame, as their cuſtome is, with al maner of cruelties. When Coil of Bryttaine had notice of theſe doings, he toke grieuous indignation thereat, & therupon determined to proue whether he might with open warres atchieue his purpoſe, which he could not bring to paſs by his former cloked practiſe. And herwith aſſembling an army, he entred into the Scottiſh borders lying towards the Iriſh ſeas, waſting with fire & ſworde whatſoeuer he founde in his wayes, till he came euen to the riuer of Dune, where encampyng himſelfe vpon the bankes therof, he ſent forth companies of his Souldiers to deſtroy the countrey, and to bring in all ſuche priſoners as they ſhould lay handes vpon. But in the meane tyme, and ſo ſone as Fergus heard of the approche of the Bryttons, he cauſed all the people in the countrey to gette them with their goodes and cattayles vnto the Mountaines, except ſuche as were able to beare armure: whom he appoynted to attend vpon him, to defende the countrey as occaſion ſerued. Wherof Coil hauing knowledge brought by an eſpiall, he ſent forth about fiue thouſand nimble men, and ſuch as had bene vſed to clyme craggie hilles, to go before and winne the paſſages, purpoſing the next day to follow himſelfe with the whole army. But the Scottiſhmen and Pictes being now aſſembled togither, and certified hereof alſo by their ſpies, they firſt fell in conſultation what they were beſt to do: & in the ende agreed that the ſame night they ſhoulde ſette vpon the Bryttiſhe camp: Fergus with his Scottiſhmen on the one ſide, and the kyng of the Pictes on the other: ſo that in the dead of the night the Scottiſh men killyng the watche, were entered into the Brittiſhe campe, ere Coil had knowledge of any ſuch thing: whereby it came to paſſe that whileſt the Bryttaines (awaked with the noyſe) drew vnto that parte where the Alarme roſe, to beate backe the Scottes, the Pictes commyng ouer the riuer of Dune, by a certayne blinde fourde, aſſayled them on the backes, to the great confuſion of the whole armie, by reaſon wherof the Bryttaines (ſeyng none other remedie but to ſaue themſelues by flight,) turned their backes and fled, in whiche turmoyle they were troden downe and fell by heapes one vpon an other and were not able to helpe themſelues, nor yet to make ſhifte to auoyde the handes of their aduerſaries. In this buſineſſe alſo Coil himſelfe chaunced to be oppreſſed amongſt the reſt, ſo that he was founde dead in the ſearche of ſuch as were ſlayne, & after ſolemnly buried according to his eſtate in Troynouant, leauing the kingdom vnto his ſonne Sicellius, who with his

The Scottes and Pictes inuade the Brytains.

Coilus entred into Scotland with an armie.

Ferguſe aſſembled a great power of Scottiſhmen.

Coil was ſlayne and his whole armie diſcomfited, of whom as Hector Boetius ſayeth, their countrey of Coil tooke name.

his mother Mertia gouerned the ſame together by the ſpace of many yeares.

Such Brytains alſo as eſcaped out of theyr enimies handes, gote them togither in the nexte morning, & perceyuing what loſſe they had ſuſteyned not only by the death of their Prince, but alſo in the ſlaughter of a greate parte of theyr whole armie, ſent an Herault vnto the Scottes & Pictes to require a peace, which though the moſt part of the people were not in will to haue cõſented vnto, yet perſwaded in the end by their Princes, they were contented to yeeld thereto: ſo that a generall peace was concluded, and ſpeedily publiſhed betwixt them.

Peace concluded.

Immediatly herevpon the Pictes with theyr part of the ſpoile gotten at this iourney departed to their homes, & Fergus returned into Argile: where ſtudying daily for the quiet aduancement of the Scottiſh cõmune wealth, he called a parliament of his nobles, & firſt declaring to the aſſembly how much bound they were to the Gods for giuing them this victory ouer ſo puiſſant enimies as the Brytains were, he exhorted them to liue in friendly concord amongſt themſelues, and to abſtaine frõ violating the leagues, now concluded, aſwell with the Brytains, as before hand with the Pictes.

A parliament.

An exhortation vnto quietneſſe and peace.

Alſo for the auoyding of enuious contention, and for the better aſſurance of euery mans eſtate, he iudged it neceſſary to haue a partition made of al the landes belonging to the Scottiſh dominion. For before they occupied the whole as in commune, without knowing to whom this peece or that did belong. Whiche politike aduiſe of Fergus, the Scottiſh men praiſed moſt highly, promiſing not onely to follow his counſayle herein, in all that he ſhoulde wiſhe, but alſo in all that he ſhould otherwiſe commaunde.

The lande is parted.

Obedient ſubiectes.

Wherupon ſhortly after there were choſen by his aduiſe. xij. auncient perſonages, men of good conſcience & great experience: which were apointed to be Surueyours of the whole countrey, & to deuide the ſame as neare as they coulde into a ſet number of equal portions, (but with this cõſideration, that according as the fruitfulneſſe or barraynneſſe of the ſoyle required, ſo they ſhould enlarge or diminiſh the circuite of their bounds.) Whẽ they had vewed the countrey, & according to their commiſſion, ſeuered forth the ſame into parts, they returned into Argile where Fergus then ſoiourned, & there in his preſence, the names of al his noble men that were reputed as Gouernours were put in lottes, euery of them to haue ſuch parte of the realme for his owne, as ſhoulde fall to him by good lucke and preſent happe.

Men diuide the lande into portions.

The gouernment is giuen vnto the nobles by lottes.

By this meanes eche of them being placed as his chaũce fell, they inhabited their quarters with ſuch people as they had the leading of, ſo that afterwardes the countreys toke theyr names of thoſe the firſt Gouernours: which names for the more parte (being a little chaunged) remayne amongſt them euen vnto this day.

Fergus hauing thus without occaſion of enuie deuided his countrey amongſt his nobles and ſubiects, ſtudied furthermore to deuiſe lawes for the mayntenaunce of commune quiet amongſt them. And therfore amongſt other ordinances he made ſtatutes againſt murder, roberies, burning of houſes, and ſpecially againſt theefte.

Statutes and lawes are made.

He buylded alſo the caſtell of Berigoniũ in Loughquhabre on the weſte ſide of Albion, ouer againſt the weſterne Iſles, where he appoynted a courte to be kept for the adminiſtration of iuſtice: that both the Albion Scots, and alſo thoſe of the ſame Iſles might haue their acceſſe and reſorte thyther for redreſſe of wrongs, and endyng of all controuerſies. The reſidue of his life, he paſſed in reſte and peace with his neyghbours the Pictes and Brytaines, endeuouring by all meanes, to knit and couple the hartes of his ſubiectes in one friendly bande of inwarde loue and amitie.

Berigonium.

A place apointed for iuſtice.

Finally, ſayling afterwarde into Irelande to be arbitratour in a matter of variance betwixte the Nobles of that lande, as he returned homewardes, by force of tempeſt, the ſhippe wherein he was embarqued, was dryuen vpon a rocke, where he periſhed, after he had raygned as kyng amongſt the Scottiſh men in Albion aboute xxv. yeares. The rocke where he was thus caſt away, hath bene euer ſithence called Rocke Fergus, after his name.

Fergus went into Ireland, and in his turne was drowned.

Rocke Fergus, otherwiſe Knock Fergus.

In the ſame ſeaſon there raygned amongſt the Brytains one Elanius, named by Hector Boetius Eldadus, and amongſt the Pictes one Cruthneus Camelonus, that buylded a famous Citie, vpon the banke of the riuer called Carone, as the Scottiſh wryters affirme, appointyng it to be the chiefe Citie of all the Pictiſhe kyngdome, where in times paſte there was a fayre commodious hauen apt to herbrough ſhippes in at all ſeaſons, but now it is damned vp in ſuche ſorte, that vnneath there appeareth any token where that hauen was: and the citie it ſelfe was finally ſubuerted by Kenneth kyng of Scotland, as after ſhall appeare.

Eſdadus.

Cruthneus Camelonus.

This citie the Scottiſhe wryters take to be Camelodunum of the which there is ſo mention made in the Romaine writers: but verily hetherto they do grossely erre.

The forenamed Cruthneus buylded alſo the Towne of Igneda, afterwardes called Edynbrough, of Ethus kyng of the Pictes, the caſtell was named, the caſtell of Maydens, for that the daughters of the Pictiſhe kings, were there kept vnder ſtrayte cuſtodie, appoynted to learne to ſow and worke, till they came to yeares of mariage.

Igneda now called Edynbrough.

The caſtell of maydens.

But nowe to returne to the Scottiſh men. After the death of Fergus, the Nobles of the Realme

Realme aſſembled togyther, to take councell whom they might chooſe to ſucceede in his place. Many of them in reſpect of the highe benefites whiche theyr nation had receyued by the politike gouernment of kyng Ferguſe, would not in any wiſe that his ſonnes, though young of yeares, ſhould be forgotten, but that accozding to reaſon & equitie, the eldeſt of them ſhould be elected, ſith they might not otherwiſe deliuer themſelues of the note of ingratitude towards his father, vnto whom they were more bounde than with young might well be expreſſed.

Other hauing a ſpeciall regarde to the quiet of theyr common wealth, doubted leaſt if they crowned a chylde to theyr kyng during his minoritie, it coulde not be, but that there ſhoulde follow ſtryfe, enuie, and contention, for the gouernaunce of his perſon and realme amongſt the Nobles, and that in ſuche wiſe, as the people being diuided into ſundrie factions, the due adminiſtration of iuſtice ſhoulde be neglected, the Nobles bearing and bolſtering vp all kindes of iniuries done or committed by any of their partakers.

And though it might ſo happen that they agreed vppon one ſpeciall gouernour, as reaſon was they ſhoulde, yet ſhoulde he ſeeke to aduaunce his kinſfolkes more than reaſon happely required, and peraduenture do things otherwaies muche diſpleaſant to no ſmall number of them, by that his priuate authoritie.

And againe the King ſhoulde no ſooner come to yeares of any diſcretion, but one or other woulde put him in minde to take vpon him to rule the whole himſelfe, before he vnderſtode what charge he had in hande: and by reaſon of his fraple youth he lightly woulde not followe the councell of any, but ſuche as conſented vnto him in his ſenſuall luſtes and inordinate fanſies, whiche commonly raygne in ſuche Princes as take vppon them gouernaunce of realmes before they knowe (through wante of ſufficient yeares) how to gouerne themſelues.

For theſe and the like conſiderations, alleaged by ſome of no ſmal authoritie amongſt them, it was agreed in the ende, that one Feritharis the brother of the late deceaſſed Ferguſe ſhoulde ſhoulde be crowned King and haue the gouernance of the Realme during his life: and herewith in the meane time to ſee his Nephewes king Ferguſe his ſonnes brought vp in princely nurture and diſcipline, as appertayned to the Sonnes of a king: that after his deceaſſe, if he liued till any of them were come to rype yeares, they might ſucceede him in the eſtate and kingdome.

This ordinance alſo they decreed to be obſerued as a lawe from thence forth euer after, that if the king died leauing no iſſue, but ſuche as were vnder age to ſucceede him, then ſhoulde one of his neareſt Couſins, ſuch as was thought moſte meete to occupie the rome, be choſen to raigne as king during his life, and after his deceaſſe the crowne to reuerte vnto his predeceſſors iſſue without controuerſie, if the ſame were ones growne vp to lawfull age.

By this meanes then were children excluded from obtayning the crowne, leaſt the publike libertie of the realme might chaunce to be put in daunger. But yet was it afterwardes perceyued that this deuiſe for chooſing of kings, miniſtred occaſion ſometimes to the vncle to ſeeke the deſtruction of the Nephew, and likewiſe to the Nephew to procure the diſpatche of the vncle and vncles Sonnes, with the committing of many haynous murders of right worthie princes, to the no ſmall daunger of ouerthrowing the whole ſtate of the commune wealth, ſo that finally that ordinance was clearly abrogated, as you ſhall heare hereafter.

The chooſing of kings was not alowed.



Feritharis.

But nowe to my purpoſe. After Feritharis with the full conſente of al the people was thus elected king, hee was inthronized with all ſolempnities in receiuing his kingly ornamẽts, as his two edged ſwoord, his Scepter royal, & his crown of gold faſhioned in forme of a rampire made for defence of a towne or fortreſſe, ſignifying that hee toke vppon him to preſerue the libertie of his countrey to ſee offendours duely puniſhed, and the execution of lawes with equall iuſtice truely miniſtred.

A two edged ſword.

Theſe ornamentes of inueſture remayned vnto the Scottiſhe kings, without being in any point chaunged, till the dayes of Achaius kyng of Scotlande, who eſtabliſhing a perpetuall league with Charles the greate Emperour and king of Fraunce, to endure for euer betwixte the Scottes and French menne, added vnto the crowne foure Flowers de Lyces together with foure croſſelettes deuided in ſunder by equall ſpaces, riſing ſomewhat higher than the Flowers de Lyces, that thereby the obſeruing of the Chriſtian Religion and ſincere faithe, maynteined by the Scottiſhe nation, might be the more euident to all men that beheld it.

The crowne chaunged.

But now as touching Feritharis, ſhortly after he was thus inueſted kyng, he came to an enterueiw with the king of the Pictes, where many things

The league with the Picts confirmed.

The league with the Picts confirmed.

things being communed of, touching the wealth of bothe nations, the league was in solempne wise confirmed, and suche punished as had done any thing sounding to the breache of the same.

After this, beyng returned home, he ordered himselfe in the administration of his charge very vprightly, without giuyng iust occasion vnto any to finde himself grieued: and thus continued he certaine yeares in such loue of all the estates of the realme, that afterwards when his Nephewe Ferlegus the eldest sonne of king Ferguse, beyng nowe come to full age, through instigation of some insolent persons, and such as by alteration hoped for aduauncement, required contrary to the ordinance before established, to haue of him the crowne: the mater was taken in such ill part, that where before the same Ferlegus was highly beloued and honored of all the people, they were now ready (if Feritharis had not with authoritie and gentle perswasions stayed them) to haue torne him all to peeces: but although their rage was somwhat appeased by Feritharis as is sayd, yet would they not be pacified thoroughly, till that all such as had bene of councell with him in that practise, had suffred death, and new gouernours appointed to haue the ouersight of him.

Feritharis lyued not passing a three moneths after this businesse, but died sodenly in the night, the trueth not beyng knowen whether by natural death, or through treason of Ferlegus and certaine of his complices, (whereof there was no small suspition raysed) for that he togither with them found meanes to flee first to the Pictes, and after to the Brytains, were he passed the residue of his lyfe in great shame and ignominie.

Feritharis suddainly died.

Ferlegus exiled.

Feritharis beyng thus dead in the .xv. yeare of his reygne, the Nobles assembled togither for the election of a new king, and in the end they agreed vpon Mainus the younger sonne of king Ferguse, as then beyng about .xxiiij. yeares of age.

An election of a new king.

Mainus.



THys Mainus beyng of contrarie conditiõs to his brother Ferlegus, was thus aduãced to the crown by the whole cõsent of the Nobles & cõmons, who yet kept in freshe memorie the noble gouernement of his father Ferguse. He therfore studying to answeare the peoples expectation in following his sayde fathers worthie actes, mainteyned iustice in all points without sufferyng any bearing or bolstering of wrong. If there were any controuersie risen betwixt neyghbour and neighbour within one hundred or hundrede, he willed that the same might be taken vp and ended amongst them at home by order of some authorized courte there. But if the mater were of such importãce as that it could not well be decided wiihout auctoritie of some higher courte, he would then haue the hearing thereof himselfe, at such time as he vsed euery yeare once to haue a publyke assemblie out of al partes of his realme, to conferre togither for such purposes: At what time also suche as were notorious offenders, were arraigned and punished by death or otherwise, accordyng to the faulte which they earst had cõmitted. Also for the more quiet of his subiects he cõfirmed the ancient league with the Pictes, theyr king named Chyrinus, requiring the same by his ambassadours sent vnto him. Moreouer this Mainus vpõ a religious deuotion towarde the Goddes, hauing an assured beliefe, that without their fauours al worldly policies were but vayne, deuised sundry new ceremonies to be added vnto the olde: and also caused certaine places in sundrie partes of his dominions to be appoynted out, and compassed about with great huge stones round lyke a ring: but towardes the South was one mightie stone farre greater than all the rest, pitched vp in maner of an aulter, wheron their priests might make their sacrifices in honour of their Goddes.

Great matters determined by the king.

Mainus confirmed the league with the Pictes.

Mainus about his religion.

In witnesse of the thing there remayneth vnto this day certaine of those greate stones standing rounde ring wise, which places are called by the cõmon people the old chapels of the Gods. I mã wold maruel by what shift, policy or strẽgth such mightie stones were raysed in that maner.

Amongst other the Goddes also, whiche the Scottishmen had in most reuerence, Diana was chiefe, whom they accompted as their peculiar patronesse, for that she was taken to be the Goddesse of hunting, wherein consisted their chiefest exercise, passtime and delite.

Diana honored of the Scots.

Diana Goddesse of hunting.



The new Moone worshipped.

Iustice maynteyned.

Smal maters redrest among neighbours.

Cinto

Unto hyr therefore he inſtituted monethly ſacrifice, by reaſon wherof this vſe was take vp, that ſo ſone as any of them got ſight of the new Mone nexte after hyr chaunge, he ſaluted hyr with certaine prayers or ſalutations moſt reuerently. Whiche cuſtome endured amongſt them many hundred yeares after.

Mainus did alſo appoint forth liuings for the Prieſts to be taken of ſuche ſacrifice as was offered vp to the Goddes.

Finally, when he had thus inſtructed his people in lawes and ordinances, aſwel touching the religious ſeruice of the Goddes, as alſo for politike gouernment of his countrey, he ended his life, after he had raigned about .xxix. yeares: leauing the eſtate to his ſonne Doruadille, Eliduerus raygning the ſame time in Brytaine, and Thaara amongſt the Pictes.



Doruadille.

Doruadille beyng crowned king of the Scottes, eſtabliſhed a newe league with the Brytaines by ſending his Imbaſſadours vnto them: and with the Pictes hee renewed and confirmed the auncient aliaunce. Doruadille a louer of peace.

He ſet all his pleaſure on Hunting and keeping of hounds and greyhoundes, ordayning that euery houſeholder ſhoulde finde him two houndes and one greyhounde. Doruadill had pleaſure in hunting.



If a hunter chaunced in following the game, to loſe an eye or a limme, ſo that he were not able to helpe himſelfe after that time, he made a ſtatute that he ſhould be found of the common treaſory.

He that killed a Wolf ſhould haue an oxe for his paines. This beaſt in deede the Scottiſh men euen from the beginning vſed to purſue in al they might deuiſe, becauſe the ſame is ſuche an enimie to cattayle, wherein conſiſted the chiefeſt portion of all their wealth and ſubſtance.

Thus the Scottiſh men in this ſeaſon, ſetting all their delite on hunting, began alſo to vſe lawes and ſtatutes in proceſſe of time concerning the ſame. And firſt it was ordeyned, that he whoſe dogge did tryſe & go through to the end of the courſe with ỹ Deare, ſo that he were ſeene to be at the fall, ſhould haue the ſkinne: the head and the hornes to remayne to him whoſe dogge did beſt next. The bodie being drieſt and broken vp, ſhoulde be diſtributed at the pleaſure and diſcretion of the Maiſter of the game. The bowels and paunche were caſt to the dogges as the caſe required. And if there roſe any doubte in any of theſe points, they ſhould chooſe by common conſent, a iudge to determine of the matter. The dogges rewarded.

But whether theſe deuices were lawes made by the kyng as then for the further aduancement of his pleaſure, or rather cuſtomes growen, and ratified by long and continual vſe, I can not tel, but certaine it is, they were obſerued through all the Scottiſh regiõs as hauing the force of lawes, and ſo are vſed euen vnto theſe dayes.

Beſide theſe ordinaunces for hunting, Doruadille commaunded alſo that all ſuch ſtatutes as Fergus had made ſhoulde be kept and obſerued: whereunto he added certaine new, namely diuers ſortes of puniſhments for ſundrie kindes of tranſgreſſions, according to the qualities of the ſame: whiche hee cauſed to be ingroſſed in bookes of recorde, and committed to the cuſtodie of a graue counſellour, who by a common conſent ſhould haue the interpretatiõ of thoſe lawes if any doubt aroſe, and that when any offender Old lawes allowed, & newe eſtabliſhed.

ſhould

ſhould come before the iudge, & heare the ſentence redde by him, the ſame offender might vnderſtād that he receyued nothing but right at the iudges handes: by reaſon whereof it came to paſſe, that ſuch offenders without repining willingly were contented to ſuffer any puniſhment what ſoeuer it was that the law did ſo appoynt them.

This cuſtome grewe into ſuche force, that it neuer might yet be abrogated amongſt them of the weſterne Iſles, but that euen vnto this day they haue theyr Lawiers amongſt them, without whoſe denunciation or decree taken out of the regiſter, no iudgement is reputed lawfull.

Theſe were the actes and doynges of kyng Dorſuadile, who in the .xxviij. yeare of his raigne departed this world at Berigonium, now called Dounſtafage, leauing behind him a ſonne called Reuther as yet not of ſufficient age to ſucceede in the eſtate. By reaſon whereof Nothatus the brother of Dorſuadille a man of comely perſonage and witte, apte (as was thought) to haue a Realme in gouernaunce, was crowned king by force of the law aboue remembred, debarring children vnder age to inherit in ſucceſſiō of ỹ crowne.

Nothatus.



Nothatus.

This Nothatus had vnneth raygned two yeares, when all the people beganne to crie out vpon him, for ſuche tyrannicall partes as he practiſed aſwel againſt the meane eſtates as the highe. And for ſo muche as he being admoniſhed of his duetie and required to reforme certaine diſhonorable vſages by him exerciſed, he would giue no care thereto: Therfore one Doualus gouernour of Brigantia, conſpiring with other Nobles of the Realme to depoſe him, entited Reuther kyng Dorſuadilles Sonne, to take parte with them, and to clayme the crowne as dewe to hym by diſcente from his Father.

Brigantia called as the Scottes ſay Galloway.



And ſo aſſembling a companie of their faction, ſufficient for their enterpriſe, they entered the palayce where Nothatus lay, and after reaſoning with him of certayne points touching his miſgouernment in the eſtate, diuers of theyr companie not tarying till they were commaunded, raſhly fell vpon him, and murthered him together with diuers of ſuche Nobles and Gentlemen, as they knewe to be enimies to Doualus and his frendes.

Nothatus murdered.



Reuther.

After this they proclaymed Reuther king, and crowned him with all due ſolēpnitie, diuers of the Nobles of ỹ realme being highly diſpleaſed therewith, for that they iudged it not only a great offence to haue the king thus traiterouſly murthered, but alſo ſaw hereby the ancient ordināce of chooſing their king through conſent of the people, to be broke by the wicked attempt of a priuate perſon, & an vnskilfull yong man aduaunced to the crowne,

Reuther ued king. Diuers l offended.

crowne, cõtrary to ỹ decree of an autentike law.

Amongſt other one Ferquhard the ſonne in law of Nothatus gouernour of Lozne & Cantyz called an aſſemblie of the people, and beganne to declare what enoꝛmities were like to enſue thoꝛow this tiranuicall attempt of Doualus.

Doualus hearing whereaboute Ferquhart went, haſtly came to the place where this aſſemble was made, & there ſlaying diuers of the chiefe, he did put Ferquhard alſo in great hazarde of his lyfe, who by flying yet eſcaped his hands and, got him ouer into the Iſle of Ila, whither reſoꝛted vnto him diuers of the Nobles (that fauoꝛed not Douale) with a great number of the commons.

In the end, Ferquharde perſwaded his cõpanions to ſet al feare a parte, and to returne with him into Scotlande to take reuenge of Douale and his complices, being traytours and enimies to the realme and common wealth, ſo that firſte ioyning handes, whiche they did wette in mans bloud accoꝛding to the cuſtome then vſed, they pꝛomiſed one to an other to liue and die in the quarel: and after embarquing themſelues in certaine veſſels, they entred the ſea and paſſed ouer into Scotlande, where gathering togither no ſmall number of ſuch as willingly reſoꝛted vnto them to their ayde, they encountred with Douale in battayle, whoſe hoſte twyce in one day was put to flight neare to the citie Berigonium with the loſſe of an eyght thouſande men.

Ferquhart returneth into Scotland for to reuenge his iniurie.

Berigonium.



The night parted the fray, but in the nexte moꝛning Douale & his partakers thꝛough greate indignation conceiued foꝛ that they were ſo beaten backe by Ferquhard (hauing in all his hoſte not paſt a x.M. perſons) fiercely came fowth of theyꝛ tentes to giue battaile afreſhe, & finding their enimies ready to receyue them, there was fought ſo cruell a battayle betwixt them, that in the end eyther parte being ſoꝛe trauayled with ſlaughter and long fight, was glad to giue place to the other, not paſſing an eight hũdꝛed of all thoſe that were pꝛeſent that day in the fielde, as then being left aliue. Vpon Douales parte there was ſlaine Gethus kyng of Pictes, whoſe daughter kyng Reuther had maried, with a great number of his people: alſo Douale himſelfe with diuers of the Nobles of Scotlande, beſide Gentlemen and commons that toke parte with him.

On the cõtrary ſide there died alſo Ferquhard himſelfe with diuers gouernours of Trybes, beſide the reſidue of the Nobles, Gentlemen and commons of Roſſe, Cathenele, Marne, Argile, Cantyz, and Lozne, with them of the weſterne Iſles which were there with him.

Reuther eſcaping with lyfe from this bloudie encounter, in the night followyng departed his wayes with ſuch of his people as were left aliue. Wheꝛof his enimies being aduertiſed in the next moꝛning, purſued after him with ſuch diligence, that in the end they toke him within a caſtell in Cathenele whither he was fledde foꝛ ſuccour: he was pardoned of life, partly in reſpect of his fathers merites, and partly againe foꝛ that it was knowen how his tender youth was ſuch as had not deſerued death by any fact, otherwiſe thã in that he had followed the councell of malicious perſons. By this cruel murder & huge ſlaughter thus committed betwixte theſe two nations of Scottiſh men & Pictes, bothe their foꝛces were ſo greatly enfeebled, that they became an eaſie pꝛay to their aũcient & cõmon enimies the Bꝛytains, who in ſuch opoꝛtunitie of occaſion thought not to ſit ſtil til the ſame might haply be paſt & gone.

Reuther the king fledde.

Reuther purſued and take.

He is pardoned of life.

Firſt theꝛfoꝛe with a mightie armie the Bꝛytains inuaded the Pictes: the nobles of which nation pereeyuing themſelues not able to make reſiſtance, fled with theyꝛ wiues, their children, and the moſt parte of their goodes, ouer into the Iſles of

The Brytains vpõ occaſiõ inuade the pictes.

The Pictes expulſed by the Brytains flee in to the Iſles of Orkeney.

of Orkeney, and there aſſembling togither, they created them a new king to haue the gouernance ouer them, who was alſo named Gethus, and brother to the other Gethus a little before mentioned. Here alſo they remayned certaine yeares after, liuing in peaceable manner with the former inhabitants whom they found there, wrong-ing them by no iniurious dealing at all (if the Scottiſh hiſtorie be true.)

Gethus king.

Hereof moreouer as ſome ſuppoſe it came to paſſe, that theſe Iſlãds of Orkeney are named by diuers writers the auncient kingdome of ỹ Picts.

Why Orkeney was called Pictland as ſome ſuppoſe, but the trueth ſhoulde ſeeme to be that they were ſo called becauſe the Pictes inhabited there before they ſet foote in Brytaine.

In the meane while the Brytains ſeaſing vpon ſuch countreys as theſe Pictes had forſaken, that is to ſay, the Mers, Louthien and other, they left in diuers places wher they thought expedict, garyſons of men of warre, to keepe the ſame in due ſubiection: and after entred into the confines of the Scottiſh kingdome, burning and waſting all afore them, wherewith ſuche Scottes as yet remayned aliue, being highly moued to indignation, came ſtoutly into the fielde to defende their countrey, & encõtring with their enimies neare to Kalendar wood, they loſte a .ij. M. of their companie: the reſidue alſo being ſore chaſed, fled into ſundrie parties for ſauegard of their liues.

The Brytaines inuade the Scottes.

The Scottes ouerthrowen.

This diſcomfiture put the Scottiſhe nation into ſuch feare & terrour, that they vtterly diſpaired of al recouerie, where contrarywiſe the Brytains were ſo aduaunced (in hope vtterly to expel all aliens out of their Iſle) that purſuying the victory in moſt earneſt wiſe, they forced Reuther and all the Nobilitie of the Scottiſh nation that was yet left aliue, to flee for ſauegarde of their liues into the caſtell of Berigonium, where they helde themſelues as in the ſureſt holde.

The Brytains being certified of the repaire of their enimies to Berigoniũ, enuironed the caſtell with a ſtrong and vehement ſiege, vntill that the Scots within were conſtreyned through wante of vitayles to eate each other, according as ỹ lots fell by a cõmon agreement made amongſt them.

Scots beſiged deuoure one an other.

But when it came to paſſe, that euen thoſe that were reputed as heads and gouernours, & in whom conſiſted the hope of their whole defenſe, did now and then come to the ſhambles aſwell as other of leſſe reputation, they thought it beſte to trie by iſſuying forth, if any of their happes might be ſo good as to eſcape the daũger preſent, whereas by tarying ſtill within the fortreſſe, they ſhould but deuoure one another without any reuenge for loſſe of their liues, had vpon their fierce and cruell enimies.

Wherevpon by common conſente there iſſueth forth, firſte one Colane Lorde of Cantyr with an hundreth of his owne Souldiers, and fiercely skyrmiſhing with the Brytains, defended himſelf a good ſpace right mãfully, though in the ende bothe he and his whole bande were borne downe and ſlayne with preaſſe and multitude of his enimies that aſſailed him on each ſide.

The Scots come forth to fight.

In the meane ſeaſon, whileſt he thus occupied the Brytains in fight on one ſide, Reuther with the reſidue of his people brake forth by an other way, and eſcaping to the ſea ſide, got ſhippes and fled ouer into the weſterne Iſles, where he found a great number of other Scottiſh men, that were gotten thither, being compelled by Denus king of the Brytains, to auoyde forth of the countreys whiche they before inhabited.

Reuther eſcapeth.

Reuther remayned not long in the Iſles, but paſſed ouer into Ireland. The Brytains not a littell moued for his eſcape with the other of the Scottiſh Lordes, reuenged their diſpleaſure on ſuch cõmons and other meane people as fell into their handes, ſo that ſuche as might eſcape, gatte them into the mountaynes, & liued there by rootes, berries, & other wilde fruytes in ſommer, and in

Reuther ſeeth into Ireland.

They flie to the mountaines.



winter

winter by ſuch veniſon and fleſh of wilde beaſtes as they killed in the wilderneſſe: and ſometimes they came downe & made reyſes vpon the Brytaines that occupied theyr houſes and landes, fetching great booties very often from amongſt them.

This cruell warre laſted a. xij. yeares, till in maner all ſuch Scottes and Pictes as remayned in Albion were brought vnder ſeruitude to the Brytains. In which meane while, Gethus king of the Pictes kepte his ſiege royall in Pomonia the chiefeſt Iſle of the Orkeneys. Reuther alſo begot of his wife a ſonne named Thereus, and ſhortly after being procured by letters and meſſengers ſent vnto him from the foreſayd Gethus and ſuch Scottes as were yet remayning in Albion, he aſſembled a number of ſhippes togither, & firſt with a choſen power of warriours ſayled to the weſtern Iſles, where increaſing his numbers, he paſſed ouer into Albion, landing on the weſte halfe of Roſſe at Lough Bruum, & there comming a land, the firſt perſon that they mette with (according to a cuſtome vſed amõgſt them in thoſe dayes) they ſlew, & wetting the pointes of theyr weapons in his bloud, they firſte taſted thereof after theyr manner, then holding vp their weapõs into the ayre, they deſired of the Goddes that they might reuenge the bloud of their elders with happy battaile againſt the Brytons their enimies. After this, hearing that Gethus king of the Picts was alſo entred the lãd with a mighty power of Germains which were come to his ayd and was not paſt a. xxx. miles of, he ſtayed there abidyng for his comming, to the intent that ioyning theyr powers togither, they might be the better able to furniſh theyr enterpriſe.

The Germains in ayde of the Pictes.

The third day after they mette togither with great ioy and cõgratulations, vnto whom with all ſpeede a great number alſo of thoſe Scottiſhmen and Pictes that had ſtill continued in the countrey (during the time of the perſecution by the Brytains) dayly reſorted and came flocking in from eche ſide vnto them.

Reuther and Gethus meete & ioyne their powers togither.

Sibillius king of the Brytains who ſucceeded after Denus, as then lately deceaſſed, hauing knowledge hereof, aſſembled a great army of his ſubiectes, and hearing that the Scots and Picts were entred into the borders of his Realme, hee haſted forth to encounter with their powers, & ſo ioyning with them in battaile, after long and cruel fight, in the end the victory remayned with the Scottiſh men and Pictes, by the greate valiauncie and manfull prowes of Reuther: wherevpon the place where that battaile was fought hath bene euer ſince called Reoirdail, as ye wold ſay Reuthers valley.

The Brytaines are diſcõfited by the Scottes and Pictes.

Whereof Reothirdail tooke the name.



This victorie was not very pleaſant to any of the parties, by reaſon of the greate numbers of men ſlaine on bothe ſides, in ſo muche that they were gladde to fall to agreement immediatly after, & concluded a peace, with conditions that the Scottiſh men & Pictes ſhould be reſtored againe vnto their auncient poſſeſſiõs & lands in Albion.

This peace cõtinued a long time after inuiolate betwixte theſe nations. The yeare that Reuther returned thus into Albion, was before the birth of Chriſte. 216. after the buylding of Rome. 529. and from the creation of the woꝛld. 3750. Reuther by Beda in his Eccleſiaſticall hiſtorie of England is named Reuda: who alſo ſuppoſeth him to be ẏ firſt of al ẏ Scottiſh princes ẏ ſet any foote in Brytain there to inhabite, his cõming thither was (as ſeemeth to ſome) lõg after the ſuppoſed time here before alledged. And verily there is great cauſe to moue a doubt of ẏ truth of that which Hector Boetius hath writte in following (as he ſaith) other authors, touching the firſte comming into Brytaine, aſwell of the

4995. H. B.

Reuther by Beda is named Reuda.

Stots & Picts: for if it were true that so long before the comming of the Romains into this Isle they were here plãted & growẽ to such puissance, it is strange that no mentiõ is made of them in any of their writings, till aboute the yeare. 360. after Christ, as in place conuenient it shall more plainely appeare. Reuther passed the residue of his dayes without any further warres, forrayne or ciuill, and so departed this worlde at Berigonium, in the. xxvj. yeare of his raygne.

An. mundi. 4997. H.B.

Reutha.



After Reuther his decease, his vncles Sonne called Reutha succeeded in the kingdome, chosen thereto by the common agreement of all the estates, because that Thereus Sonne to Reuther vnneathe come to the age of tenne yeares, was thought vnable to take the charge vpon him.

Reutha therfore being thus elected to raygne as king ouer the Scottish mẽ, ordained that such noblemen as had atchieued any notable exployte in defence of their countrey, should be had in perpetual memorie, & buried in solempne wise in sepulchres aloft vpõ hilles or mountaines, vpõ the which were set so many Obelisks or lõg pointed stones, as they had slaine enimies in the warres: wherof some remaine there to be seene euen vnto this day.

An ordinance for buriall of theyr Princes.

Obeliskes or pointed stones

This Reutha also vnderstanding of the lacke of all maner of craftes men in his Realme, & of suche as were expert in the liberall sciences, caused a great number of moste perfect artificers to be sent for, to inhabite amongst his people, the better to instruct them in their occupatiõs. Vnto these also as vnto other professing any liberall arte, were appointed honest liuings, by way of fees assigned to be receiued, of suche oxen & beefes as were killed, to euery man of science & artificer his parte. And further eche of them had certaine measures of Otes and Barly in steede of yearly annuities. For as yet the vse of coigne was not knowen among the Scottish men. The whiche custome of distributing theyr beasts, which they killed in this wise, is still vsed in the Westerne Isles euen vnto these our dayes. Reutha perceiuing furthermore that through vnskilful Chirurgions & Phisitions many wounded & diseased persons were oftentimes cast away, ordeined by the aduice and consent of his counsell, that none should take vpõ them as a Chirurgion or Phisition, vnlesse they were by long experience well practised afore hand in those sciences. For before that time they vsed to carie forth such persons as were sicke or otherwise hurte, and to lay them in some open place in the streetes or market steede, that al such as came by, might according to their knowledge declare their aduise, and shew (if they had bene vexed with the like disease) by what meanes they had escaped the daunger, & recouered agayn theyr health. For no mã might without the note of high reproche passe by in keeping silence in this behalf. And this was according to the custome of the olde Egyptians.

Craftes men brought into Scotlande to instruct the people.

Liuings appointed forth vnto these craftes men.

A law for Phisitions & Chirurgions.

Reutha thus studying for the aduauncement of the common wealth of his subiects, continued in the estate with great prosperitie, til finally perceyuing himselfe farre growen in age and not so able to trauell in the affayres of the realme as he was before, he caused a parliament to be assembled, and there in presence of all the estates he required to be discharged of the gouernment: and that the same might be cõmitted vnto his cousin Thereus, who as then was not onely of sufficient age to take it vpon him, but also of suche towardnesse as that in eche mans opinion he was thought likely to atteyne vnto the prowesse of any of his noble progenitours.

Thus, Reutha after he had raygned a. xvij. yeares, returned to a priuate lyfe, resigning the whole rule of the realme vnto the forsayd Thereus being through his perswasion receyued as king of all estates by common consent there in that present assemble.

Reutha resigned the estate vnto his cousin Thereus.

Thereus.

This Thereus for the first. vj. yeares was equall in al points of princely gouernmẽt to any of his predecessors, but afterward he chaũged his copie in such maner, that iustice and all other kindes of vertue being set aparte, he neyther regarded the lawes of the Gods nor yet of men, but gaue himselfe to al sortes of filthinesse & most detestable vices, so farre forth, that his subiectes (as their custome is in following the maners & vsages of theyr Princes,) became so outragious in theyr licentious liuings, and namely the Nobles and Gentlemen, that thereof ensued theft, murder, rape, spoyling, and all kindes of oppression of those seely soules that had not meane to resist, so as in fine diuers gouernours of the tribes perceyuing no hope of amendmẽt whilest Thereus should raygne, conspired togither, deuising meanes how to depose him of al kingly authoritie. But he hauing notice of their purposed intentions, and doubting the sequele thereof, conueyed himselfe out of the way, in moste secrete wise, fleyng for succour vnto the Brytaines, vnto whom though he made earnest suyte for ayde to be restored home againe, yet coulde hee purchase no suche fauour amongst them: so that leading a miserable lyfe long time after within the citie of Yorke, hee finally there ended his daies. He raigned in Scotland about. xij. yeares or more.

Iustice reiected and neglected embraced.

The nobles conspire against Thereus.

Thereus to the Br

Imme-



IMmediatlye after this his auoyding ỳ Realme, the Nobles and peeres chose one Conanus Lord of Galoway to rule ỳ estate as Gouernour, whose authoritie had bene euer great amõgst the people. His studie was chiefly imployed how to reduce the Lordes & Nobles of the Realme, into concorde and friendly amitie, where before through the negligence of Thereus eche sought others destructiõs. Also he caused due punishment to be executed vpon all such as liued by robbyng & reuing, of whom in the beginning of his gouernment there was no smal nũber: but he weeded them forth, in suche wise that ere he lefte off, there was not one of them to be founde. Conanus persecuteth offendours.



At length, after it was vnderstood that Thereus was deade, this Conanus renounced the administration in presence of all the estates assembled in parliament at Berigonium, where by common consent Iosina the brother of Thereus was chosen to raygne as king, for that Thereus had lefte no issue behinde him to succeede. Iosina elected king.



THis Iosina, being proclaymed king, renewed the auncient leagues with the Picts and Brytaines.

He had Phisitions in greate estimation: for that during his abode in Ireland, he was nouriched of a childe amongst them, and by reason thereof had some knowledge in their facultie, specially he vnderstode the vertues and properties of hearbes, wherwith in those dayes the Scottes vsed to heale and remedie all maner of sores and diseases,

diſeaſes, which as then were few in nũber in reſpect of the ſundrie kinds which are now knowẽ amongſt vs: and al by reaſon of the ſuperfluous feeding and exceſſe of meates and drinkes vſed in our time, where as our elders ſuſtũed with a little, liued without ſurfeyting, the chiefeſt breeder of ſuche ſtraunge and manifolde ſicknẽſſes. In this Joſina his dayes it chaũced that a Portingale ſhippe was driuen and drowned by force of a ſtreyneable tempeſt, neare vnto the ſhore of one of the Scottiſh Iſles, where diuers of thoſe that were within the ſame ſhippe, Maryners and other, eſcaped to land, amongſt whom were two auncient and fatherly old men of right reuerend aſpect and countenance. Theſe two in companie with ſome of the inhabitaunts of that Iſle came ouer vnto Berigonium, where the king as then ſoiourned. They were Spaniſh prieſtes of the Pagane religion, whoſe purpoſe was to haue gone vnto Athens in Grecia, as ſome wryte: But whence ſoeuer they were, and what purpoſe ſoeuer they had, certaine it is, they were Philoſophers: and therefore the king receyued them moſt ioyfully, doing them al the honour he could deuiſe, and commaunding that they ſhoulde be lodged within his owne palayce, where they had all things needefull, and accordingly miniſtred vnto them.

Surfeiting the cauſe of ſtrãge diſeaſes, which ſo commonly now raigne.

Two auncient philoſophers through ſhipwracke arriue in Scotland, & are ioyfully receyued of the king.



These Philoſophers after they had refreſhed themſelues at theyr eaſe for the ſpace of. xiij. dayes, the king cauſed them to come before him, requyring them to ſhew their opinion what they thought by the nature of the ſoyle, the maners and cuſtomes of his people, ſo farreforth as they had ſeene and heard. They without pauſing for anſwere declared, that as yet they had not had time to learne thoſe things but onely thus farre, by coniecture they ſuppoſed that the ground was more likely to be fruitefull of metall mines, than of corne and grayne, as conteyning farre more riches vnderneath the earth than aboue, and this they ſayde that they gathered by the influence of the Heauens vnder the whiche it lay. And as for the rites and blages of the people, in one pointe they coulde in no wiſe commende them, for that in religiõ they followed the ſuperſtitious rites of the Egyptiãs, worſhipping the immortall Gods in the ſhape of beaſtes and foules, where as God was euen the ſame that did comprehende bothe heauen and earth, with the waters and al things in them conteyned, whom they named Nature, and as it were the prymordiall cauſe or beginning of all things, vnto whom it was not poſſible to deuiſe any ſimilitude of liuing thing that might in any wiſe repreſent him. Therefore (ſayd they) mẽ ought to worſhip the liuing God with fire and deuoute prayer, buylding him a temple for that purpoſe, and onely vnto him to burne incenſe, and to perfourme vowes: at whoſe hãds ſuch as liued chaſtly, vprightly, and according to the rules of iuſtice, ought euer to looke for ſome high benefite, where other that liued contrarily might euer ſtande in doubte of contrary reward.

The Scottiſh religion reproued.

Vpright liuing well warded at Gods hand.

With theſe theyr ſenſible inſtructions they perſwaded many of the Scottiſhe nation vnto theyr opinion, though the greateſt parte woulde by no meanes follow any other kinde of religion, than that whiche they had receyued from theyr elders: neyther coulde any of them be brought to thinke otherwiſe of the Sunne, the Mone & Starres, but that there was a certaine deuine power or godhead in euery one of thẽ. And thus much of theſe ſtraungers briefly and by the way, who came into Scotlãd at this preſent, but now to proceede with our purpoſe, when Joſina had raigned. xxiiij. yeares, hee departed out of this worlde at Berigonium, beyng a man of greate age. He lefte behinde him a ſonne named Finnanus, who a little before his Fathers deceaſſe was by conſent of the people proclaymed king of Scotlande.

Joſina departeth this life.



Finnanus.

This Finnanus had the nobles of his realme in ſuch eſtimatiõ, that he ordeyned that nothing ſhould be decreed or practiſed touching the publike affayres of the realme, except they were firſt made priuie and of counſell in the ſame. He ſought alſo to winne the fauour of his people by meekeneſſe & gentle intreating of thẽ, in ſomuch that

that though he wente aboute to restore the olde religion somewhat defaced by his father through information as is sayde of the twoo aboue mencioned sage Philosophers, yet did he not constreyne any man to worshyp the Goddes, otherwise than his fansie serued him.

He was the firste that instituted those Prelates whiche gouerned after the manner of Bishoppes, in all maters pertayning to religion, and were called in the Scottish tounge Durcerglijs and in Latine *Druides*.

These *Druides* were appointed to be resident within the Isle of Man, as the Scottish menne holde opinion; but other thinke rather that they were resident in Angleley in the Brytish tongue called *Mon*.

Unto these also hauing great liuings assigned them, were the inferiour priests subiect, as receyuing at their handes all iniunctions & orders for the vse of their sacrifices and other ceremonies.

These *Druides* afterwardes applied theselues so earnestly to the studie of Philosophy, aswell naturall as morall, that they were had in no small reuerence of the people, as they that were bothe accompted and knowen to be men of most perfect lyfe and innocencie: by meanes whereof theyr authoritie dayly so farre forth increased, that finally iudgements in moste doubtfull maters were committed vnto their determinations, offenders by theyr discretion punished, and suche as had well deserued, accordingly by theyr appoyntments rewarded.

Moreouer suche as refused to obey theyr decrees and ordinaunces, were by them excommunicate, so that no creature durste once keepe companie with such till they were reconciled agayne, & clerely by the same *Druides* assoyled.

Plinie, Cornelius Tacitus, Strabo, and Julius Celar, with diuers approued Authours, make mencion of these *Druides*, signifying how the first beginning of their religion was in Brytaine, (which some comprehende all wholly vnder the name of Albion) and from thence was the same religion brought ouer into Fraunce.

Finnanus was not onely praysed for his setting forth of that heathen religion, but also for his politike gouernment of the estate in toyfull reste & quietnesse. Neyther was his fame a little aduaunced for the mariage concluded and made betwixt his sonne Durstus and Agasia daughter to the kyng of Brytains, for by that aliaunce he wanne diuers of the Brytish nation vnto his friendship.

Finally, this Finnanus died at Camelon beyng come thither to visite the kyng of Pictes as then sore diseased, after hee had raigned about the space of .xxx. yeares. His bodie was conueyed vnto Berigonium, and there buried amongst his predecessours.



After hym succeeded his sonne *Durstus*. farre differyng from his noble father in all



vertuous demeanour. as he that was altogether gyuen to banquetting and excessiue drunkennesse. Suche of the nobles as his Father had in highe reuerence he made light accompts of: accepting onely those that of theyr wicked deuises could finde out new kindes of voluptuous pleasures, through whose perswasions some of his peares he cõfined, some he spoyled of al their substance & inheritance, other he put to death without iuste cause or any kinde of lawfull meanes. Wicked counsellers.



Furthermore he forsoke the cõpanie of his lawfull wife Agasia, causing hyr to be forced and abused by diuers vile persons in moste vilanous maner.

A conſpiracie.

With theſe and the ſemblable inordinate practiſes he procured the indignation of his people ſo farre forth againſt him, that thoſe of the weſterne Iſles with them of Cantyr, Lorne, Argile and Roſſe, conſpyred togither in the reformation of ſuche diſorders as were dayly vſed in the adminiſtration of iuſtice, by the wicked ſuggeſtion of euill diſpoſed councellours, againſt whom they pretended to make theyr warre, and not againſt theyr king.

A craftie and cloked diſſimulation.

There were ſo many alſo that fauoured them in this quarell, and ſo fewe that leaned to the king to ayde him againſt them, that he was conſtreyned to diſſemble with them for a tyme, in promiſing not onely to remoue from him ſuche as they woulde appoint, but alſo to be ordered in all things according as they ſhoulde thinke good. And to put them in beliefe that hee ment as hee ſpake, he committed ſome ſuch councellours as hee had aboute him vnto warde, and other ſome (of whome he little paſſed) he ſente vnto them as pryſoners, to receyue ſuch puniſhment by death or otherwiſe, as they ſhould thinke conuenient.

Craftie diſſimulation.

He further alſo in preſence of Dozo the gouernour of Cantyr, ſente to him for that purpoſe, ſware in ſolempne wiſe afore the image of Diana, to performe all ſuche promiſes and couenantes as he was agreed vpon and had made vnto the conſpiratours.

With whiche cloked diſſimulation they being deceyued, came without ſuſpect of further guile vnto Berigonium, where at their firſte comming he was readie to receyue them (as ſeemed by his fayned countenance) with gladſome harte and moſte friendly meanyng: but they were no ſoner entred the Caſtell, but that a number of armed menne appointed for the purpoſe, fell vpon them, and ſlewe them all without mercie.

A cruell ſlaughter.



This haynous act being once ſignified abrode in their countreys amongſt their friendes and kinſfolke, cauſed a new commocio, ſo that within a fewe dayes after, many thouſandes of men in furious rage came before the caſtell, and beſieged the king moſte ſtraitly therein. Who perceyuing himſelfe in ſuche daunger as he knewe not well howe to eſcape, came forth with ſuche companie as he had about him, and encountring with his enimies, was ſtraight wayes beaten downe amongſt them, and ſo at once loſte there bothe kingdome and life in the. ix. yeare of his raygne.

A new tumult.

King Durſtus beſieged.

Durſtus is ſlayne.

Durſtus being thus diſpatched, his children doubting the indignation of the people conceyued againſt them for theyr fathers faulte, to auoyde the peril, fledde ouer into Ireland, and immediatly the Nobles of the Realme aſſembled themſelues togither for the chooſing of a newe king, in no wiſe minding to haue any of Durſtus his race to raygne ouer them, leaſt they woulde ſeeke by ſome meanes to reuenge his death: howbeit at length when they were at poynt to haue fallen at variaunce in ſuſteyning of contrarie opinions aboute the election of their Prince, through a wittie oration made by Cozanus gouernour of Argile, who alledged many weightie reaſons for the auoyding of ſedition, they all agreed to committe the free election vnto the ſame Cozanus, promiſing firmely to accept whome ſo euer hee ſhoulde name. Hereupon Cozanus conſulting a little with the peares of the Realme, named one Ewyn the vncles ſonne of Durſtus, who as then remayned in Picte lande, whither hee had withdrawen himſelfe in Durſtus his dayes, beyng baniſhed the realme by him, for that he coulde not away with his corrupt maners.

Ewyn is ſet king.

This

This election was acceptable to all eſtates, for that thereby the adminiſtration of the kingdome continued in the lyne of theyr former kings.



10

NEwin ſhortly after was brought forth of Pictlande with al regall ſolempnitie, and at Berigonium placed vpon the ſtone of Marble, to the great reioyſing of the people there aſſembled. Herewith alſo the nobles of the realme putting theyr hands in his, bound themſelues by othe to be loyall and faithfull ſubiectes vnto him in all points, which cuſtome of ſwearing fealtie then firſte by Ewins commaundement begon, and continued many hundred of yeares after amongſt his and their poſteritie: in ſomuch that the Captaines of the Trybes alſo required the ſame kinde of othe of them that inhabited within theyr liberties, whiche in parte remayneth yet vnto this day amongſt thoſe of the Weſterne Iſles, and ſuche as inhabite in the mountaynes. For at the creation of a new gouernour, whom they name theyr Captaine, they vſe the like ceremonies: whiche being ended, at the nexte fayre kept within that countrey, proclamatiō is made, that no man inhabiting within his iuriſdiction, ſhall name this newe gouernour by any other name from thenceforth, than by the auncient and accuſtomed name as ſuche rulers aforetime haue bene called by. And that ſo often as they heare him named, they ſhall put off theyr cappes or hattes, and make a certaine curteſie in ſigne of honour due to him, in ſuche maner as we vſe in hearing diuine ſeruice, whē any holy miſterie is in doing, or any ſacred name of the almightie creatour recited.

But now touching king Ewyn, his chiefeſt ſtudie was to maintayne iuſtice throughout his dominion, and to weede out ſuche tranſgreſſers as went aboute to trouble the quiet eſtate of his ſubiectes.

Furthermore conſidering what inconuenience proceeded through the vſe of voluptuous pleaſures and wanton delytes, he ordeyned that the youth of his realme ſhoulde be trayned to endure hardneſſe, payne and trauell, as to lie vpon harde bordes without any feather beddes or pillowes vnder them. Alſo to exerciſe themſelues to throw



the darte, to ſhote, to wraſtell, and beare armure aſwell in time of peace as of warre: that when neede required, trauell and ſuche kinde of exerciſes, ſhould be no payne but pleaſure vnto them: where otherwayes lacke of vſe, might make the ſame intollerable. Whileſt Ewyn is thus occupied aboute the ſetting forth of neceſſary ordinaunces for the wealth of his Realme, the kyng of the Pictes did ſende vnto hym Ambaſſadours, to require his ayde againſt the Brytons, who were entred his countrey in robbing and ſpoyling the ſame.

Ewyn conſenting quickly to that requeſt, leuied an armie forthwith, and with all ſpeede paſſed forward to ioyne with the Pictes, in purpoſe to reuenge the olde iniuries done to his nation by the Brytayns, who likewiſe were as readie to receyue battayle as the Scottes and Pictes were deſirous to giue it, ſo that bothe the armies encountring togither (the Scottes and Pictes on the one ſide, and the Brytayns on the other) there enſued a ſore conflict betwixte them, continued with vnmercyfull ſlaughter, till night parted them in ſunder: No man as then able to iudge who had the better, but either parte beyng priue to their owne loſſes, withdrew themſelues further off from the place of the battell, ſo that the Scottes and Pictes the ſame night gotte them into the mountaynes of Pictlande, and the Brytons ſo ſone as it was day made homewards with all ſpeede towardes their countrey, leauing no ſmal pray and bootie behind them, which the Scottiſh men and Pictes recouered cōming downe withall ſpeede frō the mountaines, when they once heard that their enimies were departed.

A doubtfull battayle.

King Ewyn being returned from this iourney, determined to paſſe the reſidue of his lyfe in reſte and quietneſſe, appointyng iudges in euery parte of his Realme, for the miniſtring of iuſtice and executing of the lawes according to the due forme and ordinance of the ſame.

He appointed alſo ſuch as ſhould watche for the apprehenſion of thieues and robbers by the high wayes, aſſigning them liuings of the common treaſorie to liue by. And there be euen vnto this day that holde ſtill ſuch liuings, though the office be worne out of vſe and forgotten.

After this, he buylded a caſtell not far diſtaunt from Berigonium, whiche hee named after his owne name Euonium: but afterwardes it was called Dounſtafage, whiche is as muche to ſay, as Steuennes caſtell, whiche name it beareth at this preſent. Finally, this Ewyn after he had raygned to the great weale of the Realme, about xix. yeares, he departed this life, leauing behinde him a ſonne baſe begotten, named Gillus, who cauſing his fathers funerals to be executed with all ſolempne pompe and ceremonies, raiſed vp ſome after ſundrie Obeliſkes aboute his graue neare vnto Dounſtafage, where he was buried.

Dounſtafage is buylded,

There were preſent alſo at the buriall, two of Durſtus his ſonnes, whome Ewyn in his life time had reuoked home out of Ireland where they were in exile. Bothe theſe, aſwell the one as the other, bicauſe they were twinnes and not knowē whether of thē came firſt into the world, looked to be king after Ewyn. Their names were Dothan & Dorgal. And ſuch malicious emulatiō and enuious ſpite, roſe betwixt the two brethren for the attayning of their purpoſe, that greater could not be deuiſed, whiche Gillus, like a craftie & ſubtill Foxe, by couert meanes ſought ſtill to augment: and in the end cauſing them to come togither for ſome concluſion of agreement, at length when he had ſet them further at oddes than they were before, he procured a number of Souldiers appoynted for the purpoſe to rayſe a tumult, (as though it had bene in taking of contrary partes) and there to ſlea them bothe. Thus Gillus hauing brought to purpoſe that he came for, ſheweth in countenaunce as though he had bene much offended therewith, and done what he coulde to haue appeaſed the matter, and herewith he commeth running forth with a highe voyce, declaring to his cōpanie, that if he had not made good ſhifte for himſelfe, he had bene ſlaine by the handes of Dothan and Dorgall, who fell into ſuche miſchiefe themſelues, as they had prepared for other. Herevpon alſo he required his friendes and ſeruaunts moſt earneſtly to conuey him into ſome ſure place where he might be out of daūger, and in better ſecuritie: in ſo much that many of thoſe that hearde him, giuing credite to his wordes, went with him with all ſpeede vnto Dounſtafage, where being receyued into the caſtell with diuers of the Nobles that followed him, he gotte him into a galery, and there making an inuectiue oration againſt the Sonnes of Durſtus, and touching by the way what perill might enſue to the common wealth by ciuill diuiſion, he perſwaded them to committe the rule vnto his handes, vntill it might be certainely knowen, vnto whom the ſame of right appertayned.

The crafty working of Gillus.

Durſtus twoo ſonnes are ſlaine.

Thoſe that were preſent, perceyuing to what iſſue his paynted proceſſe tended, and doubting leaſt if they ſhoulde ſeeme to ſtande againſt him at that inſtant in this his demaunde, they might happely be the firſte that ſhoulde repent the bargaine, conſented to proclayme him king: wherevpō he required al ſuch as were preſent, to ſweare to him fealtie, and to do him homage accoꝛding to the cuſtome. And herewith agreably as he had before promiſed, and accoꝛding to his fathers will, (as he alledged) he diſtributed among them all ſuche cattell as belonged to his ſaide father. Whereby he wanne the greater fauour of many, but yet not iudging himſelfe altogether in ſurtie, by reaſon that Dothan had left behinde him three ſonnes, as then remayning in the Iſle of Man, in the bringing vp of the Druides, he purpoſed therefore to diſpatche them alſo for the better aſſurance of his eſtate, and therevpon made a iourney thither himſelfe, fayning as though he meant nothing but al loue and friendly affection towards the children, by whiche meanes he gate twoo of them into his handes, the one named Liſmoꝛus, being about twelue yeeres of age, and the other Cormacus that was twoo yeares yonger. The yongeſt of the three named Ederus, being aboute ſeuen yeares olde, as his better happe was, chaunced to be ſicke at that time, by reaſon whereof hee eſcaped his handes: for fayning as though he wiſhed to haue the other two brought vp like the children of a Prince, he ledde them away with him into Scotland, leauing certaine of his ſeruants behinde him, to riddc Ederus the yongeſt out of the way at leyſure, and as for the other twaine, the night following after his comming home to Dounſtafage, hee cauſed them to bee murthered, euen in their Tutors armes, whoſe ayde moſt pitifully they beſought and required.

The Nobl through fa conſented create Gil king.

Gillus go about to ther Dor ſonnes a

A deteſtable murther.

But the woman that had the keeping of Ederus now in his ſickneſſe, prouided more warely for his ſauegarde, for ſhee ſmelling out what was the kings purpoſe, in the dead of the night gotte hir ſelfe togither with Ederus into a ſhip, and paſſed ouer into Argyle, where being ſet a lande, ſhe caried him on hyr ſhoulders vp into the mountaines, and there within a ſecrete denne ſuſteyned his languiſhing life for certaine monethes in great care and miſery.

Ederus eſ peth.

Gillus notwithſtanding theſe his cruel acts, ſhewed yet in outward appearaunce, that no man was more deſirous of the quiet ſtate and proſperous ſucceſſe of the common wealth than hee: euer

Gillus co ceyued zeale to

euer reaſoning amongeſt his nobles, and that in the preſence of his cõmons, touching the maintenance of iuſtice, and puniſhment of miſdoers, whereas hee himſelfe thyrſted continually and moſt of all after the bloud of thoſe whõ he doubted any thing likely to attempt the reuenge of his wicked miſgouernance: inſomuch that he cauſed in one place and other, all ſuch to be murthered and ſlaine as bare any good wil toward the lawfull line of Durſtus.

Nowe the people ſeeing the dayly ſlaughter of the nobilitie, and at the laſt growing to be verie ſore moued againſt him, namely thoſe of Galloway, Kyle, Carrike, and Coningham, wyth them of Cantyr, Lorne, and Argyle, they aſſembled their powers togyther, and with all ſpeede marched forth towardes the place where they thought to finde the Tyrant: who hearing of this their conſpiracie, aſſembled ſuch puiſſance as he could make, and hauing no other refuge but to trie the matter by battell, made towardes hys enimies with more ſpeede than good ſucceſſe: for ere the two armies came to ioyning, a greate number of Gillus his friendes fled to the contrarie part, ſo that herevpon doubting the iſſue if hee were conſtrayned to fight, hee ſtale priuily from amongſt the reſidue of his folkes, and getting into a fiſhers boate, conueyed himſelfe ouer into Irelande: whoſe departure being once knowne, his Souldiours yelded themſelues vnto Cadall, gouernour of Galloway, who was Captain generall of all the conſpirators, and nowe by conſent of all the eſtates created gouernour of the realme, till they had choſen a king.

This Cadall immediately vpon the greate authoritie giuẽ him, gat firſt al the beſt fortreſſes into his handes, as Berigonium, Dunſtafage, and other: then hee paſſed ouer into the Ile of Ila, to prouide the better for the reſiſting of Gillus, if hee ſhoulde attempt any thing by purchaſing ayde amongſt them of the weſterne Iſles. Thither was brought vnto him alſo, the yong Ederus (by ſuch of Durſtus his friendes, as had eſcaped the cruel handes of Gillus) whom Cadall cauſed to be honourably conueyed vnto Eptake the chiefeſt Citie of Galloway, there to bee brought vp in princely nuriture, that cõming to full age he might the better bee able to take vpon him the gouernance. In whiche meane while Gillus made all the friendes in Irelande that he could, inſomuch that vpon ſuch golden promiſes as hee made vnto the chiefeſt gouernours there, they conſented to ayde him with all their forces. Whereof Cadall being aduertiſed, he thought it beſt that a king ſhould be choſen, and thereby an vnitie to be framed amongſt all the eſtates of the realme, wherevpon cauſing a counſell to be aſſembled for the ſame intent, by common agreement, one Ewen, a man of worthie fame, nephew to king Finnane by his brother Douall, was in the end proclaimed king: who was lately come frõ the Ile of Gowere into Albion, in cõpany with Cadall, & kepte himſelfe cloſe hitherto within the ſayde Ile, for doubte of Gillus that ſought amongſt other to haue deſtroyd him alſo.

Ewyn the ſeconde of that name choſen king.



Ewin.

This Ewin beeing the ſeconde of that name, made great prouiſion in the beginning of his raigne to reſiſt the ſayde Gillus his enimie. And hearing that he had bene in the Ile of Ila, and put the ſame to fire and ſworde, he prepared an army and ſhips alſo, to tranſport therewith ouer into Irelande, there to reuenge that iniurie vpon ſuche as had ayded Gillus therein, to the hinderance of his countrey.

Cadal with an armie is ſent into Irelande

The forenamed Cadall, gouernour of Galloway, was appoynted alſo to haue the leading of this armie: who taking the ſea at Dunſtafage, directed his courſe ſtreyght ouer vnto the coaſtes of Irelande, where taking lande and encountring with his enimies, he put them to the worſe, inſomuch that Gillus fearing to fall into his aduerſaryes handes, fled out of the fielde into the next wood, where hee thought to haue ſaued himſelfe. His ſouldiours alſo perceyuing him to bee fled, gaue ouer the fielde, and yeelded themſelues vnto Cadal, who toke them to grace, and forthwith ſent out certaine companies to ſeeke Gillus, who found him in a den cloſed about with thicke woodes and buſhes, where he had lien hid certain dayes & was almoſt ſterued for hunger.

Gillus is take.

Gillus beheaded.

Thoſe that found him immediately ſtroke off his heade, and preſented the ſame vnto Cadal, to the great reioycing of all the companie.



Thus after that Eadall had atchiued his enterpriſe with good ſucceſſe, he toke the ſea againe to returne into Scotlandr, but by meanes of a grieuous tempeſt, he loſt the greateſt part of hys armie, with all the ſpoyle and ryches that they had gotten in that voyage. Whiche miſchaunce ſore blemiſhed the glorie of ſo famous a victorie, ſo that the reioyſing of many, was turned into dolefull mourning for the loſſe of their friendes and kinnefolke, but namely Eadall toke it ſo grieuouſly, that nothing couldc bee more offenſiue vnto him. Howe beeit, after he was come a lande, the King and other of the Nobles recomforted him in all that they might, and the king gaue him alſo much fayre landes, with diuerſe Caſtelles in Galloway in recompence of hys good and faythfull ſeruice at ſundrie tymes ſhewed in defence of hys Countrey, and made hym Gouernour of Galloway alſo, whiche hee berye thankefully accepted.

A ſhipwrake by a tempeſt.

Eadal for his good and faythful ſeruice is rewarded.

After this king Ewin came to an enteruiew with the king of Pictes in the bozders of Galloway, and there renued the auncient league betwixt the Scottiſhe men and Pictes. For more corroboration whereof, Sibylla the daughter of Gethus the thirde king of the Pictes, was ioyned in maryage with Ederus, the ſolemnization being kept at Epiake.

An enterview betwixt the kings of Scot and Picte.



These thinges thus accompliſhed, Ewin returned vnto Dunſtafage, where being certified by letters from the Lieutenant of Roſſe, that the Flanders of Orkney had paſſed Pictland Fyth, and were entered into Cathenele, robbing and ſpoyling that Countrey with a greate part of Roſſe, he leuied an armie with all ſpeede, and haſted towardes the enimies, conſtrayning them by his ſodaine comming to fight whether they woulde or not, hauing no leyſure to gette away, ſo that with ſmall reſiſtaunce they were vanquiſhed and chaſed, ſome into the mountaynes, and other to the Sea ſide; of whome part eſcaped by Boates ouer into their Countreys, the reſidue of them in this their ſodaine ouerthrow being eyther ſlaine, drowned, or taken. But Bladus the king of Orkney, for that he woulde not come into his enimies handes, ſlue himſelfe. And thus ended this enterpriſe againſt the enimies of Orkney: greatly to the encreaſe of Ewins fame amongſt the Scottiſh nation.

The people of Orkney inuade Cathneſe.

Bladus king of Orkney ſleeth himſelfe.

After this he viſited the weaſt partes of hys Realme, and at the mouth of the ryuer of Lochtey he buylded a Citie whiche he named Enuerlochtey, enfranchiſing the ſame with a Sanctuarie for the refuge of offenders. Thys Citie afterwardes was muche frequented wyth Marchauntes of Fraunce and Spaine, by reaſon of the great aboundance of Salmons, Herrings, and other fiſhe whiche was taken there. The olde ruines of this Citye in part remayne to be ſeene in that place where it ſtoode, euen vnto this day.

Enuerlochtey is buylded.

He likewiſe buylt an other Citie in the Eaſt parte of the Realme neare to the water called Lochneſſe, which he named Enuerneſſe, after the name of the ſame water. Whither in tymes paſt there reſorted many Marchantes of Germanie, wyth ſuch marchandiſe as the Inhabitantes of the Countrey there ſtoode in neede of, exchaunging the ſame with them for Marterne ſkinnes, and other ſuch furres, wherewith they made their returne. This Citie is as yet remayning, and beareth the olde name, rich and well ſtored with diuerſe kinds of Marchandiſe, ſo that this Ewin proued a moſte famous Prince for his worthie exployctes right fortunately atchieued, bothe in peace and warre. And finally vnderſtanding the death of his deare and entyerlye beloued friende Eadall, hee repayred vnto Epiake, as well to

Enuerneſſe buylded.

Eadall ceaſſed.

giue

giue order for the pacifying of his sonnes being at variance for their fathers inheritance, as also to doe the more honour to his friende nowe deceassed, by erecting some monument neare vnto his Sepulchre.

Comming therefore to Epiacke: and setting an accorde betwixt the yong men, hee caused an Image to be made in all poyntes resembling the personage of Cadal, as neare as might be: which he placed in the myddest of the Market steede, commaunding the same to be honoured wyth burning of Incense and other diuine Ceremonies.

Within fewe dayes also, through inwarde sorrow, as was thought, for the losse of so deare a friende, he began to ware sicke himselfe, and at length perceyuing he shoulde not escape present death, he caused Ederus (of whome before mention is made) to be brought vnto him, into whose handes with many wholsome aduertisementes howe to vse himselfe in gouernment of his subiects, he wholy resigned the estate, the which after his decease he knew to be due vnto him without all question and controuersie: and afterwarde departed this worlde when he had raigned seuentene yeares continually for the most part in high wealth and felicitie.

Ewin resigneth the estate.

Ewins decease.



Ederus.

After the decease of Ewin, Ederus was in maner before expressed receyued for king by the whole assent of all the Scottishme. Whose chiefe delighte was altogyther in hunting and keeping of Hounides and Greyhoundes, to chase and pursue wilde beastes, and namely the Woolfe the herdmans foe, by meanes whereof his aduancement was muche the more acceptable amongest the Nobles, who in those dayes were wholly gyuen to that kynde of pleasure and pastyme.



In the begynning of his raigne there was no trouble towardes, the publike state of the Realme being mayntayned by vpright iustice, and all transgressions through terrour of due punishmente politikely repressed.

The first that went about to put him to any notable trouble, was one Bredus of the Iles, neare of kinne to Gillus that vsurper and murtherer, who with a power of Irish men and other of the westerne Iles landed in Argyle, wasting and spoyling the countrey with fire and sworde; whereof Ederus being aduertised (who was the same time in those partes a hunting amongst the mountaynes) gathered an armie with all speede, and hasting to the place where his enimies ships lay at ancre, he first burned ẏ same, to take away all meane from them to escape by flight.

Ederus burneth his enimies ships.



The

The morning next following he did set vpon them also at vnwares: of whome some hee slue, and the residue being taken, either in the fight or chase, by his commaundement were hanged, and cruelly executed to the example of all others.

Ederus went into the western Isles.

After this, he passed ouer into ỳ western Iles, where hee did execution vpon such as had ayded Bzedus, putting some to death, and causing other to fine at his pleasure, and depziuing some vtterly of all that euer they had.

Cassybilane king of the Brytaynes, requireth of the Scottish men ayde agaynst the Romaines

At his returne againe into Scotlande, there met him Ambassadours sent from Cassybilane king of the Bzytaynes, requzying him of ayde agaynst Julius Cesar, who (as the same king had perfite vnderstanding) was appoynted very shortly to passe the seas from Fraunce, ouer into this Ile, with a mightie power of Romaynes, to subdue the Inhabitants vnto the seigniozie and iurisdiction of Rome.

Androgeus chiefe Ambassadour of the Brytaynes, declareth the effect of his message.

Ederus receyued these Ambassadours very courteously: and forsomuch as their maysters request requzyed counsell, hee caused his Lozdes whiche were then present, to assemble togyther the nexte daye, afoze whome he willed that Andzogeus chiefe of the Bzitish Ambassadours, shoulde declare the effect of his message, which he did so eloquently and vttering such sensible matter, howe it stoode the Scottish men vpon, to ayde the Bzytaynes agaynst suche common enimies to all nations as the Romaynes were, that in the ende it was concluded by the king with the aduice of his nobles, that he shoulde not onely sende a power to ayde the Bzytaynes agaynste the Romaynes, but also sende some of his Lozdes with Andzogeus and his associates vnto Gethus king of the Pictes, to moue him to doe the lyke: who hearing howe reasonable their demaundes were, promised further to accomplish the same.

The Scottes graunt to ayde the Brytaynes agaynst the Romaynes.

Thus the Bzitishe Ambassadours hauing spedde, accozding to their desires, repayzed homewardes: immediately vppon whose departure both the kings, Ederus, and Gethus, leuied their armies, and sent them fozth towardes London where as then Cassybilane soiourned.

Cadallane and Dovald wyth ten thousande Scottish men send to ayde the Brytaynes.

I finde that the Scottes were a ten thousande men vnder the leading of Cadallane gouernour of Galloway, the sonne of Cadall before remembzed, and one Donalde gouernour of Argyle. But what succes followed of this first iourney which Cesar made into Bzytayne, ye shall finde the same in the Hystozie of England moze at length expressed.

The yeare that Julius Cesar came to inuade Bzytaine, was the fourth of Ederus hys raigne, from the creation of the wozlde 3912. complete, whiche is after maister Harisons account 54. before the comming of our Sauiour, and 692. after the buylding of Rome.

5139. H.B.

60. H.B.

The Scottishe men and Pictes hauing theyr part of the spoyle which the Romaynes at theyr departure left behynde them, were sente home to their Countreys with great thankes and rewards foz their paynes, but the Bzytaynes were so exalted in pzyde by the departure of the Romaynes, that they beleeued verily they shoulde haue no moze to do with those enimies, oz if they had, they thought themselues strong ynough to repulse them without ayde of other. By meanes whereof when king Ederus was informed howe the Romaynes prepared to inuade them afresshe, and had sent them word thereof, offering to them his ayde: they made no account of that offer, but answered ỳ it was not necessarie foz euery light inuasion of fozraine enimies to seeke helpe at other mens handes, being of puissance sufficient of themselues to resist the same well ynough.

The Bryt exalted in pride.

The Bryt refuse ayde being offe them.

But of this refusall of so friendly an offer, it was not long ere the Bzytaynes sore repented them. Foz shortly after Julius Cesar with a far greater power than that which he brought wyth him at the first time, landed here in this Ile amongst them againe: and being at three sundzie times fiercely encountred by king Cassybilan, at length hee put the same Cassybilane wyth hys Bzytaynes to flight, slaying and taking a great number of them. Amongst other of the prisoners, were three of their chiefest Captaynes, Andzogeus, Cisentoziges, and Tenantius. By reason of which ouerthzow Cassibylane was so discouraged, that doubting further mischiefe, he yeelded himselfe vnto Cesar, accepting suche conditions of peace as were appoynted him, and foz performance of couenants, delyuered sufficient pledges.

Iulius Cæ inuadeth land the cõdemn

The Bryt are ouerthrowne.

Cassybila yeeldeth Cæsar.

Cesar hauing thus conquered the Bzytayns, sent his Ambassadours vnto the Kings of the Scottish men, and Picts, requiring them to submit themselues as Cassybilane had done, oz else he bad them looke foz open warres at the Romaynes handes, which they might assure themselues they should in no wise be able to sustaine, considering their mightie and huge puissance, hauing the most part of the whole wozlde at theyr commaundement alreadie. Wherevnto aswell the one king as the other, made this oz muchwhat the like answere, that they were bent sooner to lose theyr liues than theyr lybertie. Which their resolution if they were putte to the tryall, shoulde be euidently proued by the deed it selfe.

Iulius Cæ his messa vnto the S and Picte

The answe of the Sco and Picte to Cæsar Ambassa

Cesar hauing receyued this answere from these two nations, he sendeth newe messengers vnto them with a moze roughe embassie, who not onely by threates, but also by great reasons went about to perswade them vnto submission. But they persisting in their fozmer opinion foz defence of their liberties, and vtterly refusing all

Cæsar sen new mess gers vnto Scottes a Picts, bu sped muc like to th former.

maner

maner of bondage, would encline by no meanes to come in any bonde of friendſhippe with the Romaynes.

After the returne of theſe laſt meſſengers, Ceſar was fully reſolued to enter into their Countreys, to force them vnto that by dynt of ſworde, whereunto by treatie he might not enduce them: and had ſet forwarde on that iourney ſhortly after in deede, if he had not beene called backe into Fraunce, to pacifie ſundrie commotions there rayſed by the reuolting of the people inhabiting thoſe Countreys, where the Picardes and Normans, with other the inhabitantes neare aboute Chartres, now dwell.

The common Scottiſhe Chronicles record, howe Julius Ceſar came as farre as Kalendar wood, & there wan by force the citie of Camelon where the Pictiſh kings vſed moſt to ſoiourne.

Hereunto the ſame Chronicles adde, that Ceſar buylded a great ſtone houſe of. xxiiij. cubites in heigth, and of .xij. cubites in breadth, of ſquare hewen ſtones, right workemanly framed, which houſe they ſaye Ceſar cauſed to be vſed in ſteede of a iudgement Hall, and here placed it neare the Ryuer of Caron, ouer againſt the forenamed Citie of Camelone, as a witneſſe that the Romaynes armie had beene ſo farre forwarde within that Countrey.

Suche an houſe there remayneth to be ſeene euen vnto this day, and is called Julius Hoff, that is Julius Hall, or Julius Court. Howbeit, other more agreeable to the likelyhoode of a troth, wryte that this houſe was ſometymes a Temple, buylded to the honour of Claudius Ceſar, and of the Goddeſſe Victoria, by the Romaine Captaine Veſpaſian, at ſuche tyme as he made warres in that Countrey, before hys aduauncement to the Empyre. Iulius Hoff.

But to returne vnto Ederus. About the ſame time in which he looked to be inuaded by Julius Ceſar and the Romaynes, and for that purpoſe had ſent for them of the weſterne Iſles to reenforce his hoſt, he was now inforced to conuert it another way, for there was one Murketus, nephewe vnto the aboue remembred Gillus, that came with a nauie out of Irelande to robbe and ſpoyle thoſe Iſles, being deſtitute as then of men to reſiſt him. But Ederus hearing thereof, diſpatched Cadallanus with an armie into thoſe parties for defence of his ſubiects: which Cadallanus behaued himſelfe ſo politikely in this exployte, that ſetting vpon the enimies as they lay at ancre, he toke thē in the night ſeaſon without making any great defence, and after hanged thē

Murketus nephew vnto Gillus inuadeth the weſterne Iſles.



vp along the ſhore ſide within ỳ Iſle of Gowre: Murket himſelfe being honoured with an higher place to hang in than al the reſt, due to him that was their chief head and leader in that voyage.

The remnant of Ederus his raigne paſſed without any other notable trouble: and ſo after he had raigned 38. yeares, he deceaſſed a very olde man, about the 23. yeare of the Empyre of Auguſtus Ceſar. He was buried alſo at Dunſtafage with all due pompe and ſolemnitie, hauing dyuerſe obelyſkes (as the cuſtome then was) reſted and ſette vp aboute the place where hee was ſo intumulate.



Ewin.

After hym raigned his ſonne Ewyn, the third of that name, nothing lyke in anye princelye qualityes vnto hys noble progenitors, but contrariwiſe infa-

med in all kynde of vices.

In the firſt yeares of his raigne he was wholy drowned in laſciuious lecherie, abandoning himſelfe altogither to lie waltring amongſt a ſort of vile ſtrumpettes, hys luſt beeing neuer thorowely ſatiſfied, thoughe neuer ſo often awearyed.

A licentious king.



The nobles of the realme he had in no regard at all, of whom ſome he confined, and ſome hee cauſed to be murthered, onely becauſe hee might the more freely without gainſaying haunte hys vile trade of liuing with their wiues and coſins.

Such delite he had alſo in his filthie and moſt abhominable ribaldrie, that he made lawes for maintenance of the like amongſt his ſubiectes, as thus: That it might be lawful for euery man to marrie diuerſe and ſundrie wiues, some ten, according to their ſubſtance and qualities. And as for poore mennes wiues, they were appoynted to be common vnto the Lordes of the ſoyle: and further that the ſame Lordes ſhoulde firſt deflowre the Bride after hir mariage: which laſt ordinaunce toke ſuch effect, that of manye hundred yeares after it coulde by no meanes be abrogated, thoughe the two former liberties were by authoritie of the Kings ſucceeding, ſhortly after this Ewins deceaſſe taken away and reuoked.

Fylthie lawes.

But now to cõclude touching ẏ doings of this Ewin, ye ſhal vnderſtand, ẏ at length ſuch lords as greatly abhorred his vile conditions and vſages, conſpired againſt him, and raiſing an armie of their friendes and partakers, encountered with him in the fielde, and there toke him priſoner, being deſtitute of all ayde and ſuccours: For ſuch as he brought with him not once offered to ſtrike one ſtroke in his quarell.

Ewin is purſued and forſaken of his ſubiectes.

Ewin being thus taken, was by and by condemned to perpetuall priſon: and Cadallane of whome ye haue heard before, immediately proclaymed gouernour of the Realme. Howbeit the night following after that Ewin (according to the iudgement pronounced againſt him; was committed vnto warde) a preſumptuous yong man, in hope to haue thankes of Cadallane, entred into the chamber where he was cnclоſed, and there ſtrangled him. But in ſtede of thankes he was recompenced with death: for Cadallane deteſting ſuch a wicked deed, cauſed him to be hanged in open ſight of all men.

Ewin condemned to perpetual priſon.

Ewyn is ſtrangled.



Such was the ende of Ewin: being thus diſpatched in priſon, in the ſeuenth yeare after he began his raigne ouer the Scottiſh men, being the 11. yeare of Auguſtus Ceſar his gouernment of the Romaine Empyre.

32. H.B.

After Ewin ſucceeded Metellanus, ſonne to one Carrane, the brother of Edgrus a prince of moſt gentle behauiour.

Metellanus.

This Metellanus mainteyned his ſubiects in great quietneſſe and reſt, without any maner of warres, either forraine or Ciuill.

Such

Such wicked lawes as his predecessour had established, he did what he could to abolishe. But such yong Gentlemen as delited in sensuall lust, and licentious libertie, stoode so stiffely therein agaynst him, that in the ende he was glad to leaue off his purpose.

About the same time also there came vnto Kymbaline king of the Brytayns an Imbassa-



dor from Augustus the Emperour, with thanks, for that entring into the gouernment of the Britishe estate, he had kept his allegeance towarde the Romaine Empyre: exhorting him to keepe hys subiects in peace with all their neighbours, sithe the whole worlde through meanes of the same Augustus, was now in quiet, without al warres or troublesome tumults.

These Imbassadours went also vnto Metellanus the king of the Scottish men, exhorting him to acknowledge a superiorite in the Romaine Emperour, vnto whome the people inhabiting in the furthest partes of the East, had sent their ambassadors with rich iewels to present his person withall. Wherewith Metellanus being partly moued to haue a friendly amitie with the Romaines, he sent vnto Rome certaine rich presents to the Emperour, and to the Goddes in the Capitoll, in signe of honour, by whiche meanes he obteined an amitie with the Romaines, which continued betwixt them and his kingdome for a long time after.

Thus a generall peace as then raigning thorowout the whole worlde, it pleased the gyuer and author of all peace to bee borne at the same tyme, of that blessed virgin Marie, in the Citie of Bethleem in the tribe of Juda. Which blessed and salutiferous byrth came to passe in the xij. yeare of Metellanus hys raigne, and in the xlij. of Augustus hys Empyre: from the fyrste establishing of the Scottishe kingdome by Fergusius 324. yeares, and after the creation of the worlde 3966. as Harison in his Chronologie doth manifestly conclude.

After this, Metellanus raigned certain yeares in continuall peace and quietnesse, euer readie to do the thing that might bee to the contentation and weale of his people.

Finally, hee passed oute of this life in the xxxix. yeare of his raigne, which was the. xxxij. after the byrth of our Saiuour, and. xij. of Tyberius the Emperor. Howbeit he left no issue aline behind him to succeede in the gouernment of the kingdome: for those children which hee had begotten, hee buried in his life time, by meanes whereof, one Caratake, sonne to Cadallane, and nephewe to king Metellane by his sister Europeia, was proclaymed King, as he that excelled in ryches and puyssaunt auctho*r*itie aboue all other the peeres and highe estates of the realme, and had not a little to doe in the administration of publike affayres in the latter dayes of his vncle Metellane.

Metellane departeth this worlde. 29. H.B. 14. H.B.

Caratake is proclaymed king.

This Caratake all the Brytish and Englishe writers take to be a Brytaine, and inhabiting within that portion of the Ile now called Englande.

Caratake.

The first thing he did after he was established in the estate, he sailed into the westerne Iles to appease a rebellion moued by the Gouernour there. Which done, and the authours punished, he returned into Albion, and came vnto Carricronium, whiche was sometymes a famous Citie, and Metropolitane of Scotlande, situate within the Countrey cleped Carryche, as it appeareth by the ruynes there remayning euen vnto thys daye.

In this Citie was Caratake borne, and therfore fauouring it the more, hee lay there moste commonly, and did what he coulde to aduaunce the wealth and state thereof.

Caratake was borne in Carricke.

Whilest these things were a doing in Scotlande, Kymbaline king of the Brytaynes dyed, who for that hee had beene brought vp in Rome, obserued his promised obedeince towardes the Empyre: but Guiderius succeeding disdayned to see the libertie of his countrey oppressed by the Romaines, and therfore procuring the Brytains to assist him, assembled a power and inuaded the Romaines with such violence that none escaped with life, but suche as saued themselues within Castels and Fortresses. The Emperour Claudius that then gouerned the Romaine Empyre aduertised hereof, sent two Captaynes, Aulus Plancius, and Cneus Sensius to appease that rebellion. They landing in Brytaine with their armie, vanquished Guiderius in battaile, so that he was constrayned to send vnto Caratake king of Scots for ayde agaynst the common enimies of both nations. Caratake hauing considered the effect of this Message, gaue counsaile to the Brytaynes to sende into Fraunce then called Gallia, to practise with the people there to moue some rebellion agaynst the Romaines, in hope of helpe, whiche they were assured to haue by the Brytaynes. This counsaile was followed, for immediately

Kymbaline king of Brytaynes dieth.

Guiderius the British king rebelleth agaynst the Romaines.

Plancius otherwise Plautius.

Guiderius sendeth to Caratake for ayde.

Fraunce in thoſe dayes Gallia.

immediatly vpon the Ambaſſadours returne, there were ſent ouer into Fraunce certain intelligenſaries to moue ſome conſpiracie which had taken effect (by reaſon of the generall hate of ſeruitude wherein the Romaines kepte the people ſubiect to them in thoſe dayes) if Guiderius had not beene conſtrayned to giue battayle, and chaunced to be ſlaine in the ſame ere the Gaulles coulde bee reſolued vppon any determinate purpoſe. This ouerthrowe beeing reported in Fraunce, cauſed the Gaulles to ſtay theyr intended rebellion. Shortly after Claudius hymſelfe came ouer into Brytayne, and receyuing the Brytaynes vnder his obeyſaunce, ordered things among them at his pleaſure. And after preparing his nauie and armie with all purueyaunce conuenient, hee ſet forwarde towardes the Iſles of Orkney, purpoſing to conquere the ſame, for that they had ayded the Brytaynes in theſe laſt warres againſt the Romaines. But approching neare to thoſe Iſles, he was in danger to haue beene caſt away by a tempeſt ryſing by chaunce, euen as he was entered the ſtreyte betwirt the Orkeneys and Dungſbie heade in Catenese called Pictlande Fruth: yet at length getting to lande, hee founde in that Iſle where hee kyſt arryued, no bodie at home, all the people through feare vpon the firſt ſight of the great multitude of ſhippes beeing fled to hyde themſelues in caues and dennes amongeſt the rockes and mountaynes.

Guiderius ſlaine.

The Emperor Claudius cometh into Brytaine.

Claudius ſayleth into the Orkneys.

Claudius therefore leauing this Iſle, paſſed into Pomonia the chiefeſt of all the Orkneys, where diſcomfiting ſuche as appeared abrode to make reſiſtance, he beſieged the king of theſe Iſles named Ganus, within a Caſtel whither hee was withdrawne, and finally cauſing him to yeelde himſelfe priſoner, led him with other nobles of Brytayne (whome hee had for pledges) vnto Rome, the more to ſet forth the glorie of his triumph at his returne vnto the Citie.

Now Kirkewale.

Claudius taketh the king of the Orkneys.

But whatſoeuer Hector Boetius and others write of this paſſage of Claudius into the Orkneys, it is not like that he came there at all, for if he ſtayed not paſt .xbj. dayes in Brytayne, as by Dion Caſſius it appeareth that hee did not in deed, how ſhould we ymagin that he coulde both pacifie the South partes of Brytayne, and after go into Orkney and conquere the ſame within ſo ſmall a time, being readie to returne towardes Rome at the ende of thoſe .xbj. dayes, as the ſayd Dion affirmeth? But this diſcourſe haue I made according to their owne Hiſtories, leaſt I ſhould ſeeme to defraude them of whatſoeuer glorie is to be gotten by errours, as the maner is of them as well as of other Nations, whiche to aduaunce their antiquities and glorie of theyr auncetours, take the aduantage oftentymes of writers ſcant worthie of credite.

The doubt of Claudius going into the Orkneys.

Dion Caſſius.

But nowe againe to our purpoſe. Aruiragus being eſtabliſhed in the kingdome of Brytayne, vpon ſome priuate diſpleaſure forſooke his wyfe named Voada, the ſiſter of Caratake king of the Scottiſh men, and maryed one Geniſſa a Romaine Ladie, whiche acte manye of the Brytaynes diſallowed, the more in deede, bycauſe he had fayre iſſue alreadie by Voada, as a ſonne and two daughters. But this was done, as all men iudged, by the counſell of Iulus Planctius, thereby to breake all friendſhip and alliaunce betwirt the Brytaynes and Scottes, to the ende that in no eaſe of rebellion they ſhould ioyne their powers togither.

Aruiragus ſaketh ful wife.

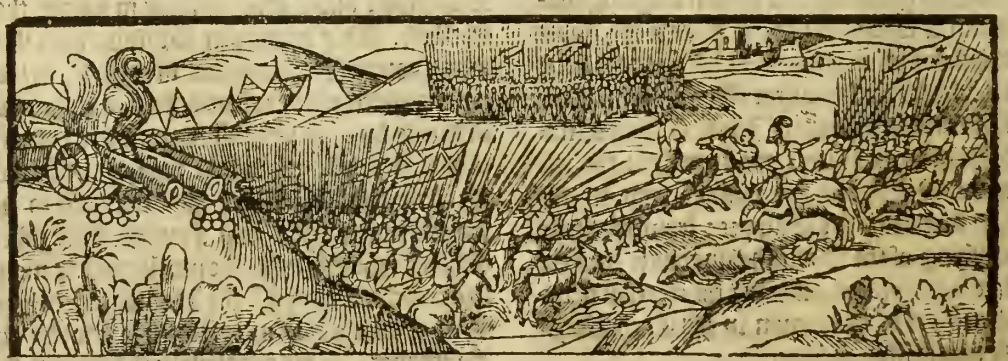
Neither did he onely refuſe Voada, whom al men knewe to be his lawfull wife, but alſo cauſed hir to be kept in priſon, till that the Brytayns (hauing indignation thereat) got hir out of the place where ſhe was kept, and conueyed hir into Wales, togither with hir children.

Voada ſeuered.

Voada ſeuered priſon, conueyed Wales.

With which dealing Aruiragus being highly moued, determined with force of armes to puniſh them that had thus miſuſed him: but perceyuing that not onely thoſe people which inhabited the Countrey, nowe called Wales, and other that adioyned on the North Marches therof were readie to defende the Queene againſte his malice, he was fayne to require ayde of the Romaynes, who with their Captaine Iulus Planctius aſſembling togyther with ſuch of the Brytayns as toke part with Aruiragus, ſet forwarde towarde the enimies, and ioyning with them in battail, did giue them the ouerthrow.

Aruiragus ueth his mies an uerthrow



The

The next day after this victorie thus gotten, worde was brought that the people inhabiting in the countreys, which we now cal Lancaſhire, Yorkſhire, and Darbiſhire, were vp in armor agaynſt the king and the Romaines, by reaſon whereof Aruiragus and Iulus Planctius withdrewe towardes London, that defending the ſea coaſtes towards Fraunce, they might yet haue the ſea open at all tymes whatſoeuer chaunced.

And to reenforce their power, Iulus Planctius ſent ouer for two Legions of Souldiors into Fraunce, to come with all ſpeede to his ayde.

The Brytaynes who had gone ſo farre in the matter that they could not wel withdraw themſelues, now being certified of al their enimies doings, thought beſt to make themſelues ſo ſtrong as was poſſible. And to the ende that they might proceede in ſome orderly meane, all the greateſt Lordes & eſtates aſſembled togither at Shrewſburie, in thoſe dayes called Cozuminum, where they concluded vppon a league to ayde one another with all their might and maine agaynſt the Romaines and Aruiragus, who went aboute to bring them wholy vnder ſeruile ſubiection and thraldome of the ſame Romaines.

They beeing thus agreed to make warres in this quarell, and for the ſame purpoſe to ioyne theyr whole puyſſance togither, there roſe a doubt whome they myght chooſe for theyr generall Captaine, for that it was feared leaſt there might growe ſome ſecrete enuie amongeſt the Nobles being of equal power, if one ſhould be in this caſe preferred before an other.

For the auoyding of which miſchiefe, by the graue admonition of one Comus, a noble man of the parties of Wales, they accorded to ſende Meſſengers vnto Caratake the King of Scotlande, requyring him to ayde them in their right and iuſt quarel agaynſt Aruiragus and the Romaines, whereby hee might reuenge the iniurie done to his ſyſter Queene Voada and hir iſſue, whome the father throughe counſayle of the Romaines purpoſed to diſenherite, to the ende, ſuche chyldren as he had by Geniſſa (for that they were of the Romain bloud) might enioy the kingdome.

They further declared, that all the Brytiſhe Lordes, whiche were confederate in this enterpriſe, had choſen him by common aſſent to bee their general and chief leader, if it might ſo pleaſe him to take it vpon him, as their truſt was hee would: conſidering the iuſt cauſes of their warre, and the ſurertie whiche by victorie gotten might enſue vnto al the inhabitants of the whole Iſle of Albion.

Caratake hauing heard the ſumme of their requeſt, and throughly waying the ſame, promiſed them to be readie with his whole puiſſance in the beginning of the next ſpring, to come to theyr ayde, vnto what place ſoeuer they ſhoulde thinke expedient: and thereof hee tolde them, they myght be moſt aſſured: willing them in the meane time ſo to prouide for themſelues, as theyr enimyes myght haue no aduauntage at their handes.

With this agreeable anſwere the Brytiſhe Meſſengers returned vnto Shrewelburie to the confederates, who reioyſing at the newes, made proviſion agaynſt the next Spring to goe agaynſt the Romaines, in hope of good ſucceſſe, ſpecially throughe ayde of the Scottes and Pictes, who alſo wyth theyr King called Conkyll were willing to helpe towardes the delyuering of the lande from bondage of the Romaines, whoſe neſtling ſo neare their noſes, they were loth to ſee or heare of.

The Pictes ioyne with Scottes and Brytaynes, agaynſt the Romaines.

So ſoone therefore as the ſpring approched, all thoſe three people, Brytaynes, Scottes, and Pictes, gathered theyr powers togither, and met in Yorkeſhyre, in purpoſe to encounter wyth theyr enimyes in battayle, whereſoeuer they founde them.

Aruiragus & Iulus Planctius hauing knowledge of all the doings of the confederates, likewyſe aſſembled their power, and comming towardes them, for a while forbare to ioyne in battayle, throughe counſaile of Planctius, who perceyuing the moſt part of the Brytaynes and Scottes to be but newe Souldiers, taken vp of late to fil the numbers, knew that by protracting tyme they woulde be ſoone out of heart, throughe watching and euill harborough, in ſuch ſort that in the ende they ſhoulde be eaſie ynough to deale with: and euen ſo it came to paſſe. For the Romaines refuſing to fight a generall battayle, yet ſcoured ſo the fieldes on eche ſide abrode, that neyther the Brytaynes nor Scottes coulde goe forth any wayes for forrage or vittailes, but they were ſtil ſnatched vp, ſo that what through hunger, lacke of ſleepe, and other diſeaſes, many of the Brytaynes began to conuey themſelues from the campe home to theyr houſes, of whome ſome beyng taken by the enimies, declared y the whole armie of the confederates was in great diſtreſſe and ſore enfeebled by ſuche vnaccuſtomed trauaile and diſeaſes as they were enforced vnto in the campe. Whereupon Aruiragus and Iulus Planctius determined the next day to giue battaile. And ſo in the morning they arrayed theyr people and marched forth betymes towardes the campe of the confederates.

The Brytaynes awearied through trauaile.

Caratake who (as ye haue heard) was generall of all the confederates, vnderſtanding the enimies intent, was as readie to receyue battayle as they were to offer it: whereupon there enſued right great and vnmercifull ſlaughter betwixt

The Romains giue battail to the Brytaynes.

twixt them on both partes without ſparing at all tyll ſuch time as the night parted the fray, with ſuche loſſe on eyther ſide, that after they were once got in ſunder, neither part had any haſt after= Night parteth the fray.



wardes to ioyne againe: ſo that in the morning there appeared none in the fielde but onely the deade bodyes, thoſe that were left aliue as wel on the one part as the other being fled and ſcattered into the woodes and mountaynes.

Caratake returneth home to Caricto-nium.

Aruiragus and Plancius got them vnto London: and Caratake commaunding his people home eche man into his Countrey, he himſelfe withdrewe firſt towardes Yorke, and after vnto the Citye of Carrike. Whither ſhortly after there came vnto him Ambaſſadors from Aulus Plancius, ſent to knowe vpon what occaſion hee did ayde the Britiſhe rebelles againſt the Romaine Empyre, declaring that if he woulde not be conformable to make a worthie amendes for ſo preſumptuous an enterpriſe, he ſhoulde be ſure to haue the Romaines his enimies: and that in ſuche wiſe, as he ſhoulde perceyue, it were muche better for him to ſeeke their friendſhippe, than to abyde their eminitie. Hereunto Caratake anſwered, that he had iuſt cauſe to do that which he did. Conſidering the iniuries which his ſiſter Voada with hir ſon Guiderius had & were lyke to receyue by their counſel & meanes: & therefore he was ſo little mynded to make any amendes for that was done, that he thought it more reaſon that the Romaines ſhoulde clearly auoyd out of the whole poſſeſſion of Britaine, eyther elſe they might aſſure themſelues to haue aſwell the Britaynes, as alſo the Scottes and Pictes to be their perpetual enimies, and that onely for the chalenge of their auncient liberties & freedom.

Ambaſſadors are ſent vnto Caratake from Aulus Plancius.

Caratake his anſwere vnto the Ambaſſadours.

The Romaine Ambaſſadors being returned with this anſwere, Plancius toke no ſmall indignation therat, ſore menacing to be reuenged of ſo high and contumelious wordes pronounced againſt the maieſtie of the Romaine Empyre.

About the ſame tyme Aruiragus vpon truſt conceyued by ioyning his power with the other confederate Britaynes to expulſe the Romaines quite out of the realme, and ſo to recouer the entyre eſtate reuolting from thē, fled vnto Shrewſburie, where the ſame time ſuch Britiſh Lordes as were enimies to the Romaines, were aſſembled againe in coūſail, by whom Aruiragus was receyued with great gladneſſe (ye may be ſure) of thoſe Lordes, truſting by his meanes to haue their force in maner doubled. Aruiragus reuolteth.

His wife Geniſſa being the ſame ſeaſon great with childe, toke ſuch thought for this reuolting of hir husband, that trauayling before hir tyme, ſhe immediately dyed therewith. Geniſſa the wife of Aruiragus dieth.

But Iulus Plancius perceyuing now thoroughly how little truſt there was to be put in the Britaynes, diſpatched a meſſenger in all haſte with letters vnto Claudius the Emperour, who as then ſoiourned at Rome, ſignifying vnto him in what daunger the ſtate of Britaine ſtode, if tymely prouiſion were not the ſooner made. A meſſenger ſent vnto Claudius the Emperour by Plancius.

Claudius waying the matter by good aduiſe of counſaile, ordeyned by decree of the Senate, that Veſpaſian (of whom ye haue heard before) ſhould be ſent hither with an armie to tame the proude and loftie ſtomackes of the Britaynes, with their confederates the Scottes and Pictes.

Veſpaſian hereupon departing from Rome, came into Fraunce, and encreaſing his legions, with a ſupplie of ſuch ſoldiers as he found there, paſſed ouer into this our Britaine, where contrarie to the report which he had heard afore hys comming, he founde euery fortreſſe ſo wel furniſhed after ỳ warlik order of the Romaine vſage, and moreouer all ſuche companies of menne Veſpaſian commeth to Bryu

of

of warre as kept the field, ſo well appoynted and ordered, that he coulde not but much prayſe the greate diligence and politike gouernment of Plancius.

Nowe when Veſpaſian had a little refreſhed his men, and taken order howe to proceede in the reducing of the Brytaynes to theyr former obedience, he ſet forwarde towarde Aruiragus and other the enimies, whome he vnderſtode as then to be at Yorke making their aſſemble, not generally of all that were able to beare a Clubbe, as they did the yeare before, but out of all parties a choſen number of pyked men were ſent for, as out of Deuonſhire and Cornewal there came ſix thouſande: forth of Wales and the marches xij. thouſande, and the lyke number forth of Kendal, Weſtmerlande, and Cumberlande. Out of Oxfordſhire and other the partyes of Brytayne ſubiect vnto Aruiragus, there came a. xxxb. thouſād. All which numbers aſſembled neare vnto Yorke, euery man bringing hys prouiſion with him to ſerue him for two Monethes ſpace. Vnto the ſame place came alſo Caratake with. xxx. thouſande Scottiſhe men: and Illythara otherwyſe called Tharan, king of the Pictes, with almoſte as many of his ſubiects.

Veſpaſian being certified ſtill from tyme to tyme of all the doings of hys enimies, haſted with all ſpeede towardes them. And by the leading of truſtie guydes comming to the place where they were encamped within a Marriſhe grounde not paſſing. xij. myles from Yorke, hee fiercely vpon a ſodaine ſetteth vpon them wythin their campe ere they thought that he had beene neare them. But yet notwythſtanding they manfully ſtode to their defence: inſomuch, that thoſe in the right wing of the Romaines armie, were lyke to haue beene diſtreſſed, if Veſpaſian perceyuing the daunger, had not ſent a Legion to their ayde in tyme, wherby the battayle was newly in that part reſtored.

Veſpaſian aſſayleth the Brytaynes in their campe.

The Captaynes on eyther ſyde did what they coulde to encourage their ſolkes to ſticke to their tackle without giuing ouer by any meanes, conſidering what gaine came by victorie, and what loſſe enſued by receyuing the ouerthrow.

The Brytaynes, Scottes, and Pictes, lyke enraged Lyons, ranne vpon the Romaines,



with ſuch cruel deſire of reuenge, that euen when they were thruſt through vpon the poynt of any weapon, they woulde runne ſtill vpon the ſame, to come vnto him that helde it, that they might requite him with the like againe. But yet would not all that their fierce and deſperate hardineſſe preuaile, for fortune by fatall appoyntment being bent to aduaunce the Romains vnto the dominion of the whole worlde, ſhewed hir ſelfe ſo fauourable vnto them in this battaile, that in the ende, thoughe the Brytaynes wyth the confederates did what lay in men to do for attayning of victorie, yet were they beaten downe and ſlain euerie mothers ſonne, a fewe onely except, which eſcaped by flight.

Aruiragus ſeeing the ſlaughter of his people, woulde haue ſlaine himſelfe, but that ſome of his ſeruantes caryed hym by force out of the fielde, that hee myght bee preſerued yet vnto ſome better fortune.

Caratake eſcapeth. Tharan king of the Pictes is ſlaine.

Caratake eſcaping by flight, fled into hys countrey, but Tharan king of the Pictes, not coueting to liue after ſuch loſſe of his people, threw away his armor with al his kingly ornaments, & ſitting downe vpon a ſtone, as a mā paſt himſelf, was there ſlain by ſuche as followed in the chaſe.

Aruiragus being conueyed out of danger, and gotten into Yorke, conſydered howe by reaſon of this great diſcomfiture, it was impoſſible to reſiſt the Romaine puiſſaunce, and therefore

Messengers sent by Aruiragus vnto Vespasiã with submission.

with consent of the residue of his Nobles that were escaped from the battaile, hee sent an Heralde vnto Vespasian, offering to submit himselfe in moste humble wyse vnto any reasonable conditions of peace and agreement. Whereupon Vespasian commaunded that Aruiragus should in priuate apparell come in vnto him, for he would not talke of any peace, except he had Aruiragus present, and therefore hee sent vnto him his safe-conduct to assure him safe both to come and goe.

Aruiragus cõmeth in vnto Vespasian. Aruiragus is restored again to his former dignitie.

Aruiragus seeing no other remedie, came in vnto Vespasian, according to his appoyntment, and vpon his submission was pardoned of all his trespasse, and placed againe in the kingdome.

The Brytaynes are pardoned but yet deliuer newe hostages.

The Cities and good townes also that were partakers in the rebellion, were in semblable wyse forgiuen without fining or other indemnitie, and so likewise were all the Nobles of the Countrey. Howbeit for the better assuraunce of their loyaltie in tyme to come, they delyuered new hostages.

Their lawes abrogated. New lawes.

Their auncient lawes also were abrogated, and the Romain lawes in their place established. For the administration of the whiche, in euery prouince was appointed a Romaine iudge to see good orders obserued according to the fourme thereof. By which meanes the Brytishe nation eftsoones returned vnto hir former obedience of the Romain Empyre.

All the winter following, Vespasian laye at Yorke, making his appresses agaynste the nexte spring to go againste the Scottes and Pictes. So soone therefore as the Sommer was come, Vespasian setteth forward with his armie, and entering into the marches of his enimies, hee did put them in such feare, that the Pictes were glad to yeeld themselues vnto him, a few of the nobles & some other except, which were withdrawne into Camelon, in hope through strength of that town to defend themselues from all assaultes.

Camelon sieged by Vespasian.

Vespasian being certified therof, came and besieged them within the same city, not minding to depart till he had them at his pleasure. This siege cõtinued til they within being in dãger to famish through want of vittailes, surrendred themselues with the towne into Vespasians handes.

Camelon rendred.



The kings regall ornaments taken.

In this towne were founde all the regall ornaments: as the crowne, and swoorde, with other iewels belonging to the kings of the Pictes. The swoorde hauing the haft of golde, and a purple scabbarde verie finely wrought and trimmed, Vespasian vsed to weare in all the warres wherein he afterwardes chaunced to bee, in hope (I cannot tell) of what good successe and lucke to follow thereof.

The Pictish Lordes which were within Camelon, were commaunded to deliuer pledges: and after licẽced to depart without any other domage

Camelon peopled with Romaines.

Vespasian himselfe remayning at Camelon, toke order for the peopling of the towne with Romaines, graunting them the vse of the liberties and priuileges which the Romaines inhabiting in Rome enioyed.

Iulius Vrbanus. This was Colchester the British Englishe terados

Also ouer agaynst the towne vpon the banke of the Ryuer of Carone, he buylded a Temple, in honour of the Emperour Claudius, wherein he sette vp two Images, the one representing Claudius, and the other the Goddesse Victoria.

Caratak assembled armie.

Whilest he was thus occupied, tidings came to him, that Caratake king of the Scottish men had assembled in Galloway, a great armie of Scottes, Pictes and Brytaynes, in purpose to come agaynst the Romaines, to reuenge the last ouerthrow. Whervpon Vespasian with al speede sent forth a strong power vnder the leading of Iulus Planctius to encounter the enimies.

Planctius sent for an armie gaynst ratake.

Planctius being approched within foure miles of them, encamped himselfe in a strong place, as

as thoughe hee minded not to passe further, tyll Uespasian with the residue of his whole puissance were come to his ayde. Neuertheless nyght was no sooner come on, but that hee gaue generall commaundement throughe his hoste, that euerie man shoulde make him readie to depart at a certaine houre vnder the Standarts of their captaynes in order of battaile. And so in the second watche of the night, he set forwarde, following certaine guydes, (which knew all the straytes and passages of the countrey) till he came to the place where Caratake with his armie was lodged: and first killing the watche that stoode to defende his entrance, till the armie was raysed, he set vpon the whole campe, and though he founde suche resistaunce, that the battaile continued right fierce and cruell from the dawning of the daye, tyll it was highe Noone, yet in the ende the victorie remayned with the Romaines, and the Scottes with the Pictes, and suche Brytaynes

Plancius setteth vpon the Scottish camp.



as were on their parte, put to flight and chased. Caratake escaping out of the battaile, fled into Argyle, and got him to the Castel of Dunstafage.

Dyuerse of the Brytaynes and Pictes which as yet had not submitted themselues, were put in such dread throughe brute of this ouerthrow, that immediately thereupon they came in and yeelded themselues vnto Uespasian. And in semblable wise the people of Galloway vtterly dyspayring longer to defende theyr Countrey against Plancius (who was nowe entered into their confines, and had taken the Citie of Carricke) offered to become subiectes vnto the Romaines, which they might neuer be brought vnto before that tyme.

These newes being certified vnto Uespasian by a Purseyaunt, he rode streight wayes vnto Carrike, and there receyued the othes of the nobles, and other the inhabitants of the countrey.

That done, he sent Ambassadours vnto Caratake, to trie if he might perswade him by any meanes to become friende vnto the Romaine Empyre, in acknowledging some maner of subiection thereunto: but this deuise was to small purpose, for Caratake was determined rather to ende hys lyfe as a free Scottishe man in defence of libertie, than to become thrall vnto any forrayne Nation, in hope to liue long tyme in seruitude, doubting least if he came any wayes forth within the daunger of the Romaines, they woulde vsurpe the whole dominion vnto themselues.

Whose mynde when Uespasian vnderstoode by his answer made to the Ambassadours which were sent vnto him, he was minded to haue gone with an armie vnto Dunstafage where Caratake lay, but that he was informed what daungerous passages he must marche throughe, all full of dearte Mountaynes, bogges and quauemyres, without any prouision of vitailes or forrage to be found by all the way as the army should passe.

Leauing therefore this enterpryse, hee caused so many besselles to be assembled, as coulde bee prouided on all partes, purposing to haue passed ouer into the Isle of Man, into the which there were gotten togither a great sort of Brytaynes and Pictes, that had escaped the Romaines handes. But this iourney was also broken by an other incident, for euen the same tyme newes were broughte that the Brytaynes of the Isle of Wyght, with the Kentish men, and diuerse other the inhabitantes vppon the South coast, were reuolted, and had slaine diuerse Romaines, which lay in garisons in those partes.

The Isle of Wight rebelleth.

Uespasian therefore mynding to cure thys wounde ere it should throughly festter, hasted thither with al speed, & with little a do pacifying the

Vespasian appeaseth the Rebelles.

rebelles, cauſed the chiefe offenders to be puniſhed in his reſpect accoꝛding to their deſerts.

Vеſpaſian returneth to Rome.

Shoꝛtly after being ſent foꝛ by the Emperour Claudius, hee returned vnto Rome with great glozie foꝛ his noble and high atchieued victoꝛies. Iulus Planctius was left in charge with the gouernment of Bꝛytayne after Uеſpaſians departure: who hearing that Caratake had aſſembled a great armie of Scottes and other ſuch Bꝛytaynes and Pictes as had not yet ſubmitted themſelues vnto the Romains, in purpoſe to recouer againe thoſe Countreys which Uеſpaſian had lately cõquered, he likewiſe pꝛepared to mette them, ſo that both the armies encountering togi-

Planctius left as gouernour.

Planctius pareth to the Scottes.



ther, there was fought̃e a right̃e terrible battaile wyth great ſlaughter on both partyes, tyll finally the victoꝛie enclyning to the Romaines, moꝛe thꝛoughe ſkilfull policie than puiſſaunt foꝛce, the Scottes, Pictes, and Bꝛytaynes were diſcomfited and chaſed into the bogges and mariſhes, the common refuge in thoſe dayes foꝛ the Scottes, when by any aduenture they chaunced to be put to flight.

The Romains through policie vanquiſh the Scottiſh men.

After this ouerthꝛowe the warre was continued foꝛ a two yeares ſpace by rodes and incurſions, made one vppon another in the confines of Kyle and Galloway. In whiche meane tyme Planctius fell ſicke of the Flixe, whiche ſtyll continuing wyth hym, bꝛought hym at length in ſuche caſe, that he was not able to trauayle at all in the publyke affayꝛes of hys office. So that hee wꝛote his Letters vnto the Emperour Claudius, ſignifying vnto him in what caſe hee ſtode, and therevpon requyꝛed that ſome ſufficient perſonage might bee ſent to occupie his rome.

Planctius falleth ſicke.

Claudius hauing receyued his Letters, and vnderſtanding the effect of the ſame, ſente one Oſtoꝛius Scapula, a man of highe lynage, and of good experience both in peace and warre, to haue the gouernance in Bꝛytayne.

Oſtorius Scapula is ſent into Brytayne.

About the tyme of whoſe arriuall into Bꝛytayne, Iulus Planctius departed out of thys woꝛlde at Camelon, where hee then ſoiourned. Hys bodye was burned, and accoꝛding to the vſage of the Romaines in thoſe dayes, the aſhes were cloſed in a Cheſt, and buryed within the Church of Claudius and Victoꝛia, which (as is ſayde) Uеſpaſian buylded neare vnto Camelon, vpon the Riuer ſide there. Hereof was a cuſtome taken vp amongſt both Scottes and Pictes, as ſome thinke, to burne the bodies of the deade, and to burie the aſhes. Whereof there hath beene founde diuerſe tokens and monuments in thys our age. As in the yeare 1521. at Findour a village in Mearne, fiue miles diſtant from Aberdine there were founde in an olde graue two Cheſtes of a ſtraunge making ful of aſhes, either of them being engrauen with Romaine letters, whiche ſo ſoone as they were bꝛought into the ayꝛe, fell to duſt. Likewiſe in the fieldes of an other towne called Kenbacken in Marre a ten myles diſtant from Aberdyne, about the ſame tyme were found by certayne Ploughmen two Sepulchꝛes made of cut and ſquared ſtones, wherein were a foure Cheſtes, of woꝛkemanſhippe, bigneſſe and inſcription lyke to the other two. Many the ſemblable monumentes haue beene founde in diuerſe places in Scotlande in tymes paſt: but it is to be thought, that in theſe Sepultures there were Romaynes buryed, and neyther Scottes noꝛ Pictes.

The vſage among ſt to burne dead bo

Aulus Planctius dyeth.

But nowe to our purpoſe. Immediately vppon the comming of Oſtoꝛius into Bꝛytayne, the

the people of the west Countreys rebelled, prosecuting the Northren men with the Scottes of Galloway, and all the Pictes to doe the like.

They sent also vnto Caratake, requyring him to in this common quarell against the Romaines to put to his helping hande for recouerie of their auncient libertie of the whole lande of Albion, considering it was like they shoulde matche well ynough with this new Romain captaine Ostorius Scapula, that vnderstoode little of the maners and vsages of the Brytaynes.

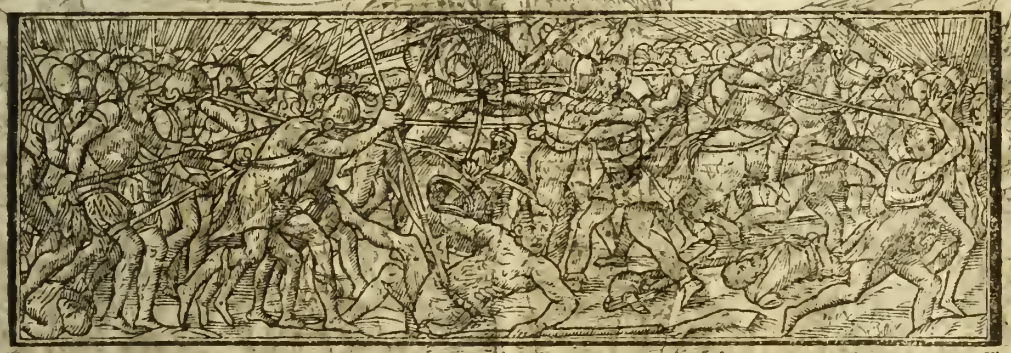
But this notwithstanding, Ostorius being enformed of all these practises, and remembring what furtheraunce it were for a captaine in the beggynning to win a name by some prayse worthy enterprise, he made first towards the western Brytaynes, whome he thought to surprise ere they shoulde assemble with the other rebels, and so meeting with them, he chased and toke a great number of them as they fled here and there, out of all order.

The Brytayns of the west part are chased

After this, he went against the people called *Iceni*. *Iceni*, which as some think inhabited the Countrey nowe called Oxfordshire, but others take them to bee Norffolke men, who being gathered together, were gotten into a strong place, enclosed about with a great ditche, as they vse to fence pasture grounds, that no horsemen shoulde

Oxfordshire is allayled.

Some take the Iceni to be the Norffolk men



breake in vpon them: yet this notwithstanding, Ostorius assayled them within their strength, and in the ende breaking downe the rampyre, with suche ayde as he had, burst in at length amongst them, sleaing and taking the most part of them: for few or none escaped, they were so kept in on eche side. But of this battaile, and likewise of other enterprises which Ostorius and other of the Romaine Lieutenants atchieued here in Brytayne, ye shal find more thereof in the hystorie of Englande according to the true report of the Romaine writers, the which verily make no mention either of Scottes or Pictes tyll the yeare of our Lorde 520. at the soonest. And as for the Silures and Brygantes removed by Hector Boetius so farre Northwarde, it is euidently proued by Humfrey Lluyd and others, that they inhabited Countreys conteyned nowe within the lymyttes of Englande. The lyke ye haue to vnderstande of the *Ordouices* where Caratake gouerned as king, and not in Carricke, as to the well aduised Reader I doubt not but it may sufficiently appeare, as well in the description as hystorie of Englande aforesayde.

After this he entered into the confines of Kile and Cantyre, spoyling and wasting those countreys, and brought from thence a great number of captiues.

Kile and Cantyre wasted and spoyled.

With which iniurie Caratake being not a little kindled, he assembled a mighty army, wherein he had at the least xl. thousand mē, what of his own subiects & other such as came to his ayde. For after he was entered into Pictland, there came vnto him out of all parties no small number, of such as desired either to be reuenged on the Romains, either else to lose life and libertie both at once, for the taste of bondage was so bitter vnto all the inhabitants of Albion in this season, that they in maner were wholy conspired togither to remoue that yoke of thraldom from their shoulders which so painfully pinched them.

Caratake assembleth an armie.

Caratake thus furnished with an armie, chose forth a strong place to lodge in, fenced on the one side with the course of a deepe swadlesse Ryuer, and on the other sides it might not bee approched vnto for the steepenesse of the cragges and such fencing as they had made with great stones, in places where there was any easie way to enter.

The strength of the place where Caratake was encamped.

Of this matter ye may reade more in Englande.

All suche women as were somewhat stept in age, and came thither with them, in great numbers, were by Caratake placed on eyther syde hys battayles, both as well to encourage the men to doo valiauntly wyth showting and hallowing vnto them, as also to assayle the Romaines with stones as they shoulde approche. Other suche as were yong and lustie, were

Women encamped.

Women placed in order of battayle.

appoynted to keepe aray amongest the men to fight in the battaile.

Caratake and his Captaynes exhort their men to fight.

Caratake hauing thus ordered his fielde, and hearing that Ostorius was come to giue battail, he exhorted his people to sticke to it like men, and so in semblable wise did all his Captaynes and Sergeantes of the bandes, going from ranke to ranke to encourage their Souldiers, declaring howe that thys was the armie that must eyther bring libertie or thraldome to them and theyr posteritie for euer.

On the other part, Ostorius minding to trie the matter by battaile, sette his people in araye after the auncient maner of the Romaines, willing them to consider that they were discended of those parents and auncetours whiche had subdued the whole worlde: and againe, that those with whome they shoulde now matche, were but naked people, fighting more with a certayne maner of a furious rage and a disordered violence, than with anye politike discretion or constancie.

Ostorius encourageth his Romaines.

Herewith vpon commaundement giuen on both partes, the battaile began right hote, and for



a good space verie doubtfull, till the practised knowledge of the Romaines vanquished the furious violence of the Scottes, Pictes, and Brytaynes: who being put to flight, fledde into the Mountaynes to escape the enimies handes, who pursued them most egrely.

Caratake ouerthrowne by the Romains. His Queene was taken.

Amongest other of the prisoners there was taken Caratakes wife, with his daughter and brethren. He himselfe fledde for succour vnto his stepmother Cartimandua: but as aduersitie findeth fewe friends, she caused him to be taken and deliuered vnto Ostorius.

Caratake betrayed by his stepmother.

This was in the ninth yeare after the beginning of the warres.

Ostorius vsed him verie honourably, according to the degree of a king: Finally he sent him vnto Rome, together with his wyfe, his daughter, and brethren. Hys fame was suche through all places, that where hee passed by, the people came flocking in on ech syde to see him, of whom they had hearde so muche report for his stoute resistaunce made so long a time agaynst the Romaine puissance.

Caratake is sent vnto Rome.

At his comming to Rome hee was shewed in tryumphe, all the people being called to the sight: for the victorye and apprehension of him was iudged equall wyth anye other atchieued enterpryse agaynst whatsoeuer the most puissant enimies of former tyme.

Is shewed vnto the people in a triumph.

The Emperour Claudius vpon respecte as was thought of his Princely behauiour and notifyed valiauncie, restored hym to libertye, and reteyning hys daughter and eldest brother at Rome as pledges, vpon his othe receyued to bee a true subiect vnto the Empyre, he sent him home into his Countrey againe, assigning vnto hym the gouernance of Galloway, with Kile, Carricke and Cunningham.

Caratake restored to libertie.

He lyued not passing a two yeares after hys returne into Scotlande, studying most chiefely during that tyme howe to preserue hys people in peace and quietnesse. Hee departed thys worlde one and twentie yeares after the decrasse of hys vncle Metellane, in the yeare of our Lorde. 54.

Caratake departeth this life.

54

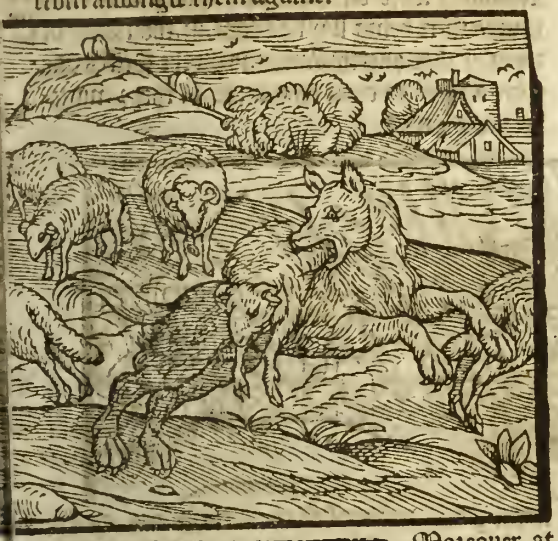
A little before hys falling into the handes of the Romaines, there were sundrye straunge syghtes seene in Albion, as fighting of horsemenne abroade in the fieldes, wyth greate slaughter, as seemed on bothe partyes: and forthwyth the same so vanyshed awaye, that no appearaunce of them coulde any where bee perceyued.

Straunge sightes seene.

Also a sort of Wolues in the night season set vpon suche as were keeping cattayle abroade in the fieldes, and caried away one of them to the

woodes,

woodes, & in the morning suffred him to escape from amongst them againe.



Moreouer at Carrike there was a chylde borne, perfit in al his limmes, sauing ẏ head, whiche was lyke to a Rauens. These vnketh sightes and monsters put the people in no small feare: but after that Caratake was restored to his libertie and countrey, all was interpreted to the best.





After Caratakes decease his younger brother Cozbrede was chosen to succeede in his place, in the. lbiij. yeare after Chriſte, for his elder brother was departed at Rome throughe chaunge of aire not agreable to his nature.

This Cozbred was a stoute mã of stomake, much resembling his brother Caratake. In the first beginning of his raigne he did his endeuour to purge his dominion of suche as troubled the quiet state thereof by robbing & spoyling the husbande men and other the meaner people of the coũtrey, of the which robbers there was no small number in those dayes, specially in the westerne Iſles, also in Rosse and Catnese.

In the meane time the Pictes hauing created there a newe king called Conkist, gouernour of Mers & Lothian, they set vpon the Romains being aboute to make fortresses in those parties. And but that succours came in time from the next Townes and Castels adioyning, they had slaine all the whole number of them, and yet ayded as they were, the maister of the campe, and eight other of the captaines, with diuers officers of bands, beside common souldiers, lost their lyues there. The Pictes moue warre against the Romains.

Shortly after also, the same Pictes ouerthrew a number of forragers with suche companies of horsemen as came to defende them. The Pictes ouerthrow the Romaine forragers.

Herewith Ostorius being not a litle moued, made ready his bandes, and fiercely encountred with the Pictes, who defended themselues so vigorously, that the fore warde of the Romains was neare hande discomfited. Whiche daunger Ostorius perceiuing, speedily came to relieue the same, but prealling to farre amõgst his enimies, he was sore wounded, and in greate daunger to haue bene slaine. The night comming vpon parted the fraye, not without huge slaughter on both partes. Ostorius encountreth the Pictes. Ostorius is wounded.

After this, the warre continued still betwixte them with often incursions and skirmishes. At length the Pictes with suche other Brytains as were come vnto them out of the Isle of Man & other parties, encountred with the Romains in battayle, and vpon the firste ioyning, of purpose gaue backe, trayning some of the Romains to pursue them vnto suche places, where they had layde theyr ambusshes, and so compassing them about, slewe a great number of them, and chased the residue into the straytes of the mountaynes, where they were also surprysed by suche of the Pictes as returned from the battayle. The Romains trayned forth into ambusshes and so distressed.

Ostorius vnderstanding how the mater wẽt, withdrewe with the reste of his people vnto his campe: and shortly after sent a Purseuant vnto Rome, to enforme the Emperour in what state things stoode in Brytaine, by reason of this rebellion of the Pictes, who neyther by force nor gentle perswasions could be pacified.

The Emperour determining to prouide remedie therfore, sent worde againe that he would not that the Pictes shoulde be eftsones receyued vpon theyr submission, if they were driuen to make suyte for pardon, but vtterly to be destroyed and exterminated. For the accomplishment whereof, he appoynted two legions of suche men of warre as soiourned in Fraunce to passe ouer into Brytaine.

But in the meane whyle Ostorius departed this worlde, whether of his hurtes as the Scottishe chronicles make mention, or through sicknesse as shoulde rather seeme by Cornelius Tacitus, it forceth not. Ostorius dieth

After whose decease Manlius Ualens had

Manlius Vacensinna leth the Pictes.

the chiefest charge, who bringyng his army forth to encounter the Pictis that came to seeke battell, was fiercely fought withall. Notwithstãding the victory had abidẽ on his side, if at the very point there had not come succours to the Picts, (that is to witte) iiij.C. horsemen out of the countrey of Kendall, by whose fresh onset the Romains were discõfited and chased vnto their campe, there being slayne aboue.iij.thousande of them at that ouerthrowe, and on the Pictes side there wanted a two thousande of theyr numbers at the least.

The Romains are discõfited by the Picts.



About the same time there arriued in Brytain an other Romain captaine to be generall in place of Ostorius now deceased, his name was Aulus Didius. With him came the.ij.legions afore remembred. At his first comming ouer he mustered the old crewes of the Romaine souldiers first, much blaming them for their negligence in suffering the enimies so to encrease vpõ them, to the great daunger of losing all that, (through slouth and fayntnesse of courage) whiche lately before in Brytaine had bene wonne and cõquered by high prowes and valiant cõduct of his predecessours. In the ende he exhorted them to put away all feare, and fully to determine with themselues, to recouer againe the honour which they had lately lost, whiche he sayde would easily be brought to passe, if they would take vnto them manfull stomackes, and obey him and suche other as had the gouernaunce and leading of them.

Aulus Didius commeth into Brytaine.

The Picts being enformed that this Aulus Didius was arriued with this newe supplie of men and prepared to come against them, they thought good to sende vnto Cozbreide king of Scotlãd to require his ayd against the Romains reputed as commune enimies to al such as loued libertie, and hated to liue in seruile bondage.

The Picts sent to the Scottes for ayde.

For whiche respect Cozbreide was the sooner moued to cõdiscend vnto ỹ request of the Picts: & therupõ assembling an armie entred into Galloway. Whereof Aulus Didius being certified, sent an Herauld vnto him with all speede, commaunding that he should depart out of those quarters, sithe hee had no right there, considering that Galloway was assigned vnto Caratake but for terme of his own life, by force of the Emperours graunt, and now by the death of the same Caratake was reuerted againe vnto the Empire.

The Herauld had vnneath done his message when worde came vnto Cozbreide how an armie of the Romains vnder the guiding of *Cæsius Nasica* was entred into ỹ marches of Galloway to the great terrour of all the inhabitants, doubting to be spoyled and robbed on eche hande. These newes put the Herauld in no smal daunger of his life, had not Cozbreide vpon regarde to the law of armes licenced him to departe.

Cæsius Nasica entred with an armie into Galloway.

The hoste which Cozbreid brought with him into Galloway, he bestowed in castels and fortresses abrode in the countrey, for more safegard, but he himselfe rode in all haste vnto Epiake, to haue the aduise & ayd of one Venusius, that had maried the forenamed Cartimandua that vnkind stepmother of Caratake, as ye haue heard before. This Venusius was of councell with his wife Cartimandua in the betraying of king Caratake, & therfore was growen into much hatred of the people for that facte, but through support of the Romains he was for a time defended from all their malices. Notwithstanding in the ende being awearied of the proude gouernment of the Romains, he reuolted frõ them vnto Cozbreide. Wherewith his wife being offended, foũde meanes to apprehend bothe him and his brethren with certaine of his kinsfolkes, and layed them fast in prison.

Venusius husbande of Cartimandua.

Venusius reuolteth.

But nowe Cozbreide at his cõming thither, did not onely set them at libertie, but also toke & caused Cartimandua to be buried quicke.

Cartimandua is buried quicke.

In the meane while a certaine number of Scottes distressed a fewe forragers of the Romains, but following the chase somwhat rashly, they were enclosed by the enimies and slayne. This mischaunce put the Scots in great feare, and the Romains in hope of good successe, so that Nasica was in purpose to haue assayled a certaine strõg place, wherin a numbre of the Scottish nie were gotten, & had fortified ỹ entries, had not other newes altered his purpose: for hearyng howe an other armie of the Scottes was ioyned with the Pictes, and were approched within a three myles of him, hee brought his hoste forth into a playne where hee ordered his battayles ready

ready to receyue thē. Whereof the Scottiſh men hauing knowledge, haſted forth towardes him, & were no ſooner come in ſight of the Romains, but that with great violence they gaue the onſet, moſt fiercely beginning the battaile, which continued till ſunne ſetting with great ſlaughter on bothe ſides: At what time the Romains were at the point to haue diſcomfited theyr enimies, had not thoſe Scottiſhmen (whiche were left in forteſſes (as is ſayde) abroade in the countrey, come at that ſelfe inſtant to the ayde of their fellowes, by whoſe meanes the battaile was renewed againe, whiche laſted till that mirke night parted them in ſunder. The Romains withdrewe to theyr campe, and the Scottes and Pictes gotte them vp into the mountaynes.

Shortly after a peace was concluded betwixt the parties, with theſe conditions: that the Romains ſhould content thēſelues with that which they had in poſſeſſiō before the beginning of theſe laſt warres, and ſuffer Corbreide to enioye all ſuche countreys as his brother Caratake held. And likewiſe the Picts paying theyr former tribute for the finding of ſuche gariſons of Romains as lay at Camelone, they ſhoulde be no further charged with any other exactiōs. Moreouer it was agreed, that neither the Scottes nor Pictes from thence forth ſhould receyue or ſuccour any rebelles of French men or Brytains, nor ſhoulde ayde by any maner of meanes the inhabitantes of the Iſle of Man, who had done many notable diſpleaſures to the Romains during the laſt warres.

This peace continued a. vj. yeares during the life of Iulus Didius, who at the end of thoſe vj. yeares, departed this life at London, leauing behinde him all things in good quiet.

After his deceaſſe the Emperour Nero who ſucceeded Claudius, appointed one Uerannius to be lieutenant of Brytaine, a man very ambitious and muche deſirous of honour, by meanes wherof, in hope to aduaunce his name, he ſought occaſiōs to haue warres with the Scottiſh men: And at lengthe hearing that certaine of them being borderers had fetched bootes out of Picte land, he ſent a great power of Romains to make a rode into the nexte Marches of the Scottes, from whence they brought a great ſpoyle, bothe of men and goodes.

With which iniuries the Scottes being moued, ſought dayly in ſemblable ſorte to be reuenged, ſo that by ſuche meanes the warre was renewed. But before any notable encounter chaūced betwixte them, Uerannius died. His laſte wordes were full of ambitious boaſtes, wiſhing to haue liued but two yeares longer, that he might haue ſubdued the whole Iſle of Albion vnto the Romaine Empyre, as if he might haue had ſo muche tyme he doubted not to haue done.

Paulinus Suetonius ſucceeded in his place, a man of an excellent witte and very deſirous of peace. He firſt cōfirmed the auncient league with Corbreide king of Scotlande: a recompence being made in euery behalfe for all wrongs and iniuries done on eyther parte. Paulinus Suetonius.

After this (as Hector Boetius hath gathered) he conquered the Iſle of Man: but for aſmuche as by probable reaſons it is apparant inough that it was not Man, but the Iſle of Angleſey whiche the Brytaines name *Mon*, and at this time was ſubdued by Suetonius, wee haue here omitted to make report thereof, referring you to the place in the Engliſhe chronicle, where wee haue ſpoken ſufficiently after what ſorte Suetonius bothe attempted and atchieued this enterpriſe, whiche being brought to ende, he was ſent for into Gallia, to repreſſe certaine tumults rayſed among the people there. In whoſe abſence the Brytaines thinking to haue a meete time for their purpoſe, moued a new rebellion, but by the relation of Cornelius Tacitus, this chaunced whileſt Suetonius was buſie in conquering the Iſle of Angleſey, as in the Engliſh chronicle it likewiſe appeareth, with the ſtraunge ſightes and wonders whiche happened about the ſame time, wherevpon the Southſayers (as Hector Boetius hath declared that the Romains ſhould receyue a great ouerthrow. Upon truſte of whoſe wordes the Pictes and other Brytaines inhabiting in Camelone and in the Marches thereaboutes, ſet vpon ſuche Romains as inhabited there, & ſlewe a great many of them ere they were in doubte of any rebellion. The reſidue whiche eſcaped, gotte them into an old churche, where they were ſlaine eche mothers ſonne. Angleſey and not Man, was thus inuaded by Suetonius. The Scots and pictes kill the Romains.

Alſo Petus Cerialis comming with a legion of footemen and a troupe of horſemen to theyr ſuccours, was encountred by the Pictes, and being put to flight, loſte all his footemen, hardly eſcaping himſelfe with the horſemen to the cāpe. Shortly after he toke vp his tentes and returned towardes Kent, where Catus the procuratour or receyuer as I may call him of Brytaine as then ſoiourned, who vnderſtanding howe the whole Iſle was on eache ſide in an vprore, fled ouer into Fraunce than called Gallia. Petus Cerialis his men being ſlaine returned. Catus the procuratour of Brytaine, fled into Fraunce.

This meane while Queene Uoada ſent vnto hyr brother Corbreide king of Scotland, requiring his ayde againſt the Romains, who had ſo vilely vſed hyr and hyr doughters, to the greate diſhonour of hyr and all hyr linage, and nowe was the time to be reuenged of ſuch iniuries the whole nation of the Brytains through the couetous dealing of the procuratour Catus being riſen in armes to recouer theyr ancient liberties. Queene Voada deſireth ayde of hyr brother Corbreide.

Corbreide being highly diſpleaſed towardes

the

the Romains for ỹ cruel intreating of his Sister, determined either to see hyr satisfied by worthie recompence, or els to be reuenged on them that had misused hyr. And hereof gaue signification vnto Catus the procuratour that was as then returned into Brytaine with a power of men of warre.

Charanat king of the Pictes.

Cozbride receyuing but a scorneful answere from him, found meanes to ioyne in league with Charanat king of the Pictes, and gathering together a mightie armie of one and other, pursued the Romains and their associates, slaying down a wonderfull number of them. He also brenned and destroyed diuers townes, such as in keeping their allegiance to the Romains, stode earnestly to their defence as Barwike & Carlile with other.

The Romaine.



Dutchmen arriue in Scotland.

About the same season there arriued in the Frithe a number of Dutche ships, fraught with people of Merherne or Mozouia, a regio in Germanie situate betwixt Boheme and Hungarie. They were driuen out of theyr owne countrey by the Romains, and assembling togither vnder a famous captaine named Roderike, came down to the mouth of ỹ Rhine, where making shift for vessels, they toke the seas to seke them some new habitations: and thus arriuing in Pictelande, were ioyfully receyued of the Pictes and Scots, for that they were reputed right valiant men, & glad to reuenge theyr owne iniuries against the Romains. Namely with the Pictes they were much esteemed, for that they came forth of the same countrey from whence theyr auncetours were discended.

Merhernes were men of goodly stature

Theyr huge bodies and mightie limmes did greatly commend them in the sight of all men before whom they mustered, so that comming to the place where the kings of Scottes and Pictes were incamped with their people ready to marche forth towardes the enimies, they were highly welcomed and vpon theyr offer receyued into companie and appoynted to goe forth in that iourney, in ayde of Queene Uoada against the Romains.

Women come with the queene in armor.

With this Uoada was assembled a mightie hoste of the Brytains: amongst whome were a v.M. women, wholy bent to reuenge the villanies done to theyr persons by the Romains, or to die in the payne. And for this purpose were they come well appointed with armor and weapon, to be the first that should giue the onset.

Uoada hearing of hyr brothers approch with the king of Pictes and their armies, met them on the way accompanied with a greate number of the Nobles of Brytaine, and brought them to hyr campe with great ioy and triumphe.

After taking aduise how to behaue themselues in theyr enterprise, they thought it good to make haste to fight with the Procuratour Catus, ere any new power of men of warre might come to his ayde forth of Gallia nowe called Fraunce. Whereupon marching towardes him, they met togither in the fielde, where betwixte them was striken a right fierce and cruel battayle: but in the ende the horsemen of the Romains, parte being first put to flight, the footemen were beaten downe on eache side: Catus himselfe being wounded escaped very hardly by flight, and shortly after got him ouer into Fraunce.

The Romaines are put to flight and ouerthrowen.

Catus was wounded.

The Scottes and Pictes with other the Brytaines hauing atchieued this victory, pursued their enimies fro place to place, so that there died by the sword, what in the batayle and els where in the chase a.lxx.M. Romains & other straungers which serued amongst them, besides a.xxx.M. of such Brytains as ayded the against their owne nation.

70000. Romains slain and. 30000 Brytains.

The Gouernour Suetonius being then in Gallia, hearing of this ouerthrow, and in what

daunger

daunger things ſtoode in Brytayne, by reaſon of the ſame, came ouer with two Legions of ſouldiours, and .x. thouſande of other Brygants, as ayders to thoſe Legions.

Uoada the Queene vnderſtanding his arriuall, aſſembled againe hir people, and ſent vnto the Scottes and Pictes to come to hir ayde: who togither with the Mozauians came wyth all ſpeede vnto hir. When they were thus aſſembled, Brytaynes, Scottes, Pictes and Mozauians on one part, and Romaines with theyr aydes on the other, they marched forth to encounter togyther with deliberate myndes to trie the matter by dynt of ſwoord, being earneſtly exhorted therto by theyr gouernours on either ſide. So that ioyning puiſſance againſt puiſſance,





they fought a right cruell battaile, manye in the beginning being ſlaine and borne downe on both ſides. But in the ende the victorie abode with the Romaines, the Brytaynes wyth other the Albians were chaſed out of the fielde. There were ſlaine of them at the poynt of a. lxxx. thouſande perſons as Tacitus wryteth. The more part of the Mozauians, togither with their captaine Roderike were in that number. Uoada the Queene doubting to come into the handes of hir enimies, ſlue hir ſelf. Two of hir daughters were taken priſoners, and brought armed euen as they were founde fighting in the battaile, vnto Suetonius.

The eldeſt of them within a fewe monethes after was maryed vnto a noble Romaine named Marius, who had defloured hir before time. He was alſo created king of Britaine by the Emperours authoritie, that thereby the ſtate of the Countrey might bee reduced vnto a better quiet. He vſed to lie moſt an ende in the partyes of Kendale, and named a part thereof (where he paſſed the moſte parte of his tyme altogither in hunting) Weſtmerlande, after his owne name, though afterwardes, when the Romaines were expulſed, a portion of the ſame adioyning nexte to the Scottes, was called Cumberlande.

The Mozauians which eſcaped from the diſcomfiture, had that portion of Scotlande aſſigned forth vnto them to inhabite in, that lyeth betwixt the Riuers of Tozne and Spey, called euen vnto this day Mourrey lande.

Cozbreyd being thus ouerthrowne, and hauing his power greatly infeebled thereby, paſſed the reſidue of his life in quietneſſe: For the Romaines being troubled with ciuill warres, medled neither with the Scottes nor Pictes, but only ſtudied to keepe the ſouth partes of Brytayne in due obedience.

Finally Cozbreyd departed this worlde, after he had raigned a .xxxiij. yeares, and was buried amongſt his elders neare vnto Dunſtafage, with many obeliſkes ſet vp about him. Corbreid dead. Anno Chriſti. 71. H B.



Dardan.

After Cozbreyd ſucceded one Mardan, which for his huge ſtature was afterwarde ſurnamed the great. He was lyneally deſcended from Metellane, who was his great grandfather.

The Nobles and Commons of the Realme choſe him to their king, onely for the good opinion they had conceyued of him in his predeceſſours dayes, by whome he was had in great eſtimation, and had atchieued vnder him manye worthie enterpriſes, ſo that he was thought moſt meeteſt for the rowme, conſidering the ſonnes of Cozbreyd were not as yet come to ripe yeares to enioy the ſame. For the ſayd Cozbreyd had three ſonnes in all, Cozbreyd, Tulcane, and Breeke. The eldeſt had beene brought vp with Uoada, Corbreyd his three ſonnes.

Queene

Queene of the Brytains, whereby he had learned the maners & vsages of the Brytish natiõ, and therevpon was surnamed Galde: for so the Scottish men vse euen vnto this day to name any of theyr owne countrey men that hath learned the courtesie and manners of straunge countreys. But to returne to Dardane, in the beginning of his raigne he gouerned the estate by good indifferent iustice, but after he had cõtinued therin by the space of two yeares, he began to fall into all kinde of vices, remouing from offices such as were vpright bearers of themselues in the same, and aduancing to their places bribers and extorcioners.

Dardane falleth into all kind of vices.

The nobles he had in suspect, fauouring onely suche as through flatterie were by him preferred: And where he was drowned beyond all the termes of honestie in fleshly and sensual lust, yet was his couetousnesse so great, that all was to little which he might lay handes vpon.

He also put to death diuers honorable personages, suche as hee perceyued to grutche at his doings. Hee likewise purposed to haue made away the Sonnes of his predecessour Corbreide, but his trayterous practise being disclosed, the moste parte of the Nobles and commons of the Realme rebelled against him, and sending for Corbreide Galde the eldest sonne of the former Corbreide, remayning as then in the Isle of Man, (where hee shoulde haue bene murthered) they chose him to their King. And at length beating downe all suche as made resistance, they gotte that cruell tyrant Dardane into their handes, and bringing him forth before the multitude, they caused his heade to bee openly striken of.

His cosin Cardorus & other

The commõs rebell.

Dardane is beheaded.



This was the lxxxj. yeare after the birth of our Sauiour, being the firste of the Emperour Domitian, and the fourth complete of his owne raygne ouer the Scottish men.

75. H. B.

6. of Vespasian. H. B.



Corbreide Galde being thus chosen (as I haue sayde) to succeede in the gouernment of Scotland after Dardane, is called by Cornelius Tacitus Galgacus, a prynce of comely personage, and of right noble porte. In the firste beginning of his raygne he punished suche as had bene furtherers of his predecessours misgouernment, and afterwardes hee passed ouer into the Westerne Isles, where he appeased certayne rebelles, which went aboute to disquiet the state of the common wealth there. From thence he sayled vnto the Isles of Lewys and Skie, and put to death certaine offenders that woulde not be obedient vnto their gouernours and iudges. After this hee returned by Rosse, and set a stay also in that countrey, touching certaine misdemeanours of the people there.

Corbreide Galde

Galdus otherwise called Galgacus, a Scotte, Brytaine as other thinke. See more of him in Eng.

Galde punisheth such as disturbe the quiet state of his subiectes.

To bee shorte, hee purged the whole realme of all suche robbers, theeues, and other the lyke offenders agaynst the quiet peace of his subiectes, as were hugely increased by the licencious rule of his predecessour Dardane, and hereunto hee was mightely ayded by the Mozauians, who pursued suche offenders moste earnestly, and brought in vnto him no small number of them, euer as they caught them.

The Mozauians help to apprehende theeues and offenders.

By this meanes was the state of the common wealth brought into better quiet, and the yeare next ensuing being the thirde of Galde his raygne, hee called a counsell at Dunstafage, wherein hee laboured muche for the abrogating of the wicked lawes instituted by king Ewyn, as before is partely specified: but hee coulde not obtaine more than that poore men from thence forth should haue their wiues free to themselues without being abused from time to time indifferently by their landelordes as heretofore they had bene.

Galde labored to abrogate wicked lawes.

Whilest he was thus busied about the establishing of holsome orders and statutes for the wealth of his subiectes, worde was brought him that Petilius Cerialis a Romaine Captaine being sente from Uespasian the Emperour to haue the gouernment of Brytaine, was landed with a puissant armie in the countrey, and minded shortly to inuade the borders of his realme, as Annandale and Galloway.

Petilius Cerialis a Romaine captaine sent by Vespasian into Brytaine.

With these newes Galde being somewhat astonied, thought good to vnderstande the certaintie of the enimies doings, before hee made any sturre for the leauying of his people, & therefore appoynted certaine light horsemen to ride forth,

The Orkeneis and Britains make warre by the Scottish wyues.

forth, and to bring certaine newes of that whiche they might heare or ſee: who at theyr returne declared that the enimies armie was abroade in the fieldes, vppon the borders of Pictelande, and had giuen the Pictes already a great ouerthrow, and further, howe they were turned weſtwarde on the lefte hande, in purpoſe to enter into Galloway.

Galde being thus certified of the Romains approche towardes his countrey, determined to giue them battayle before they entred into the inner partes of his Realme, and therefore with all ſpeede hee aſſembled his people, to the number of fiftie thouſande menne, all ſuche as were able to beare armor, being readie to repayre vnto him in ſuche preſent neceſſitie for defence of theyr countrey.

It hath bene reported, that as hee marched forth towardes his enimies, ſundrie ſtraunge ſights appeared by the way. An Egle was ſeene almoſt all a whole day, flying vp and downe ouer the Scottiſhe armie, euen as though ſhe had laboured hyr ſelfe weary. Strange ſights appeare to the Scottiſhe armie.

Alſo an armed man was ſeene flying round aboute the armye, and ſuddenly baniſhed away.

There fell in lyke manner out of a darke cloude in the fieldes through the whiche the armie ſhoulde paſſe, diuers kindes of birdes that were ſpotted with bloud.



Theſe monſtruous ſightes troubled mennes mindes diuerſly, ſome conſtruing the ſame to ſignifie good ſucceſſe, and ſome otherwiſe. Alſo the chiefeſt captaynes amongſt the Scottes were not all of one opinion, for ſome of them waying the great force of the Romaine armie, beyng the greateſt that euer had bene brought into theyr countrey before that day, counſelled that they ſhoulde in no wiſe be fought withall, but rather to ſuffer them to weary themſelues, till vitayles and other prouiſions ſhoulde fayle them, and then to take the aduauntage of them as occaſion ſerued: Other were of a contrarie minde, iudging it beſte (ſith the whole puiſſaunce of the Realme was aſſembled) to giue battayle, leaſt by deferryng time, the courage and great deſire which the people had to fight, ſhould waxe faynt and decay; ſo that all things conſidered, it was generally in the ende agreed vpon to giue battayle, and ſo comming within ſight of the enimies hoſte, they made ready to encounter them. At the firſte the Scottes were ſomewhat amazed with the greate multitude of theyr aduerſaries, but through the cheerefull exhortations of theyr King, and other their Captaines, theyr ſtomackes beganne to reuiue, ſo that they boldely ſette vppon the Romaines, whereof enſued betwixte them a righte fierce and cruell battayle, howbeit in the ende the victorie inclined to the Romains, and the Scottes were chaſed out of the fielde. Galde himſelfe was wounded in the face, yet eſcaped hee out of the battaile, but not without great daunger in deede, by reaſon the Romaines purſued moſt egerly in the chaſe. The Scots are diſcomfited.

There were ſlaine of the Scottiſh menne (as theyr chronicles make reporte) aboue a twelue thouſande, and of the Romains about ſixe thouſande.

This victorie beyng thus atchieued, the Romains gote poſſeſſion of Epiake with the greateſt parte of all Galloway, and paſſed the reſidue of that yeare without any other notable exployte: but in the ſommer followyng Petilius the Romaine gouernour wente aboute to ſubdue the reſte of the countrey, the Scottes The citie called Epiake, is wonne by the Romains.

The Scottes durſt not fight any field with the Romains.

oftentimes making diuerſe ſkirmiſhes with him, but in no wiſe durſte ioyne with them puiſſance againſt puiſſance, leaſt they ſhoulde haue put their Countrey into further daunger, if they had chaũced eftſones to haue receyued ẏ ouerthrow.

Here haue wee thought good to aduertiſe the Reader, that although the Scottiſh wryters impute all the trauayles whiche Petilius ſpent in ſubduing the Brygantes, and Frontinus in conquering the Silures, to be employed chiefly againſt Scottes and Piſtes: the opinion of the beſt learned is wholy contrarie thereunto, affyrming the ſame Brygãtes and Silures not to be ſo farre Northe by the diſtance of many myles, as Hector Boetius and other his Countreymen do place them, which thing in the Hiſtorie of Englande wee haue alſo noted, where ye maye reade more of all the doings of the Romaynes here in Brytaine, as in their wryters we finde the ſame recorded. But neuertheleſſe we haue here followed the courſe of the Scottiſhe Hiſtorie, in maner as it is written by the Scottes themſelues, not bynding any man more in this place than in other to credite them further than by conference of authours it ſhall ſeeme to them expedient. In the meane time then, whileſt Petilius was occupied as before ye haue heard in ẏ cõqueſt of Galloway. Vodicia the daughter of Aruiragus (whõ the Romains had before time miſuſed as before in this treatiſe is partely touched) gathered togither a crew of ſoldiours within the Iſle of *Man*, partely of the inhabitants, and partely of ſuche Scottiſh men of Galloway as were fledde thither for ſuccour: with theſe ſhee toke the ſeas, and landing in Galloway, vpon purpoſe to reuenge hyr iniuries in times paſt receyued at the Romains handes, ſet vppon their tentes in the night ſeaſon, when they looked for nothing leſſe than to be diſquieted, by reaſon wherof they were brought into ſuche diſorder, that if Petilius had not cauſed ſuche fire brandes to be kindled as he had prepared and dreſſed with pitche, roſen and tallow, for the like purpoſe, the whole campe had bene in great daunger: but theſe torches or fyre brandes gaue not onely light to ſee where to make reſiſtaunce, but alſo being caſte in the faces of the enimies, ſtayed theyr hardie forwardneſſe, whereby the Romains hauing leaſure to place themſelues in array, defended the entries of theyr campe, till the day was ſprong, and then giuing a full onſet vppon theyr enimies, they put them quite to flight.

Touching al the doings of the Romains in Brytain yee ſhal finde ſufficiently in the hiſtorie of England.

Vodicia reneweth warres with the Romains.

The Romaine campe aſſailed in the night by Vodicia.

But Vodicia not herewith diſcouraged, haſted with al ſpeede vnto Epiake, and taking that Citie ſhe ſetteth fire on it, and ſlewe ſuche Romains as ſhe founde there, whereof Petilius being certified, ſente forth a legion againſt hyr to withſtande hir attemptes. Thoſe that had the charge of them that were thus ſent, vſed ſuch diligence, that laying an ambuſhe for hir in a place fitte for that purpoſe, they ſo incloſed hir, that ſlayng the moſte parte of hir companie, ſhe was taken pryſoner hir ſelfe, and being brought aliue vnto Petilius, vpon hir ſtoute anſwears made vnto him, as he queſtioned with hir aboute hyr bolde enterpryſes, ſhee was preſently ſlayne by the ſouldiers.

Epiake is take and brenned by Vodicia.

Vodicia ſlayne.



Anone after Petilius was certified, that the inhabitaunts of the Iſle of Wight, with other ſoutherne Brytains, had rayſed a commotion againſt king Marius, ſo that without ſpeedy ſuccors they were like to driue him out of his kingdome: wherevpon he haſted thither with al conuenient ſpeede, and ſubduing the rebelles, ſet all things there in good order and ſtay. And ſo remayning there till the next yeare after, he fel ſicke of the flixe and died. Immediatly wherevpon the Emperour ſente one Julius Frontinus to ſucceede in his place.

The Ile of Wight rebell.

The Ile are apeſed.

Petilius Romains gate dieth.

Iulius Frontinus ſente Brytaine.

This Frontinus brought with him a two legions of ſouldiours, and after he had taken order with king Marius for the keeping of the Brytains in due ſubiection of the Empire, he purpoſed to bryng ſuche vnto obedience as inhabited within and beyond the woodes of Calydone, and as yet not banquiſhed by any man.

The Silures miſtaken for Scottiſh.

Therefore entring firſt into Galloway, and viſiting ſuch garriſons of the Romaines, as Petilius had left there for the keping of that quarter, he commended their loialtie and diligence, in that they had looked ſo well to their charge, that the enimie had gayned no aduauntage at theyr handes, whileſt the armie was occupied in the ſouth partes about other affayres there.

Frontinus poſeth to ſue the conqueſt of Sylures in the Scottiſh ſtake for Galloway.

Hee alſo ſent an Heralde vnto the king of the Piſtes with letters, requiring him to renue by confyrmation the former league betwixt hys people and the Romaines, and not by any meanes to ayde the Scottes as before time they had done to their great loſſe and hinderance.

Frontinus quiereth ioyne in warre with Piſtes.

Herevnto

Hereunto the king of Pictes muche ſuſpecting the matter, made a direct anſweare, that hee ſawe no cauſe why hee ſhoulde in fauour of the Romains ſuffer his confederates the Scottes to be ſubdued and brought to deſtruction without all reaſon or equitie: and therfore he was determined by the aduice of his peeres and counſellours, to ayde the Scottes againſt ſuche as ſought nothing but the meanes howe to bring the whole Ile of Albion into thraldome and ſeruile bondage.

Frontinus little regarding this vntowardly anſweare, ſette forewarde to ſubdue ſuch Scots as were yet diſobedient. And ſo entring into the borders of Kile, Carrike and Coningham, had diuers ſkirmiſhes with ſuche as king Galde had aſſembled to defend his countrey, but for ſo much as hee was diſeaſed with ſickeneſſe, hee was at length conſtrayned to withdrawe himſelfe into Argile, leauing his power behinde him to reſiſt the enimies attemptes: but ſhortly after his departure from amongſt them, they were fought withall by the Romains and diſcomfited, three thouſande of them being ſlaine in the fielde. By reaſon of whiche ouerthrowe thoſe countreys ſubmitted themſelues to the Romains, perceyuing no hope otherwiſe howe to eſcape that preſent daunger.

These Scots of Carrike, Kile, and Coningham, being thus brought into ſubiection, the armie was licenced to withdraw to their lodgings for the winter ſeaſon, during the which, Frontinus fell ſicke of ſuperfluous abundance of fleume, which vexed him in ſuche ſorte, that the Emperour Domitian, who as then gouerned the Romaine Empyre, ſent for him home vnto Rome, and appointed a right valiaunt perſonage, one Julius Agricola to ſucceede as lieutenaunt of Britaine in his roume.

Frontinus being vexed with ſickneſſe, returneth to Rome.

Julius Agricola is ſent into Brytaine.

Aboute the time of whoſe arriuall there, the Scottes of Annandall ſlewe a great number of the Romains, with whiche ſucceſſe they procured alſo the Pictes with the inhabitants of Galloway, Kyle, Carrike and Coningham to rebell.

The Scots of Annandale beate downe the Romains.

These newes being reported vnto Agricola, he made his prouiſiõ with al ſpeede to go againſt them. And firſt entring into the borders of Picte lande, he reduced ſuch as inhabited about the cõfines of Barwike to their former ſubiection, and after marching forth towardes the citie of Camelone, Karanach king of the Picts encountred him by the way, but being fiercely beaten off by the Romains, he fled backe into the citie, & within three daies after hauing reenforced his power, he eftſoones gaue battayle againe to his enimies, but then alſo being vanquiſhed, hee loſt the moſt parte of al his men, & ſo immediately thereupon was Camelone wonne by force, & a great number of the Citezens ſlaine.

Agricola prepareth to goe againſt the Scottes.

Karanath king of the Picts is diſcomfited by the Romains.

Camelone taken by force.



Agricola cauſed it to be newly fortified, and further through fame of this victorious beginning, he recouered the moſt parte of al the caſtels and fortreſſes of Picte lande.

The forenamed Karanath eſcaping out of that preſent daunger, got him beyonde the water of Firth, for the more ſuretie of his owne perſon.

Agricola hauing ſped thus in Pict lãd, marched forth againſt them of Annandall: who at the firſt, making reſiſtaunce for a time, at length were conſtreyned to giue backe, and ſo fledde to their owne houſes, where in the night following by their owne wiues they were murthered euen mothers ſonne: for ſo the women of that nation vſed to put away the ſhame of their huſbandes when they had at any time fled out of the fielde, from theyr enimies.

The Scots of Annandale ſlaine by their wiues.

Agricola vnderſtanding that by winning him

ſame in the beginning, it ſhould be no ſmall furtherance vnto him for the atchieuing of other enterpriſes in time to come, determined to purſue his good fortune. And therupon prepared to ſubdue the Iſle of *Man*, but wanting veſſels to cõuey his armie ouer, he found meanes that ſuch as could ſwimme, and knew the ſhallow places of that coaſt, made ſhifte to paſſe the goulfe, and ſo got a land, to the great wonder and amazing of the inhabitants, who watched the ſea coaſtes, to reſiſt ſuche ſhippes as they loked for, to haue arriued vpon their ſhore: but nowe diſpayring to reſiſt ſuch kind of warriours as endaũgered theſelues to paſſe the ſeas in that maner of wiſe, they ſubmitted thẽſelues vnto Agricola.

Here is a manifeſt errour in the Scottiſh writers, taking Man for Angleſey.

Agricola aſſayleth the Iſle of Angleſey, and not Man as Hector Boetius miſtaketh it.

Who taking pledges of them, and appoynting certaine garriſons to keepe diuers holdes and places of defence within that Iſle, paſſed ouer with the reſidue of his people into Galloway, where he ſoiourned all the winter following: whiche being paſſed, and ſommer once come, he aſſembled his men of warre againe, and viſited a great parte of that countrey with Kyle, Carrike and Coninghame, the inhabitants wherof he put in ſuch feare with the onely ſhewe of his warlike armie, diſpoſed in ſuche politike order and wiſe conduicte, that there was none to be founde that durſt aduaunce themſelues to encounter him, ſo that he ſpẽt that ſommers ſeaſon in keeping ſuch of the Scottes as had bene afortetime ſubdued, from attempting any commotion, & when winter was come, he aſſembled the nobles of the coũtrey, exhorting them by gentle perſwaſions, to frame themſelues to a ciuill trade of liuing, aſwell in buylding of temples, houſes, and other edifices after the Romaine maner, as alſo in wearing of comely and decent apparell, and aboue all things to ſet their childrẽ to ſchole, to be brought vp in eloquence and good nurture.

The Iſle of Angleſey is ſubdued by Agricola.

Agricola wintereth in Galloway.

Agricola ſtudieth to bring the Scots vnto ciuilitie.

By this meanes he thought to traine them frõ their accuſtomed fiercenelle, & to winne them the ſoner to be cõtẽted with bõdage, though he colored it with neuer ſo fayre a gloſſe of humanitie.

The thirde winter being thus ſpent, and the next ſommer commen vpon, Agricola inuaded ſuche countreys as were yet vndiſcouered by the Romains, entring by the nether ſide of Calidone wood, euen vnto the dolorous mountaine, whiche afterwardes by the Scottes was cleped Sterling. It was called the dolorous mountain for that in the night ſeaſon, there was heard right lamentable noyſe and cries as though the ſame had bene of ſome creatures that had bewayled theyr miſerable caſes: whiche vndoubtedly was the craftie illuſions of wicked ſprytes, to keepe mens mindes ſtill oppreſſed in blinde errours and ſuperſtitious fantaſies.

Kalẽdar wood Agricola commeth vnto Sterling.

Illuſion of ſpirites.

Agricola conſidering the naturall ſtrength of this mountaine with the ſite of an olde ruinous caſtel that ſtood thereon, he cauſed the ſame with all diligence to be repaired, & a bridge to be made ouer the Forth there, by the which he paſſed with his whole armie ouer into Fyfe, and the day after hearing that the king of the Picts was withdrawen into a caſtell thereby, ſtanding vpon an high mountaine cleeped Beenart, he enuironned the ſame with a ſtrong ſiege, how be it his hoped pray was not as then within it, for Karanach king of the Picts, enformed of the Romains approche, gotte him forth abrode into the fieldes, and aſſembling his power purpoſed by night, to haue broke the bridge which Agricola had made ouer the Forth at Sterling, but being repulſed by ſuche as were ſet there to defende the ſame, in his returne from thence hee was encountred by Agricola himſelfe, who being certified of this attempt of his enimies, had leuied his ſiege & was comming towardes them, ſo that both the hoſtes meeting togither in the fieldes, there was fought a ſore battayle betwixt them, though in the ende the Picts were diſcomfited, and their king the forenamed Karanach chaſed vnto the riuer of Tay, where he got a boate, and eſcaped to the further ſide of that water.

Agricola diſcouereth the coaſtes of Scotland with the bridge.

Mouſt

Karanach fayleth of ſtopping the bridge which the Romains had made.

Karanach diſcomfited.

By reaſon of this ouerthrowe, Agricola brought in ſubiection thoſe countreys, whiche lie betweene the waters of Forth and Tay, as Fyfe, Fothryke, and Ernedalle, and ſoiourning there all the winter following, he buylte ſundrie fortreſſes in places moſt conuenient for the keeping of the inhabitaunts in theyr couenaunted obedience, after his departure from amongeſt them.

Fyfe with other coũtreys brought ſubiection to the Romains.

In the meane while the king of the Picts kept him at Dundee, whyther reſorted vnto him a greate number of the Pictiſhe nobilitie, ſuche as had eſcaped the Romains handes. Theſe comforted theyr king in all that they might, willing him to be of good cheere, and to hope wel of the recouerie of his loſſes agayne, by ſome good fortune and meanes that might happe to come, ere ought long, promiſing to the furtherance therof al that in them lay, aſwell for counſell as ayde of hande: And herevppon they toke aduice, whiche way to worke, in ſomuche that at length it was by great deliberation thought good to ſeeke for ſuccour at the handes of theyr auncient confederates the Scottes, and ſo incontinently there were certayne meſſengers diſpatched with all ſpeede vnto Galde the Scottiſhe kyng, requiring him in that comunne ieopardie to ioyne in league with hys auncient friendes the Picts, againſt the ambitious and moſte cruell Romains, who ſought nothing els but ỹ vtter ſubuerſiõ of the whole land of Albion, as was manifeſtly apparãt by their proceeding, hauing

Karanach forted by his nobles.

The Picts ſende for aide vnto king Galde.

hauing alreadie occupied and wrongfully surpised a great part not onely of the Pictish kingdome, but also of the Scottish dominions, minding stil to go forward in such vnrighteous cõquests, if by timely resistãce they were not staied.

Galde vpon this request and motions of the Picts gladly consented to ioyne his power with theirs, in common defence of bothe the realmes (against such common enimies as the Romains were esteemed) hauing hereunto the assent of all his peeres and chiefest counsellours.

Thus whilest the kings of the Scottes and Pictes were concluding a league togither for defence of themselues and theyr countreys, certaine Scottes entred into the confines of Kyle, Carrike and Coningham, & wanne diuers fortresses, wherin certaine garrisons of Romaine souldiers soiourned, whom they slewe downe right without al mercie, spoyling the whole countrey.

Agricola hauing knowledge hereof, wente streightwaies thither with a power, and pursuing them that had done those iniuries, some hee toke amongst the hilles and mountaynes, whither they were fledde, and the residue hee chased beyond the riuer of Clyde, but the castel of Dunbryton hee coulde not by any meanes obtayne, though he assayed to winne it euen to the vttermost of his power. It was called in those dayes Alcluth that is to meane: All stone.

The Scottish men being thus driuen backe, Agricola repaired suche castels and fortresses as they had ouerthrowen and beaten downe.

In the yeare following, being the fifth after the first comming of Agricola into Brytaine, he caused his shippes to be brought about from the Ile of Wight into the water of Lochfine in Argile, thereby to put his enimies in vtter dispayre of escaping his handes eyther by water or lande: And thereupon passing ouer the riuer of Clyde with his armie, and finding his nauie there, hee set vpon the countrey of Lennox, in purpose to subdue the same. But after he had made sundrie skyrmishes with the inhabitauntes, hee was certified by letters from the gouernour of Camelone, that the Pictes were ready to rebell, by reason whereof he left off this enterprice against the Scottes, and drew backe into Picte lande, leauing a parte of his armie to keepe possession of the water of Clyde till his returne againe into those parties.

At his comming into Picte lande, he appeased the rebelles with small a do, punishing the chiefe authours according to their demerites. This done, he returned vnto the water of Clyde, lying al that winter beyond the same, taking order for the gouernment of those parties, in due obedience of the Romaine Empyre.

The sommer following he appointed his nauie to search alongst by the coast all the hauens and creekes of Argyle, and of the Ilandes neare to the same. Whilest he by land passing ouer the water of Leuine, went about to cõquere townes and castels, though halfe discouraged at the first by reason of the rough wayes, strayte passages, high mountaynes, craggy rockes, thicke woodes, deepe marrishes, fennes and mosses, with the great riuers, whiche with his armie hee muste needes passe, if he minded to attayne his purpose: but the olde souldiers beyng enured with paynes and trauayle, ouercame all these difficulties by the wise conduct of theyr worthie Generall and other the Captaynes, and so inuading the countrey toke Townes and Castels, of the whiche some they beate downe and rased, and some they fortified, and stuffed with garrisons of men of warre.

Agricola pursueth his enterprise against the Scottes.

About the same time by commaundement of king Galde and other the gouernours of Scotland, all the able men of Cantyre, Lorne, Murrayland, Lugemarth, also those of the westerne Iles, and of all other parties belonging to the Scottish dominions, were appointed to assemble and come togither in Atholl, at a place not passing fiue miles distant from the castell of Calidone now cleped Dunkeld, there to abide the cõming of Karanach king of the Pictes, to the end that ioyning togither in one armie, they might worke some high exploit. But he hauing assembled .xv. thousand of his mẽ of warre, as he marched alongst by the mountaine of Granzbene, in times past cleped *Mons Grampius*, there chaunced a mutinie amongst his people, so that falling togither by the eares, Karanach himselfe comming amongst them vnarmed as hee was, to parte the fray, was slayne presently at vnwares, by one that knewe not what hee was. By reason of whiche mischaunce that iourney was broken, for the Pictes being vtterly amazed and discomforted herewith, skaled and departed in sunder.

All the Scottes assemble.

Karanach king of the Pictes slaine by misfortune of one of his owne subiectes.

Galde with his Scottes nowe being thus disappointed of the Pictes his chiefest ayde, durst not ieoparde to trie the chaunce of battayle with the enimies, but determined with lighte skirmishes, and by withdrawing of vitayles out of their walke, to stoppe them from further proceeding in conquest of the countrey, and in the meane tyme to prouide agaynst the nexte sommer newe ayde and succours to keepe the fielde, and so to encoũter with them, puissance against puissance, if they remayned so long in the countrey.

The Scots resting, vpõ this resolutiõ, thought good to send some honorable ambassade vnto the Pictes to moue thẽ vnto mutual agreemẽt & cõcord amõgst thẽselfs, wherby they might be able

An ambassage from the Scots vnto the Picts.

to reſiſt the common ruine of their countrie as then in preſent daunger to be oppreſſed by the Romaines.

The Pictes brought to agreement amongſt themſelues.

Thoſe that were ſente on this meſſage dyd ſo dilygently behaue them ſelues, in bringing their purpoſe to paſſe, that the Pictes in the ende agreed to ioyne in friendly amytie one with an other, and to chooſe one Garnard to their king to ſucceede in the roume of Karanach.

They alſo confirmed the former league with the Scots, and by theyr procurement ſent meſſangers vnto the Norwegians and Danes, requiring them of ayde againſt the Romains the common enimies of all ſuch nations as loued to liue in libertie, where ſo euer the ſame were inhabiting in any part on the whole face of the earth.

Ambaſſadours ſent vnto the Danes & Iriſh men for ayde.

There were alſo ſent ambaſſadours vnto the Iriſh men from the Scottes for the ſame intent, and from both thoſe places there was great ayde promiſed, as frō them that eſteemed themſelues halfe bounde by a naturall reſpect, to ſuccour ſuch as were diſcended of the ſame auncеſtours and countreys that they were of, and now lyke to be expulſed out of thoſe ſeates, whiche theyr forefathers had got poſſeſſion in by iuſte title of conqueſt, and lefte the ſame vnto their poſteritie to enioy for euer.

Whileſt theſe things were thus in doing, Galdus deuiding his armie into ſundrie partes did what was poſſible to reſiſt al the attempts of the Romains. Who ſtanding in doubte of his puiſſaunce rather through fame thereof, than for anye apparaunt ſight or other knowledge had, durſte not put themſelues in daunger to enter into Calidone woode of all that ſommer, and the winter following was ſo extreeme, by reaſon of froſt, ſnow, and coldneſſe of ayre, that they were not able to enterpriſe any exployte on neyther parte: howbeit the ſommer was no ſooner come (being the ſeuenth after the comming of Agricola into Brytaine) but that they prepared to inuade one an other againe with al their forces.

The fame of Galde his puiſſance, putteth the Romains in feare.

An ayde of Iriſh mē, come to the ſuccors of the Scottes.

Forth of Ireland there came (according as was promiſed) a greate power of men of warre and ioyned with an armie of Scottiſh men in Atholl, being there alreadie aſſembled in greate numbers out of all the quarters of the Scottiſhe dominions. Thither came alſo Garnard king of the Pictes with his power.

Galde choſen to be generall againſt the Romains.

All whiche forces being thus aſſembled togither by cōmon agreement amongſt them, Galde king of the Scots was choſen to be theyr generall, who hearing that Agricola with his hoſte was entred into Kalendar woodde, deuided the whole armie into three battailes, and ſo marched forth toward the enimies in purpoſe to encounter them. Agricola being of this aduertiſed by ſpialles, parted his people alſo into three wardes, doubting to be encloſed within ſome cōberſome place by reaſon of the great multitude of his enimies, that were eſteemed to be in number aboue fiftie thouſande of one and other.

Galde on the other ſide vnderſtanding by ſpials this order of the Romains, in the dead of the night ſetteth vppon one of thoſe legions whiche was lodged next vnto him, and finding meanes to ſlea the watche, was entred into the enimies lodgings before they had any knowledge of his comming, ſo that the fight was right fierce and cruell euen among the Romaines tentes and lodgings.

Galde ſetteth vpon one p of his en in the nig

But Agricola being certified of this enterpriſe of the Scottes, ſent forth, with all ſpeede a certaine number of light horſemen and footemen to aſſayle them on the backes, and ſo to keepe them occupied till hee might come with all the reſidue of his people to the reſcue. They that were thus ſent, accompliſhing theyr enterpriſe according to the deuiſe in that behalfe appointed, gaue a right fierce and ſtoute charge vpon the Scottes and Pictes, greatly to the reliefe of thoſe that were by them aſſayled, and withall ſore amazed and diſordered by reaſon of the enimies ſudden inuaſion.

Agricola meth to ſuccour men.

By this meanes the fight cōtinued right fierce and cruell on al ſides, til at length the day beginning to appeare, ſhewed to the Scottes & Pictes the plaine vew of the whole Romaine armie, approching vnder the conduct of Agricola, to the ſuccour of his people, being thus in daunger to be diſtreſſed. Herewith were the Scots and Pictes put in ſuch feare, that immediatly they fel to rūning away towards the woodes and bogges, the accuſtomed places of theyr refuge.

Agricola comfiteth enimies

This ouerthrow did ſo abaſh both the Scots & Picts, that they durſt attempt nomore the fortune of battaile till they had come ayde out of Denmarke, but onely did what they could to defend their townes & countrey, by making ſundry treyſes vpon their enimies as occaſion and opportunitie ſerued. But the Romains ſuppoſing nothing to be to harde for their vndaunted valiancie, but that they were able to ouercome what ſo euer ſhould ſtand at defence againſt them, determined at length, to find an ende of the Iſle of Albion, and ſo paſſing through Kāleider wood, and ouer the riuer of Amound, they pitched their fielde neare to the riuer of Tay, not farre from the caſtell named Calidone or Kalendar.

The paſſe in Calidō wood, the riuer Amou

The Pictes by reaſon that theyr enimies were lodged ſo neare vnto the confines of theyr countrey, doubting what might follow thereof, brenned the citie of Tuline, leaſt the ſame enimies chaunсing to take it, ſhould furniſh it with ſome garniſon of menne, to the great daunger of the whole Pictiſh kingdome.

The P brenne tie of

This

This citie ſtoode vppon the banke of Tay, right beautifully buylte, with many fayre caſtels and Towers, as may appeare euen vnto this day by the olde ruines thereof, ſtrong rather by the workemans hande, than by nature.

The Scottiſh men in our time call the place Inchtuthill.

All theyr wiues and children they remoued vnto the mountaynes of Granzbene for theyr more ſuretie and ſafegarde.

About the ſame time the Romains were not a little diſquieted, by reaſon of a mutinie whiche chaunced amongſt ſuche Germaines as were appoynted to come ouer vnto Agricola, as a newe ſupplie to furniſhe vp ſuche numbers as were decayed in his armie. Theſe ſlaying theyr Captaine, and ſuche other Romains as were appoynted to haue the order of them for their trayning in warlike feates at the beginning, as the maner was, got certaine pinneſſes whiche they happened vpon in the riuer of Tamys, and ſayling aboute the Eaſt and North coaſtes of this Iſle, arriued in Tay water, offering themſelues to the Scottes and Pictes to ſerue againſt the Romains, whoſe malice they dread for theyr offence committed if they ſhoulde returne into theyr owne countreys, whiche lay aboute the mouth of the Rhine, and was as then ſubiect to the Romaine Empyre, the inhabitants in thoſe dayes, being cleped Uſipithes, the whiche as ſome ſuppoſe inhabited Cleueland and Gulick.

Theyr offer was accepted moſte thankefully, and in places appoynted for them to inhabite amongſt the Murrayes, bicauſe they were diſceded as it were of one nation.

Whileſt theſe things were thus a doing, there came alſo the long wiſhed ayde from the Danes and Norwegians, to the number of tenne thouſande men, vnder the leading of one Gildo.

This Gildo with his nauie firſte arriued in the Frithe betwixt Fyfe and Louthian, but for that the Romains kepte him off from landing there, hee calle aboute and came into the riuer of Tay, where he landed all his people, and prouiſion whereof he had gwd ſtore bothe victayle and armure.

Garnard king of the Pictes hearing of theyr arriuall there, forthwith vpon the newes departed from Dundee, accompanied with a greate number of his Nobles, and cõming to the place where Gildo with his armie was lodged, receyued him in moſte ioyfull wiſe, feaſted and banquetted him and his people, and ſhewed them all the tokens of moſte hartie loue and friendſhip that coulde be deuiſed.

Gildo himſelf was led by the king vnto Dundee, and lodged with him there in the caſtle, his people were prouided for abrode in the countrey in places moſte for theyr eaſe, to refreſhe themſelues the better after their painefull iourney by the ſeas.

Galde cõmeth vnto Dundee to welcome Gildo.

Shortly after there came vnto Dundee the Scottiſhe king Galde, who for his parte did all the honour that in him lay vnto Gildo, ſhewing himſelfe moſte ioyfull and gladde of his cõming, yeelding vnto him and his people ſuche thankes and congratulations as ſerued beſte to the purpoſe, and receyued no leſſe at his and their handes againe.

Gald, Garnard and Gildo, aſſemble a coũſel at Forfare, where they deuiſe how to proceede in theyr warre.

After they had remayned thus certaine dayes togither at Dundee, bothe the kings Galde and Garnarde togyther with this Gildo, wente vnto the Caſtle of Forfare, there to conſulte with the Captaines and gouernours of theyr menne of warre, how to maynteine themſelues in theyr enterpriſe againſt the enemie. At length they reſolued not to goe forth into the field til the winter ſeaſon were paſſe, for doubte of the inconuenience that might enſue by reaſon of the extreeme colde intemperancie of ayre, to the whiche that countrey is greatly ſubiect.

They determine to reſt al the winter, & make fronter warre onely.

In the meane time they toke order for the furniture of all things neceſſarie for the warres, to haue the ſame in a perfite readineſſe againſt the nexte ſpring, and till then they did appoynt onely to keepe fronter warre, that the Romains ſhoulde not ſtray abroade to fetche in victayles and other prouiſions, to theyr owne gaynes and the vndoing of the poore inhabitants.

Upon this determination when the counſell was broake vp, Galde withdrewe into Atholl, to defende thoſe parties, and Garnarde with the Daniſhe generall Gildo, furniſhed all the Caſtels and holdes in Angus, ouer againſt the riuer of Tay, to ſtoppe the paſſages of the ſame, that the enimies ſhoulde enter no further on that ſide. Thus paſſed the winter for that yeare, without any great exployte on either part atchieued.

Agricola ſendeth forth his nauie of ſhips, to diſcouer the furtheſt poynt of Brytaine northwarde.

In the beginning of the nexte ſommer, Agricola appointed his nauie of ſhips to ſayle aboute the coaſtes of the furtheſt partes of Albion, making diligent ſearch of euery creeke and hauen alongſt by the ſame. The Mariners executing his commaundement, ſayled rounde aboute the Northe coaſte, diſcouering many of the Weſterne Iſles, and likewiſe thoſe of Orkney, till at length they founde out Pictiſh lande Firth, being a ſtreyte of Sea, of twentie miles in breadth, whiche ſeparateth the Iſles of Orkney from the poynt of Cathneſſe, paſſing with ſo ſwifte a courſe, that without an expert pylote the ſhippes that ſhall paſſe the ſame are oftentimes in great daunger, by reaſon of the contrary courſe of the tydes.

The Romaine mariners therfore finding certaine huſband men in the next Iſles, conſtreined them to go a ſhipborde, and to guide them thorow that ſtreyte, promiſing them high rewardes for theyr labour: but they vpon a malicious intent not paſſing for their owne liues, ſo they might be reuenged of theyr enimies in caſting away ſuche a notable number of them togither with theyr veſſels, entred the ſtreyte at ſuche an inconuenient time, that the ſhippes were borne with violence of the ſtreame againſt the rockes and ſhelues, in ſuche wiſe that a number of the ſame were drowned and loſte without recouerie.

The Romaine ſhips through want of pylots are loſte in Pictland Firth.



Some of them that were not ouer haſtie to follow the firſte, ſeeing the preſent loſſe of theyr fellowes, returned by the ſame way they came vnto Agricola, who in this meane tyme had cauſed a bridge to be made ouer ȳ riuer of Tay, by the whiche hee paſſed with his whole armie, and encamped on the further ſide thereof neare to the rootes of the mountayne of Granzbene, leauing the bridge garniſed with a competent number of ſouldiers to defende it againſt the enimies.

Agricola making a bridge ouer Tay water, paſſeth by the ſame with his hoſte, and encampeth neare to the foote of the mountayne of Granzbene.

The Pictes being not a little troubled herewith, diſpatched forth a meſſenger with all haſte vnto Galde the Scottiſhe king, ſignifying vnto him the whole matter, and thereupon requyred him of ayde.

Galde hauing muſtered his people aſwell Scottiſhe as Iriſhe, aſſembled them togither to the number of .xl. thouſand perſons, what of one and other, and incontinently with al ſpeede marcheth forth to come vnto the ayde of the Pictes, and ſo within a fewe dayes paſſing ouer the mountaine of Granzbene, he arriueth in a valley beyonde the ſame mountayne, where he findeth the Pictes, Danes, and Norwegians, encamped togither not farre off from the hoſt of the Romains.

Galde king of the Scottiſh men commeth to the ayde of the Pictes.

Here taking aduiſe togither, and in the ende determining to giue battayle, king Galde (vnto whome as before is expreſſed, the gouernance of the whole was committed) aſſembling togither all the number of the confederates, made vnto them a long and pithie oration, exhorting them in defence of libertie, (the moſt precious iewel that mã might enioy) to ſhew theyr manly ſtomakes againſt them that ſought onely to depriue them of that ſo greate a benefite.

The Scottiſh Pictes determine to giue battayle to the Romains.

Galde exhorteth his people to fight manfully.

And ſithe they were driuen euen to the vttermoſte boundes of theyr countrey, he perſwaded them to make vertue of neceſſitie, and rather chooſe to die with honour, than to liue in perpetuall ſhame and ignominie, whiche muſt needes enſue to theyr whole nation, if they ſuffered themſelues to bee vanquiſhed in that inſtaunt. With theſe wordes, or other muche what of the ſemblable effect, Galde ſo moued the hartes of his people, that they deſired nothing but to ioyne with theyr enimies and to trie it with them by dinte of ſworde, which they vniuerſally ſignified according to theyr accuſtomed vſe with a great noyſe, ſhoute and clamour.

On the other parte Agricola, though he perceyued a greate deſire amongſt his ſouldiers to fight, yet hee was not negligent on his owne behalfe to encourage them with moſte cheerefull wordes and countenaunce, ſo that bothe the armies being thus bente to haue battayle, the generals on bothe partes beganne to ſette them in array.

Agricola to the ende his armie being the leſſer number ſhoulde not bee aſſayled both a front and on the ſides, prouided (by diſpoſing them in a certaine order) a remedie againſt that diſaduantage.

On the other ſide, king Galde, by reaſon of the aduauntage whiche hee had in his greate multitude and number, ordered his battayles thereafter, with a long and large fronte, placing the ſame vppon the higher grounde, of purpoſe to compaſſe in the enimies on eche ſide.

Galde by reaſon of his greate multitude, thinketh to encloſe his enimies.

At the firſte approche of the one armie towardes the other, the battayle was begonne righte fiercely with ſhotte of arrowes and hurling of dartes, whiche being once paſte, they ioyned togither to trie the matter by hande ſtrokes, wherein the Scottes and Pictes had one diſaduauntage, for thoſe that were archers (or as I may call them kernes) comming once to fight at hande blowes, had nothing but broade ſwordes and certaine ſorie light bucklers to defend themſelues with, ſuche as ſerue to better purpoſe for menne to ryde with abroade at home, than to bee caried forth into the warres, though the ſame haue bene ſo vſed amongſt the Scottiſh men, euen till theſe our dayes.

The armies approche ther to fight.

They ioyne.

The Scottiſh mens diſtrage, by reaſon of their weapons.

The



The Romains therefore being well appointed with armure and broade Tergettes, ſlewe downe right a greate number of theſe Scottes and Pictes thus ſlenderly furniſhed, without receiuing any great domage againe at their hãds, till king Galde appoynted his ſpeare menne to ſteppe forth before thoſe archers and kernes, to ſuccour them, and therewith alſo the bill menne came forewarde and ſtroke on ſo freſhly, that the Romains were beaten downe on heapes, in ſuch wiſe that they were neare at poynt to haue bene diſcomfited, had not a bande of Germains (whiche ſerued amongſt the Romains) ruſhed forth with greate violence vppon the Scottiſhe men where moſte daunger appeared, and ſo reſtored againe the fayntyng ſtomakes of the Romains, whereby the battayle renewed on bothe ſides againe right fierce and cruell, that greate ruthe it was to beholde that blouddie fight and moſte vnmercyfull murder betwixte them, whiche continued with more violence on the Scottiſhe ſide than any warlyke ſkill, till finally the night comming on toke the dayes light from them bothe, and ſo parted the fray.

The Romains withdrewe to theyr campe, and the Scottes and Pictes with theyr confederates the Danes, Norwegians and Iriſh men, ſuche as were left aliue got them into the nerte mountaynes, hauing loſte in this cruell conflict the moſte parte of theyr whole numbers.

Cornelius Tacitus agreeth not in al points with the Scottiſhe Chronicles in a booke which he wrote of the lyfe of Julius Agricola, where hee intreateth of this battayle. For hee ſpeaketh but of.xxx. thouſande men, (which he comprehendeth vnder the generall name of Brytains) to be aſſembled at that time agaynſt the Romains, making no mention of any Scottes, Pictes, Iriſh men, Norwegians or Danes, that ſhould be there in their ayde.

The number of them that were ſlayne of the Brytains ſide (as the ſame Tacitus recounteth) amounted to aboute.x.M. men, & of Romains not paſſing. iij.C. and.xl. Amongſt whom was one Iulus Atticus, a captaine of one of the cohortes. But as the Scottiſh writers affirme, there died that day of Scottes, Pictes and other their confederates at the poynt of.xx.M. and of the Romains and ſuche as ſerued on their ſide, as good as.xij.M. Moreouer the night following when Galdus with the reſidue of his people which were left aliue was withdrawen to the mountains, & that the huge loſſe was vnderſtoode by the wiues & kinneſwomen of the dead, there began a pitiful noyſe amongſt them, lamẽting and bewailing theyr miſerable caſe & loſſes.

The number of them that were ſlayne at this battayle.

But Galde doubting leaſt the ſame ſhoulde come to the eares of ſome eſpialles, that might lurke neare to the place where hee was withdrawen, cauſed an huge ſhoute and noyſe to be rayſed by his people, as though it had bene in token of ſome reioyſing, till the women bewayling thus the death of theyr friendes might be remoued out of the way. This done, they fell to take counſel what was beſt to do in this caſe: & in the end al things conſidered, it was determined that ſomewhat before the dawning of ỹ next morow euery man ſhould diſlodge & withdraw himſelfe into ſuche place as he thought moſte meeteſt for his ſafegard, ſaue only ſuch as were appointed to attend Galde & Earnard into Atholle whether they minded with al ſpeede to go. Thus leauing a great nũber of fires to diſſimule their departure, they diſlodged & made away with al ſpeede poſſible. In the morning when their departure was once diſcouered, a great nũber of ỹ Romains ſol-

Women bewayle their friendes.

The Scottiſh men and Picts breake vp their campe.

The Romains in pursuyng vnaduisedly are distressed.

lowed as it had bene in the chase, but some of the vnaduisedly aduenturing to farre forward, were enclosed by theyr enimies and slayne. Those that wrought this feat gotte them to the nexte hilles and so escaped. At length when all the fieldes and countreys adioyning were discouered, and the same appearing to be quite deliuered of all ambushmentes of the enimies, Agricola caused the spoyle to be gathered, and after marched forth into Angus, where (for so muche as sommer was paste) he appointed to winter, and

Agricola subdueth Angus and wintreth there.

so comming thyther and subduing the countrey, he toke pledges of the best amongst the inhabitants, and lodged his people about him in places most conuenient.

Agricola is certified of the mischaunce of his naule.

Aboute the same time Agricola heard newes, from his naule (as the riding at ancre in Argile) what mishap had chaunced to the same in Pictland Frith. But herewith being not greatly discouraged, he gaue order that the shippes whiche had escaped should be newe rigged and furnished with all necessarie prouisiõs, & manned throughly, bothe with able mariners and men of warre. This done, he appoynted them eftsoones to attempt fortune, and to take theyr course agayne

The Romaine fleete sayleth round aboute the north point of Albiõ

to come rounde aboute by the Orkeneys, and so vp alongst by the east coaste: whiche enterprise they luckely accomplished, and in the water of Taye they brente the Danish fleete lying there in herbrough.

Here is to be noted, that before the fore remembred ouerthrow of the Scottes and their confederates at the foote of Granzbene, there happened many sundry vnkithes & strange sightes in this

Straunge visions.

Isle. Amongst other there appeared flying in the ayre certaine firie bisions, muche to be wondered at. Also a great peece of Kalendar wood, seemed in the night time as it had bin on a flaming fire, but in the morning there appeared no such token. There was in lyke manner seene in the ayre the

Shippes seene in the ayre.

similitude of certayne shippes. And in Angus it rayned Frogges. At Tuline there was a childe

It rayned frogges.

borne hauing bothe shapes, so filthie a sight to beholde, that forthwith they ridde it out of the way for offending others eies. These prodigious things were diuerslie interpreted, according to the variable fancie of man.

A monstruous childe borne.

Domitian the Emperour enuieth the prosperous successe of Agricola.

After that the prosperous successe of Agricola was once notified to the Emperour Domitian, he toke suche enuie thereat, that shortly after, vnder a colour to sende him into Syria to be lieutenant there, he countermaunded him home vnto Rome, appoynting one Cneus Trebellius to succeede him in the gouernment of Brytaine, but ỹ armie bearing more fauour vnto one

Agricola is sente for to Rome, one Cneus Trebellius appointed in his place whiche causeth the souldiers to make a mutinie.

Trebellianus being cousin to Agricola, caused no smal trouble amongst the souldiers, so that in the end after certaine bickerings betwixt them, Trebellianus toke a sort of ỹ best soldiers away with him, & went ouer with them into Fraunce.

The Scottes taking occasion hereof, ioyned with the Pictes, and entred into Angus. Whereof Cneus Trebellianus being informed assembled his people, who perceyuing no greate forewardnesse in theyr leader, created Caius Silinnius (brother to the forenamed Trebellianus) theyr Captayne, but hee woulde in no wise meddle with that charge, though they were very earnest in hande with him to take it vpon him. In the meane time came the enimies vnder the leading of Galde ready to giue the onset, wherwith the Romains being sore troubled, by reason of this discorde amongst themselues, set forewarde yet, right valiantly, to giue battaile to theyr enimies: howbeit in the ende, bycause that Silinnius receyued a mortall wounde, and so departed out of the fielde, they fell at length to running away, the Scottes and Pictes following in the chase right fiercely.

The Scots vpon occasiõ of discorde amongst the Romaines come forth against them.

The Scots vpon the Romains.

The Romaines are discomfited.

This atchieued victorie after so many vnluckie enterprises highly reioyced the appalled hartes of the Albions, hauing bene continually in maner now for the space of l. yeares through aduerse fortune, grieuously oppressed by the Romains, who being not a litle discouraged by this ouerthrow, withdrewe themselues wholly vnto Tulyne, and shortly after for theyr more safegard, they got them ouer the riuer of Tay, breaking the bridge whiche they had made there, to the ende that by the same the Scottes and Picts should haue no passage in that place.

The Romaines withdraw vnto Tulyne.

They retire backe ouer the water of Tay, and breake the bridge after them.

But Galde hauing got this notable victorie with the spoyle of the Romains campe, thought it best with the aduice of his nobles, to pursue the Romains without delay, not suffering them to haue time to prouide for resistance. And herupon cõming to the castle of Calidone otherwise Kalendar, they gotte ouer the riuer of Tay, by a bridge of wood layde ouer the same riuer, whiche in that place is but narrow, by reason of the rockes and cliues forcing the bankes on eyther side to a straytnesse.

The Scottes ouer the riuer of Tay, come to Calidone castel.

The Romaine Capitanes also not ignorant of the passage of the enimies, brought forth their armie, and made themselues ready to encounter them, but for that the forenamed Caius Silinnius was not able to stirre by reason of his woũdes receyued in the last battayle, they chose one Titus Celius, a valiant Gentleman of Rome to be theyr leader, and so vnder his conduite setting vpon their enimies they fought right fiercely for a time, but yet in the ende they were put to flight, and chased into Calidone.

The Scottes eftsoones giue battayle to the romains.

The rest are agayne discomfited.

There were slayne of the Romaine parte in this encounter to the number of. v. M. and of the Scottes and other the confederates. ij. M.

After

After this victorie thus obteyned by the Scottes, a great number of the Brytaynes reuolted from the Romain obedience, as thoſe that inhabited the coūtrey which we now cal Wales, with the marches, slaying and chaſing awaye ſuch Romaines as lay abrode in thoſe parties.

This done, they ſent vnto Galde king of the Scottes certaine meſſengers with rich iewelles and gyftes, in token of their reioycing and gladneſſe for his victories, promiſing him furthermore ſuch ayd as they were able to make againſt the Romaines the common enimies of all the whole Albion nation.

In this meane while, did the Romains within Calydone caſtel direct their meſſengers with letters vnto Marius king of the Brytaines, ſignifying vnto him the preſent daunger wherein things ſtood in thoſe parties by the cruel rage of ỹ Scottiſhmen and Pictes, whom fortune had aduaunced with the gaine of two foughten fieldes, inſomuch that if timely ſuccours were not the ſooner ſent, the loſſe woulde be irrecouerable. Hereunto Marius anſwered, that as thē a cōmō conſpiracie, appeared to be in hand amongſt his ſubiects ſo far forth ỹ he doubted greatly the ſurcetie of his owne eſtate: And as for hope of ayde to be ſent from Rome, he ſawe ſmal likelihood, conſidering the ſlender prouiſion there through the miſgouernemente of cruel Domitian, who by reaſon of the hatred whiche the people bare him, regarded nothing but howe to keepe them from riſing vp in armor againſt him, and therefore he thought it neceſſarie that leauing the north parts to the enimies, they ſhould all withdrawe towardes him into the ſouth partes, to keepe yet the more fruitfull portion of the Ile in due obedience, ſithe their puiſſance might not ſuffice to retaine and rule the whole.

Theſe newes greatly abaſhed the Romaine armie, and muche the more for that aboute the ſame time it was ſhewed them howe king Galde with an huge armie of Scottiſh men and Pictes, was come within tenne myles of them. Whereupon the Romaines not knowing at that inſtant what was beſt for them to doe, in the ende they concluded to withdrawe into Cantyr, where being arriued, and perceyuing themſelues as yet to be in no great ſurtie there, they went away from thence with ſpeede into Galloway.

In the meane time king Galde ſuppoſing it beſt eſtſoones to fight with them ere they mighte haue any ſpace to reenforce their power, followed them with all diligence, not forcing thoughe hee left behinde him diuerſe Caſtelles and forteſſes furniſhed with ſundrie garriſons of his enimies, ſo that he might diſcomfit and chaſe away their maine power whiche hee thought might as then eaſily be done, conſidering the great multitudes of people whiche came flocking in on eche ſyde, preſenting themſelues with offering their ſeruice vnto him, & ſhewing furthermore great tokens of ioy and gladneſſe, for that it had pleaſed the gods at length yet to declare themſelues fauourable in this their relieuing of the oppreſſed Brytayns. Hereunto Galdus on the other ſyde giuing them heartie thankes for their trauayle, hee receyued them very gently, myxing his talke wyth moſt comfortable wordes, therewith to put them in hope of ſuch good and proſperous ſucceſſe, as that ſhortly they ſhoulde thereby bee reſtored intyrely vnto theyr former liberties, and perpetually deliuered from all forrayne ſeruitude and bondage.

But to proceede, at length he did ſo muche by his iourneys, that hee came into Galloway, where the Romaines with al ſpeede (ſeeing none other remedie) reſolued themſelues to giue him battayle, and thereuppon exhorting one an other to playe the men, ſithe theyr onely refuge reſted in their weapons poyntes, they fiercelye gaue the onſette, and at the firſt, put the lefte wing of the Scottes and Pictes wholy vnto the worſt. In whiche wing accordyng to their maner in thoſe dayes bred, there were a greate number of women mingled amongeſt the men. Galde therefore perceyuing the daunger, ſuccoured them (with ſuch as were appoynted to giue the looking on till neede required, and then to go where they ſhoulde bee commaunded.) By whiche meanes the battayle on that ſyde was renued a freſhe, the women ſhewing no leſſe valiancie than the menne, and therewith muche more cruelties, for they ſpared none at all thoughe they offered neuer ſo muche to haue their lyues preſerued.

The romains determine againe to fight with the Scots

The romains fiercely aſſaile the Scottes.

Straunge dealing in womē and contrarie to their nature.

In fine, the Romaines beeing chaſed in the left wing, their ouerthrow gaue occaſion to al the reſidue to flee backe to their campe, being purſued ſo egrely by the Scottes and Pictes, that they had muche adoe to defende the entries of theyr trenches, where both partyes fought right egrely, tyll at length the night parted them both in ſunder.

The romains flie to their campe.

Being parted, the Scottes gaue not themſelues to reſt, but prouided them of all things neceſſarie againſt the next morning to aſſayle their enimies a freſh, and namely from the next wood they fetched great plentie of fagottes and bruſhe to fyll the trenches withall. But this theyr demeanor and purpoſe being vnderſtood of the Romaines, they requyred a communication, the whiche (though ſome perſwaded Galdus to the contrarie,) vppon deepe conſiderations of fortunes fraple fauour, was at length graunted vnto them, and foure auncient Romaines clad in right honourable and verie riche apparel came

The Scottes purpoſe to aſſaile the romain campe.

The romains require a communication.

The Romains ſubmit themſelues as vanquiſhed.

forth and were admitted to the preſence of the kings (Galde of the Scottes, and Garnard of the Pictes) vnto whome with humble ſubmiſſion they acknowledged themſelues as vanquiſhed, and that by the iuſt wrath and reuenge of the equall Goddes, which agaynſt them they had conceyued for the wrongfull inuaſion of that which in no wiſe of right appertained vnto them. Therefore if it might pleaſe thoſe kings to bridle and refrayne their diſpleaſure agaynſt them, in licenſing them vnder ſome reaſonable conditions of appoyntment to depart, it ſhoulde bee a thing reſounding ſo muche to theyr fame and glorie, as nothing coulde bee more, conſidering ſo humble ſute made to them by the Oratours of thoſe people who were reputed as vanquiſhers of the whole worlde.



Herewyth falling proſtrate at the feete of thoſe Kings, they beſought them of pardon, in ſuche pitifull wyſe, that the heartes of the hearers beganne ſomewhat to mollifye, and at length Galde toke vppon hym to anſwere in name of all the reſidue of the Scottiſh and Pictiſhe Nations, and in the ende concluded, that they were contented to graunt a peace on theſe conditions: That the Romaines ſhoulde ceaſſe from that daye forwarde in anye wyſe to infeſt or diſquiet by waye of any inuaſion the Scottiſhe and Pictiſhe borders, and alſo to departe wholye out of thoſe Countreyes, reſtoring all ſuch holdes and fortreſſes as they helde wythin the ſame. And further to deliuer all pryſoners, pledges, and fugetyues whatſoeuer as then remayning in theyr handes, togyther wyth ſuche goodes and ſpoyle as they had lately taken.

The conditions of peace preſcribed to the Romaines by the Scottes and Pictes.

These conditions beeing certified to the Romaynes by theyr Oratours, were gladly accepted, ſith they ſawe no better meane, howe to deliuer themſelues out of that preſent daunger. And ſo delyuering ſufficient Hoſtages for performaunce of all the Articles of agreement, they departed without protracting time, marching Southwardes to come into Kent, where Marius king of the ſouth Brytaynes ſoiourned as then.

The Romains depart out of Galleway.

Agricola as the Scottiſhe Chronicles report, left at his departure towardes Rome, to the number of. lx. thouſande men in the Romain armie what of one and other, but nowe at theyr departure out of Galloway, there remayned vneath. xx. thouſande, the reſidue being diſpatched by one meane or other.

By this concluſion of peace then, the Scottes and Pictes got againe the whole poſſeſſion of all ſuche Countreyes as the Romaines had before wonne and take away from them, as the Yers, Louthian, the Marches about Barwike, Fyffe, and Angus, wyth Kyle, Cantyr, Coningham, and Galloway: all the Romaine gariſons departing oute of the fortreſſes, and leauing the ſame vp vnto the former owners.

The Romains giue vp all their holdes and fortreſſes which they kept within the Scottiſhe or Pictiſh dominions.

Galdus hauing thus ended the warres with the Romaines, toke order to ſet good directions amongſt his people for the quiet and peaceable gouernment of the common wealth, viſiting dayly the countreys abrode, the better to vnderſtande the ſtate of them, and to reforme the ſame where it was needfull. Further conſidering that as warre breadeth good ſouldiers ſo peace by iuſtice rydeth them out of the way, if they bee not the better prouided for.

Galdus ſtudieth to preſerue his ſubiects in good quiet now after the warres were ended.

Suche as had ſerued long time in the laſte warres, and had not any trade nowe in tyme of peace whereby to get theyr lyuing, he placed in gariſons neare to the borders of the Brytaynes for

for defence of the Countrey.

After this, hee came to an enteruewe wyth Garnarde king of Pictes at Calidone, or Kalendar, to redreſſe certain troubles rayſed betwirt their ſubiectes being borderers concerning the limittes of their Countrey: where perceyuing a ſort of euill diſpoſed perſons to bee wholy in the fault, vpon a naughtie intent to ſteale and trouble the peace whiche they had with ſuch trauaile and labour ſought to reſtore, they puniſhed the offenders, and ſet al things in good quiet, and ſo departed in ſunder with great loue & friendſhip.

Thus Galdus applying all his ſtudie and diligence to aduaunce the common wealth and quiet ſtate of his Countrey, lyued many yeares ſo highly in the fauour of all his ſubiects, that the like hath beene but ſeldome heard of: finally to their greate griefe and diſpleaſure hee ended hys lyfe, more deare to them than theyr owne at Epiake, in the .xxxv. yeare of his raigne, (whiche was about the .xv. yeare of the Empyre of Adrian, the 4098. yeare after the worldes creation, and from the byrth of our ſauiour. 131. and was buryed with greate lamentation in moſte pompous maner, and layde in a goodly Tumbe which was rayſed with mightie huge ſtones, hauing a great number of obeliſkes ſet vp round about it according to the maner. Furthermore to the ende his memorie ſhoulde euer endure, the Countrey where hee fought laſte with the Romains was called Galdia, after his name, which by addition of a fewe letters is nowe called Galloway, and before that tyme Brygantia, as the Scottes do holde: but howe that ſeemeth to agree with a truth, ye may reade in the Hiſtorie of Englande.

Galde departeth this life at Epiake.

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After this famous Prince was thus departed hence, his ſon Lugthake ſucceeded in rule of the Scottiſhe kingdome, no leſſe abhorred of al men for his deteſtable and filthye vices ioyned with all kind of crueltie and couetouſneſſe, than his father was beloued for his noble and excellent vertues. This Lugthake went ſo farre paſte the bounds of all continencie in following his ſenſuall luſtes, that he forced and rauiſhed not onely aunt, neece, and ſiſter, but euen his owne daughters alſo. Such as were honourable perſonages and meete to gouerne in the common wealth he nothing regarded, but committed the adminiſtration of things vnto vile perſons, and ſuch as coulde beſt deuiſe howe to inuent quarels agaynſt the riche,, whereby they might be fleeced of all whatſoeuer they had: and oftentymes vpon ſome forged cauſe cruelly put to death. So little did he prouide to ſee offenders in any wiſe corrected, that contrarily hee mainteyned them in ſuche ſorte therein, that iuſtice was quite baniſhed, and nothing but ſpoyle and rauine exerciſed.

His ſmall regarde to the nobilitie.

Fauor ſhewed to men of baſe condition.

Offenders mainteyned.

Iuſtice is baniſhed.

Thus he continued aboue two yeares, to the greate ruyne of the common wealth. Finally, when he went about to put vnto death ſuche as in an aſſemble called at Dunſtafage ſpake againſt the miſordered gouernment of the realme, he was there murthered amongeſt the people, with a number of thoſe alſo, whome he vſed to haue attendaunt on his perſon for ſafegarde of the ſame.

Lugthake woulde haue put to death ſuch as ſpake agaynſt his miſgouernement.

His owne bodie was ſolemnly buryed by appoyntment of the Nobles, hauing reſpect to his fathers benefites, but the carkaſſes of hys Garde were caſt out into the fieldes, there to bee deuoured

Lugthake is murthered with a number of his mē.

deuoured of beaſtes and byrdes of rauyn.

Mogall nephew to Galdus is admitted king, and ſtudieth to redreſſe abuſes.

AFter Lugthake was thus diſpatched, one Mogall the Nephewe of Galdus by his daughter was admitted king in his place. Hys chiefeſt ſtudie was to reſourme the decayed ſtate of his Countrey, and firſt he cauſed ſuch wicked Counſellours of his predeceſſours and Uncle Lugthake, as had eſcaped with life (when theyr maiſter was made away) to be put to death, according to their iuſt deſeruings.



He reſtored alſo the due worſhipping of the Goddes, in part as then neglected, by the wicked counſaile of the former rulers.

The Scottiſh men in like maner conceyuing an aſſured hope of a good redreſſe in all their griefes and oppreſſions, by the meanes of ſuch a wel diſpoſed Prince, began to beare him incredible loue and fauour, euen the lyke as they had done to his grandfather Galdus.

Mogal is beloued of his ſubiects.

The Picts deſire ayde of the Scots againſt the Romains

In the meane time came certaine Ambaſſadours from the Picts vnto this Mogall, requyring him of ayde agaynſt the Romaines and Brytayns, who by a ſodaine inuaſion had done much hurt in Pictlande, to the great diſtreſſe of the inhabitants.

The Romains inuade the Scottiſh borders.

The ſame time they of Galloway certified him alſo by letters, that the ſame Romains had made a rode into theyr Countrey, and ledde away a great bootie of goodes and priſoners.

Mogall requireth reſtitution of wrongs done by the Romaines.

Mogall hauing a mynde no leſſe gyuen to deedes of chiualrie, than to the ſtudie of ciuill gouernment and religious deuotion, reioyſed that he had iuſt occaſion giuen him to ſhewe ſome proufe of his valiant inclination, and ſo herevpon ſent an Herald at armes vnto the Romains, requyring to haue reſtitution and amendes for the iniuries thus by them committed.

Mogall prepareth to the warres.

The Heralde doing his meſſage, receyued nothing but ſcornefull wordes, and diſdainfull menaces, whereby Mogall beeing throughly kindled with deſpite, aſſembled his power togyther forth of all the parties of his dominions, and comming with the ſame into Galloway, viſited his grandfathers Sepulchre, honouring the ſame with great reuerence and ſolemne ſupplications, requyring as it were his ayde agaynſt thoſe enimies, which had violated the league made betwixt him and them, by ſolemne othes and other accuſtomed meanes of ratification.

Mogall viſiteth his grandfathers ſepulchre.

This done, he drewe into Annandale, where Unipanus as then king of the Pictes abode hys comming. There ioyning their powers togyther, they marched forth into Cumberland, and ſo forwarde into Weſtmerlande, with fire and ſworde, waſting and ſpoyling thoſe Countreys, as then belonging to the Romaines.

The Picts and Scots ioyne their powers togither and enter into the landes of their enimies.

Lucius Antenous the Romaine Lieutenant lying the ſame tyme at Yorke, beeing certified hereof by ſuch as fledde for feare out of thoſe parties thus inuaded by the Scottes, gathered a mightie armie out of all the Countreys of Bretayne, and haſted forth with the ſame towardes his enimies, of whoſe approche Mogal hauing notice, he made a long Oration vnto his people to encourage them to fight manfully againſt the Romaines, perſwading them effectually thereto by many familier examples brought in of the valiant enterpriſes atchieued by their elders, in defence of their Countrey and libertie of the ſame.

Lucius Antenous Lieutenant of Britaine

Mogall exhorteth his men to doe valiantly.

In like maner Lucius Antenous for his part exhorted the Romains and other his ſouldiours, to call to remembrance the victorious exployctes of their predeceſſours, and how that as then they ſhould fight but with a rude and barbarous people, running to battaile more vppon a furious rage and violent madneſſe, than with any diſcretion or aduiſed order, ſaying furthermore, that it lay nowe in their handes with no great adoe to recouer

Lucius Antenous likewiſe encourageth his ſoldiers.

recouer that which through the negligent ſlouth of Cneus Trebellius was before loſt, whereby they ſhould attaine great honour and famous renoume for euermore.

By this meanes the armies on both ſides being kindled with deſire of battaile, in hope of victorie, they drew neare togither, and began the fight right fiercely at the firſt with throwing and ſhoting of dartes and arrowes ſo thicke that one might vnneth ſee another.

The place was more for the aduauntage of the Scots than of the Romaines, becauſe they were compelled to fight as it were by companies and partes, by reaſon of bogges and marſhes, with ſuch ſideling bankes on the ſydes that they could keepe none aray: yet all theſe impediments notwithſtanding, this battaile was fought ſo farre forth to the vtterance, that in the ende after a wonderful ſlaughter on both ſides made, when they⁊ ſwordes and other weapons were ſpent, they buckled togither with ſhort daggers. Finally the violent charge of the Scottes ⁊ Pictes, was ſuch, that the Romaines were conſtrayned to retyre, which their generall Antenous perceyuing, did what hee coulde to ſtay them, and to bring them forward againe, but as he was moſt buſie in the forefront to exhort them hereunto, he was wounded with an arrowe, and thereupon departed out of the battaile, which gaue occaſion to diuerſe other of his companie to followe him, by meanes whereof all the reſidue fell to running away, and made towarde the next wood, there to ſaue themſelues as well as they might, thoughe ſome companies perceyuing that they could not reache thither without manifeſt daunger, cloſed themſelues togither and departed by an other way, which they toke at aduenture, not knowing towardes what partes they drewe, ſo that they lay al the night following within two miles of the Scottes and Pictes, who for that the day was in maner ſpent (before the Romaines were put to flight,) encamped themſelues in the ſelfe ſame place where the battaile was fought, and in the morning hearing that parte of their enimies were lodged ſo neare them, and knew not which way to draw, they ſent a number forth of their campe to fight with them, and to kil them if they reſiſted, or to bring them captiue to the king if they ſhoulde ſeeme willing to yeelde.

Thoſe that were thus ſent, founde the Romaines in verie good order of battaile for ſo ſmal a bande, not minding to yeeld themſelues as priſoners. By reaſon of which their obſtinate wylfulneſſe, they were ſlaine in the ende euerie mothers ſonne.

Lucius Antenous hauing thus receyued the ouerthrow, diſpatched a poſt vnto Rome with all haſte, ſignifying vnto the Emperour Adrian the whole maner of the diſcomfiture, and howe that by reaſon therof things ſtood in great daunger here in Brytaine, if ſpeedie ſuccours were not the ſooner ſent, for the enimies were neuer more cruell and fierce, than at this preſent, not onely the men, but alſo the women (as in the laſt battaile he ſawe plaine proufe) who cared not for the loſſe of their owne lyues, ſo that they might die reuenged.

Women as readie to the battail as men.

When Adrian vnderſtood theſe newes, he purpoſed forthwith to goe himſelfe into Brytayne, cauſing therefore an armie to be leuied, he paſſed forth with the ſame into Fraunce, then called Gallia, and comming to Callice, he tranſported ouer into Brytayne, where hee learned howe the Scottes and Pictes were neuer more buſie than at this preſent, hauing of late waſted and ſpoyled the Countrey euen to the Riuer of Tine.

Adriã the Emperour prepareth to go into Brytayne.

Adrian tranſporteth into Brytayne.

Herewith Adrian being ſore offended, ioyned the power which he had brought with him from Rome, with the other which he had cauſed to be rayſed in Fraunce and Brytayne. This done, he remoued to Yorke, where ſoiourning certaine dayes to refreſh his people, he afterwardes drewe towardes the borders, and comming to the riuer of Tine, he paſſed ouer the ſame.

Adrian commeth to York.

The fourth day after, he came into a Countrey wherein was left no kinde of earthly thing ſeruing to mans vſe, and ſo paſſing forwarde a day or two, he found neither corn, nor other prouiſion of victaile, nor any kind of liuing creature, all the people being fled into the mountaines and marriſh grounds, where no man might come vnto them, as commonly in caſe of extreme daunger they were accuſtomed to lie abroade in the ſame without houſe or any couerture ouer their heades. Howbeit for all that he gaue not ouer to purſue them, but finding them out where they lucked in the hilles and woods, he grieuouſly afflicted them, and that in ſundrie maner. In the ende eſpying the barrennelle of the ſoyle, rudeneſſe of the people, and that there was no hope left to come by ſufficient prouiſion for the maintenance of his armie, he determined not to ſpend any longer time in ſuche a vaine and fruitleſſe trauaile, and therfore returned vnto Tine, where to reſtraine the Scottes and Pictes from inuading ſuch of the Brytaynes as were ſubiect to the Romaine Empyre, he cauſed a great trench to be caſt ouerthwart the lande, from the mouth of Tine to the ryuer of Eſke, and a wall to bee made on the inner ſyde of the ſame, of turfe and ſoddes.

He paſſeth ouer the riuer of Tine.

Adrian findeth nothing abrode in the countrey of his enimies.

What maner of people he had to doe with.

Adrian beginneth to make a wall for ſafegarde of the Britaynes againſt the Picts & Scots.

The Scottiſh Chronicles make mention that it was begonne by Adrian, but not finiſhed tyll the dayes of the Emperour Seuerus, who made an ende of it, and therefore the ſame Chronicles name it the wall of Septimius Seuerus.

The romaine wryters doe confirme the ſame.

Adrianus

Adrianus hauing thus diſpatched in the North partes of Brytayne, in hys returne viſited Wales with the Marches of the ſame, ſetting an order amongeſt ſuch as had moued a commotion agaynſt the Magiſtrates in thoſe partyes, the Authours whereof hee puniſhed according to their offences, and ſo then he came to London, whither at the ſame tyme a great number of the Brytayne Nobilitie reſorted to doe hym honour, according to theyr duties. And hee for hys parte ſhewed them ſuche friendlye entertaynment, that they coulde not wiſhe any better.

Adrian commeth to London.

After this he ſayled ouer into Fraunce, taking Lucius Antenous with him, bycauſe hee coulde not away with the ayre of Brytayne, in whoſe place he left one Aulus Victorinus Lieutenant there, who diſpoſed dyuerſe garniſons of Souldiours in places neare vnto the foreremembred Wall, for defence of the inhabitauntes agaynſt the violence of the Scottes and Pictes. Who ſeeing this demeanor of the Romaines, deuided thoſe landes and Countreys (whiche they had lately waſted on the further ſyde of Tine) in ſuche ſorte betwyxte them, that all whatſoeuer laye towardes the Iriſhe Sea, remayned to the Scottes, and the reſt coaſting vpon the Almayne Seas, fell vnto the Pictes for their portion.

Adrian returneth towarde Rome.

Aulus Victorinus Lieutenat of Brytaine.

The Scottiſhe men and Picts deuide the countreys beyonde Tine betwixt them.

After this Mogall liued many yeares in good quiet without any trouble of enimies. But being puffed vp in pryde by ſuche notable victories as he had thus got of the Romaines the conquerours of the worlde, hee coulde not in tyme of peace maiſter hys owne vnruly appetytes, but that drowned in the ſylthie luſtes of the bodye, hee ſpared neyther Mayde, Wydowe, nor wyfe.

Mogal through pride abuſeth himſelfe in ſundrie kindes of vices.

Againe hee was giuen to ſuche vnquenchable couetyſe, that nothing might ſuffice hym, fynding many forged matters agaynſt the riche, whereby to bereue them both of life and ſubſtaunce. Hee was the fyrſt whiche ordeyned that ſuche as were baniſhed or condemned for anye crime, ſhoulde forfeyte all theyr landes and goodes wythoute any conſideration had, eyther to wyfe or chylde, whiche is obſerued at the full euen vnto theſe oure dayes, where before it was otherwyſe in that Countrey.

A couetous and cruel diuiner.

But theſe ſo notable vices in the Prince coulde not long continue vnpuniſhed, for at length a conſpiracie was practiſed agaynſt him, whereof hee hauing knowledge (whether by witchcraft or otherwyſe by relation of friends, the certaintie is not knowne) in the deade of the night hee armed himſelfe, and with two of his ſeruauntes onely fledde to the next wood, not gyuing notice of his departure to any other of his houſeholde.

A conſpiracie attempted gaynſt Mogall.

Mogall fleeth out of his owne houſe.

The morning being come, and knowledge had how he was thus departed, the conſpiratours purſued after him, who perceyuing them to approche, ſought wayes how to haue eſcaped their handes: but ſuch was his happe that hee fell amongeſt other that were as readie as the fyrſt to wreake their malice vppon him, and ſo by them hee was immediately murthered in the. xxxbj. yeare of his raigne, beeing the. 4136. of the worlde, and after the byrth of our Sauiour 169. Antonius Pius then gouerning the Romaine Empyre, and Phiatus ſurnamed Albus, raigning amongeſt the Pictes. His heade beeing ſmitten off, was ſet vppon a poles ende, and caryed aboute in deriſion: but afterwardes in reſpect of his lynage it was buryed togither with the

Mogall is thered.



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the bodie by appoyntment of the nobles, notwithſtanding the commons thought it moſte vnworthie of any ſuch honour.



MOgal being thus diſpatched, as ye haue heard, his ſonne Conarus was admitted King, who (as is reported) was priuie to the cõſpiracie deuiſed againſt his father, and as hee came to the gouernment by wicked meanes, ſo in the ende hee bled himſelfe muche what accordinglye in the ſame: for after hee had for a tyme diſſembled hys naughtie nature, he beganne at the laſt openly to ſhewe himſelfe in his right colours, committing firſte of all the adminiſtration of publike affayres vnto men of bale condition and vile nature.



His chiefe delyght was altogyther in banquetting and coſtly fare, not regarding the auncient temperancie in feeding vſed amongſt hys worthie anteceſſours.

Conarus giuen to exceſsiue gluttonie.

In waſting therefore hys kingly reuenewes vppon ſuch ryotous exceſſe, hee was nothing abaſhed to require in an open aſſemble of hys Nobles, a ſubſidie to bee graunted towardes the maintenaunce of ſuche royall cheere, as hee iudged to ſtand with his honour to haue dayly in his houſe: And therefore whereas the rentes that belonged to the crowne were not ſufficient to furniſhe the charges, he requeſted a generall contribution to bee leuied throughe the Realme, of euerie perſon according to theyr abilities, for the maintenaunce of ſuche ſuperfluous expences as hee dayly vſed in exceſſiue banketting.

The Lordes marueyling to heare hym moue any ſuch demaunde, and conſidering wythall the occaſion thereof, they aſked reſpite to make theyr aunſwere tyll the next day: whiche beeing graunted, in the night following they communed ſecretely togyther, and in the ende concluded, not onely to denie hys requeſt, but alſo to depoſe him of all kingly gouernment, ſithe hys naughtie life requyred no leſſe.

The Lordes conſpire againſt Conarus.

The next day therefore when they were againe ſet downe in the Counſell Chamber, one of them in name of the reſidue, toke vpon hym to ſpeake, declaring that the Lordes and Commons of the Realme, marueyled not a little how it ſhould come to paſſe, that the king hauing no warres wherewith to conſume his treaſure, ſhoulde yet bee enforced to demaunde a tallage for maintenaunce of his eſtate and charges of hys houſeholde, but the faulte was knowne well ynoughe to reſte in ſuche as hee moſte vnwoythylye had preferred to rule thinges

The anſwere of the Lordes to the demaũd of Conarus.

vnder

vnder him, who being come of naught, did nothing but deuise meanes howe to cause the king to spoyle his naturall subiectes of theyr goodes and possessions, therewyth to enriche themselues, but, (sayeth he) as they shall be prouided for well ynoughe ere long, and so aduaunced, as they shall not neede to thyrst for other mennes lyuings, that is to witte, euen to a faire payre of Gallowes, there to ende their liues with shame, as a number of suche other lolengers had often done before them: so it is conuenient that the King sithe his skill is so small in the administration of his office, shoulde bee shutte vp in some one Chamber or other, and suche a one to haue the gouernaunce of the Realme as may be thought by common assent of the Lords most mete to take it vpon him.

The King hearing this tale, started vp, and with a loude voyce beganne to call them traytours, adding that if they went about any hurte to his person, they shoulde deare abye the bargaine. But notwithstanding these woordes, such as were appoynted thereto, caught him betwixt them, and had him forth to a place assigned where they layde hym vppe maugre all hys resistaunce.

Conarus is taken and committed to close keeping.

In lyke maner, all suche as had borne offices vnder him, were attached and had to prison, where the most part of them vpon examination taken of their offences, suffered death according to their iust demerites.

Conarus his ministers are punished for their offences.

Then was the rule of the Realme committed vnto one Argadus, a man of noble byrth, and ruler of Argyle, who vnder the name of a Gouernour toke vpon him the publike regiment, till other aduise might be taken.

Argadus is chosen to ouerne the Realme.

His studie in the begynning was onely to clense the Countrey of all mysdoers, and to see the peace kept to the quiet of the people: and finally in all his doings shewed a perfite patrone of an vpright Iusticier. But within a few yeares after (as it often happeneth) prosperous successe chaunged his former mynde to an euill disposition, whereby he ordered things after his owne selfewill more than by reason, without the aduise of his peeres.

Argadus an vpright iusticier.

Prosperitie chaungeth conditions.

And further to the manifest ruyne of the common wealth, he nourished ciuill discorde and sedition amongst the nobles, supposing it to make for his welfare, so long as they were at oddes. He also maryed a Pictish Ladie, the better to strengthen himselfe by this his forraine aliaunce.

Hereupon the Peeres of the Realme vnderstanding what mischiefe might ensue by these manifolde and sundrie abuses of the gouernour, caused a Parliament to be called, where in presence of the whole assemblie, they layde vnto his charge, howe (that through his misgouernment



and presumption, not onely in coupling himselfe in maryage with a wife of a straunge Nation, but also for attempting many other things preiudicial to the estate of the Realme, without consent of the Nobles or Commons of the same) he had deserued greeuous punishment, his trespasse being so much the greater, in y consideryng the meane howe he came to that dignitie, he answered not their expectation, nor performed the trust which was generally committed vnto him.

Argadus is rebuked.

Argadus hearing himselfe thus charged, and not able to lay any likely excuse, fell vppon hys knees, and partly as it were confessing his fault with teares gushing frō his eyes, besought them of pardon, wholy submitting himselfe to bee ordered at their discretion.

Argadus confesseth his fault.

The Lordes being moued with this humble submission of Argadus, vpon promise he shoulde redresse al his former misdemeanours, were contented that he should continue still in the administration

Argadus is permitted continue in his office.

niſtration of the Realme, but ſuche as had beene his chiefeſt Counſellours were committed to warde.

After this ſharpe admonition and warning thus giuen, Argadus did nothing touching the gouernment of the common wealth, without the aduice of his Peeres: and ſoone after amongeſt other things, he toke order for the limitting how farre the authoritie of inferiour officers, as Bayliffes, Boroughmaiſters, Conſtables, and ſuch other ſhoulde extende. But eſpecially he trauailed moſte diligently for the puniſhing of theeues and robbers, of whom none eſcaped with life that fell into his handes.



Moreouer hee ordeyned by ſtatute, that no man exerciſing any publike office, ſhould taſte of any drinke that might make him drunken. Hee alſo baniſhed all ſuche perſons as vſed with dreſſing of delicate meates, and as I may call them, deyntie diſhes, or banketting cheare, to allure mennes appetites from the olde rude fare accuſtomed amongſt their elders, who ſought not to follow theyr delicious appetites, but onely prouided to ſuſtayne nature, which is ſatisfied with a little, and that boyde of coſtly furniture.

Argadus thus beeing occupied in reforming the ſtate of the common wealth, brought many euill doers into good frame and order, and ſuch as were vpright liuers of themſelues, endeuored ſtill to proceede forward to better and better.

At length in the eight yeare of his gouernment Conarus beeing conſumed with long impriſonment, departed oute of this life, in the fourteenth yeare after the begynning of hys raigne.



After whoſe deceaſſe, the nobles and other eſtates of the realme aſſebling themſelues togither, choſe one Ethodius, Nephew to King Mogall by hys ſiſter, to raigne ouer them.

But Argadus being highly rewarded with landes and lyuings for his faythfull and diligent paynes taken in the aduauncement of the publike weale, during the time of his gouernment, was thereto ſoone after created as it were Lorde Preſident of the Counſell, thereby to bee chiefeſt in authoritie next to the king, in the ordering and rule of all publike affayres and cauſes. Argadus is create Lorde preſident of the counſell.

Shortly after Ethodius (as the cuſtome of newe kings in thoſe dayes was) went ouer into the weſterne Iles, there to take order for the adminiſtration of iuſtice, where immediately vpon his arriual, it was ſhewed him that not paſſing two or three dayes before, there had bene a great cõflict fought betwixt ẏ nobles or clannes of the countrey, by reaſon of a ſtrife that was ſtirred amongſt their ſeruants, being a cõpany of naughtie and vnruly fellowes, to the great diſquiet of the Inhabitants. Ciuil diſcords amongſt the Lordes of the Iles.

Herevpon was Argadus ſent forth incontinẽtly with a power to appeale that buſineſſe, and to bring in the offenders, that they might receyue rewarde according to their demerites. Argadus forthwith haſted towards the place, where he vnderſtood the rebelles to be remayning, and apprehending their whole nũber of thẽ, ſome by force, and ſome vpõ their humble ſubmiſſion, he returned back with them to the king, who cauſing the matter to be throughly heard, ſuch as were ẏ chiefeſt beginners, & moſt in fault, were puniſhed by death, and the other fined at the kings pleaſure. Argadus is ſent forth to apprehend the rebelles. The Iland rebelles are puniſhed.

The Romains inuade the Pictiſh & Scottiſh borders.

The Flande people beeing thus appeaſed, the king returned into Albion, where as then lying at Enuerlochthee, a towne (as is ſayde) in Louchquhaber, worde came vnto him, ỹ the Romaines had broken downe the Wall buylded by the Emperour Adrian, and made a greate rode into the Scottiſhe and Pictiſhe borders, where meeting with the Inhabitantes aſſembled togyther in defence of theyr Countrey (after a ſore conflict) the victorie remayned with the Romaines: by reaſon wherof they led a great bootie of cattel and other goodes away with them to the places where they ſoiourned.

Ethodius requyreth reſtitution of his ſubiects goods taken away by the Romains.

Ethodius beeing moued herewyth, ſente forthwyth an Heralde vnto Victorine the Romaine Lieutenant, requyring that his ſubiectes myghte haue reſtitution of theyr goodes wrongfully taken from them, or elſe to loke for warres within .xb. dayes after.

Victorines anſwere to Ethodius requeſt.

Victorine anſwered herevnto, that the Scottes and Pictes had fyrſt begonne to breake downe the foreſayde Wall, and to buylde a Tower vppon the ſame, fortifying it wyth a number of menne of warre, who running dayly into the Brytiſhe confines, fetched praye thence from amongeſt the Romaine ſubiectes, and thoughe hee had ſent dyuerſe tymes to the Scottiſhe and Pictiſhe Wardens for reſtitution, yet coulde hee neuer haue anye towardly anſwere, ſo that hee was conſtrayned to begynne the warre in maner and fourme as hee had done alreadie.

Ethodius exhorteth the king of the Picts to make warres againſt the Romains.

Ethodius not a little kyndled with this anſwere, wrote ſtreyght wayes vnto the King of the Pictes, exhorting him in reuenge of ſuche iniuries as his ſubiectes had lately receyued at the handes of the Romaines, to inuade the Wall on that ſyde where it deuided his Countrey from the Brytaynes, and to breake in vppon the enimies by the ſame, and for his parte hee promiſed ſhortly after to come, and to ioyne with him in ſuch a neceſſarie enterpriſe againſt the common enimies of both their Countreyes.

The Pictiſh king giuing thankes to the meſſenger for his paynes, promiſed with all ſpeede to ſette forwarde accordyng to the aduice of Ethodius.

The Romaines in like maner hauing knowledge of the whole intention of the two Kings, with all ſpeede made preparation alſo for the warres, but the Scottes and Pictes firſt breaking in vpon them, did muche hurt abrode in the Countreyes next adioyning. Which when the Romains perceyued, they paſſed by the enimies campe in the night ſeaſon, and entered into the Pictiſhe borders, waſting and ſpoyling all afore them.

The Scottiſhe men & Pictes inuade the Brytiſh borders.

When the two Kings vnderſtode this, they haſted forth towardes them, and were no ſoner come within ſight of them, but that they made eche towardes other, and ſo encountering togyther, there was fought a ſore battaile with doubtfull victorie, for the right wings on eyther ſyde vanquiſhed the lefte, the breaſtes of bothe the battayles keeping theyr grounde, the one not once ſhrinking backe from the other, tyll night ſeuered them in ſunder, but not without ſuche ſlaughter made on bothe ſydes, that beeing once parted, they made no greate haſte to ioyne agayne togyther: for as well the one parte as the other beeing thus diſſeuered, drew incontinently homewardes without abyding for the morning. Neither did they attempt any further exploite of all that yeare following.

The Ro. encounte the Scot men & P

Nightp the batt

In whiche meane tyme Victorine ſent letters vnto Rome to the Emperour Marcus Antonius Aurelius, who as then gouerned the Empyre, ſignifying vnto him in what ſtate things ſtode in Brytaine: Further declaring that if conuenient ſuccours were not ſente in tyme, it woulde bee harde to reſiſt the furious rage of the enimies, by reaſon of the ſmall truſt hee perceyued was to bee had in the Brytaines, beeing no leſſe readie vppon occaſion to make warres in recouerie of their libertie, than the Scottes or Pictes were too encroche vppon them.

Victorine deth lette to Rome

The Emperour vpon receyt of theſe letters, thought in his minde that Victorine was not ſo baliaunt a Captaine as the caſe requyred, and that therevppon the Scottes and Pictes became the more enboldened to reſiſt, therefore hee ſente for him home, appoynting one Agricola Calphurnius to ſucceede in hys rowme, who was (as ſome haue lefte in wryting) the Nephew of Julius Agricola, the moſte famous Captayne of the Romaines that euer came into Brytaine.

Victorine ſent for to turne vnto Rome, and Calphurni ſent into raine to ſu ceede in h roome.

This Calphurnius comming into Brytain with an armie, ioyned to the ſame the power which he founde there, as well of the Brytaynes as of other ſeruing vnder the Romaine enſignes. Which done, he repayred to Yorke, and after towardes the Riuer of Tine, where beeing aryued, he marched forth into the borders of his enimyes, finding all the Countrey rounde aboute him ſo clearly waſted and burned, that there was not a houſe left ſtanding, nor a graine of corne, or one heade of Cattell to be founde therein. Yet notwithſtanding al this, forth he paſſed through Northumberlande, and entering into Pictlande waſted al that was before him with fire & ſword. And for ſo muche as Winter came vpon, when hee had done his will in that behalfe, hee returned vnto Yorke, where hee ſoiourned vntill the Spring.

Calphur entreth i the borde his enim

Calphur returne Yorke.

When

When Sommer was once come, hauing made his prouiſion to warre on the Scottes and Pictes, worde came vnto him, that the Welchmen were reuolted, and beganne to rayſe warre agaynſt the Romaines, ſo that taking order for the repayring of the Wall made by Adrian, which the enimies in diuerſe places had broken downe, and leauing a ſufficient number of men of warre for defence of the ſame agaynſt all inuaſions that might bee attempted, he turned the reſidue of his power agaynſt thoſe Welche Rebelles, whome in the ende, though not without much ado he reduced to obedience.

Immediately after this, he heard alſo howe the Brytaynes of the Iſle of Wight were vp in armor agaynſt ſuche Romaines as ruled there, ſundrie noble men of the maine Iſle taking their part, but they alſo were at length brought againe to their former ſubiection, and the authours of that rebellion puniſhed by death.

In the meane tyme the Scottes and Pictes determined not to attempt any further exployte agaynſt the Romaines, doubting the verie name and image of Agricola in the Lieutenaunt Calphurnius, by calling to remembrance the noble atchieued conqueſtes of his grandfather Julius Agricola, of whoſe victorious exployes, beſyde that which ye haue here before heard: the Engliſh hiſtorie alſo doth make a long rehearſall.

Calphurnius being thus at quiet on that ſide, intended wholy to reform al miſorders amongſt the Brytaynes, which being brought to indifferent good paſſe, he was ſent for home againe vnto Rome by the Emperour Antonius Commodus, the ſonne and ſucceſſour of the forenemembred Marcus Aurelius, ſending one Publius Trebellius into Brytayne there to ſupplie hys charge.

This Trebellius comming into Brytain, at the firſt vſed himſelfe very vprightly in his office, ſhewing all honor and loue towardes the Brytaynes, ſubiectes to the Romaine Empyre, and namely to Lucius, who raigned as king of the lande, vnder the name and authoritie of the Romaine Empyre.

But after that he had once wonne him a peece of credit amongſt them, he chaunged his maners, or rather diſcouered his naturall inclination, ſo wholy giuen to couetouſneſſe, that his only ſtudie was ſet whiche way to fill his bagges, not caring howe vntruly hee forged accuſations agaynſte the riche, ſo that eyther by death or baniſhment, their goodes might be confiſcate, and ſo come to his handes.

By this wicked gouernment, the Brytaines beganne ſo ſore to hate him, that had it not beene for the loue of their king, the forſayde Lucius, (who holpe to appeaſe them) there had beene ſome Rebellion practiſed agaynſte him in the South part.

Now the Scottes and Pictes hauing knowledge of this miſliking in the Brytayns towards the Romaine Lieutenant, thought it a time conuenient for them alſo to be doing, to the ende they might reuenge their former iniuries: and hereupon leuying an armie, they came to the oft remembred wall, & ouerthrowing the ſame in diuerſe places they entred into the Britiſh cõfines with great ſpoyle and crueltie.

The Scottes and Pictes renue the warre againſt the Romaines.

Trebellius being hereof informed, haſted forth with all the power he coulde make, to reſiſt their inuaſions: but finding the enimies readye in the field, and encountring them ſooner than he loked for, he was euen vpon the firſt ioyning abãdoned of the moſt part of his whole armie, whiche conſiſted of Britains & Frenchmẽ, thẽ called Gauls, ſo that the reſidue beeing beaten downe, he was glad to ſaue himſelfe as well as he might by ſetting the ſpurs to his horſe, and galloping away.

Trebellius fighteth with his enimies, is forſaken of his owne men, and chaſed out of the fielde.

After this, gathering togither his people again as they fled from the diſcomfiture, he retired back with them vnto Yorke, hauing loſt in this bickering a great number of his beſt ſoldiers, and men of warre: for the Scottes and Pictes miſſing no ſmall number of their frends in that battaile, wer not ſatisfied with thoſe whom they had likewyſe ſlain in the fight, but alſo fel vpon their priſoners which they had taken, and ſlue them alſo in reuenge of their fellowes whom they had loſt.

Weſtmerland and Kendall ſpoyled by the Scottiſh men and Pictes.

Afterwards they harried the coũtreys of Weſtmerland and Kendal in moſt cruel wiſe, Trebellius not being ſo hardy to fight with them again for doubt of ſome traine that might bee practiſed by the Brytaines. Neither was his ſuſpition grounded vpon the credite of any light information, as may appeare by that which followed: for immediately after, the Cõmons of the countrey roſe againſt the Romaines, in purpoſe to haue driuen them all out of the land.

The Brytiſhe Cõmons riſe againſt Trebellius, one Caldorus a Pict beeing their captaine.

Their captain was one Caldorus a Pict born. There were alſo diuerſe of the Britiſhe nobilitie amongeſt them not knowne, for they were diſguiſed in ſtrauuge apparel, counterfeiting themſelues to be of the vulgar ſort. The furie of theſe people was great, but yet in the ende the politike order of the Romains vanquiſhed them, howbeit not without great ſlaughter on both ſides.

The ſame commons are vanquiſhed.

Caldorus eſcaping the handes of his enimies, fled into his natiue countrey of Pictland, not a little reioyſing that he had procured ſuch ſlaughter amongſt the Romaines and Brytaines, both being enimies to him and his countrey.

Caldorus reioyceth at the ſlaughter as wel of the one part as of the other.

Suche priſoners alſo of the Brytaynes as fell into the hands of the Romains, were hanged vp, vpon ſundrie trees and gibets: whereat other of the Brytains being offended, in ỹ night ſeaſon

The ſpite of the Brytaynes ſhewed towardes the Romaines.

toke downe thoſe deade bodies, and hanged vp as many of the Romaines in theyr places, the truth being neuer knowne who were the doers of that act.



Trebellius writeth to the Emperor Cõmodus for ayde.

The Lieutenant Trebellius perceyuing thus what daunger he ſtoode in on euerie part, wrote vnto the Emperour Commodus, that without ſome reformation were had, the Romaines were not like to keepe foote any long ſeaſon in Brytayne, and therefore requyred to haue ſome ayde ſent ouer vnto him in time. But the Emperour doubting leaſt the fault reſted moſt in the Lieutenant himſelfe, appoynted that one Pertinax an auncient gentleman, ſone for his high and notable vertues greatly eſteemed both amongſt the men of warre, and alſo in the Senate, ſhould go into Brytaine, to bee Legate there in place of Trebellius.

Pertinax ſent as Lieuetenant into Brytaine.

This Pertinax comming into Brytain, according to the Emperours appoyntment, toke vpon him the office. And firſt ſetting a ſtaye amongſt the Brytaines, by right prudent and wel aduiſed gouernmẽt, he afterwards made a iourney agaynſt the Scottes and Pictes, dryuing them by great ſlaughter beyonde Adrians wall, and ſo conſtreyned them to remaine within their owne confines, purſuing them no further, for that hee was ſente for home vnto Rome, where the Emperour Commodus beeing murthered amongſt his owne men, he was agaynſt his will preferred to his place.

Pertinax driueth back both the Scots and Pictes.

Pertinax is choſen Emperour.

About the ſame time the ſtate of the Scottiſh common wealth was brought into great daunger through an other incident, as by reaſon of a rebellion ſtirred by them of the weſterne Iſles, who not quieted in their ſtomackes for the death of their friendes executed by Argadus (as before ye haue heard) aſſembled theſelues togither, and comming ouer into Argyle, ſpoyled and harryed the countrey in piteous wiſe. For redreſſe whereof, Argadus was ſent thither againe with an armie, and in the meane time Ethodius the king with a great hoſt of Scottiſhe men and Pictes lay in campe neare vnto Adrians wall, to reſiſt the inuaſion of the enimies on that ſyde, if happely they ſhould attempt any new exployt againſt him in thoſe partes.

Argyle infeſted by the Iland men.

The Iſlande men hearing of Argadus hys approche, drewe themſelues togither to receyue him by battaile, if he minded to offer it. In which meane time two thouſand Iriſhe men were landed in that Countrey, in hope of ſpoyle, and hearing that Argadus was comming that wayes forth to fight with his enimies, they layde themſelues ſecretely in ambuſhe by the way where hee ſhoulde paſſe, and when he was paſſed by them, they brake forth vppon his rereward ſodainly, putting his people in ſuche diſorder by their violent impreſſion at the firſt brunt, that though he did what in him laye to bring them againe into aray of battayle, yet in the ende hee was there ſlaine with two thouſande of his armie, the reſidue eſcaping by flight out of the handes of their wilde and cruel enimies.

The Iriſhe Iſlande in Argyle.

The Iriſhe lay an ambuſh to entrappe Argadus.

Argadus ſlaine.

Ethodius hauing knowledge hereof, with an armie of .xx. thouſand men haſted forth towards Argyle to reuenge the death of his valiant Captaine Argadus vpon the rebelles. Who hearing of his comming, made towardes the Sea, and woulde gladly haue bene gone, but by reaſon of a contrary winde they were forced to ſtay agaynſt their willes, ſo that hee finding them ſtill in the Countrey, wrought ſo warely by cloſing them vp among the Hilles and Mountaynes, that finally conſtrayned through famine, they ſubmitted themſelues vpon theſe conditions, that their heade Captaine with two hundred others of the chiefeſt, ſhoulde yeeld themſelues ſimplie to the

The Iſlãmen yeeld themſelues.

kings

kings mercie, and the reſidue to be licenced to depart againe into their Countreys.

Thoſe that were appoynted to bee deliuered to the king with their captaine, ſuffered death by Execution.



ſentence of the Nobles and Peeres of the realme. Whereat the other taking indignation, thoughe they had alreadie yeelded vppe theyr weapons, yet beganne they to fall vppon the Scottes with hurling of ſtones, and other ſuche things as came to hande, tyll finallye they were beaten downe by the armed Souldiers, and a greate number of them ſlayne: the reſidue eſcaping as well as they myght, fledde into the Mountaynes.

The Iſlande menne beeing thus vanquiſhed, and the Romaines attempting nothing againſt the Scottiſhe men or Pictes, Ethodius viſited all the partes of his Realme, taking order for the due execution of Juſtice amongeſt hys ſubiects.

And for that hee woulde not ſpende his time in idleneſſe, beeing nowe at reſt from warres, hee beganne to exercile himſelfe in hunting, and for the better nouriſhing of game, hee toke order that all ſuche ordinances as had beene deuiſed by his elders, ſhoulde ſtraytely bee obſerued and kept: as that no man ſhoulde bee ſo hardie to goe aboute to deſtroy any Hares with nettes, grennes, or Harepypes: Neither to kill them in theyr formes by anye meanes: nor after that they had beene once courſed and eſcaped, to follow the ſute, to the entente to ſtarte them againe. Alſo that none ſhoulde goe aboute to kyll anye Harte or Hynde, during all the Winter ſeaſon, at what tyme they were accuſtomed for hunger to leaue the Mountaynes, Forreſtes, and Wooddes, and to come downe into the fieldes and courtes, neare vnto the townes and houſes.

He ordeyned moreouer therunto, that no man ſhoulde preſume to kill any Hinde Calues, deſtroying nothing more than to haue ſuche game deſtroyed, as ſerued for the exercile and ſolace of him and his Nobles.

The other vacant tyme, whileſt hee reſted from hunting, hee ſpent for the moſte parte in hearing of Muſick, hauing diuerſe cunning players of ſundrie kindes of Inſtruments attending in his court.



It length ſetting all his pleaſure in hearing of a Muſition beeing borne in one of the weſt Iſles, hee was murthered by him in the night time within his owne chamber. The murtherer beeing apprehended, and examined vpon what occaſion hee did that heynous fact, for the which he had deſerued the moſt extreme kinde of puniſhment that might be deuiſed, he anſwered: that in reuenge of the death of ſuche his kinſmen and friendes as the King hadde cauſed to bee executed in Argyle, hee purpoſed long

Ethodius murthered by a Muſitian. 194.H.B.

before to doe that deede, and nowe that hee had accompliſhed hys purpoſe, hee was readie to receyue what kynde of death they woulde adiudge him to. For ſure I am of this, ſayeth he, that howe terrible ſo euer my execution ſhall be, yet can it not be ſo painefull, but that I ſhall reioyce euen in the verie inſtaunt of my death, for that I haue in ſuche notable ſorte reuenged the deathes of all my kynſmen and friendes. Finally by commaundement of the Magiſtrates he was drawne in peeces with wilde horſes in moſte violent wiſe.



Ethodius raigned .xxviij. yeares, vntyll the latter dayes of Caracalla the Emperour. Hee was buryed at Dunſtafage with all ſuche pompous ceremonies as was accuſtomed about the enterement of kings in that age.

Septimus Seuerus. H.B.

In his dayes Lucius the King of Brytaine receyued the fayth with a great part of his people, beeing the yeare after the byrth of our Sauiour, as the Scottes Chronicles haue 187. but after the Brytiſh 177.

Brytayne receyueth the Chriſtian faith in the yeare 187.

Satrahel.



After the death of Ethodius, his brother Satrahel or Serrahell (as ſome write hym,) was choſen to ſucceed by the common conſent and voyces of al the eſtates of the Realme. For although Ethodius left a ſonne behinde him, yet byeauſe hee was very yong in yeares, hee was thought inſufficient to haue ſo great a charge (as the rule of a kingdome) committed vnto his handes.

Thys Satrahell was ſubtile of nature, and a greate diſſembler, whoſe purpoſe was to defraude the iſſue of hys brother Ethodius from attayning at any tyme vnto the rule of the kingdome, and therefore to bring hys purpoſe the better to paſſe, hee founde forged matter againſt all ſuch as were familier friends vnto Ethodius, thereby to put them vnto death. Neyther dealt hee any thing more ſincerely with a great number of other of his wealthie ſubiectes, whoſe landes and goodes hee onely ſought to enioye at his owne will.

Satrahel ſeeketh to deſtroy ſuch as were in fauor with his predeceſſor.

By meanes whereof ſuche miſcheefe enſued throughe the Realme, and ſuch ciuil ſedition dayly roſe amongſt the people, that pitie it was to beholde it: the king being not ſo bolde all the while, as once to ſhewe his face abroade for redreſſe thereof, by reaſon hee vnderſtoode well ynoughe what hatred the people bare towardes hym, neyther did his keeping within doores ſaue his lyfe any long tyme, for in the ende his owne ſeruauntes founde meanes to ſtrangle him, and that before hee had raigned fully foure yeares.

Diſcord among the people through the kings gouernaunce.

Serrahell ſtrangled to death by his owne ſeruaunts. 197.





In his place ſucceeded his brother Donald, a Prince of far cõtrary nature and conditions, for he was free, curteous, and without al deceyte, more righteous than rigorous, & afore all things deſyrous that peace and concorde might proſper among his ſubiects. Neither bare he with offenders, but ſuche as were diſobedient againſt the lawes & wholſome ordinances of the realme, he cauſed to be duely puniſhed: finally he toke ſuch order for reformation of things, that hee reduced his ſubiects as it had beene from a wylde and ſauage rudeneſſe, vnto a perfect ciuill trade of humanitie.

Aboute the ſame time Lucius king of the Brytaynes beeing deade, the Romaynes perceyuing that a Kings authorite amongeſt the Brytaynes, did nothing elſe but diminiſhe the maieſtie of the Imperiall iuriſdiction amongeſt them, determined not to ſuffer any more of the Brytiſhe Nation to enioy that title.

This thing moued the Brytaynes to ſuche indignation, that by procurement of one Fulgentius, dyuerſe of them rebelled, and chooſing the ſame Fulgentius to theyr generall, they dyrected a Meſſenger with letters vnto Donalde King of the Scottes, requyring him to ioyne wyth them in league againſte theyr auncient enimyes the Romaines, whoſe endeuour (as hee knewe) had euer beene from tyme to tyme, howe to bring the whole Iſlande vnder theyr ſubiection, and to extinguiſhe all the Nobilitie and auncient inhabitours of the ſame. Adding furthermore, that if he woulde nowe put to hys helping hande, the time neuer ſerued better for the diſpatching of them wholly out of the Iſle, conſidering the ſundrie rebellions attempted as well by the people of Germanye and Fraunce, as alſo of the eaſterly Nations and Countreys.

Donald receyued the Meſſenger moſt friendly, and being glad to vnderſtande of theſe newes, hee promiſed to ayde Fulgentius with all the power he was able to make, and to meete hym at ſuche day and place as hee ſhoulde afterwarde appoynt. The lyke anſwere was made alſo by the king of Pictes, vnto whom in ſemblable wiſe Fulgentius had directed his letters.

Thus the Brytaynes, being confirmed with hope of great ayde from the Scottes and Pictes, aſſembling their hoſte togyther, reſorted vnto the wall of Adrian, which they ouerthrew in diuerſe places, that their friendes might haue the more free acceſſe and entrie vnto them by the ſame. Neither were the Scottes and Pictes ſlowe for theyr part to make forwarde: ſo that they likewyſe comming thither, holpe to throwe downe that Wall, and to fyll vp the trench or ditch that went alongſt the ſame.

The Brytaynes come to Adrians wall, and pull it downe to let in the Scottes.

The Scottiſhe men & Pictes come to the ayde of the Brytaynes.

Thys done, ioyning theyr powers togither, they paſſed forth towardes Yorke, in hope to haue founde the Romaine Lieutenaunt Trebellius within that Citie, and to haue beſieged him therein: But hauing knowledge howe hee was withdrawne into Kent, there to gather a power, they lefte theyr purpoſe of beſieging that Citie, and fell to ſpoyling and harrying of the Countrey abroade on euerie ſyde, conſtrayning the moſte parte of the people to come in and yeelde themſelues vnder theyr obeyſance.

The Scots and Pictes inuade the Brytaynes.

The Scottes helpe the Brytayns to ſpoile their owne countrey.

Thus they continued in paſſing from one quarter of the Countrey to another, till Winter enforced them to breake vppe their campe, and to lycence the Souldiours to departe home into theyr Countreys, tyll they had newe ſummonance to aſſemble and meete againe.

In this meane tyme Trebellius certifyed the Emperour Seuerus of all thys trouble and rebellion in Brytayne, whereuppon Seuerus with all ſpeede lenyed an armie, and ſette forwarde with the ſame himſelfe in perſon towarde Brytayne, as in the Engliſhe Hiſtorie more plainly it may appeare.

Trebellius certifieth the Emperour of the ſtate of Brytaine.

At his comming into Brytaine, hee ſlacked no time, but aſſembling his power, prepared to go againſt the enimies.

Fulgentius doubting the force of his enimies ſent Imbaſſadours vnto him to treate for peace, but Seuerus woulde not graunt to any, whereupon Fulgentius confirmed the myndes of the Brytaynes with all comfortable wordes, in the beſt wiſe hee coulde, exhorting them to ſticke to theyr neceſſarilye begonne enterpryſe, for recouerie of theyr long wyſhed libertie, whiche he doubted not, but by vanquiſhing the Emperour at that preſent, they ſhoulde aſſuredlye attayne: And as for victorie, hee was in no doubt, ſo that they woulde plucke their heartes vnto them, and trie it forth manfully by dynte of Swoorde lyke fellowes and brethren knitte in one faythfull bande of truſtye concorde, conſydering the enimyes armie beeyng gathered of ſo many ſundrie nations and languages, that conſent in one opinion, the chiefeſt meane for the atteyning of victorie, muſt needes bee wanting amongſt them.

Fulgentius encouraged the Brytaynes to ſticke vnto their begun enterpriſe.

The Brytaynes moued herewith, promiſed hym to liue and dye in the quarell. Whereupon he toke aduice with them, whiche way to mainteyne themſelues agaynſte Seuerus, of whoſe comming they were alreadie certifyed.

Seuerus ſetteth forth towardes his enimies.

For Seuerus hauing diſpatched the Brytiſhe Ambaſſadours from him, ſet incontinently forwarde towards Yorke, leauing his yonger ſonne named Geta in the South partes to haue the gouernaunce of the ſame in hys abſence. Hys eldeſt ſonne Antoninus he toke with him in this iourney agaynſt his enimies.

Seuerus commeth to York.

At his comming to Yorke, hee did ſacrifice to the Goddes, according to his Ethniſhe cuſtome, and alſo toke aduice with his Captaines howe to proceede in his enterpriſe agaynſt hys enimies.

This done, he marcheth forth with hys armie towardes them, who beeing alreadie ioyned with the Scottes and Pictes, were determined to abyde him, in ſo muche that thoſe of the one ſide came no ſooner in ſight of the other, but that they haſted forth to ioyne togyther in battayle, whereof enſued great ſlaughter betwixt them, though the Brytiſhe part (notwithſtanding their ayde of Scottes and Pictes) were not able long to endure agaynſt the great multitude and practyſed ſkil of the Romaine Souldiours, ſo that in the ende they were opened perforce and put to flight with the loſſe of xxx. thouſande, what of Brytaynes, Scottiſhmen and Pictes.

Seuerus is encountered by his enimies.

Fulgentius is put to flight, and his armie diſcomfited.

Fulgentius himſelfe ſeeing the diſcomfiture and huge ſlaughter made of his people, had run in amongſt the thickeſt preaſe of his enimyes, had not thoſe that were aboute him ledde him away by force, and ſo at length he got him among the troupes of the Scottiſhe men and Pictes, and togyther with them paſſed ouer Tine, and ſo into the borders of his friendes, where he got togyther ſuche Souldiers as he couldc, that had eſcaped from the battail, and retayned them with wages ſo well as hee myght, in hope vpon occaſion to employ them eftſoones agaynſte his enimyes. The Scottes alſo ſent into Irelande for ayde, and the Pictes into Denmarke and Norway.

Fulgentius withdraweth into Pictland.

Suche of the Brytiſhe Nobilitie as fell into the handes of the Romaines, Seuerus puniſhed moſte grieuouſly, but the Commons he vſed more gentlye, as it were making excuſe for them beeing procured thereto by theyr Captaines.

After this, when Winter was come, hee appoynted hys menne of warre to drawe vnto places conuenient for them to lodge in, tyll the next Spring. Hee himſelfe wintered at Yorke.

Seuerus wintereth at York.

In the next Sommer there was little done worthie to be ſpoken of, but that there were certayne ſkirmiſhes betwixt the Romaines lying on the borders, and the Scottes and Pictes, euer as occaſion ſerued, eyther of the partyes to worke any exployte for theyr aduauntage. But forſomuche as the Scottes had no ayde ſente them forth of Irelande, they were not mynded to iooparde againe in a foughten fielde, ſuppoſing it ſufficient if they might defend their owne, thoughe they gayned nothing as then, conſidering the puyſſaunce that was readie bent againſt them.

At length Seuerus fell ſicke at Yorke, and his ſonne Antoninus lying on the borders beyonde Tine, cauſed the wall afore mentioned, deuyding the Brytayns from the Scottes and Pictes to be repayred.

Seuerus ſickneth.

The wall is repayred.

This wall was buylt (as is before recyted) firſt by Adrian the Emperour, to ſtay the Scottiſhe men from inuading the lands appertayning to the ſubiectes of the Romaine Empyre, and after ouerthrowne in dyuerſe places as well by Scottes and Pictes, as by the Brytaynes, in ſort as before is partly mentioned. Antoninus cauſed it to be fortified with Baſtilyons, one being placed ſo neare to another, as trumpettes being appoynted in eche of them, the ſounde might be heard betwixt to warne one another vpon the firſt diſcrying of the enimies approche.

Finally Seuerus dyeth, though not ſo ſoone as his ſon Antoninus wiſhed, in hope after him to attaine the Emperiall dignitie. Concluding therefore a league with the Scottiſhe men and Pictes, and graunting peace to Fulgentius, and other ſuch Brytiſhe rebelles as were fledde wyth him into Pictlande, hee receyued ſufficient pledges, and then returned towardes London, where his mother with his brother Geta as then lay.

Seuerus dieth.

Antonious hope to be Emperour concludeth peace with the enimies.

Shortly after, both the brethren departed forth of the Ile, and went to Rome, as in the Hyſtorie of Englande it appeareth.

But now to returne vnto Donald the Scottiſhe king, ye ſhall vnderſtande, that being deliuered of forrayne trouble, he ſtudied chiefely how to preſerue his people in good peace and perfecte tranquilitie. Which minde our Sauiour Chriſt the authour of all peace and concorde had gyuen vnto him, being lately afore conuerted vnto the true faith from his wicked paganiſme and heathniſhe Idolatrie.

Donald the ſeuous to mainteyne his ſubiects in peace and concorde.

For as we finde in Hector Boetius, in the dayes of the abone mentioned Emperour Seuerus, he ſent a meſſenger with letters vnto Pope Victor (Zephirinus ſayeth Harison) beeing the xb. in number, as they ſay, after Saint Peter, declaring vnto him that hee was fully mynded to receyue the Chriſtian Religion, and vtterly to forſake the ſuperſtitious ſeruice of the Heathniſh Goddes, and therefore inſtantly requyred him to ſende

Donald conuerted vnto Chriſtian liefe in the dayes of the Emperour Seuerus.

ſende ouer into Scotlande ſome godly learned men, to inſtruct him in the right beliefe.

The Pope hearing this, and being glad to increaſe the faith of Chriſt through all parties of the worlde, ſent with all ſpeede into Scotlande ſuch well diſpoſed perſons as he thought moſte meete for that purpoſe, who at their arriuall there, did their endeuour in ſuch diligẽt ſort, that not only the king, but alſo through his enſample a great number of the nobilitie were baptiſed, & clearely forſoke their former errours & idolatrie.

This was in the yeare after the byrth of our Sauiour. 202. from the creation of the worlde 4170. and after the firſte erection of the Scottiſhe kingdome. 330. as Harriſon in his chronologie dothe manifeſtly confirme.

Moreouer this Donald was the firſte as the Scottiſhe chronicles alledge, that cauſed ſiluer and golde to be coyned in his realme. The ſtamp whiche he deuiſed for the ſame, was a croſſe on the one ſide, and his face on the other. Before that time the Scottes vſed no coyne, but eyther exchãged and bartered ware for ware, either elſe occupied with Britiſhe and Romaine money, as diuers marble cheſtes full of the ſame whiche haue bene founde of late yeares in ſundry partes of Scotland, do very well witneſſe.



Finally king Donald in the .xxj. yeare of his raigne departed out of this life, and was buried accoyding to the maner of our Chriſtian religiõ, without any heathenyſh ceremonies.



After him ſucceeded Ethodius the ſeconde, and ſonne of the former Ethodius, whiche prince proued ſo very a fole, that the regiment of the realme was quite taken from him, and committed vnto certaine Noble men, who being deuided into ſundry quarters of the realme, toke very good order for the due gouernment of the parties ſo to them limitted, and vſed themſelues very vprightly in all their doings. As for cauſe of warres they had none, for Seuerus before his death had giuen ſuche order for the gouernment of the Britains, that they durſt not once ſtirre by reaſon of ſuch pledges as were deliuered and conueighed to Rome, whiche were the chiefeſt of all the Britiſh nobilitie. At length Ethodius being apt for nothing but to fil his coffers, as one though doltiſh, yet naturally giuẽ to vnquenchable couetouſneſſe, was ſlaine by thoſe that were appointed to the garde of his perſon, in the .xvj. yeare of his raigne.

Ethodius being giuen to couetouſneſſe, is ſlaine by his owne ſeruants that wayted vpon him. Anno chriſti. 231. H.B.





Then was his ſon Athirco elected by the generall voyces of all the eſtates, who in the beginning of his raygne ſhewed himſelf very ſober, gẽtle, courteys, and friendly of behauiour, exerciſing himſelfe in all laudable paſtimes conuenient for his eſtate, and herewith he was ſo free & liberall towardes all men, that hee wanne him wonderfull muche prayſe and loue amongſt his people. *Athirco.*

But theſe his noble vertues encreaſed not in him togither with age, but contrarily decayed, in ſuche ſorte, that after he had raigned .viij. yeares, he was quite altered: in place of liberalitie, embracing auarice: for courteſie and amiable countenaunce, he vſed ſterne and loftie lookes: for cõmendable exerciſes, he gaue himſelfe wholly to filthie pleaſures and ſenſuall luſtes of the bodie: & ſuch as could further his purpoſe moſt in theſe his beaſtlie affections, hee cheriſhed & had them moſt in eſtimation, not regarding at all the nobilitie of his realme, but was as ready to wrong them by villanous iniurie, as hee was any other

Athirco chaũged in conditions frõ good to bad.

Athirco regardeth not his nobles.

of the loweſt and meaneſt degrees.

It chaunced that a noble man in Argile (being one of no ſmall authoritie amongſt the people of that countrey) named Natholocus, had two fayre yong Gentlewomen to his daughters: now the king being very deſirous to ſatiſfie his luſt vpon them, forced them both the one after the other, and not ſo content, deliuered them afterwardes to be abuſed in the ſemblable ſorte by his pages and ſeruaunts. The father vnderſtanding this villanie done to his daughters by theyr owne lamentable complaint, ſente for his friendes, and opening vnto them the whole matter, he requyred theyr aſſiſtaunce.

The villanous acte of Athirco, in abuſing a Noble mans daughters.



They being in a wonderfull furie to heare of ſuche an iniurie done to their bloud, promiſed in reuenge thereof to ſpende bothe life, landes and goodes, and forthwith departing in ſunder, they prepared themſelues to aſſemble theyr powers, procuring a greate number of other Noble men to ioyne with them in ſo neceſſarie an enterpriſe, as to rid the countrey of ſuche a caytife wretch, reſpecting nothing but the ſatiſfying of his filthie carnal luſtes, and the accompliſhment of his moſt beaſtly appetites.

The kinſmen and friends of the gentlewomen conſpire againſt Athirco.

When they were once got togither in a companie, they marched forth towards Dunſtafage, where they vnderſtode that the king as then did ſoiourne, a great multitude of people ſtill reſorting vnto them by the way, after it was once knowen whereabout they went. Athirco hearing of theyr approche, called togither his power ſuppoſing at the firſt to haue beaten downe his enimies, but when hee had throughly wayed the matter, and conſidered of what force and power they were, and how feeble his part was through want of good willes in his people, hee priuily ſtale away from them, and would haue paſſed ouer into Ila, one of the weſterne Iles, to haue procured ſome ſuccour there, but being embarqued and ſet from the ſhore, he was by contrarie windes driuē backe againe to land, where doubting to come into his enimies handes, hee choſe rather to ſlea himſelfe, and ſo ended his wretched life in ſuche miſerable extremitie after hee had raigned the ſpace of .xij. yeares. His raigne continued till the dayes of the Emperour Gordian the third, or as other ſay, till the time of the Emperour Valerian. But as Maiſter Harriſon hath gathered, hee raigned in the dayes of the Emperour Aurelius Claudius. Doorus the brother of Athirco vnderſtāding of the death of his brother, diſguiſed himſelfe in beggers weede for doubte of death, and went into Pictlande with .iij. of his Nephewes, ſonnes to the ſame Athirco, whoſe names were Sindock, Carance, and Donald.

Athirco doubting to be forſaken of his owne mē, if it came to the triall of battaile, cōueyed himſelfe from amōgſt them.

Athirco ſlayeth himſelfe.

242. H.B.

Doorus the brother of Athirco commeth himſelfe out of the way.

Howbeit Natholocus hauing knowledge whither he was fled, ſent forth certaine of his ſeruants with cōmaundement to ſearche him out, commaunding furthermore very ſtraightly, that if they founde him, they ſhould diſpatch him out of life, for feare of further miſchiefe. But they that were ſent, finding one in all features & proportiō of body reſembling Doorus, ſlew the one in ſtede of the other, & ſo returning home to their Maſter, they made him very ioyfull of ẏ newes, although in deede they came not neare to Doorus. Then Natholocus cauſing the eſtates of the Realme to aſſemble, he handled the mater in ſuch wiſe, by diſſwading thē to chooſe any of Athircos bloud to raigne ouer thē, (for doubt leaſt they ſhould ſeeke any meanes how to reuēge his death,) that in the ende, this Natholocus was elected himſelf, more for force, than by any cōmon cōſent of the nobles: for diuers of them doubting ẏ craftie nature (whiche they knew to be in him) wiſhed rather that the iſſue of Athirco (hauing deſerued nothing why to be defrauded of ẏ kingdome, ſaue only in reſpect of the fathers offences) might haue enioyed that whiche of right they ought to haue had, that is, either one of thē to be king, or els ſome neare kinſman of theyrs to raigne as king, til the eldeſt of them might come to ſufficient yeares, to beare the rule himſelfe.

Natholocus ſeeketh the life of Doorus.

Natholocus is choſen to be king.

BVt Natholocus beyng once proclaymed king by the multitude, and Athircos bloud attaynted of treaſon, and ſo publiſhed, according to the cuſtome, he tooke the othes of thoſe that were preſent, and then repayred vnto Dunſtafage, there to be inueſted according to the manner.

Natholocus

Natholocus goeth vnto Dunſtafage be inthroniſed.

This done, hee called ſuche aſide as he ſuſpected, and talking with them alone, hee exhorted them to be faithfull, promiſing to be theyr aſſured good Lorde and Maiſter, and for an earneſt thereof, he gaue vnto diuers of them very great rewardes.

Natholocus ſeeketh to cure loue of the nobili through briberie.

Generally vnto all men he ſhewed himſelfe very gentle and tractable, thereby to winne their loues, for the better eſtabliſhment of his newe atchieued

atchieued eſtate: And hereto he employed ſuche riches as the former kings had heaped togither amongſt the Nobles, ſtudying by all meanes to auoyde all ſeditious quarels and ſecrete diſcordes amongſt them.

Thus ruling the realme at his will for certaine yeares, at length fortune began to ſhewe a chaunge of countenance after her olde accuſtomed guiſe. For Doorus the brother of Athirco (whom as ye haue heard Natholocus ſuppoſed to haue bene dead) wrote certaine letters ſignifying his owne eſtate with the welfare of his Nephewes the children of Athirco vnto certaine Scottiſhe Lordes, whome hee knewe to fauour his cauſe.

Whiche letters hee deliuered vnto a Pictiſhe woman, appointing hyr how and to whome ſhe ſhoulde deliuer the ſame, but the woman apprehended by the way, and brought vnto Natholocus, hee cauſed hyr ſecretely to be ſacked and throwen into a riuer.



Afterwardes ſending for ſuche of the Nobles as the direction of the foreſayde letters had giuen him occaſion to haue in ſome ſuſpicion, he committed them firſt to prylon, and at length cauſed them to be ſecretely ſtrangled.

Natholocus putteth ſuch to death, as he ſuſpecteth to fauour Doorus.



Whiche wicked deede being once notified abroade, moued ſo the hartes of theyr friends and alies, that they procured the people to rebell: and ſo gathering them togither, they rayſed open and cruell warres againſt him.

Natholocus enformed of their determinations, withdrewe himſelfe priuily into Murray lande, there to get togither an armie to reſiſt his enimies, and for that he was deſirous alſo to vnderſtande ſomewhat of the iſſue of this trouble, he ſent one of his truſtie ſeruaunts being a gentleman of that countrey, vnto a woman that dwelt in the Iſle of Colmkil (otherwiſe called Iona) eſteemed very ſkilfull in foreſhewing of things to come, to learne of hyr what fortune ſhould happe of this warre, whiche was already begunne.

The Witche conſulting with hyr ſpyrytes, declared in the ende howe it ſhoulde come ſhortly to paſſe, that the king ſhoulde bee murthered not by his open enimies, but by the handes of one of his moſte familiar friendes, in whom hee had repoſed an eſpeciall truſte. The meſſenger demaunding by whoſe handes that ſhoulde be, euen by thine faith ſhe, as it ſhal be well knowen within theſe fewe dayes. The Gentleman hearing theſe wordes, rayled againſt hyr very bitterly, bidding hyr go lyke an olde Witche: for he truſted to ſee hyr brent before he ſhoulde committe ſo villanous a deede. And departing from hyr, hee wente by and by to ſignifie what anſweare hee had receyued: but before hee came where the King lay, his minde was altered, ſo that what for doubte on the one ſide that if hee ſhoulde declare the truthe, as it was tolde him, the king mighte happily conceyue ſome greate ſuſpition

The witches anſwere.

What happened by giuing credite to the woordes of a Witche.

ſuſpition, that it ſhould follow by his meanes as ſhee had declared, & therupon put him to death firſt: and for feare on the other ſide that if he kept it ſecrete, it might happen to be reuealed by ſome other, and then he to runne in aſmuche daunger of life as before: he determined vō himſelfe to worke the ſureſt way, and ſo comming to the king, hee was ledde aſide by him into his priuie chamber, where al other being commaūded to auoide, he declared how he had ſped: & then falling forthwith vpō Matholocus, with his dagger he ſlew him outright, & threwe his body into a priuie: Matholocus murthered.



and afterwardes getting out by a backe doore, and taking his horſe whiche he had there readie, he fledde with all ſpeede vnto the campe of the conſpiratours, and was the firſte that brought newes vnto them of this acte thus by him atchieued.

252. H.B. This chaunced in the yeare of our Lord. 180. and in the .xj. yeare after the firſt entring of Matholocus into the eſtate.

The Lordes of the realme aſſemble togither to chooſe a new king. After Matholocus was thus diſpatched, the peeres aſſebled togither to ordeyne for ỹ gouernment of the realme, where in the ende it was amongſt them concluded, that the ſonnes of Athirco ſhould be ſent for into Pictland, and Findock receiued for king. The Morauian that ſlew Matholocus was appointed to fetch them, who according to his commiſſion, comming into Pict lande, conueyed them right honorably into Argile, where Findocke beyng already choſen king, was placed on the ſtone of marble with all the ceremonies in that caſe appertayning.

The ſonnes of Athirco are ſent for, & the eldeſt of them named Findock choſen to raygne.

Findocke.



Findocke his noble qualities, and vertuous diſpoſition. This Findock was in ỹ flower of his age, of perſon moſt beutyfull, cleane made, and of a goodly ſtature: wherevnto were ioyned moſte excellent gifts of the minde, not ſo much deſirous to ſeeme, as to be vertuous in deede. He was curteous, meeke, and full of affabilitie, ſtudying alwayes to winne friendſhip and loue, rather by gentleneſſe, than by feare and menacing wordes.

Findock obſerueth the leagues confirmed of former tymes with his neighbours. The leagues with the Brytaines, Pictes and Romains hee firmely obſerued. But as peace with forrayne enimies, breedeth ofttimes ciuill diſcorde at home, ſo came it then to paſſe with him at this preſent: for one Donald of the Iſles, a noble man borne, came ouer with an armie into Roſſe and Murray land, fetching from thence a great ſpoile & bootie, not without great ſlaughter of ſuche as enforced themſelues for to reſiſt him. The occaſion as he pretended was to reuenge the death of Matholocus. But Findock vnderſtanding his doings, prepared an armie with ſhippes, and ſayled ouer with the ſame into the Iſle of Ila, where encountring with Donald and other his enimies, he vanquiſhed & chaſed them egerly without returning once backe, till eyther the ſworde or the ſea had made an end of them all.

Findocke maketh a iourney into the Iſles to ſubdue the rebelles.

Donald himſelfe taking a boate in hope to haue eſcaped, the preaſſe was ſuch at his entring into the ſame, that before they could get it off frō the ſhore, it ſunke by meanes of the ouerlading, and ſo he and all they that were on borde were drowned therewithall.

Donald is drowned.

The Iſlande with ayde of the Iriſhe kernes, make ofte inuaſion into Argile & other of the Scottiſh countreys.

The king hauing atchieued this victory, returned into Albanie: but the Iſland men not fully quieted with this ſlaughter of theyr fellowes, ſent ouer into Ireland, and got from thence certaine

taine Kernes, who vnder the leading of an other Donald, the ſonne of the former Donald, made ſtertes now and then into Argile and Cantyre, doing many ſhrewde turnes in the ſame, ere they could be ſuppreſſed.

But Findock being ſone enformed of theſe tidings, went ouer againe into the Iſles, & ſuche of his enimies as he founde, he cauſed to be hanged, to giue other enſample, what to looke for when they ſhould rebel, but Donald eſcaped, and got ouer into Ireland, where he remayned till he heard that the king was returned backe into Albanie, and then he came againe. But perceyuing himſelfe not able to worke ſuche feates as he hoped to haue done, he ſente a meſſenger vnto the king, offering to yeelde himſelfe & to become his true ſubiect if he might get his pardon, and be at his owne libertie. But being anſweared that hee ſhould not be receyued, vnleſſe hee would come vnto Dunſtafage with other of his chiefeſt complices, and to ſtande fully at the kings mercie: he refuſed thus to do, deuiſing an other meane how to be reuenged.

Therefore to beginne withal, he procured two naughtie perſons to go ouer into Albanie, and to fayne themſelues to haue fled from him, where alſo he willed them to offer theyr ſeruice vnto the king, and to diſcloſe vnto him certaine light ſecretes of the ſayde Donalds, thereby to winne credite if it might be, and in the ende to eſpie a time to ridde him out of the way.

Theſe craftie mates, working according to Donaldes wicked inſtructions, at length with much a do they gate credite, & after credite they got place ſo neare the king by the furtherance of Caraunce the kings brother (whome they made priuie alſo vnto theyr intent) that finding all things correſpondent to theyr purpoſe (one day as the king hunted) the one began to feede him with a tale of ỹ hatred whiche the Flanders bare towardes him, whereto he gaue very good eare, whileſt the other ſmote him to the harte with a



Findocke is ſlayne.

Iaueline, and ſo leauing the iron ſticking in his bodie, he fled away in haſte, with his traiterous companion and fellow.

Thoſe that were neare, ſeing what had happned, ſome of them ran to him to ſee if they might relieue him, as then ſtrugling with the pangs of death, other followed the murtherers, and ouertaking them, brought them backe to receyue theyr meede, according to that whiche they had iuſtly deſerued: being alſo examined, they confeſſed how they were procured vnto it, not only by Donald of the Iſles, but alſo by Carantius the kings owne brother, who of ſet purpoſe being out of the way at that preſent, & hauing knowledge that he was accuſed of the kings death, fled out of the countrey as a baniſhed man, firſt into Bryttaine, from whence (after he had remayned there for a time) hee went vnto Rome, and ſeruing in the warres vnder the Emperours Aurelius Probus, Carus, & Diocletianus, he became right famous and a very ſkilfull captayne. But if this report be true that Carauſius of whome Eutropius maketh mention were diſcended of ſo high parentage, mervaile it is, that neyther the ſame Eutropius, nor any other of the Romaine writers, could at no time come to the knowledge thereof, whiche if they had done, no doubte they woulde haue ſpoken ſomewhat of the ſame: for although he might happely vpon the conſideration aforeſayd counterfaite himſelf to be borne of ſome baſe kinred, & ſo for a time to diſſeble what he was, yet afterwards that he attayned vnto ſo high degree of honour, as to vſurpe the imperiall robes of purpure, and to poſſeſſe the dominion of Bryttaine, it is not like but that to aduaunce his credite and authoritie royall he would haue ſet forth to the vttermoſt the nobilitie of his birthe, if he had bene come of any, and that ſo apparantly to the worlde, that aſwell his enimies as friendes ſhoulde bothe haue knowen and ſpoken of it.

The murtherers confeſſe by whoſe procurement they did the deede.

A pretie induction (if not forged) to the hiſtorie that afterwardes followeth of Carauſius or Carantius as the Scottes wryte him.



Donald

IF Indocus beyng thus ſlayne in the x. yeare of his raygne, and buried with great lamentation of the people at Dunſtafage, his brother Donald, thirde ſonne to Athirco, was admitted to the kingdome, who immediatly vpon his entring into the eſtate, prepared to go into the Iſles againſt Donald that common enimie of Scotland.

But this Donald himſelfe, deliuered the king of a great peece of that trauayle. For ſo ſone as he hearde that the murther by him cõtriued was executed, he aſſembled a mightie power of the

Donald of the Iſles inuadeth Scotland.

Iland

Iland men, and tranſporting with them ouer into Roſſe, proclaymed himſelf king, perſecuting with fire and ſworde all ſuche as denied him obedience.

King Donald being aduertiſed of that attẽpt of his aduerſarie, ſpeedily marcheth forth with ſuch power as he had already aſſembled, ſending proclamations abroade, that all other appointed to ſerue, ſhould follow him with ſpeede.

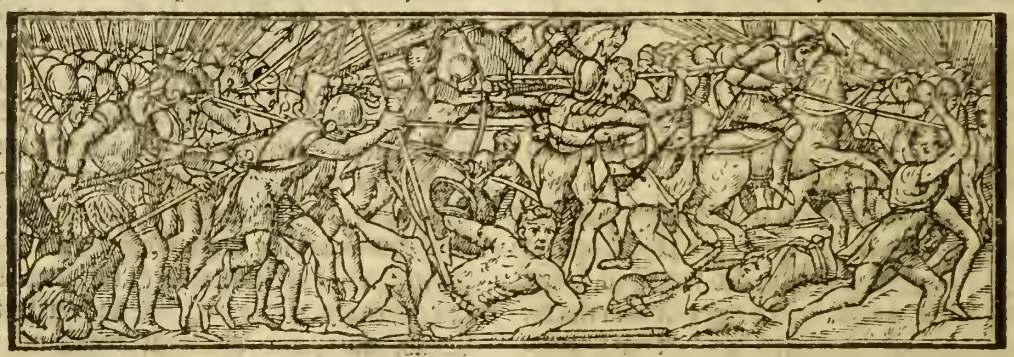
Thus cõming into Murray land, he pitched downe his tents, purpoſing there to abide the cõming of the reſidue of his armie: But Donalde of the Iſles vnderſtanding all his demeanour & whole intention, thought it beſt to aſſayle him within his campe, before all his power ſhoulde come vnto him, and being thus reſolued, hee ſet forewarde in the night time, and was vpon his enimies before that his cõming towardes them was once ſignified in their campe.

Donald of the Iſles ſodenly ſetteth vpõ the enimies.

The king then vnderſtanding his aduerſarie to be at hand, bringeth forth his men, ſetteth thẽ in array, and exhorteth them with many pithie wordes, to receyue their enimies with manly ſtomackes.

But the Iland men encouraged alſo by theyr Captaine, gaue the onſet ſo roundly, that the Scottiſh men had not leyſure to occupie theyr ſhotte, but were enforced euen at the firſte to ioygne at hand blowes, which were beſtowed in ſuche furious ſorte, that in the ende the Scottes being oppreſſed with multitude, were cõſtreyned to giue backe, ſome ſauing themſelues by flight, and ſome ſtanding at defence till they were beaten downe and killed in the place.

The Scots ouerthrow



There were ſlayne on the kings parte three thouſand men, and .ij. thouſand taken priſoners: amongſt whom were .xxx. perſonages of honorable eſtate togither with the king himſelf being wounded ſo ſore, that he died within .iij. dayes after the battell, rather through anguiſh of minde than of his hurtes, as ſome haue written, in the ſame yeare that he began his raigne.

Donald departeth this worlde.

Donalde of the Iſles taketh vpon him as king.

Donald of the Iſles hauing thus got the victory, toke vpon him as king, accordingly as he had cauſed himſelf at the firſt to be proclaymed.



Donald

BVt, becauſe hee became to the eſtate thus by bloud, he continued ſtill in doubte and feare of newe conſpiracies, being giltie in conſcience of his wrongful vſurpation.

A giltie conſcience.

Thoſe priſoners alſo whiche he had taken in the battell, he kept in perpetuall captiuitie, menacing them preſent death if any of their friendes and alies attempted any ſturre againſt him.

Moreouer hee nouriſhed priuie factions amongſt the nobilitie, ſuppoſing therby that their powers would be the more feeble in any publike exployte that was to be moued againſt him: finally if any miſchiefe happened among them, he cauſed the matter throughly to be loked vpon, but with ſuch regarde that he alwayes enriched his owne cofers with the forfaytures and penalties which he toke vp amongſt them.

He ſeldome times went abroade, and when he ſtirred forth any whither, he had his garde about him appoynted with weapon in warlike ſorte, for doubte of treaſon. He aduaunced diuers of baſe condition to great wealth & honour, and behaued himſelf ſo in ſundry ſortes with his miſtruſtful crueltie, that many there were which dradde him, & but a fewe that loued him, ſo that in the ende being in a maner runne into the deadly hatred of al men, he was murthered one night at Enuerlochthee, whither he was come to haue paſſed ouer into the Iſles) by certayne that had conſpired his death in the .xij. yeare of his reigne.

Donald of Iſles is murthered. Anno ch 273. H

The chiefe of the conſpiratours was one Crathlynt the ſonne of king Findock, who immediatly after the deede done, conueyed himſelf ſecretely out of the chamber, and repayring vnto certaine nobles and gentlemen inhabiting neere hand in the countrey, he declared vnto them the whole matter, exhorting them to ayde him in reuenging the iniuries done not only to them priuatly as he knew very well, but alſo to ỹ whole ſtate of ỹ Scottiſh cõmõ wealth, by the naughtie ſuggeſtion of diuers of the kings complices, who as yet vnderſtood nothing of theyr Maiſters death, but were all quiet in theyr beddes,

Crathlynt chiefe ꝯratour in murther of Donal

Crathlynt cureth ables of ꝯ countrey oppreſſe ſeruaunt king D

as men ſuſpecting nothing leſſe than that which was now happened.

The Gentlemen hearing the newes, and reioyſing greatly thereat, got them to theyr weapons, and early in the very dawning of the day, comming vpon the kings houſhold meagny, they ſlew aboue.ij.C. of them in the place where they lodged, the reſidue eſcaping forth of the houſe, and thinking to ſaue themſelues, were beaten downe in the countrey as they paſſed, by the people, who bare ſo deadly and mortall hatred vnto the late king, that they not onely reioyced muche at his death, but thought themſelues ſufficiently reuenged, when they could kill any that did belong vnto him.



After this Crathlynt, being certainly knowen to bee the ſonne of king Findock, by ſuche euident tokens as were ſhewed by him that brought him vp, was (partely in reſpect of his iuſt title, & partly for conſideration of his good ſeruice in deliuering his countrey of ſo deteſtable a tyrannt) aduaunced to the gouernment of the kingdome, by conſent of all the eſtates, and ſo being confirmed king, he perſwaded with the people that all the linage of the late tyrant Donald might be plucked vp, euen as it were a tree by the rootes, leaſt any of them haply remayning aliue, ſhould find meanes afterwards to diſturbe ỹ cõmon wealth.

The people cõſented lightly hereunto, as they that beſide the mortall hate whiche they bare towards Donald, were now ſodenly in loue with Crathlynt, not only for his witte and other qualities of the mind, but alſo by reaſon of his comely perſonage and paſſing beautie, ſetting forth all his doings greatly to his high prayſe & commendation.

The iſſue therfore with other the kinſmen and alies of Donald were ſought for, and thoſe that were found, without any difference or reſpect of age or ſexe, were cruelly put vnto death. The kinſmen and friends of Donald of the Iſles are perſecuted.

Whiche done Crathlynt appoynted forth iudges and other adminiſtratours of iuſtice to ſee the lawes executed, and the countreys gouerned in good and quiet order, euery man being aſſigned to his owne proper circuite. Theſe hee choſe out of the moſt ancient peares and barons of his realme. The yonger ſorte he reſerued to attend vpon his perſon. When he had taken direction in this wiſe for the rule of his kingdome, he went vp into the mountains of Granzebene, there to paſſe the time for a whyle in hunting the harte, and other wilde beaſtes, whether came vnto him ambaſſadours from Thelargus king of the Pictes, declaring the ioye whiche theyr maiſter had conceyued for the ſlaughter of Donald, and the reſtoring of the right bloud againe vnto the eſtate, requiring that the ancient league betwixt the Pictes and Scottiſhmen might be once againe renewed. The politike gouernment of Crathlynt. Crathlynt goeth to hunt in the mountains of Granzbene, anciently called Grampeus mons. An ambaſſade frõ the Pictes. The Pictes require the league to be renewed.

Crathlynt receiued theſe ambaſſadours moſt ioyfully, giuing them hartie thankes on the behalf of theyr Maſter for this ſignification of his good will ſhewed by theyr comming, and herewith promiſed, that during his life he woulde gladly obſerue the olde auncient amitie eſtabliſhed betwixt the two nations: according to the tenure of the old league. Crathlynt promiſeth to obſerue the auncient amitie betwixt the Scottiſhmen and Pictes.

Moreouer when the ſayde Ambaſſadours ſhould departe, he toke vnto them to deliuer frõ him as a preſent vnto theyr Maiſter certayne horſes, with Houndes and Greyhoundes, ſuche as he thought that kyng Thelargus wanted. The preſent ſent by Crathlynt vnto the king of the Pictes.



And

Diuers Pictiſh Lordes come vnto Crathlint to hunt and make merie with him.

And ſhortly after ỹ returne of theſe ambaſſadours into theyr countrey, diuers yong Gentlemen of the Pictiſhe nobilitie repayred vnto king Crathlynth, to hunte and make merry with him, but when they ſhould depart homewardes, perceyuing that the Scottiſh dogges did far excelle theyrs, both in fayrenesſe, ſwiftneſſe, hardineſſe, and alſo in long ſtanding vp and holding out, they got diuers bothe dogges and bitches of the beſte kindes for breede to be giuen them by the Scottiſh Lordes, and yet not ſo contented, they ſtale one belonging to the king from his keeper, being more eſteemed of him than all the other whiche he had aboute him. The Maſter of the leaſhe being enformed hereof, purſued after them which had ſtolē that dogge, thinking in deede to haue taken him from them, but they not willing to departe with him, fell at altercation, and in the end chaunced to ſtrike the Maſter of the leaſh through with theyr bowe ſpeares that hee died preſently, whereupon a noiſe and crie being rayſed in the countrey by his ſeruants, diuers of the Scottes, as they were goyng home from Hunting, returned, and falling vpon the Pictes to reuenge the death of theyr fellowe, there enſued a ſhrewde bickering betwixte them, ſo that of the Scots there died.lx. Gentlemen, beſides a great number of the commons, not one of them vnderſtanding till al was done what the matter ment. Of the Pictes there were aboute an hundred ſlayne.

A prayſe of the Scottiſh dogs.

The Pictes ſteale one of the kings beſt greyhoundes.

The Scottes & Picts fight for a greyhound.

What miſchief enſued vpon ſo light an occaſiō, as the ſtealing of a dog.

This chaunced about the yere of Chriſte. 288. as Io. Ma. noteth.

The kinſmen and friends of the Scottes that were thus ſlaine, were wonderfully moued with the iniurie committed, in ſo much that without commaundement of king or captayne, they aſſembled in greate number togither, and entring into the Pictiſhe confines, they began to robbe, ſpoyle and kill after the maner of warre, wherewith the Pictes being ſet in a rage, came forth togither into the field, and encountring with the Scottes, there was fought a ſore battell betwixt them without Capitaine, order, or ſtandard, till at length the victorie remayned with the Picts, of whome were ſlaine notwithſtanding the day went on their ſides, about .ij.M. men, but of the Scots there died aboue .iij.M. or more, as was ſuppoſed.

The Scottes robbe the Pictiſh borders.

The Scots and Picts encounter in battaile.

The Scottes diſcomfited by the Pictes.

Thus vpon a light occaſion was the league broken betwixt theſe two nations, who had continued as friends, the one ſtill readie to ayde the other, euer ſithe the dayes of king Reutha, being the .bij. in number that raigned after Fergus.

Of what continuance the league was betwixt the Scots and Pictes, and now broken about a ſmall matter, as begonne about a dogge.

These two nations beyng thus fallen at debate, it was wonder to vnderſtand with what crueltie the one ſought to deſtroy the other. No pitie might moue their cruell hartes to ſpare eyther man, woman or childe that fell into theyr handes: Suche was theyr inordinate and lyke deſire which they had to ſhedde eche others bloud.

Cruell warres.

At length Thelargus king of the Pictes being a very aged mā, & perceyuing what miſchief was happened through the follie of a few wilful perſons, appoynted certaine of his counſell to go as Ambaſſadours vnto king Crathlynt, to finde ſome meanes to haue the matter taken vp, for the auoyding of the imminent daunger that was like to enſue to both nations.

Thelargus of the being a man, d to hau and th ſendeth ambaſſ vnto C

They according to theyr inſtructions comming to the place where Crathlynt as then ſoiourned, had much ado to get licence to come vnto his preſence: but at length being admitted, they vſed ſuche humble perſwaſions grounded vpon reaſonable conſiderations, that although no peace could be fully cōcluded, yet a truce was graunted them for three moneths ſpace, whiche was but ſtrayly obſerued, for deadly hatred and inward deſire of reuenge was entred ſo farre into the breſtes of the commons on bothe ſides, that neyther commaundement nor puniſhment might ſtay them from the inuading of one an others confines, maugre theyr Princes and all theyr ſore reſtraints.

A truce ted.

In this meane time was the eſtate of the Romaine Empyre in Bryteine brought into trouble by Carantius, of whome a little before mention hath bene made. Eutropius nameth him Cauraſius: he woulde not be acknowen at his comming to Rome of what linage hee was diſcēded, and ſo he was reputed to be but of ſome baſe ſtocke, but yet through his worthie ſeruice in the warres, he attayned vnto great honour, and was appointed by Diocletian to haue the ſouerayne regarde ouer the coaſtes of the french Ocean, to defende the ſame from Pyrates of the Saxons and other Germains, that ſore moleſted the ſame in thoſe dayes. But for that he vſed to ſuffer thoſe rouers to take ſpoyles and preyſes, to the ende hee might in theyr returne take the ſame from them againe, and conuert the gayne wholly to his owne vſe, without reſtoring that whiche was due to the owners, or ſending any portion thereof to the Romaine Emperour, hee was complayned vpon, and ſent for, but for that he doubted to come to his anſwere, as one which knew himſelfe giltie, he furniſhed his nauy with men, bittayles and ordinaunce, & with the ſame toke his courſe aboute the weſt partes of Bryteine, and landed in Weſtmerlande, where he eaſily procured the people there to ſubmit themſelues to be vnder his rule and obeyſance, & promiſed to deliuer them from the grieuous yoke and bondage of the Romaines.

Carantius medhyt piusCar troubled eſtate of tayne.

The wyl practiſed rantius.

Carantius reth to c to make ſwere to matters a was charg with.

Carantius uolting c meth into Weſtmer & cauſeth people t to take hi parte ag the Roma

Thus hauing begonne the fundation of that whiche hee purpoſed to atchieue, for his further aduauncement therein, hee ſent ambaſſadours vnto his Nephewe kyng Crathlynt, bothe declaring

claring what he was, & alſo excuſing the treſpas furniſed againſt him, for being of counſell touching the murder of his brother Findock, father to the ſame Crathlynt: & therefore if in putting away al miſtruſt of his innocēcie in that behalf, he would ayde him againſt the Romains: hee doubted not but that he ſhould in ſhort time vterly expel them out of all Brytaine, & enioy all thoſe prouinces within the ſame, (which as then they poſſeſſed) vnto his owne vſe & this, he ſayd, ſhould be more honor & gaine both to the Scottiſh men & Picts, if they could be cotented to renew frendſhip, & ioyne with him in ayde againſt their cōmon enimies, than to ſeeke to deſtroy one an other, as he lately vnderſtode they had done for a dogge. Crathlynt hearing the wordes of theſe ambaſſadours, reioyced not a little, that his vncle Carātius was not only aliue, but alſo had through his valiācie atchieued ſo high renowme as to be accounted one of the worthieſt warriours amongſt al the Romaine Captaines. And herewith vpō good aduice he determined to ayde him in that his enterpriſe for the conqueſt of Brytaine to the vttermoſt of his power. Adding further that if it were not for the warres whiche he doubted to haue with the Picts, he would not onely ſende him ayde of men, but alſo come with them himſelf: and hereof he aſſured the ambaſſadours both by worde of mouth & letters. Who returning with ſuch anſweare vnto their Maiſter Carantius, he reioyced not a little, to vnderſtand how well they had ſpedde, and ſo much the more for that he receyued aboute the ſame time the like anſweare from the king of Picts.

Shortly after he came to an enterueiw with the king of Scottes at the water of Eſke, where after he had purged himſelfe with many wordes of excuſe, touching the murder of his brother Findock, there was an aſſured frendſhip cōcluded betwixt them. And at the motion of Carantius, Crathlynt was contented to come to a cōmunication with the king of Picts, for concluſiō of a peace, to the intent, that both of them might ioyne their powers togither, in ayde of Carātius againſt the Romains. At this communication both the kings mette, & Carantius likewiſe was there, as a man indifferent betwixt them bothe, to do what he could, to linke thē both in amitie. And verily his preſence thereunto ſtode ſo much in ſtede, that chiefly through his perſwaſion groūded vpon great reaſons & weightie cōſiderations, they agreed to cōclude a peace, & to renew the old league in ſuch maner & forme, and with ſuch cōditions, as ſhould be thought requiſite by the aduiſe & diſcrete order of. viij. auncient perſons: iiij. to be choſen on the one parte, & iiij. on the other. Which. viij. perſons taking the matter in hand, did ſo aduiſedly giue order for the anoyding of all cauſes of grudge & hatred, that bothe partes held them ſatiſfied with their arbitrement and direction, ſo that a ioyfull peace was confirmed, and all variance vtterly quenched.

Peace confirmed againe betwixte the Scottiſh men and Picts.

In this meane time Quintus Baſſianus the Romaine lieutenant in Brytaine, vnderſtāding how Carantius was thus reuolted, and had not only cauſed them of Weſtmerland to rebell, but alſo ſlayne and chaſed the Romains out of that countrey, he was not a little diſquieted, & determined with all ſpeede to go againſt him, & to reuenge theſe iniuries. Within a fewe dayes after hauing his armie readie, hee entred into Weſtmerland: but hearing that his enimies were already come to Yorke, & had won the citie by ſurrender, he turned his force thitherwarde, in purpoſe to fight with them, though hee vnderſtood they were in. iij. great battels, as the Scottes in one, the Picts in an other, & thoſe of Carantius his retinew in the third. He lodged that night within a ſtrong place fenſed aboute with marriſſes. But Carantius vnderſtanding all the manner of his enimies by his eſpials, & being in cāpe within. x. miles of them or therabout, in the ſame night he raiſed his field without any great bruite, and by the leading of certaine guides hee marched ſtraight towards the place where Baſſianus was encāped, ſo that anone after ỳ ſpring of the day he came thither: whereof Baſſianus being aduertiſed, and perceyuing he ſhould haue battell, maketh readie for ỳ ſame, giuing the beſt exhortation he could vnto his people to play the men: but for ſo much as the moſt parte of his armie were Brytains, all his wordes nothing auayled: for they deſirous to ſee the vtter ruine of all the Romaine power, euen at the very poynt when the battels ſhould haue ioyned, withdrew thēſelues aparte without any ſtroke ſtriken, and got thē vp into the next mountayns, to ſee what would inſue. The reſidue of the Romain armie, ſeing thēſelues thus forſaken of their fellowes, & their ſides left bare & open for the enimie to enter vpon them, fell to plaine running away, but by reaſon of the mariſſe ground cōpaſſing them in on each ſide, ſerued wel to purpoſe for ỳ Scots, & other the confederates, a great nūber of the Romains, & other of their parte were ouertaken and ſlaine. Amongſt whom Baſſianus himſelf was one, & Hircius themperours procurator an other.

Quintus Baſſianus entreth into Weſtmerland, but hearing that his enimies were at Yorke he turneth thitherwardes.

The Brytains betray the Romains.

The Romains are diſcōfited.

The ſlaughter of the Romains.

The Brytains (who as is ſayd refuſed to fight in the beginning of the battell) yeelded thēſelues vnto Carantius, & ſware to be his true liege mē & ſubiects. In like manner Carantius appointed al ſuch of the nobilitie as were betwixt. xx. yeres and. lx. to remaine with him in hoſtage: but the ſpoyle of the field he deuided amongſt his people equally, ſo that aſwel the Scottiſh men & Picts, as alſo his owne ſouldiers held thē well content

The Brytains yeelde themſelues vnto Carantius.

and ſatiſfied therewith. After this victory Carantius cauſed himſelf to be proclaymed king of Brytaine, vſurping the gouernment therof wholy to himſelf, and retayning. 2000. of the Scots and Pictes, to attend vpon the ſauegard of his perſon, ſent the reſidue home laden with riches of the enimies ſpoyle. Hee ſent alſo with them his ambaſſadours, to render thankes vnto bothe the kings for theyr ayd in this ſo proſperous a victorie, aſſigning vnto them as a portion of the conqueſt, the countreys of Weſtmerland and Cumberland, with all that region whiche lay betwixt Adrians walle, and the citie of Yorke, to enioy as their owne proper patrimonie for euermore. Finally the ſayde Carantius was ſlayne by his companion Alectus, as in the Engliſh hiſtorie ye may finde more at large.

Carantius or Carautius, as Eutropius nameth him, vſurpeth the kingdome of Brytaine.

Carantius hauing got the victory, deuideth the gaine in aſsigning to his cõfederates their due portions.

After this Crathlynt king of the Scots deliuered frõ troubles againſt the Romains, deuiſed ſundry good ordinaũces for the quiet ſtate of the Scottiſh cõmon wealth, cauſing the peace to be diligently obſerued betwixt him and the Pictes.

Alſo in his dayes the perſecutiou of the Chriſtians chaũced, which the Emperour Diocletian cõmaũded to be executed in moſt furious wiſe, ſo that there were fewe partes of the world (where any Chriſtians were knowẽ to inhabite) that taſted not of that his cruell ordinaunce and ſcourge in that behalf. In Brytaine alſo, as wel as in other places, there was no ſmall quantitie of innocent bloud ſhed, with moſte vnmercifull murder committed, to the greate triumphe of Chriſtes croſſe, that glorious enſigne of our religion.

The perſecutiõ of the Chriſtians by Diocletian.



In whiche time Conſtantius Chlorus father to Conſtantine the great, was reſident in Brytaine, who adiudging the Scottes to be a people wholly giuen to pillage and ſlaughter, as they were in deede, determined with himſelfe to haue brought them to ſubiection. But ere he could atchieue any notable enterpriſe he died, leauing behind him the fame of a right gentle and worthy Prince, ſauing that in one poynt he fore ſtayned his honor, for that hee was one of the chiefe that perſecuted the Chriſtian flocke vnder Diocletian, forcing no ſmall number of the faithfull amongſt the Brytains, to flee vnto the Scottes & Pictes to auoyde his perſecutiõ. Whom Crathlynt receyued for his part moſt louingly, and aſſigned vnto them (as the Scots ſay) the Ile of Man for a place of habitation, deſtroying al ſuch temples of the heathen religion belonging to the *Druides*, which had cõtinued there ſith the beginning. And vtterly aboliſhed all the ſuperſtitious rites & cuſtomes of the ſame *Druides*, with their whole order and brotherhod. He erected a temple there, which he dedicated vnto Jeſus Chriſt our Sauiour, wherin the Chriſtiãs might celebrate their deuine ſeruice, according to their profeſſiõ. This Church being richly endowed was the firſt Biſhops ſea amõgſt the Scots, & therupon was taken for the mother Church of the realme. It is now called the church of Saint Sauiour.

Conſtantius perſecuteth the Chriſtians.

Many of the Brytains flee to the Scottes, to auoyde perſecution.

Crathlynt diſtroyeth the temples of the falſe goddes in Man.

The firſt Biſhops ſea in Scotland. Sodorenſis eccleſia.

Crathlynt departeth this world.

Finally Crathlynt departed out of this life, after he had raigned. xxiiij. yeares, being muche prayſed aſwell for his politike gouernmẽt as for his great & earneſt zeale which he bare towards ỹ aduancement of the true Chriſtian religion.



Finmak.

FInconmak that was hys vncles ſonne, ſucceeded him in the kingdom, and was placed on the ſtone of marble, to the great reioycing of al ỹ eſtates, who wiſhed him a proſperous raigne, and long to cõtinue therin.

There

There liued in king Crathlynts dayes, a noble Chriſtian called Amphibalus a Brytaine borne, who fleeing fro the perſecutiō then rayſed in his countrey, came vnto the ſame Crathlynt, & by him was created the firſt biſhop of S. Sauiours church in Man, this Amphibalus did very much good amongſt the Scots & Brytains in ſetting forth the word of life, & rooting out of their harts all ſuperſticious errours, of blinde gentilitie.

There were other alſo of right famous memorie aboute the ſame time, that ceaſſed not in preaching, and inſtructing the people in the right belieue, as Modocus, Piſcus, Calanus, Ferranus, Imbianus, and Carnocus, called by an old auncient name in the Scottiſh tongue *Culdei*, that is, to vnderſtande Cultores dei, or as you woulde ſay in Engliſh the worſhippers of God.

But nowe to the purpoſe touching Fincomark, ye ſhal vnderſtād, that he began his raigne in the yere, (as W. Harriſon ſaith) after the birth of our Sauiour. 325. after the creation of the world. 4262. and from the firſt eſtabliſhing of the Scottiſhe kingdome. 652. and in the. 20. yeare of Conſtantine the Emperour.

It chaunced that Octauius king of the Brytains was banquiſhed by Traherus a Romaine capitaine, & forced for his refuge to flee vnto this Fincomark then king of Scottes, who receyued him as a friēd. And furthermore though he were required by Traherus to deliuer him vnto his hands, as a traytour & a rebell vnto the Romain Empyre, yet Fincomark refuſed ſo to do, chooſing rather to ſuſtayne all Traherus his malice, and to haue warres with the Romaine Emperour thā to betray his friend, who had put his life into his hands vpō an eſpeciall truſt of ſafegard.

Herewith Traherus being not a litle moued, aſſembled his power, & entred into weſtmerlād, the which countrey had remayned in the Scottiſh mens hands euer ſith Carantius deliuered it ouer vnto thē. Fincomark hearing that the Romains would thus make him warres, had likewiſe rayſed a puiſſant armie, to reſiſt thē, ſo that he had at the leaſt. lx. M. perſons togither in one armie, as. xxx. M. of his owne countrey men, xx. M. Picts, & x. M. of ſuch Brytains as followed after Octauius. Fincomark being thus furniſhed, haſted forth to encounter with his enimies before they ſhoulde haue time to do any notable domage vnto his ſubiects, & ſo comming within ſight of them, ſent an Heralde vnto Traherus, to vnderſtand the cauſe why he thus inuaded his coūtrey, but receiuing frō him an vntoward anſwere, he brought forth his people into the fielde in order ready to giue battell, & ſo ioyning with the enimie, there was fought a right ſore & cruell conflict, which cōtinued for a time with vnmercifull murder and ſlaughter on bothe partes.

Finally whan the Romains were at point to haue got the vpper hand, they were ſodenly put in ſuche feare with the ſight of a number of huſbande men, who had got togither theyr cattell & were driuing the ſame away, that ſuppoſing they had bene ſome newe ſuccours comming to ayde theyr enimies, they immediatly fled vpon the ſame, leauing the victorie to their aduerſaries: howbeit of the Scottes ſide were ſlayne (as theyr chronicles report. xv. M. men, and on the Romaine parte about. xvj. thouſand.

The Romains flee.

The numbers ſlayne.

Traherus himſelfe eſcaped vnto Yorke, but hearing that Fincomark, and Octauius purſued after him, he forſooke that Citie & got him into places of more ſuretie, ſo that when the enimies came thither, the Citezins yeelded themſelues, & receyued Octauius as their Prince, offering frō thence forth to be vnder his rule & gouernment.

Yorke is yeelded vnto Octauius.

The newes of theſe atchieued victories being bruted throughout the realme, cauſed a greate number of the nobles to come in vnto Octauius, who receyued them moſte thankfully, and to cōclude wrought ſo by theyr ſupport, that he was ſhortly after reſtored to the gouernaunce of the whole realme, & eſtabliſhed therein according to his owne wiſhe. This done, Fincomark returned into his countrey, aſwell himſelfe as other of his nobles & mē of warre, being highly rewarded for their paines & trauaile ſuſteyned in that iourney. There was alſo promiſe made and confirmed by ſolemne othe, that the countrey of weſtmerlād with ſuch other parties as were aſſigned vnto his predeceſſor king Crathlynt, by order of Carantius at the time of theyr ioyning togither in league againſt the Romains, ſhould for euer remayne vnto Fincomark, and to his ſucceſſors the Scottiſh kings without any clayme or title to be made to the ſame by any of the Brytains: but this promiſe was not long kept, for ſhortly after that Octauius had once chaſed all the Romaines forth of the Brittiſh confines, and that Traherus was fled ouer into Fraūce, there was a councell called at Yorke, where it was not only ordeyned, that from thence forth there ſhould neuer any ſtraunger be ſuffred to raigne ouer the Brytaines, but alſo that the boundes of the realme ſhould be extended forth beyond the wall made (as before is recited) by the Emperour Adrian, euen vnto the old auncient bounds, and limites, expulſing forth the inhabitants of forraine nations.

Weſtmerlande aſsigned to the Scottiſh men.

A councel kept at Yorke.

Octauius obtayneth the rule of Brytaine.

Suche an immoderate luſte of inlarging his dominion enflamed the harte of Octauius, that neither regard of his othe, nor remēbrance of benefites receyued, might ſtay him from ſeeking to wrong them, whoſe ayde had reſtored him vnto his former eſtate and dignitie, as before we haue reherſed. For hereupon there were. x. M. men of

Octauius coueteth to enlarge his dominion.

The Brytains inuade Westmerland.

warre sent into Westmerlande, to the intent to conquere the same out of the Scottishe mens handes: but beyng encountred with a power of Scottish men & Pictes, they were sharply repulsed and quickly put to flight. About the same time also, Traherus returned out of Fraunce with .ij. legiõs of Romains, and .xx. M. of other aydes. And giuing battel vnto Octauius, he vãquished his armie, & constrayned him for his refuge to flee vnto the mouth of Humber, where he got certaine vessels & sayled into Norway, there to saue his life, bicause that Scotland was now no sure refuge for him: And thus was Traherus againe in possession of Brytaine, as lieutenant to Constantine the Emperour: but shortly after he was by certaine conspiratours in fauour of Octauius murthered, and then Octauius returned againe: as in the English chronicle is mencioned more at large.

Traherus returneth into Brytaine.

Octauius is vanquished by Traherus.

Traherus by a conspiracie is murthered.

Octauius is reconciled with Fincomark.

Immediatly vpon his returne, he reconciled himself with Fincomark the Scottish king, and was contented that he should quietly enioy the countreys of Westmerland & Cumberland, with such other territories as Carantius had graũted in former time vnto Crathlynt. He likewise sent vnto the king of the Pictes, & concluded a friendship with him, to the intent he might haue ayde frõ him also, if it chaũced the Romains eftsones to inuade his countrey, as shortly after they did, not ceasing til they had so awearied him with cõtinual warres, that in the end to be at rest (as his age & other necessities then required) he deliuered into theyr handes, certaine castels & forteresses, & also became tributarie to the Emperour on condition he might vse the office and name of a king all the residue of his dayes. These things being thus quieted in Albion, ẏ Romains, Brytains, Scottish men and Pictes, continued in friendly peace without any notable trouble, till the .ix. yeare of the raigne of Valentinian Emperour of Rome: & first of Damasus the Pope. In ẏ which yeare Fincomark king of Scottes departed this life, after he had gouerned the estate aboue .xlvij. yeares. This was in ẏ yeare of our redẽptiõ .372.

Octauius entreth into amitie with the Pictish king.

Octauius becommeth tributarie vnto the Romaine Emperour.

17. of Constans & Constantius Emperours. H. B.

Fincomark deceassed.

358. H. B.

This Fincomark, left behind him .ij. sonnes, the one named Eugenius, being as then aboute .xviij. yeares of age, the other hight Ethodius, & was yonger thã his brother by one yeare, so that neyther of them might succeede theyr father by reason they were not of yeares sufficient to rule, accoyding to the auncient ordinance.

Eugenius & Ethodius sonnes to Fincomark.

Herevpon a councell was called in Argile, where there was hard holde betwixt the .iij. Nephewes to king Crathlynt, that were begotten by .iij. of his brethren, which of them should gouerne the lande: their names were Romacus, Fethelmacus, & Angusianus. Romacus had a Pictish lady of the bloud royall of that nation to his mother, & for that his father was eldest brother next vnto Crathlynt, he loked to be preferred, though he himself was yonger in yeares thã eyther Fethelmacus or Angusianus. Fethelmacus gaue his consent with suche voyces as he had vnto Angusianus, wherwith Romacus being not a little offended, sought meanes to haue destroied them both: but his practise being discouered, caused many to withdrawe theyr good willes frõ him, whereby his aduersaries were the more encouraged: & thereupon the councell brake vp, either parte deuising how to strengthen thẽselues against the others practises. But for so much as Angusianus vsed plaine meanes without any fraudulẽt dealing, he got the more frẽds, so that Romacus was constreyned in the end to require ayd of the king of Picts, who being neare of kinne to him, might not denie his request.

Romacus, Fethelmacus and Angusianus, sonnes to three seuerall brethren, pretende a right to the estate.

Romacus seeketh meanes to destroy his cousins.

Angusianus with vpright dealing purchaseth the more friendshippe.

Angusianus therefore vnderstanding what daunger he was in, if he fell into his aduersaries hands, got togither an armie of such as fauoured his cause, & encountring with him in battel was put to flight, & forced to flee into the Westerne Iles with his cousin Fethelmacus, where remaining for a while, at length he was aduertised that the inhabitants had conspired against him, for doubt whereof he got him ouer into Ireland.

Romacus vanquisheth Angusianus.



Romacus.

ANgusianus beyng thus chased out of the realme, Romacus was receyued by the most part of the nobles and cõmons for theyr king: But as the accustomed manner of tyrants cõming thus to the gouernement of a realme throughe euill meanes is to rule with cruelties, so did he behaue himself, accoyding to that semblable rate, so soone as hee thought himselfe to be sure of the estate. Wherefore suche as had borne any euill will to Fincomark, & were out of fauour in his dayes, those did Romacus call vnto him, & afterwarde vsed their counsel aboue al other mens, aduauncing them also to moste high rule & riche offices. Againe those whiche had bene in fauour with Fincomark, or bare any affection towardes his issue, he sought couertly to bereaue them both of life, landes, and goodes, so that by suche his doings, there was gathered no light suspitiõ, that he would likewise ere long find meanes to dispatch Ethodius and Eugenius the sonnes of the same Fincomarke, therby to be the more assured of the crowne & kingdome it self. The two childrẽ also fearing asmuch on their owne behalfe, by the aduise & help of their trustie friendes, conueyed thẽselues into westmerlãd, & after ouer into the Isle of

Romacus receyued for king.

Romacus gouerneth tyrannically.

Ethodius & Eugenius sonnes of Fincomark, are conueyed into the Isle of

of Man, where they remayned lokīg for a day.

Then began banyſhments, confiſcations of goodes, & ſlaughter of ſuch as were thought to be fauourers of Angusians cauſe, without reſpecte either of ſexe or age, til the nobles of the Realme being not a little moued with ſuch his cruell doings, & tirannicall gouernment, conſpired togither by ſecrete meanes how to deliuer their cōtrey of ſo pernicious a tyrant: And to bring this their purpoſe the more ſpeedily to paſſe, they wrought ſo cloſely, that they had aſſembled a great armie, & were come with the ſame within x. miles of the place where he then lay, ere he had any vnderſtanding of their enterpryſe, ſo that whereas he (being vnprouided of reſiſtance) aſſayed by flight towardes Pict land to haue eſcaped their hands, it preuayled him nothing, for he was taken by the way, and receyued ſuch end as his former paſſed life had very well deſerued, in the .iiij. yeare of his raigne: his head was ſet vpō the end of a pole, & caried about to be ſhewed vnto the people to their great reioyſing. There were ſlaine alſo at the ſame time beſides him, diuers Scots & Pictes, who had bene of councell with him in al his cruel practiſes. After which execution done, they ſente for Angusianus, who returned into Scotland, & was proclaimed king, aſwel by



of certaine Scottiſh men, which had borne good will to Romacus, he preaſſed ſo ſore vpō Angusianus, that he had no remedie but to trie the hazard of battell in a pitched fielde: for no friendly perſwaſiōs to haue peace or any agreemēt could be hard, though Angusianus made hūble ſuite to haue purchaſed the ſame. Wherefore perceiuing no hope of attonement, he prepared an army, & met his enimie in the field, where after ſore fight and much ſlaughter, the victorie remayned with Angusianus, & Nectanus with his Pictes were chaſed and forced to ſaue themſelues by flight.

conſent of the Lordes, as fauour of the cōmons. Aboute the ſame time becauſe the Brytons had ſlaine the Romaine lieutenant, the Emperour Conſtantius ſent one Maximus thither to chaſtiſe the rebels, with whom the ſame Maximus encountring in battell gaue them a great ouerthrow. And within three dayes after Octauius king of the Brytons, through griefe, age & long ſickneſſe, being conſumed to the laſt point, departed this life. He left a ſonne behinde him named alſo Octauius, who doubting to fall into ỹ hāds of the Romains, fled into the Iſle of Man, & remayned there certaine yeares vnknowen with Eugenius and Ethodius, the ſonnes of Fincomack. The Brytons alſo perſiſting in their rebellion, were eftſones diſcomfited in battel by Maximus, and ſore by him perſecuted til he had brought them againe to their full ſubiection.

Whileſt theſe troubles cōtinued in Brytain, Angusianus king of Scots was ſore diſquieted by Nectanus king of Picts, who enforced himſelf to reuenge the death of his couſin Romacus, making ſundrie rodes & forrayes into the Scottiſh confines, & greatly endamaged the countrey, by ſpoyling of goodes, murthering of the inhabitants, & brenning of townes with the villages, & in the end hauing his power increaſed by the ayd

Nectanus king of the Pictes maketh ſore warres vpon the Scottes.

Nectanus himſelfe neuer reſted till he came vnto Camelone, where he called a counſell of his nobles to haue their aduiſe by what meanes he might be reuēged of the iniuries receyued by the Scots, wherof he was moſt deſirous, not regarding into what daunger he brought his owne realme, ſo he might ſomewhat eaſe his rancour and diſpleaſure, whiche he had thus conceyued againſt his enimies the Scottes.

Nectanus deſirous of reuenge.

Neither wāted there diuers great perſonages in that aſſemble which (to content his minde and to winne fauour of him) ſet forward the matter

in ſuch earneſt wiſe (that notwithſtanding what other could ſay to the contrarie) it was ordeyned that with al ſpeede an army ſhould be lewied, and ledde forth into the Scottiſh borders.

Nectanus hauing thus the conſent of his nobles to inuade the Scottes a new, cauſed men of warre to be take vp through all the parties of his dominion, & that of the choyſeſt men that might be gotte: the whiche being once aſſembled, hee ſtayed not long but ſet forewarde with them, and entred into Kalendar wood, ſpoyling & deſtroying all afore him at his owne will and pleaſure.

Nectanus inuadeth the Scottiſh confines.

Anguſianus vnderſtãding his furie, & doubting leſt the Brytains through ſetting on of the Romains ſhould ſeeke to ioyne with the Pictes to the deſtruction of the Scots, thought good to aſſay if by any friendly meanes hee might bring Nectanus to fal vnto ſome reaſonable point, rather than by the warres to endaunger bothe the Pictiſh & Scottiſh eſtates, in putting the ſame in aduenture to fall into the hands of theyr ancient enimies the Romains & the Brytons. Herevpõ therfore he wrote vnto Nectanus a gẽtle letter, declaring therin al ſuch daungers & incõueniẽces as might enſue by this warre thus by him attempted. And againe how neceſſary it were for both nations to haue peace togither as then, cõſidering howe it was not to be thought that the Romaine legate Maximus (hauing now all the Brytons at his cõmaundement) would reſt (if occaſiõ were offered) til that he had fully ſubdued both the Scottes & Pictes: For the auoyding of which peril he offered for his parte, to accept any reaſonable cõditions of peace, that ſhould by him be preſcribed. But Nectanus in no wiſe would giue eare to any treatie of peace, ſo that Anguſianus being forced to giue battell for defence of his ſubiects, brought his people into the field, and exhorting thẽ to play the men with ſundrie cõforteable wordes, he placed thẽ in order of battel.

Anguſianus ſueth for peace.

Nectanus refuſeth al offers of peace.

On the other part Nectanus likewiſe encouraged his folkes to do valiantly, ſo that the Archers on bothe ſides ſtepped forewarde, letting their arrowes flie freely one at an other, till at length comming to hand blowes they ſtroke on freſhly, beating downe and killing without ſparing on either ſide, ſo that a good ſpace the victory was doubtful. At length Anguſianus perceiuing his people to be put to the worſe, ruſhed forth into the thickeſt of the preaſſe amõgſt his enimies, where hee was quickly eſpied, oppreſſed with preſſe and ſlaine out of hand, the moſt part of his people miſſing him, and not vnderſtãding what was become of him, ſuppoſed ẏ he had bene fled, & therefore fell alſo to running away, but the reſidue that ſtoode ſtill at their defence were ſlaine downe right.

Anguſianus & Nectanus ioyne in battel with their armies.

Anguſianus is ſlayne.

The Scots are diſcomfited.

Thus the victory remayned with the Pictes, but neither part had any cauſe to reioyce, for the chiefetains on both ſides were ſlayne, beſides many thouſands of other, ſo that aſwell the one natiõ as the other departed frõ the place right penſife & ſorowfull, giuing many a ſore curſe vnto ſuche as had bene the procurers & nurriſhers of ſuch deteſtable hatred betwixt thoſe two natiõs, which had ſo long a time bene conioyned in the faithfull bande of amitie, to the great quiet and wealth of both the countreys. After this bloudy battell, aſwell the Scots as Pictes ſat ſtill for a ſeaſon, not attempting any enterpriſe of importance the one againſt the other.

Nectanus alſo ſlayn.

Fethelmacus.

ANguſianus raigned not paſte .ij. yeares before he was ſlaine thus in the field, as ye before haue herd, in whoſe place ſucceeded his couſin Fethelmacus with little better ſucceſſe, for in ẏ .ij. yeare of his raigne, deſirous to be reuẽged of the Pictes, he aſſembled an armie, & entring into Angus, began to ſpoyle & ſlea downe right all ẏ was before him, without regard to impotent, aged, tender infants, or other. The Picts alſo being kindled herewith, gathered their power togither, & encountring with the Scots, there was a ſore battell fought betwixt them, but the Scots firſt putting the wings of their enimies hoſte to flight, at length diſcõfited their mayne battell alſo, being left naked on bothe ſides of all ayde or ſuccour, great ſlaughter was made in the chaſe of the Pictes as they fled hither & thither to ſaue themſelues. So that among other their king named Nectanus brother to the aboue remembred Nectanus, being wounded with an arrow died within three dayes after that this cruell conflict was ended. The courage of the Scottes nowe being aduaunced with this their proſperous ſucceſſe, they paſſed forthwith ouer ẏ riuer of Tay, to robbe, harrie, and ſpoyle the countrey of Fyfe.

The Scots diſcomfite pictes.

An other Nectanus in the pictiſh hoſt receyued the fight of the Scottes.

The Pictes perceyuing themſelues not to be ſtrong inough to matche with theyr enimies in playne field at hãds ſtrokes, determined yet with ſkirmiſhes and light encountrings if it were poſſible to keepe them off from the winning of any of theyr fenſed townes, caſtels or ſtrong holdes. And to be the more able to maintaine thẽſelues in this theyr purpoſed intention, they choſe one Hierguſt to theyr king, a man of ſubtill nature, and craftie imaginatiõ. This Hierguſt deuiſing how to deliuer his countrey of ſuch an intollerable enimie as Fethelmacus was, procured two ſlie fellowes Picts by nation, to counterfeyte thẽſelues for Scots, & for that they were cunnyng throwers of the darte, in which kinde of exerciſe the ſame Fethelmacus toke great pleaſure, they were apointed to make ſute to be in ſeruice with him, to the intent that when they might eſpie theyr time, they ſhould ſlea him, by one kind of meane or other.

Hierguſt choſen king of pictes.

A pretie treaſon.

They

They (according as they were inſtructed cõming into Scotland) found meanes not only to haue place in the kings houſe, but alſo to corrupt one of his Muſitians an harper, & to bring him to be of counſell with them, in this their wicked purpoſe. By reaſon whereof, in one night as hee lay at Carpk, where he was buſie to make his proviſion there for the warres againſt the Picts, the ſame Muſitian (hauing playde in the kings bed chamber, till he had brought him a ſleepe) did let in thoſe .ij. Pictiſh traytours, who forthwith ſlew him euen as he lay ſo ſleeping: but the king groning grieuouſly at the deadly ſtroke, ſome of them that watched before the chamber doore, perceyuing what was happened, followed after the murtherers, who fledde with all ſpeede vnto the next mountaines, where they ſought to defende themſelues with hurling downe ſtones vpõ thẽ that came vp towardes them: but in the end, being taken, & confeſſing the deede, with the whole manner of the ſame, they were drawen in peeces with wilde horſes, the Muſitian being alſo apprehended & conuict of the treaſon, ſuffered ſemblably the like kinde of death. Fethelmacus came to his end in the .iij. yeare of his raigne being the ſecond yeare after the death of the Emperour Valentinian. In this ſeaſon (as in times paſte hath bene beleeued) certaine bones of the Apoſtle S. Andrew, were brought forth of *Achaia*, a prouince in Grecia into Scotland, by a Grekiſhe Monke named Regulus Albatus, cõmonly called S. Reule, a man in thoſe dayes highly eſteemed, for the opiniõ which the world had cõceiued of him for his holy & vertuous life, to whõ king Hierguſt gaue his palaice that ſtoode in ẏ part of Fife, where ẏ ſame Regulus firſt lãded: at whoſe contẽplation alſo, he creãted a church in old time called Kirkruil, ẏ is, the Church of S. Reule, afterwards named ẏ old church of S. Andrewes, ſtãding in the abbey churchyarde, where ẏ Chanons were wont to be buried. But to leaue this matter to ẏ further report & credite of ẏ Scottiſh Chronicles, wee will proceede with our purpoſe.

After the death of Fethelmacus the nobles & cõmons of the Scottiſh natiõ ſent into the Ile of *Man* for Eugenius the ſonne of king Fincomarke, where he wᵗʰ his brother Ethodius had remained during the dayes of the .iij. laſt remẽbred kings, Romacus, Auguſianus, & Fethelmacus.

THis Eugenius at his cõming into Albanie was inueſted king of the Scots by cõmon conſent of all the nation. About the ſame ſeaſon Maximus the Romaine lieutenãt in Bytain, vnderſtanding of the late diſſention betwixt the Scottiſh men & Picts, deuiſed which the waies he might beſt ſubdue both thoſe nations, thereby not onely to enlarge the bounds of the Romaine Empyre, & to deliuer the Bytains from inuaſions of thoſe ſo cruell enimies, but alſo to haue the ſouth part of the Ile more obedient & loyall vnto the ſame Empyre than heretofore it had bene. He thought good therefore in ẏ beginning to aſſay if he might ioyne in friendſhip with the one of the natiõs, til he had deſtroyed the other: for he cõſidered it would be an harde peece of worke to haue to do with them both at one inſtant time.

The practiſe of Maximus to deſtroy the Scottes.

Wherupõ directing his letters vnto Hierguſt king of the Pictes, he required to renewe the old league with him & his people, promiſing to ayde him againſt the Scots, cõmon enimies not only to the Pictiſh natiõ, but alſo to all ſuch people as loued reſt & quietneſſe, as might eaſily be perceiued by their continuall practiſe & vſage, euer ſeeking to diſturbe their neighbours with rodes and forrayes, ſo that it ſtood with a general common wealth to haue thẽ vtterly diſtroyed & extirped.

He ſendeth vnto Hierguſt king of the Pictes.

Hierguſt right ioyful of theſe newes, gaue harty thanks vnto almightie God, that had moued the Romaine lieutenant to make ſuch offer vnto him, wherby the furious rage of ẏ Scots might be once repreſſed, & put away frõ his people, and therfore willing to cõfirme a friendſhip with the ſame lieutenãt, he promiſed to renew the auncient league betwixt the Romains & Picts, vpon any reaſonable cõditiõs, which he ſhould deuiſe, not only requiring his ayde at this time againſt the ſayd Scots, but alſo at all other as occaſion ſhould demaund. Maximus hauing receyued this anſweare, he found meanes alſo to come to a cõmunication with Hierguſt neare vnto Yorke, where the league was cõfirmed betwixt them, & therein ẏ Scots not only adiudged for cõmon enimies, both to ẏ Romains & Bytains, but alſo to the Picts. And further therwith were certaine orders appoynted how the warre ſhould be purſued with al expeditiõ againſt thẽ. Theſe things thus finiſhed, & both the Princes returned to their homes, Maximus ſente an Heralde vnto Eugenius the Scottiſh king, cõmaunding him on the behalf of the Romaine Empire, to make reſtitutiõ for al wrõgs & iniuries done vnto the Pictiſh nation. And further to deliuer into the handes of Hierguſt the king of the Picts the authors of the ſame wrõgs & iniuries, to be puniſhed at his diſcretiõ, or if he would refuſe thus to do, that thẽ he ſhould looke to haue the Emperour and the Romaine people enimies vnto him & all his nation.

Hierguſt his anſweare vnto Maximus his meſſage.

Maximus and Hierguſt ioyne in friendſhip, and the Scottes proclaymed enimies to the both.

An Herald ſent frõ Maximus vnto Eugenius

Eugenius for anſwere herevnto, declared that ſith his entring into the gouernmẽt of the Scottiſh eſtate, hee had done nothing that might be thought preiudiciall either to the Romains or to the Bytains their ſubiects: And as for the Picts he would be gladde to haue a peace with them if there might bee amends made for all diſpleaſures done on either parte, according as ſhoulde be thought to ſtande with equitie and reaſon.

The anſweare of Eugenius vnto the Herald.

Neyther did hee ſee what cauſe the Romains ſhoulde haue to make warres for the Pictes, agaynſt thoſe that had done them no diſpleaſure: but if it were ſo, that hee muſte needes haue warres, he would do what in him lay to defende the libertie of the Scottiſh natiō, truſting chiefly in the ſuccours of almightie God, who vſed to fauour the cauſe of the iuſt and innocent, againſt ſuche as ſought to wrong them vpon fayned quarrels without occaſion giuen.

Maximus rayſeth a mightie armie.

He inuadeth the Scottiſh regions.

Maximus receyuing this anſwere from Eugenius, aſſembled with all ſpeede a ſtrong and mighty armie of Romains, Brytains, & French men, with the which entring into Weſtmerlād, he ſpoyled that countrey moſt miſerably, taking diuers caſtels & ſtrong holdes by force, the which he furniſhed with garriſons of his people, and

Cruell warres.

then paſſing into Annandale, brenned and haried the ſame: from thence he entred into Galloway, omitting no kinde of tyrannie that might be ſhewed againſt the inhabitantes, ſo that the feare was greate throughout all the countrey: for of many yeares before, ſo great an armie had not bene ſeene in thoſe parties.

Eugenius gathereth his power, fighteth with his enimies, and is diſcomfited.

Eugenius notwithſtanding, gathering his power togither, determined to trie the fortune of battell, & ſo ioyning with his enimies neare vnto the water of Cree, his people were quickly put to flight, & chaſed, by reaſon that they were muche inferiour in number: but the Romains purſuyng

The Romains following too forewardly in the chaſe, receiue domage.

the chaſe, happned to light amongſt thē of Argile, whiche had not bene at the battell, but were cōming towards it, and now fiercely encountring with ſuche as purſued their friends, they cauſed them to retyre backe with ſome loſſe, wherupon the other Scottes alſo (which were chaſed) returned, and gaue a freſhe onſet, ſo that if night had not come on the ſooner, there had bene a far greater multitude of ỳ Romains ſlain in that bickering than they themſelues did thinke of. Herevpō the Romains doubting what their enimies intēded to do, they fortified their campe that night very ſtrōgly: but Eugenius vnderſtanding what

Eugenius breaketh vp his armie.

a multitude of his folkes were ſlaine in the battell, ſo that the very ſtreame of the water of Cree was ſtopped vp with dead carcaſes, he thought beſt with the aduice of his peares, to licence his people to departe to their homes, and not to fight any more with his enimies for that time.

Whiche being done, he himſelfe repayred the ſame night vnto Carricke, where he remayned for a ſeaſon, making proviſion for defence of his realme the beſt he could deuiſe. Maximus hauing knowledge in the morning how the Scots were quite gone their wayes, he determined to haue followed thē, but being aſcertayned of a rebellion amongſt the Brytains in Kent, he chaūged his purpoſe, & returned thitherwardes, to ap-

A rebellion in Kent.

peaſe that tumulte, leauing in Galloway a good parte of his armie to keepe ſuch holdes as he had got in that voyage. The yeere following Maximus was ſo buſied in ỳ ſouth parts of Brytaine, that he could not attēd vnto the warres againſt the Scots, otherwiſe than in maintayning ſuch garriſons as he had placed in their countreys, by reaſon whereof ſundry bickerings happened betwixt them of the ſame garryſons & the Scots,

The Scots domage pictes.

who laboured not onely to deliuer their owne countrey out of the handes of all forrainers, but alſo to inuade & deſtroy Pictlande, ſo that they harried the countrey of Fyfe, with part of Menteth, and Sterling ſhyre, brenning and waſting townes, caſtels and houſes moſt cruelly.

Maximus fayned gr

Wherof Maximus being certified, made ſemblāce as though he were ſore grieued therewith, but inwardly he could haue reioyced at nothing more than to heare of the iniuries done by the Scots vnto ỳ Picts, ſuppoſing it to make chiefly for his purpoſe: & herevpō preparing an armie againſt the next ſommer, whē he had diſpoſed al things in a quiet order amongſt the Brytains,

Maximus ſoones ina deth the

he ſet forward with the ſame towardes Galloway, where being arriued, there was no kinde of crueltie ſpared againſt the poore inhabitants.

Eugenius in the meane time vnderſtāding ỳ cōming of his enimies, muſtred his people, & appointed the aſſemble to be made in the countrey of Kyle, whiche way hee heard that his enimies would trauaple. Thither came alſo not only al the able mēn of the Scottiſh dominiōs, but likewiſe a great number of luſtie and ſtrong womē apt to beare armure, according to the old accuſtomed guiſe of their nation, ſo that there were numbred in this armie. l. M. perſons right fierce and hardie, deſirous either to bāquiſh the enimie with dinte of ſworde, or els to die preſently in the place.

Eugenius pareth a mie to e his com

Women to the wa

The of the Sco armie.

Maximus hearing that the Scots were thus encāped in Kyle, marched towards thē, & lodged the ſame night not far off frō the riuer of Myūda, where knowledge was giuen vnto Eugenius, ỳ Maximus was come within. v. miles of him, with a greater armie, than he had at his laſt encoūtring wᵗ him in Galloway. Theſe aduertiſements cauſed no ſmall ſturre to be rayſed in the cāpe, ſome being ſtrikē with preſent feare, where other cōtrarywiſe moued with high indignatiō, deſired nothing ſo much as to ioyne in battell wᵗ the Romains, whoſe cruell tirannie they very much deteſted. Eugenius himſelfe ſhewed no countenance of feare at all, but encouraging his people with comfortable wordes, he brought thē ſtreight in order of battell, deuided into three wardes, cōmitting one of them to the leading of his brother Ethodius, & the ſecōd to Doalus the gouernour of Argile, reſeruing the. iij. to himſelf.

The appr of Maxim towardes Scottes.

Eugeniu forteth h people.

This

This done, he made vnto them a pithie oration, declaring how neceſſarie it was for them to play the men, conſidering that in victorie conſiſted the onely hope of libertie, and in beeing vanquiſhed, their Countrey was endaungered to be brought into perpetuall bondage for euer, for the onelye marke which the Romains ſhotte at, was to oppreſſe the libertie of the whole Iſlande, and to reduce the ſame into the forme of a Prouince, to be gouerned at the wil of the victorers, to the breach of all their olde auncient lawes, and long continued cuſtomes.

With theſe and many other like reaſons hee went about to encourage the myndes of his ſubiects, in ſuch wiſe, that in maner the moſt part of them determined rather to die with honour, than to liue in ſuch miſerie, as they feared woulde enſue if the victorie ſhoulde reſt vpon the Romains ſide. And as they were in ſuch talke togither, ſodainly commeth in one of their ſcoutes wyth newes, that Maximus with his armie was euen at hande.

This was in the morning anone after the Sunne was vp, whereas he was not looked for till the euening following, inſomuche that the ſame his ſodaine arriuall chaunced ſo farre contrarie to their former expectations, troubled all their heads, and brought them into a great maze, for that hereby they were conſtrained to chaunge the order of their battailes to haue the Sunne on their backes, as they had prouided at the firſt it ſhould haue bene, if the enimies had not come vntill the after noone.

Yet notwithſtanding, they had no ſoner chaunged their place, and gotten themſelues into array of battaile againe, but that with great violence they prealled forwarde to giue the onſet vpon the Romaines. Which Maximus perceyuing, made all the ſpeede he coulde, to ſet his men in order of battaile, that he might receyue his enimies comming thus to encounter him.

The Scottes giue the onſet

So both ſides beeing fully bent to battayle, and approched within daunger of ſhot, they lette flie the ſame moſt egerly, albeit that through haſting forth to ioyne at hande ſtrokes, there was little hurt done with bowes or dartes.

The battailes ioyne.



The Scottes crying vpon the name of their worthie and moſt famous auncetter king Gald, layde aboute them moſte fiercely after they came once to the ioyning: and lykewiſe the Romains being encouraged with the chearefull wordes of the Lieutenant Maximus, boldely encountered them, ſo that it was doubtfull at the firſt whether part ſhould haue the worſe ende of the ſtaffe: but ſhortly there followed variable ſucceſſe, for on the one part, they of Roſſe and Mar, being appointed vnder Ethodius to encounter that wing of the enimies where the Pictes were, fought ſo egerly and with ſuch fierce willes, that they eaſily put the Pictes vnto flight, beating downe a great number of them as they woulde haue paſſed the water of Dune, but ſtreight wayes after failying to the ſpoyle, they were ſlayn downright by a legion of ſuche Romaines as were ſente by Maximus vnto the ſuccours of the Pictes.

The Scots hauing vanquiſhed the Picts, are ſlaine by the Romains.

On the other ſide in the left wing thoſe of Argile, Cantyre, Kyle, and Coningham, who were matched with the Brytaines, French men, and Germains, after long and cruell fight were there ſlaine in the place, greatly to their fame and glorie for euer, ſo that by this meanes the maine battaile of the Scottiſh men wherein Eugenius himſelfe ſtoode amongſt his people, was left bare and naked on both the ſydes. Which Maximus perceyuing, he cauſed the ſame to bee aſſayled on eche part with ſuch violence, that in the end longer reſiſtaunce preuayled not, but that their mayne battaile muſt needes be opened perforce, by meanes whereof Eugenius chooſing rather to die in the place, than eyther to ſaue his life by flight, or

The Scottiſh battaile is ouerthrowne.

by rendering himselfe into his enimies handes to liue in miserie. &c. was there slaine togither with a great number of his nobles and gentlemen, hauing determined by the example of their maister to die rather speedily with honour, than longer to liue with shame and reproch.

Eugenius is slaine.

Thus Eugenius lost his life with his kingdome in the thirde yeare after his first entring vnto the rule, hauing enioyed few good dayes in rest during the sayde tyme.

Such of the Scots also as were appoynted to kepe the cariage and trusse of the field, seeing their Lordes and maisters thus slaine, rushed forth with such weapos as they had at hād, in purpose to slea some number of their enimies, not passing though it should cost them also their owne liues, so that they might die reuenged. The slaughter was great whiche at the first was made, more through an obstinate desire of reuenge, than by any valiant actiuitie: but this companie being anon broken in sunder, and driuen backe, they were finally slaine and beaten downe.

The furious rage of the Scottish Carters.

Moreouer the Romains that pursued in chase after their enimies, when the battaile was done, encountered with great numbers of such women and aged persons as followed a farre off, to vnderstand the successe of the fielde, doubting what happe might fall to their children and kinsfolkes, whose slaughter when they perceyued, like people enraged they flew vpon such Romaines as they met with, but being easily vanquished, and refusing to flee, they were also slain and cut in peeces in a most miserable maner.

The Romaines hauing thus rid the fieldes of all kind of enimies, lodged that night abrode, here and there at their pleasure, where they might hear the dolefull gronings, and lamentable cōplaints of them that lay wounded, and as yet not deade, curling most bitterly the cruel tyrannie and couetous ambition of the Romans, with that most detestable disloyaltie of the Picts, procuring this murther and destruction of those people that had deserued farre otherwise at their handes.

When the morning was come, Maximus the Lieutenaunt caused the spoyle of the deade bodyes to be gathered, and equally deuided amongst his men of warre. And such as were founde sore wounded and not dead, to shewe some token of clemencie, according to the olde accustomed maner of the auncient Romaines, hee commaunded surgeons to see to the cure of them. The other being deade, he suffered to be buryed, causing the corps of Eugenius himselfe to bee enterred in most solemne and pompous sort, after the vsage of the Romaine Princes.

The spoyle deuided amongst the souldiers.

The buriall of the dead bodies by appointment of Maximus.

His brother Ethodius beeing found mangled in moste pitifull wise, and in manner halfe deade, was also taken vp by commaundement of the same Maximus, and Surgeons charged to haue the ordering of hym, and to shewe theyr diligence for the cure of his hurtes in moste speedie and gentle wise.

Ethodius wounded, committed the cure of Surgeons.

The victorie thus atchieued, Maximus surueyeth the Countreyes of Kyle, Carricke, and Conningham, with that also of Caldone, and seazeth the same into hys handes, suffering the Inhabitauntes to enioye both goodes and landes in peace and quietnesse vppon theyr othes of allegeaunce, wythoute anye further molestation.

Hiergusts desireth the vtter destruction the Scottes.

Hiergust King of the Picts with other the Nobles of that Nation, were nothing contented therewith, desirous to see the vtter destruction of all the Scottishe race. Whereunto Maximus at the first would not agree, alledging the ancient custom of the Romains, who sought rather to vanquish by benefites, than by the sword, euer vsing to spare suche as submitted themselues, and in no wise to spot their honour nor maiestie of their Empyre with crueltie.

The earnest sute of the Picts to haue the Scottishmen banished and expulsed out of the Country.

But the Picts not satisfied herewith, went about earnestly to perswade him in no condition to suffer the Scottes to haue any abyding within the confines of Bytayne, if hee wished anye quietnesse in the estate thereof, for theyr delyght (sayde the Picts) was onely set to seeke occasions howe to disturbe the peace, to liue by the pyllage and spoyle of theyr neighbours, and namely of the Picts, vnto whose confusion (as the Prophecies spake) they were begotten and borne. Finally when all theyr earnest sute myssed the wished effect, they fell to, and assayed if they might bring that to passe by wicked meede and through corrupting bribes, whiche they coulde not do by other meanes.

Where wordes faile, giftes preuaile.

And euen as it oftentymes chaunceth in suche cases, where wordes are but spent in waste, giftes yet preuayle: so also came it to passe euen here, for at length a Proclaymation came forth by procurement of the Picts, that al such as were naturall Scottishe men, shoulde by a certayne day auoyde oute of those Countreyes that they possessed in Bytayne, vppon paine of losing life and goodes, and to delyuer vp theyr houses and landes vnto suche Bytaynes and Picts as were appoynted by the Romaines for to enioy the same.

The proclamation for auoyding all Scottishmen forthe the whole Iland of Britaine.

The Scottes perceyuing themselues not able to make any resistaunce, obeyed thys commaundement, some of them passing ouer into Ireland, some into the westerne Iles, and some of them got ouer also into Norway, and Denmarke, and manye there were that got intertaynment amongest the Romaine Souldiers, and went ouer with them into Fraunce, as yet called Gallia, to serue in the warres there, and

The Scottes plagued for their hard cruelnes.

and in other places vnder ỹ Emperors enſignes.

The Pictes were ſo cruel and diligent to ſee all the Scottiſh linage conſumed, that they would not conſent that a certaine number of gentlewomen ſhould remaine behinde, who had their huſbandes ſlaine in the laſt warres, and made interceſſion in moſte lamentable wiſe vnto Maximus, that they might bee permitted to abide in their natiue Countrey all the reſidue of their lyues, though in ſeruile eſtate, to the ende that they might bee buryed after the ſame were once ended in graues with their ſlaine huſbandes.

Moreouer where Cartandis Queene of the Scottes, late wife vnto Eugenius, was brought vnto Maximus, with two gentlewomen and a groome from the tumbe of hir husband, where ſhe had remayned euer ſithe his buriall in continuall mourning, forſomuche as ſhe was a Brytayne, and diſcended by lynage from the Princes of Wales, Maximus lamenting hir miſerable caſe, aſſigned the Citie of Carricke vnto hir, with certaine other reuenues for the maintenance of hir eſtate. But after ſhe had taken leaue of ſuche as had the cõduction of hir, and was come into a village not farre from Carricke aforeſayd, it chaunced that a ſort of Pictiſhe ryders, (or as I maye call them robbers) met with hir, ſmall to hir profite, & leſſe to their own eaſe, for they did not only ſlea hir groome, but alſo beate hir gentlewomen, and ſtripped both them and hir of all that they had, whereof Maximus being enformed, cauſed them that had done ſo vile a deede to bee apprehended and executed by death, according as they had deſerued. The Queene hirſelfe being brought backe vnto Maximus, and honourably entreated, had all hir ſubſtance reſtored vnto hir againe ſo neare as it was poſſible.

But the Pictes being offended herewith, and ſpecially for the putting to death of their men, ſundrie of their Nobilitie came vnto Maximus, and began to make a ſore complaint in that behalfe, declaring that the deſertes of their Nation had not beene ſuche towarde the Romaine Empyre, as to haue their people put to execution for a womans ſake, being both an enimie and a priſoner: therefore they requyred that ſhe might be confined into Brytayne, and according to the tenor of the proſcription, ſpoyled of all hir goodes.

Here Cartandis being preſent hirſelfe, began to make pitifull lamentation, bewayling hir moſt vnhappie eſtate, in that contrarie to the order of hir wretched caſe and preſent miſerable fortune, ſhe ſhoulde nowe be forced to returne againe into hir Countrey: wiſhing rather than ſhe ſhould be inforced ſo to doe, that ſhe might offer vp hir life, as a ſacrifice in the place of hir huſbandes burial: and therefore holding vp hir handes vnto Maximus in moſt pitifull wiſe, ſhe beſought hym inſtantly, that it might pleaſe him, either to ſuffer hir to paſſe the reſidue of hir life after ſuch ſort as ſhee thought beſte agreed wyth hir widowlike eſtate, or elſe to take the ſame from hir preſently by ſome violent meanes of execution.

There was not a man other than the Pictes, that ſawe and heard hir at that inſtant, but lamented hir woefull diſtreſſe, ſo that in the end the requeſt of the Pictes was diſallowed, and Cartandis hauing liuing aſſigned hir for the maintenance of hir degree, was licenced to depart into what place ſhee thought expedient, there to liue as ſhee thought beſt withoute lette or diſturbaunce.

The ſame tyme the Scottiſhe Biſhops and Prieſts being baniſhed as well as the other ſort of the Scottiſh people, a number of their Monkes got them into the Ile of Iona, now called Colmkill, where they erected a Monaſterie for theyr owne habitation, the worthineſſe whereof hath beene right famous, euen vnto theſe our dayes, as that whiche was afterwarde endowed wyth many fayre reuenues by diuerſe of the Scottiſhe kings, who had their burials there after the returne of the Scottes into Albanie as ſhal be hereafter expreſſed.

The Monaſterie of Iona buylded by baniſhed Scottiſh Monkes.

The yeare in the whiche the Scottiſhmen were thus banquiſhed by the Romaines and Pictes, and finally confined out of theyr ſeates, was from the creation of the worlde 4319, after the byrth of our Sauiour 352. from the beginning of the Scottiſhe kingdome 679. and the thirde yeare of Magnentius.

The time that the Scottes were thus confined.
5547. H.B.
379. H.B.
710. H.B.

The ſame yeare before Eugenius gaue battail vnto Maximus, many ſtraunge ſights were ſeene in the furtheſt partes of Albion, ſtryking a wonderful dread into many mens hearts.

The ſecond yeare of Iulian the Apoſtata. H.B.
Straunge viſions.

In the night ſeaſon in the ayre were ſeene fiue ſwordes and other weapons moue in a long ranke, after comming togither on a heape, and being chaunged into an huge flame as it had ben a firebrande, it then baniſhed away. The waters of the ryuer of Dune ran with bloud, the bankes of the ſame ryuer flaſhed oft tymes as they had beene all on a fire. There were ſeene alſo a number of ſmall byrdes fall out of the ayre ſo thicke, that it ſeemed it had rayned byrdes, and incontinently came a great number of Rauens that deuoured vp the ſame.

Swordes and weapons ſeene in the ayre.

It rayneth byrdes.

Certaine Witches and Southſayers declaring that theſe things betokened the deſtruction of the Scottiſhe kingdome, were commaunded by the Prieſtes to holde their peace on payne of death, as they that tolde nothing but lyes and fables, though afterwardes their tales proued moſt true.

But to returne to our hiſtorie. Ethodius the brother of Eugenius being cured, as is ſayde by commaun-

Ethodius confined into Denmarke.

commaundement of Maximus, was yet baniſhed amongſt the reſidue, and conſtrained to take an othe, that he ſhoulde immediately repayre into Denmarke, and hereafter not to approch nearer vnto the coaſtes of Albion, for doubt of ſome newe attempt that might be made by the Scots throughe his meanes, thereby to returne into their Countrey agayne, and to recouer theyr former eſtate.

But this ſtayed not them of the weſterne Iles, but that aſſembling themſelues togyther, and choſing one Gillo to their capitain they paſſed ouer into Argyle, where in the ende they were encountered by ſuch Pictes as were ſet there to defende that Countrey, and ſlaine eche mothers ſonne. Their veſſelles were alſo taken and brought into ſundrie Hauens of the Countrey to ſerue for defence of the coaſtes vppon any newe enterpriſe which the Scottes ſhoulde chaunce to make: but the other Scottes perceyuing they were not able to furniſhe forth a newe armie in the Iles by any ayde they might purchaſe there, ſayled ouer into Irelande, where preſenting themſelues vnto the King of that Region, they declared vnto him from poynt to poynt all their infortunate chaunces, and lamentable calamities which were happened vnto them of late throughe the tyrannicall puiſſance of the Romaines, and malicious enuie of the Pictes, in ſuche ſort as nothing coulde be more miſerable than their preſent eſtate, conſidering the ruine of ſo mightie a kingdome, and the final baniſhment of the inhabitants from their houſes and lands, which had beene in poſſeſſion of them and theyr elders, by the ſpace almoſte of ſeuen hundred yeares.

Gillo choſen captaine of the baniſhed Scots in the weſtern Iles comming into Argile, is vanquiſhed by the Pictes.

The Scottes repayre into Irelande.

The Iriſhe king with his Nobles moued with pitie to heare and vnderſtande ſo dolefull calamities to haue chaunced vnto that Nation, whoſe good or bad happe coulde not but touche them verie neare, conſidering they were diſcended both of one progenie, comforted theſe Scottiſhe men to the beſt of their powers, and in the ende concluded to ayde them with tenne thouſande men, and to furniſh them forth with ſhips, victayles, and munitions to paſſe into Albanie for recouerie of their Countrey.

The king of Irelande with his nobles lament the Scottiſh mens caſe.

The Iriſh men conclude to ayde the Scottiſhmen.

This ayde being put in a readineſſe, and the ſhippes rigged and decked as was requiſite for ſuch an enterpriſe, they toke the ſeas, and landing in Cantyre, chaunced to meete with Heirdozſtane brother to Heirguſt king of the Pictes, accompanied with a great number of Picts and Brytaynes aſſembled to defende the Countrey, but being ſharpely aſſayled of the Scottes and Iriſh men they were quickely put to flight, and ſuch as were ouertaken dyed on the ſworde, to the great terrour of all the newe inhabitants that were planted in thoſe parties.

The Scottes and Iriſhmen lande in Cantyre.

The Pictes encounter with the Scots and Iriſh men, and are diſcõfited.

This victorie thus atchieued, there were that gaue counſell not to attempt fortune ouer farre, but to take ſuche bootes of goodes and priſoners as they had got in the Countrey, and to returne therewith into Irelande. Other were of a contrarie opinion, ſuppoſing it beſt to followe the victorie, and eyther to recouer againe theyr auncient ſeates, or elſe to die in the valiaunt attempt thereof. Which aduice was followed, as the beſt, though it proued otherwiſe: for before they could come to any concluſion of that enterpriſe, the Romaines, Pictes, and Brytaynes gathered themſelues togither, & gaue battail again to that Scottiſhe and Iriſhe companie, wherein they ouerthrewe them, to theyr vtter ruyne and deſtruction.

The Scottiſh me ouerthre

The newes of this infortunate encounter being brought into Irelande, put the king and his Nobles there in ſuch feare of the Romaines, that they thought it beſt vñ al ſpeed to ſend Ambaſſadors vnto Maximus to ſew vnto him for peace. They that were ſent at the firſt were ſore blamed and checked by Maximus, for that they had ayded the Scottiſhe men in the laſt inuaſion made into Albion: but at length accepting their excuſe, hee graunted a peace vpon certaine conditions, wherof the moſt principall article was, that in no wyſe they ſhould receyue, ayd, or ſuccour any enimie to the Romain empire. This Maximus hauing got a quiet peace on eche ſide, vſed al meanes poſſible howe to procure the loue of his ſouldiers and men of warre, ſhewing hym ſelfe not only gentle, curteous and meeke towardes them, but alſo ſo liberall and free, that his bountrous giftes paſſed all vnderſtanding: in ſo muche that as is reported by writers, he beſtowed in one day neare hande as much in rewardes, as the reuenue of Brytayne yeelded to the Empyre in a whole yeare.

The king of Irelande keth for

Maxim teth po the Iriſh

Maximus keth by bounte beralitie win the pictiſh

This franke liberalitie and curteous behauiour he vſed not onely towardes the Romaines, and his other men of warre, but alſo towardes the Brytaynes and Pictes, conforming hymſelfe ſo neare vnto theyr manners and faſhions, that at his comming into Pictlande, he layde away his Romaine apparell, and arayed himſelfe in garments after the Pictiſh guiſe.

By this maner of meanes therefore hee wan him ſuch loue and fauour, as well amongeſt his ſouldiers, as alſo amongſt the Pictes and Brytaynes, that in the ende by common conſente they choſe him for Emperour, in the 383. yeare after Chriſte, proteſting generally, that they would owe onely theyr obeyſance vnto him as to their ſupreme gouernour.

Maxim choſen rour in tayne.

Here the Scottiſh Chronicles ſomewhat varie from other writers, who affyrme that Maximus

mus was thus aduaunced to the Imperiall dignitie, rather by conſtraint of his men of warre, than by any meanes whiche he of himſelfe vſed to attaine vnto the ſame. Where the ſaide Chronicles neuertheleſſe ſhewe, that it came chiefly to paſſe by his owne ſeeking, procuring certain perſons to worke for him as inſtruments to frame other to this his purpoſed intent.

He helde the dominion of the Empyre being thus preferred to the Imperial eſtate, the ſpace of fiue yeares. All the countreyes and people of Albion beeing at his commaundement without contradiction: whiche had not chanced vnto any one mã before his time, ſith ẏ Ile was firſt inhabited.

At length deſirous of more Empire, he paſſed ouer into France with a mightye armie, in purpoſe to ſubdue al France and Italie, with ſuch other countries as were obedient vnto Gratian as then Emperor of Rome. But how proſperouſly he ſpedde in the beginning, and how at length he was ſlain at Aquileia in Italy, ye ſhal find in ẏ hiſtorie of England a great deale more at large.

By reaſon of ſuch trouble in the eſtate of the Romaine Empyre, Octauius the ſonne of Octauius late king of the Brytaynes, the which (as before is ſayde) fledde into the Ile of Man, and after departing from thence, got ouer into Fraunce, returned nowe into Brytayne, and did ſo much there, that the Brytains receyued him to theyr king: but ſhortly after he was conſtrayned to agree with the Romaine Emperour Theodoſius, ſo that the Brytaynes ſhoulde pay theyr wonted tribute, and liue vnder ſuche lawes as by the Emperor ſhould be to them preſcribed. In al other reſpects Octauius ſhoulde be reputed during his life for king. Immediately hereupon two Lieutenãts were ſent from Theodoſius, of whõ the one named Martius ſoiourned at London, and the other called Victorine, at Yorke. And with al expedition they began to put the Romain lawes in practiſe, aboliſhing the olde Britiſhe lawes, to the greate offence of many that coulde not well brooke ſtraunge ordinances. Namely the Pictes repyned ſore thereat, and vſed moſt an ende their owne lawes and conſtitutions, greatly to the contempt of the Romaine eſtate.

Whereof Victorine the one of the Romaine Lieutenants hauing knowledge, gaue ſtrayte commaundement vnto Hierguſt the Pictiſhe king, that in no wiſe hee ſhoulde ſuffer the olde lawes and rude ordinaunces of his Countrey, to be vſed any longer amongſt his ſubiects, vppon payne that might enſue for diſobedience ſhewed towards the Maieſtie of the Romaine Empyre.

Hierguſt nowe perceyuing into what thraldome and miſerie his Countrey was brought, by meanes of the warres which he had procured againſt his neighbours the Scottiſhe men, as a man ſore repenting his paſſed follie, and ſeeing no readie meane preſente howe to reforme the ſame, being aged and ſore broken with continuall ſickneſſe, he got himſelfe ſecretly into his priuie Chamber, where immediately hee ſlue hymſelfe, to be ridde of the ſight of that preſent ſeruile eſtate, into the whiche he ſawe both him and his whole Countrey reduced. Hierguſt ſlayeth himſelfe.

Whoſe death being once knowne, Victorine commaunded that the Pictes ſhould not chooſe any other from thenceforth, to raigne as King ouer them, nor to obey any other Magiſtrates, but onely ſuch as ſhoulde bee appoynted to haue the gouernment of them, by commaundement and commiſſion of the Romaine Emperour. For it was agreed, as he alledged, by the tenour of the league, concluded betwixt Hierguſt and Maximus, that after the deceaſſe of the ſame Hierguſt, all his dominions ſhoulde bee gouerned by Romaine officers in fourme of a Prouince. Howbeit the Pictes nothing regarded the wordes of Victorine, but by common agreement choſe one Durſtus the ſeconde ſonne of Hierguſt to bee their king. The Pictes are forbidden to create a king. Durſtus is choſen king of the Pictes.

Whereupon Victorine beeing enformed of theyr doings, rayſed a power, and made ſuche ſpeede towardes them, that hee was gotten ſo neare vnto the Citie of Camelon, ere they had any knowledge of his approch, that Durſtus with other of the Nobles, beeing as then within the ſame, could not haue ſpace to eſcape their wayes, but being forthwith beſieged within it, at length they were taken by force of aſſault, and the citie ſacked, to the great enryching of the Romaine armie, and vtter vndoing of the poore Inhabitauntes. Durſtus is beſieged of the Romaines.

Durſtus with other the chiefeſt priſoners were firſte had vnto London, and from thence conueyed to Rome, there to haue iudgement by deeree of the Senate. The reſidue of the nobles that were taken there, ſuffered in the markette place at Camelon. Durſtus is brought priſoner to London.

Thus was that tumult appeaſed, and the Picts commaunded to pay yearly vnto the Emperours procurator the fourth parte of all theyr reuenues growing of theyr corne and cattell. Beſide this trybute hee charged them alſo wyth diuerſe baſe ſeruices, as to labor in metſal mines, to digge ſtones forth of the quarreys, and to make bricke to bee ſent into Brytaine, or into other places whyther it pleaſed hym to commaunde it. The Picts become tributaries. They are put to their baſe ſeruices.

The cauſe why hee burdened them in ſuche ſort was (as hee ſayde) to teache them to knowe themſelues. For they were become ſo loſtie ſithe the departure of the Scottiſhmen out of the Ile, that if they were not reſtrayned in time by authoritie of the Romaine puiſſaunce, the whole

Britiſh

Britishe nation were like to be shortly disquieted, by theyr wilfull meanes and insolent presumptions.

Neither was it thought sufficient vnto Victorine to charge the Pictes in manner as is before specified, but to theyr further greeuaunce hee deuised an other way, whereby to bring them in the ende vnto vtter destruction, whiche was this: he constrayned them togither with theyr wyues, children, and whole familyes, to remoue beyonde the water of Forth, and to leaue all the Countreys on this syde the same water as well those whiche they auncientlye had inhabited, as the other which of late apperteyned vnto the Scottes, and were assigned vnto them by Maximus to possesse, after that the Scottes were expelled.

The Pictes are commaunded to dwell beyonde the water of Forth.

All whiche Countreys thus by the Pictes nowe left voyde, were appoynted by Victorine vnto the Brytaynes, as subiectes to the Empyre, to be inhabited. And for a perfite diuision betwixte the Pictes, and the same Brytaynes, hee commaunded a Wall to bee made, and a trench to be cast alongst by the same, from Abyrcorne, throughe the territorie of Glaskow vnto Alcluthe, or Auldcluch, now clalled Dunbreton, so running from the East Sea vnto the West. Hereto proclamation was made, that if any of the Pictishe nation did enterprise to passe this Wall, and to enter into the Brytishe confines without licence of the Magistrates, hee should die for it.

A wall made to diuide the Brytains from the Pictes.

The Pictes forbidde to passe ouer beyonde that wall.

Whylest the Pictes through theyr owne fault, are thus brought into moste miserable subiection of the Romaines, the Scottishe men as is sayde) beeing banished the lande, lyue in other Countreyes by shyfting oute the tyme so well as they myght, some continuing wyth theyr wyues and children, gotte a poore lyuing wyth theyr hande, as exercysing some Science or occupation. Other there were that followed the warres, and serued vnder sundrye worthie Captaynes here and there as occasion serued.

The Scottes liue in other Countreys.

But Ethodius the brother of Eugenius commaunded (as is sayde) to goe into Denmarke, was ioyfully receyued of the King there. Who also gaue hym an office, therewyth to mainteyne hys degree, so that hee lyued there certayne yeares in ryght honourable estate, and begatte of his wyfe whom he brought thyther wyth hym forth of Albanie, a sonne named Erthus, who after his fathers decease hadde issue by hys wyfe called Rocha (a Ladie of highe Parentage amongest the Nobles of Denmarke, as daughter to one Rorichus second person of the Realme) a sonne named Ferguse, whose chaunce was afterwardes to restore the Scottish nation againe to their former estate and Kingdome.

Ethodius brother vnto Eugenius, late king of Scotlande.

Eith the sonne of Ethodius, begot Ferguse

In his yong yeares, hee was appoynted to serue vnder Alaryke the Gottishe King in that famous voyage which he toke in hande agaynst the Romaine Empyre. For suche was the hate as then of all the Northerne Regions and Kingdomes towardes the Romaine name, that by generall agreement they conspyred togyto the vtter ruyne and finall destruction thereof. And so eche of them sente forth a power in ayde of the sayde Alaryke chosen by common consent as Generall of the whole enterpryse.

The Go make an dition a the Emp of Rome

Ferguse being set forth by the King of Denmarke with a power of Danes, and with a chosen number of suche Scottish men as were withdrawne into those parties went with the better will, for that besyde the common quarell, he bare a priuate grudge towardes the Romanes for the vsing of his auncetters so cruelly in expulsing them oute of theyr owne homes and natiue Countrey.

Fergusc sent to the Got

This Fergus was present with the Gothes at the wynning of Rome, in the sacking whereof, amongest other spoyles, hee gotte (as is reported) a certaine Chest full of bookes, the whiche some holde opinion hee brought afterwardes into the westerne Iles, and caused them to bee kept in Iona, nowe Colmekill, within a library there buylded for the same intent. Which bookes (as is to bee supposed) were certaine hystories or monumentes of olde antiquities. But the same were so defaced in the dayes of Hector Boetius (who as hee himselfe writeth, caused them to be brought ouer vnto him to Aberdyne) that it coulde not be vnderstoode of what matter they intreated.

Rome sa

It is written moreouer of Ferguse that hee continued wyth Alaryke in all hys enterpryses, so long as hee lyued, and afterwardes serued vnder hys successour Athaulfus, to hys greate fame, and in suche honourable estimation, as fewe were founde comparable vnto him in those dayes.

Fergus Captain Alarike Athaulf of the G

At length requyring a safeconduyte to returne into Denmarke, he was licenced to depart with highe and right bountifull rewardes, as in part of recompence of his good and faythfull seruice shewed, during the tyme of the warres, as wel in the life time of the sayd Athaulfus, as also in the dayes of his predecessour the foresayde Alaryke.

Fergus leaue ren againe talie in Denmark

About the same season, the Bishoppes sea of Candida casa, otherwyse called Quhitterne, was fyrst instituted by one Ninian a preacher, that toke greate paynes, (as the report hathe gone) to instruct the Pictes and Brytaynes in

Saint N

the

the Chriſtian fayth. Hee was afterwardes reputed a Saint, and the place of his buriall had in ſuch veneration, that many vſed to reſort thither for deuotion ſake, as the maner in tymes paſt was when pilgrymage goings were vſed.

But nowe to returne where wee left touching the Pictes, and to ſhewe the maner howe the Scottes returned againe into Albanie: Wee ſhall vnderſtande, that the Pictes beeing brought into ſeruile bondage (as before wee haue partlye declared) and doubting daylye of worſe to enſue, they ſent ſecrete meſſengers vnto ſuche Scottes as remayned in exyle in the Weſterne Iles, in Norway, and in other partes of the worlde, promiſing them, if they woulde giue the attempt for recouerie of theyr auncient dwelling places in Albanie, they ſhoulde bee ſure of all the ayde that in them lay, being readie to ſpende their lyues to reuenge the iniuryes whiche they daylye ſuſteyned at the Romaines handes, whoſe continuall practiſe euer was howe to oppreſſe the auncient libertyes of all ſuch Nations as came vnder theyr ſubiection. The experience whereof they nowe felte, to theyr vnſufferable greeuaunce, looking for nothing elſe but ſhortlye to bee expulſed oute of theyr Countrey, and dryuen to goe ſeeke them other places to inhabite in ſtraunge Countreys, after the manner of Outlawes, as it had chaunced alreadie to the Scottes by commaundement of Maximus, as before is expreſſed.

Fergus vnto whom amongſt other this meſſage was chiefly directed, reioyced greatly of the newes. And firſte conferring with the king of Denmark, of whoſe ayde he knew himſelfe aſſured, by his aduiſe he ſent letters abrode forthwith into Norwaye, Orkney, the Weſterne Iles, and into Ireland, vnto ſuch of the Scottiſh men as dwelt in thoſe places to vnderſtande theyr minde herein.

And beeing certifyed that they were vniuerſally agreed, not onely to trye theyr chaunce for recouerie of theyr former eſtate and Kingdome, but alſo had choſen him to be gouernour & generall Capitaine in that enterpryſe: he prepared partly at his owne coſtes, and partly at the charges of the king of Denmarke, and other of his friendes and alyes there, a greate multitude both of men of warre and Shippes, in purpoſe to paſſe ouer into Albanie to recouer hys Grandfathers eſtate, whiche as it was thought myght nowe bee the more eaſily brought to paſſe, ſithe the Pictes woulde ayde him thereto, vppon an earneſt deſire whiche they had to reuenge theyr owne iniuries receyued at the Romaines hands, and to delyuer themſelues from ſuch thraldome as they dayly felte themſelues oppreſſed wyth, doubting withall ſhortly to bee quite expelled out of theyr whole Countrey, as they had bene forced to forgoe a great and the better part therof alreadie.

In this meane tyme, one Gratian diſcended of the Brytiſhe bloud, by conſent of the Romain Legate Martius, (both of them going agaynſte theyr allegiaunce) vſurped the gouernaunce of Brytayne by his owne priuate authoritie: but ſhortly after, they two falling at variance togither, the one of them ſlue the other. And then the Souldiers not ſtaying till they vnderſtoode the pleaſure of Honorius the Emperour, choſe one Conſtantine to ſucceed in the place of Martius, who paſſing ouer into Fraunce, was ſlaine there by Conſtantius, one of the Captaynes of the ſayd Honorius.

Gratian vſurped the gouernance of Brytaine.

Martius ſlain.

Conſtantine ſucceedeth Martius.

Conſtantine is ſlaine.

Vlkorine the other of the Romaine Legates hearing of the deathe both of Martius and Conſtantine, remoued from Yorke vnto London, the better to prouide for the ſafe keeping of the lande to the Emperour Honorius hys vſe: for that hee doubted ſundrie daungers whiche might chaunce, by reaſon the Countrey was as then vnprouided of men of warre, the moſte part of them beyng tranſported ouer into Fraunce, with the forenamed Conſtantine, and not agayne returned.

The Lieutenãt of the north commeth to London.

The Pictes enfourmed of theſe things, ſente worde with all ſpeede vnto Fergus, requiryng him to make haſte, ſith if he ſhould haue wiſhed for a conuenient tyme, a better coulde not bee deuiſed: conſidering the preſent ſtate of things as well in Brytayne, as in other partes of the Romain Empyre, the people euerie where being readie to moue rebellion.

The Pictes ſend ſpeedily vnto Fergus.

Fergus vnderſtanding the whole, by ſuche meſſengers as ſtyll came one after another vnto hym from the Pictes, hee haſted to departe wyth all diligence: and when all things were readie, hee toke the Sea with hys armie, and within eight dayes after, he arryued in ſafetie wythin the Fyrth of Murray lande with all his veſſelles and people, where taking lande, and worde thereof beeing brought into Irelande, into Orkeney, and into the Weſterne Iles, all ſuche of the Scottiſhe lynage as lyued in thoſe parties in exyle, came wyth theyr wyues, children, and whole families in moſte ſpeedie wiſe vnto hym, as thoughe the Countrey had beene alreadie recouered out of the enimies handes, withoute all doubtes of further perill or buſineſſe.

Fergus arryued with his ſhips in Murrey Fyrth.

The Pictes alſo reioyſing greatly at the newes of his comming, repayred vnto hym, and ſhewed him all the honour that might be deuiſed, beſeeching him to pardon and forget all iniuryes and diſpleaſures by them wrought and contryued in tymes paſte againſte the

The Pictes ioyfully receyue Fergus.

Scottiſh

Scottish nation, sithe now they were readie for the aduauncement thereof to spende theyr lyues agaynst such as were enimies to the same. Neither was the fault theyrs, in that Hiergust had consented with the Romaines to banishe the Scottish people, but in their auncetters, who being blinded through the fayre wordes and sweet promises of the Romaines, sawe not the mischiefe which they brought vpon their own heads, and their posterities. Therefore they desired him to renue againe the league betwixt the Pictish and Scottish Nations, with such conditions of appoyntment as it shoulde please him to prescribe.

The Pictes craue pardon excusing them selues.

Fergus.

Fergus by consent of his Nobles answerd, that he was contented to stablish the league with them, euen according to the tenour of the auncient agreement, and to ioyne his power wyth theyrs to helpe to restore them vnto their former estate and liberties, so that they woulde bee contented to surrender vp into the Scottishe mens handes, all such townes and Countreys, from the which they had beene expulsed by great fraud and iniurie. And as for the displeasures done to the Scottishe men in tymes past by ayding the Romaines agaynst them, (as he thought) the Pictes had felt punishment ynough for the same alreadie, being reduced into most seruile and miserable bondage, as iustly rewarded by almightie God for their great vntrouthes, shed and shewed towardes theyr auncient neighbours, faythfull friendes and allies.

The Picts punished for their vntruthes

The Pictes were throughly pleased and satisfied with Fergus his wordes, so that within few dayes after, theyr king (whome they had lately chosen sith the time that the Scottish men were thus returned) came vnto Fergus, and ratifyed the league with him, according to the articles of that other whiche in tyme past had beene obserued on the behalfe of the Scottishe and Pictish nations, with such solemne othes and assurance, as betwixt princes in semblable cases, of custome is requisite and necessarie.

The auncient league renued again betwixt the Scottes and Pictes.

Then were those Countreys restored to the Scottish men againe, out of the which they had beene expelled by the Romaines power.

The Scottes restored to their coūtryes

Fergus



Fergus is cōueyed into Argyle, and there inuested king.

AND Fergus then being cōueyed with a right honorable cōpanie of lords, gentlemen, & commons into Argyle, was there placed on the Chayre of Marble, and proclaymed king wyth all such accustomed pompe and ceremonies as to him appertayned.

This was in the. xlv. yeare after the Scots had beene dryuen forth of Albanie, and after the byrth of our Sauiour 424. in the yeare after the death of Honorius the Emperour, and from the first erection of the Scottish kingdome 750. yeares complete.

422. H
396. Io
The 18. y of the Emp Honorius
755. H

All suche Castelles also and Fortresses as the Pictes helde within any of those Countreys, which belonged vnto the Scottes, were surrendred into theyr handes in peaceable wise: but the residue whiche the Romains kepte were earnestly defended for a whyle, though at legth through want of victuals & other necessaries, they lykewyse were deliuered.

If I should here say what I thinke, and that mine opinion might passe for currant coyne, I would not sticke to affyrme that either now first (or not long before their late supposed expulsion from hence) the Scottes settled themselues to inhabite here within this Ile, and that they had no certain seates in the same til then. But that comming either forth of Irelande, or frō the westerne iles wher they before inhabited, they vsed to make often inuasions into this land, greatly molesting as well the Brytaynes, the auncient inhabitants thereof, as the Romaines that then helde the Ile vnder their subiection. For I can neyther perswade my selfe, nor wishe other to beleeue, that there was any suche continuaunce in succession of kings, as their histories doe mention, and as we haue here before set downe in following the same histories, bycause wee will not willingly seeme to offer iniurie to their nation, which peraduenture are otherwise perswaded, & thinke the same succession to be most true, where other perchance may cōiecture (& not moued therto without good reason) that suche kings as in their hystories are auouched to raigne one after another here in this Ile, eyther raigned in Irelande, or in the oute Iles, and that verily not successiuely, but diuerse of them at one season, and in diuerse places. Which mistaking of the course of hystories hath bredde errours, not onely among the Scottish wryters, but euen among some of the Brytishe and Englishe writers also, as to the learned and well aduised readers it may plainly appeare. And as for Galde, and some other happely, which they take to be kings of Scottes, although they raigned in that parte of this Ile which afterwardes was possessed by Scots, and after them named Scotland, yet were they mere Brytaynes, and had little to do with Scottes, except perchaunce we may thinke that they helde the out Iles in subiection, where the Scots were then inhabiting, farre longer time perhaps (before their settling in Brytayne) than theyr hystories

When the Scottes first got certain seates here this Ile of Brytaine as some thinke

make

make mention.

But nowe to returne where wee left. After that Victorine the Romain legate was aduertiſed of all the forerememb̄red doings of the Scottiſhmen and Pictes, he cauſed an armie to be leuied with all ſpeede, and haſted forth with the ſame vnto Yorke, where beeing arriued, hee attempted by an Heralde at armes to perſwade the Pictes to forſake their confederacie lately concluded with the Scots: but perceyuing he could not bring it to paſſe, he determined to purſue both thoſe nations with open warre: and ſo therevpon ſetting forward, he paſſed forth till he came neare vnto Camelon, wher he encāped with his whole armie, hauing therein (as the report went) about fiftie thouſand perſons at the leaſt.

Athole aſsigned to the Pictes.

Fergus being aduertiſed hereof, hauing in like maner alreadie aſſembled a mightie huge hoſte, both of Scottiſhmen and Pictes, came therwith ouer the Forth, and marched forth with all ſpeed in the night ſeaſon, in purpoſe to haue ſet on hys enimies verye early in the dawning of the next morning: but Victorine hauing knowledge therof, commaunded his men to be arraunged and ſet in order of battaile by the third watch of the ſame night, ſo that being readie to receyue the Scottes vpon their firſt approch, there was fought a right ſore and cruell battaile, with ſuch ſlaughter on both partes, that the ryuer of Carron (neare vnto which their battailes ioyned) was well neare filled with dead bodies, and the water thereof ſo chaunged into a ruddie hewe, that it ſeemed as though it had runne altogither with bloud. In the ende (whileſt as yet it was doubtfull to whether ſide the victorie would encline) there came ſuch a ſodaine ſhower of raine, mixed with ſuche great abundance of hayleſtones, that neyther part was able to haue ſight of other, ſo that by reaſon of the violent rage of that huge ſtorme and tempeſt, eyther ſide was fayne to withdraw from the other.

The Brytaines by the appoint ment of Victorine make a Wall.

There were ſlaine in this battaile ſuch great numbers of men, aſwell on the one ſide as the other, that they had ſmall luſt to ioyne in battaile againe for certaine yeares after.

For the Romain Lieutenant vnderſtanding what loſſe of people he had ſuſteyned without attempting any further exployte, appoynted certaine of his companies to lie in garriſon wythin ſundrie fortreſſes in Pictlande, and wyth the reſidue hee returned into Kent. In like ſort the Scottes with their confederates the Pictes, perceyuing themſelues not able as then to make any further attempt againſt theyr enimies, brake vp theyr armye, and deuiſed onely howe they might defende that, which they had alreadie in poſſeſſion.

The Scottiſhe men and Picts interrupt the making of that Wall.

And forſomuch as the Pictiſhe Nation was encreaſed to a greater multitude of people, than thoſe Countreys which they then held, were able to finde with ſufficient ſuſtenance (conſidering what a great portion of their auncient ſeates the Brytaynes and Romaines kept from them) it was agreed by the Scottes, that they ſhoulde enioy the Countrey of Athole, with other landes bordering neare vnto the ſame, lying wythoute the compaſſe of the Mountayne of Granzebene.

The Pictes then beeing placed in Athole, encreaſed there wonderfully, and buylt many fayre Caſtels and towers in thoſe parties, to the great beautifying of that Countrey,

In which meane while, Victorine the Romaine Lieutenant commaunded the Brytayns to make haſt with the wal, wherof ye haue heard made of turfe, and ſuſteyned with certaine poſtes of tymber paſſing overthwart the borders betwixt them and their enimies, beginning as yee haue heard, at Abircorne, and ſo ſtretching forth by Glaſcow, and Kyrkpatryk, euen vnto Aldecluch, nowe Dunbryton. lxxx. myles more Northward, than the other wal, which the Emperor Adrian cauſed (as is ſayd) to be made.

Graim, otherwiſe called Graham, and his lynage.

Whereof the Scottes and Pictes being informed, they aſſembled themſelues togither, and vnder the leading of a noble man called Graym, they ſet vpon the Brytaynes, as they were buſie in working about the ſame, and ſlue not onely a great number of labourers and ſouldiours, which were ſet to labour and defende the worke, but alſo entring into the Britiſh borders, fetched from thence a great bootie of Cattaile and other riches, which they foūd diſperſed abrode in the coūtrey.

This Graym (who as I ſayde was chiefe of this enterpryſe) was brother vnto the Scottiſh Queene, the wife of king Fergus. He was borne in Denmarke (as ſome holde opinion) in the time of the Scottiſh mens baniſhment, and had a Scottiſh man to his father deſcended of a noble houſe, and a Daniſh Ladie to his mother. He himſelfe alſo maried a noble woman of that nation, and had by hir a daughter, whome Fergus by the perſwaſion of the king of Denmarke tooke to wife, and had iſſue by hir (afore his coming into Scotlande) three ſonnes, Eugenius, Dongarus, & Conſtantius, of whom hereafter in their place mention ſhall bee made, as occaſion ſerueth.

Fergus maried a daughter of Graym.

Other there be, that affyrme how this Graym was a Brytayne borne, and that through hate which he bare towardes the Romaines for their cruell gouernment, he fledde forth of his native Countrey, and continued euer after amongſt the Scottes, as firſt in Denmarke, and afterwardes in Albion, euer readie to doe what diſpleaſures hee coulde deuiſe againſt the Romaines

Diuerſitie of opinions touching the originall beginning of the Graymes.

maynes and other theyr friendes or ſubiectes. Of thys Graym thoſe Scottes which vnto this day beare that ſurname, are ſayde to bee diſcended.

But now to the purpoſe, ye ſhall vnderſtand, that after that it was knowne in forraine countreys, howe the Scottes had gotte ſote agayne within thoſe Regions in Albion, which theyr elders of auncient tyme had poſſeſſed, there came dayly dyuerſe companyes of that Nation out of Spaine, Fraunce, Germanie, and Italye, (where during the tyme of theyr baniſhment they had ſerued vnder ſundrye Captaynes) vnto Fergus to ayde hym, in recouerie of theyr Countrey and auncient ſeates, oute of the whiche they had beene moſte cruelly expulſed. So that Fergus nowe ſeeing hys power thus not a little augmented by theyr comming, entereth into the borders of Kyle, Carrik, and Cunningham, ſpoyling and harrying thoſe Countreys on euery ſide: but ſhortly therevpon commeth the armie of the Romains, with whom the Scottes encountering in battaile, receyued no leſſe domage than they minded to haue done vnto theyr aduerſaries. Wherevpon being forced to leaue that Countrey, they drewe backe into Argyle, where Fergus wyntered for that part of the yeare which yet remayned.

The Scottiſh men returne into theyr Countrey.

Fergus inuadeth the confines of the Brycaynes.

The Scots put to the worſe.

When Sommer was come, he was counſayled to haue eſtſoones offered battayle vnto Victorine, who as then was entered Galloway, rather to trie the vttermoſt poynt of Fortunes chaunce againſt him, than to ſuſtaine ſuch diſpleaſures and iniuries at the Romaines handes, as by them were dayly done vnto him and hys people, but there were other that gaue other aduice, alledging howe the daunger was great to ieopard againe in battaile with the Romaines, being mē of ſuch ſkill and practiſe in the feates of warres, conſidering what loſſe had chaunced in the two former battayles. Againe, there was great likelyhoode, that if he coulde be contented to forbeare for a tyme, and ſeeke to defende the borders of his Countrey, ſo well as he might without giuing battayle, it muſt needes come to paſſe that ſhortly the Romaine Empyre ſhoulde bee brought vnto ſuch ruynous decay, by reaſon of the multitude of enimies, whiche as then inuaded the ſame on eche ſide, that in the ende Victorine doubting his owne ſuretie, woulde conuey himſelfe wyth his men of warre out of the Countrey, and then ſhoulde it bee an eaſie matter for the Scottes and Pictes, to recouer again all ſuche Countreys, as auncienly belonged to theyr elders, and wholly to reſtore the eſtates of theyr common wealthes vnto theyr former dignities.

Victorine inuadeth Galloway.

Fergus is diſſwaded to fight with the Romanes.

The Romaine Empyre inuaded by barbarous nations.

This aduiſe was followed as the beſt and moſt likely, ſo that making ſundry rodes into the borders of their enimies Countreys ſo to keepe them ſtill occupied, Fergus and the Scottes refuſed vtterly to come to any foughten field with them. Shortly after alſo it chaunced that Victorine was accuſed vnto the Emperour Honorius of ſome ſecrete practiſe againſt his Maieſtie, as to bee about to vſurpe the crowne of Brytayne, wherevnto hee was compelled in deede, by the ſouldiers (whoſe hearttes hee had wonne thorough his bounteous liberalitie ſundrie wayes declared towardes them) and vnderſtanding at this preſent, that he was mynded to haue fled his wayes for doubt of the ſayde information made againſt him, they moued him with ſuch earneſt perſwaſions to take vppon him the Imperiall dignitie, promiſing euen to liue and die with him in defence thereof, aſwell againſt Honorius, as all other, that in the ende he conſented vnto their deſires, and ſo was proclaymed Emperor, and clothed in purpure, vſing thereto all the other Imperial ornaments, as if he had bene Emperour in deede. But afterwardes when one Heraclianus was ſent with an army by Honorius into Brytayne againſt this Victorine, the moſt part of the ſouldiers, with thoſe Brytaynes which had acknowledged him for their ſupreme gouernour, beganne to feare the ſequele of the matter, and afterward requiring pardon for their offences, they toke Victorine, and deliuered him priſoner vnto the ſame Heraclianus, with dyuerſe other of hys confederates, and ſo by this meanes was the eſtate of Brytayne recouered vnto the behoofe of Honorius, who ſhortly after ſent for Heraclianus, mynding to ſende him into Affrike againſt one Athalus, who vſurped there againſt the Romaine Empyre.

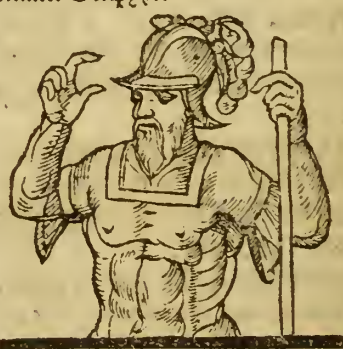
Victorine accuſed vnto Honorius.

Victorine vſeth vpon the name & authoritie of Emperour of Brytayne.

Heraclianus ſent againſt Victorine.

Victorine is deliuered to the hands of Heraclianus.

Heraclianus ſent into Affricke.



At his departure forth of Brytayne, he left one Placidus as Lieutenant and generall of the Romaine armye in thoſe parties: a man of no greate courage, and leſſe ſkill, which being perceyued of the Scottes, gaue occaſion vnto Fergus theyr king to renue the warre. And firſt hee procured Durſtus king of the Picts, being the third of that name to ioyne with him in that enterpriſe, according to the articles of the league. Who conſenting therevnto, whē their powers were once aſſembled, they entred into ꝧ marches of their enimies ouerrūning the moſt of part Kile, Carrik, & Cōningham, and after they had taken their pleaſure there they

Placidus lieutenant of Britaine.

The warre ſued by the Scottes.

The Scots & Pictes inuade the borders of their enimies.

they entered into Gallowaye, deſtroying all before them, which way ſoeuer they paſſed. Then turning into Pictland, they ſubdue the whole region, and expulſe all ſuch Romaines and Bry-

taines as inhabite in the ſame.

Placidus being aduertiſed hereof, gathered a great power, and commeth forwarde towardes them, with whom encountering in battaile, after

Placidus gathereth a power.



long fight, his horſemen chaunced to be put to flight, ſo that the legions of his footemen being left naked on the ſides, were ſo ſore beaten with the ſhot of arrowes, and hurling of dartes, that in the ende they were forced to breake their array, and ſo being chaſed, left to the Scottes and Pictes a great and ioyfull victorie. Placidus himſelfe eſcapeth vnto Yorke, whither the Scottes were minded to haue purſued him, had not the want of ſuch numbers as they had loſt at the battaile, ſomewhat abated their couragious intents.

In the meane time Placidus not onely mooued with this ouerthrowe, but alſo waying with himſelfe after what ſorte the Romaine Empyre was afflicted, with inuaſion of the barbarous Nations in Germanie, Fraunce, Spaine, Italie, and Affrike, thought it good to conclude ſome peace with the Scots and Pictes, for doubt of further miſhappes that might enſue. And ſo by ſuche meanes as he made ſhortly after, a league was concluded betwixte the Scottes, Pictes, and Romaines, with theſe conditions, that the Scottes and Pictes ſhoulde enioy and keepe their auncient ſeates and Regions, whiche they had nowe recouered, and hereafter not to make anye rodes or forrayes into the Prouince belonging to the Romaines, and that the ſame Romaines contenting themſelues with the Britiſhe confines, ſhoulde not moue any warre or hoſtilitie towards the Scots or Pictes.

This league being thus concluded and ratified, the Scottiſhe men and Pictes endeuoured themſelues to reduce the ſtate of their common wealth into the auncient fourme and order. Fergus made partition of landes and groundes throughout all his kingdome, and aſſigned the ſame forth vnto his ſubiectes the Scottiſhmen, and to ſuch other ſtraungers as were come into Albion to ſerue him in the warres againſt hys enimies, and were mynded now to remain there. The other that were deſirous to depart againe into their Countreys, he gaue them honourable rewards, with ſafeconduits to paſſe their wayes at their owne pleaſures.

Fergus deuideth the lande in partes.

At this time alſo were the names of diuerſe Countreys and people chaunged in the partes of Scotlande, vpon ſundrie conſiderations, as Cornana a part of Scotlande, lying in the furtheſt ende of all the Countrey, toke a newe name of one Cathus, a valiant Captaine, and of the promontorie there ſhooting forth into the ſea called Neſſe: ſo that beeing compounde togither, that countrey was cleped Cathneſſe.

The names of diuerſe places in Scotlande chaunged.

Cathneſſe, whereof it is ſo named.

Alſo of certaine Iriſhe men called Roſſians, the countrey of Roſſe toke that name, beeing afore named Lugia.

Roſſe.

That part of the Countrey auncientlye called Thezalia, which lyeth on the Sea coaſt, begaune to be called Buthquhane, of the trybute vſed to be payed there for ſheepe, of the which kind of Cattell there is greate ſtore in that Prouince. For Quhane in the olde Scottiſhe tongue ſignifyed trybute: and Buth, a flocke of ſheepe.

Buthquhane.

The ſignification of the name of Buthquhane.

The other parte of Thezalia lying into the landewarde, was called Bogdale, of the Ryuer named Bog, which runneth through the middes of it.

Bogdale.

Louchquhaber toke the name of a greate meare or water, into the whiche the Ryuer of

Louchquhaber

Muhabre falleth and paſſeth through the ſame, notable by reaſon of the great plentie of Salmõs taken therein.

Athole, Murray lande.

Some other Countreys there be, which keepe theyr auncient names euen vnto this day, as Athole, and Murrey lande. And ſome names remaine a little chaunged by length of time, as Argyle, for Argathile: Mar, for Marthea: and ſuch like.

Argyle, for Argathile: and Mar, for Marthea.

Ferguſe repayreth churches, and prouideth liuings for religious perſons.

Ferguſe alſo repayred ſuche Temples and Churches as the warres had defaced, and reſtored again Churchmen vnto their former liuings: and further encreaſed the ſame where hee ſawe cauſe, and builded certaine Celles and Chappels for religious perſons to inhabit in, aſſigning vnto them large reuenues for their finding.

The firſt foundation of the Abbay within the Ile of Iona now Colmkil.

He alſo layde the foundation of that famous Abbay within the Ile of Iona, now Colmkill, appoynting the ſame for the burial of kings, with certaine ordinaunces and cuſtomes to be vſed about the ſame.

Ferguſe repayreth his Caſtels.

Moreouer, in the time of peace hee was not negligent in prouiding for the defence of his realme. Such Caſtels as were decayed and ouerthrowne by the enimies in the warre time, he repayred, and in thoſe which ſtoode towardes the borders of the Britiſh countreys, he placed ſundrie garriſons of ſuch ſouldiers as wanted trades to gette theyr liuing nowe, in tyme of peace, aſſigning them ſufficient ſtypendes to liue vpon.

Placidus the Lieutenant of Britaine dieth.

In this meane tyme, Honorius the Emperour being dead, and the eſtate of the Romaine Empyre daily falling into decay, it chaunced alſo that Placidus the Lieutenant of Brytaine departed out of this life, by reaſon whereof the Scottiſh men and Pictes toke occaſion to renue the warres, making as it were a clayme vnto the Countreys of Weſtmerlande, and Cumberlande, which theyr elders in tymes paſt had held and poſſeſſed.

The Scots and Pictes renue the warre.

Entering therefore into thoſe Countreys, they take, ſpoyle, and deſtroy all ſuch of the Brytiſh nation as went about to deſtroy them. Neither ſpared they impotẽt age or other, but ſhewed great crueltie againſt all ſuche as came in theyr wayes. Many an honeſt woman they rauiſhed and miſuſed after a moſt villaynous maner.

The crueltie of the Scottes and Pictes.

The Romaine ſouldiers after the deceaſſe of Placidus, ordeyned one Caſtius to ſucceede in his rowme, who being aduertiſed of thys enterpryſe of the Scottiſhe men and Pictes, doubted leaſt (as the trouth was) that Dionethus the ſonne of Octauius ſometyme King of the Brytaynes, in hope to attayne the Crowne of Brytayne, as due to him by inheritance, would nowe ſeeke to ayde the Scottiſhe king Ferguſe, whoſe ſiſter he had in mariage. Caſtius therfore

Caſtius ordeyned Lieutenãt of Brytayne.

Dionethus, or Dionotus as ſome bookes haue.

more deſirous of peace than of warres, ſent forth a meſſenger at Armes vnto king Ferguſe, requiring him to remember the league made betwixt him and the Romaines, and to withdrawe hys power forth of the prouinces which were ſubiect vnto the ſame Romans, without proceeding any further in that vnlawfull attempt, either elſe hee ſhould be ſure to feele the puiſſant force of thoſe people readie bent againſt him, by whom his elders had beene dryuen out of theyr Countreys, and baniſhed quite forth of al their dwellings and places of habitation in Albion.

Caſtius ſendeth vnto Ferguſe.

The anſwere of king Ferguſe.

But hereunto was anſwere made with great indignation, that as for the league thus alledged, ceaſſed by the death of Placidus, ſo as for peace, there was no cauſe why he ſhould looke for any, till the whole prouinces both of Weſtmerlande and Cumberland were reſtored againe vnto the hands of the Scottiſh men and Picts, according as of reaſon they ought to be. The like anſwere alſo was made by Durſtus king of the Pictes vnto whom Caſtius had ſent a like meſſage.

Caſtius rayſeth an army.

Wherewithall the ſayde Caſtius beyng not a little moued, aſſembleth an armie, and with all ſpeed marcheth forth towardes his enimies: but before his entring into Weſtmerland, wher they were as then lodged in campe, hee had perfect knowledge how Dionethus with his Welchmẽ (for his landes lay in Wales) was alreadie ioyned with the Scottes.

Dionethus ioyneth with the Scottes againſt the Romaines.

Whiche newes ſore appalled the hearts of the Brytaynes, but yet being encouraged with comfortable wordes of their Captaines to proceede, forwarde they goe togither with the Romaines, and within three dayes after they came within ſight of their enimies, being raunged in battaile readie to receyue them, ſo that ſtreight wayes buckling togither, there was a right fierce and cruel battaile fought betwixt them, til finally the multitude of the Scottiſhe archers & Kerues ſo compaſſed in the battailes of the Romains on eche ſide, and ſpecially on the backes, that in the ende, and by reaſon of the loſſe of their generall Caſtius (who was ſlaine there amongſt them,) thoſe of the middle ward being diſcomfited, brake theyr array, and fledde. Whereupon the reſidue likewiſe followed: the Scots, Picts, and Welchmen purſuing them ſo egerly without all order, that there was no ſmall nũber of them diſtreſſed by the Romains, the which in their giuing back, kept the cloſe togither, readie to defend thẽſelues, & to beat down ſuch of their enimies as followed more raſhly than warily in the chaſe, not once regarding to keepe any order of battaile: but yet by other companyes that purſued more orderly togyther for theyr moſt aduauntage, there was great ſlaughter made both of the Romains and Brytaynes.

The armies ioyne in battaile.

The Romains giue backe.

The Scottes follow in the chaſe to raſhly.

After

After this victorie thus atchieued, Dionethus was proclaymed King of Brytaine, and ſore warres continued in the lande by the purſute of the Welchmen, Scottes, and Pictes, to the great hazard of the Prouince, and likely expulſing of al the Romains quite out of the ſame.

About this time alſo there remayned in France, one Etius Lieutenant to the Emperour Valentinianus, who vnderſtanding all theſe things by letters and meſſengers ſent from the captains which yet remayned aliue in Brytaine, appoynted one Maximianus being a kinne to the Emperour, to paſſe with an armie in all haſte ouer into Britaine, to ayde and ſuccor the Romains and ſuche Brytaynes there, as ſtill continued in theyr allegeance whiche they had promiſed vnto the Romaine Empyre.

This Maximianus at his arriuall in the Iſlande was moſt ioyfully receyued by the ſouldiers and ſubiectes of the foreſayde Empyre. All the Lordes and nobles of the Countrey reſorted alſo vnto him, ſhewing themſelues moſt glad of his comming, and promiſing with what ayde ſo euer they were able to make, to goe with him againſt their enimies. Wherevpon procuring them to aſſemble their powers, and to ioyne the ſame with his, which he had brought ouer with him, he paſſed through the countrey vnto Yorke, and ſo from thence marched forth towards the Scottes being alreadie aſſembled in campe to defende the countrey of Weſtmerland againſt him.

There were both the kings of Scots & Picts, Fergus and Durſtus, with Dionethus naming himſelfe king of the Britaines, who had brought with him beſide the Welchmen a great number of thoſe Brytaynes that inhabited in the Countreys now accounted the marches of Wales, the which onely amongſt al other the Brytaines acknowledged him for king.

The Scottes and Pictes aſſembled gaynſt the Romaines.

When both the armies were come neare togither, they camped for that night the one in ſight of the other, and in the morning following they prepared themſelues to battail. Fergus firſt making an earneſt oration vnto his people to encourage them the more boldly to giue the onſet, declared amongſt other things how the right was on theyr ſide, which alwayes ought to miniſter hope of good ſucceſſe in them, that enterpriſe any thing in defence thereof, where contrarily all ſuch as attempted to diſquiet other by iniury & wrong doing, could not but looke for an euill concluſion of their malicious intentes and purpoſes. Neyther were other of his captaines negligent in their duties, but that both in exhorting theyr bandes, they vſed moſt comfortable wordes, and in diſpoſing them in good order of battaile, they ſhewed moſt readie and earneſt diligence.

The armies prepare to battaile.

Fergus exhorteth his people to do valiantly

Right miniſtreth hope of good ſucceſſe.

On the other ſide, Maximianus with hys Captaines and officers of bandes were as buſſe on their ſide to array their battailes moſt for their aduauntage, as they ſaw cauſe and occaſion, ſo that both the armies being readie to fight, the onſet was giuen, and that in moſte furious wyſe, the Romaines beeing at the firſt ſore annoyed

The onſet is giuen.



with arrowes and dartes, which flew ſo thicke from eche ſyde, that theyr ſight was in manner taken from them, the Skie ſeeming as it had beene couered ouer with a Pentiſe. So that Maximianus perceyuing this diſaduauntage, he cauſed a freſhe Legion of his Souldiers to aduaunce forwarde to the ſuccour of their fellowes, by reaſon whereof, the battayle was forthwyth moſt cruelly renued, the hyndermoſt wings of the Romaines ſore preaſſing vpon their enimies: ſo that in the ende paſſing quite through theyr battayles, they cauſed a great diſorder and feare amongeſt thoſe Scottes and other theyr confederates, whiche were placed in the hyndermoſt

The Scottes diſordered.

rankes, but yet calling themſelues in a ring, they made great and ſtout reſiſtance for a ſpace, and at length a great number euen of the moſt valiant perſonages of the whole hoſt cloſed themſelues togither, and with a maine force aſſayed to haue broken through the thickeſt preaſſe of theyr enimies, but being enuironed about on eche part, they were there ſlaine eche mothers ſonne. Whileſt the Romaines drew togither to reſiſt on that ſide, other of the Scottiſhe men, Pictes, Brytaynes and Welchmen, founde a way to gette forth through their enimies on the other ſyde, and ſo being gotten paſt them, made away as faſt as their feete might beare them: But a great number being notwithſtanding ouertaken, were ſlain and beaten downe right pitifully.

The two kings Ferguſe and Durſtus are ſlaine.

Ferguſe the Scottiſhe king, and Durſtus king of the Pictes were ſlaine in this mortall battaile togither, with the moſt part of all theyr nobilitie. Dionethus being ſore wounded eſcaped to the ſea ſide, and there getting a ſhippe, paſſed ouer into Wales.

Dionethus eſcapeth.

This ouerthrow ſore diſmayed both the Scottiſh and Pictiſhe nations, who loked for nothing more than preſent expulſion out of their Countreys, for Maximianus purſuing the victorie, burſt into Galloway, moſt cruelly waſting and ſpoyling the ſame. And whē he had made an end there, he entred into Annandal, and into the Pictiſh confines, deſtroying all before him with fire and ſworde. Camelon was beſieged, taken by force, and miſerably put to ſack and ſpoyle, with diuerſe other notable townes and places, as well belonging to the Pictes as Scottes. Neyther was there any ende of theſe cruel doings, till both the Scottes and Pictes for their refuge were generally conſtrayned to withdraw themſelues beyonde the wall of Abircorne, which (as before is ſaid) a few yeares paſſed was begon by the Brytayns, and ſtretched from Abircorne aforeſaid, ouerthwart the lād vnto Alcluth now Dūbreton.

Maximianus purſueth the victorie.

Camelon taken by force.

The Scots and Pictes withdraw beyonde the wall of Abircorne.

Maximianus hauing thus driuen his enimies beyond this wall, cauſed them to make aſſurance by theyr othe of couenant neuer to paſſe the ſame againe by way of hoſtilitie, eyther againſt the Brytaynes, or Romaines.

There were that counſelled Maximianus either vtterly to haue deſtroyed both the Scottes and Pictes, either elſe to haue dryuen them out of the whole Ile. But he being ſatisfied with that whiche was alreadie done, thought good to returne vnto Yorke, and there to winter, that in the beginning of the next ſpring hee might go into Wales to chaſtiſe Dionethus and other of that Countrey for theyr rebellion, in ayding the enimies of the Empyre.

But when the time came that he ſhould haue ſet forward on that iourney, he heard ſuch newes from the parties of beyonde the Seas, into what ruinous decay the Empyre was fallen, without any likelyhoode of recouerie, that chaunging his purpoſe, he determined to vſurpe the crowne of Brytayne as abſolute king thereof himſelfe, and to haue the more fauour of the Brytiſhe Nation without any impeachment in the beginning of his raigne, he tok to wife one of the daughters of Dionethus, being the elder of thoſe two, which he only had without iſſue male, by the ſlaughter of king Ferguſe.

Maximianus taketh vpon him the abſolute gouernāce of Brytayne, with the Imperial tytle.

He marieth Othilia, the daughter of Dionethus.

She that was thus coupled in mariage with Maximianus hight Othilia, & the other daughter named Vrſula, was profeſſed a Nunne in an houſe of religion, to the intent that ỹ whole right which Dionethus pretended to the realme, might remaine to the wife of Maximianus. Then was Dionethus made ſecōd perſon of the realm, aſwel in degree of honor, as in publike gouernment.

Dionethus puted for ſecond perſon the realme.



Eugenius.

And whyleſt theſe thinges were thus a doing in Brytayne, the Scottiſh lords had created Eugenius the ſon of Ferguſe, king of theyr realme, as due to him by rightful ſucceſſion from his father, who had gouerned the ſame by the ſpace of .xij. yeares ere he was ſlaine (as before is ſpecified) in the laſt mentioned battaile.

Eugenius created king of Scotes.

This Eugenius began his raigne as we find in the yeare of our Lorde. 440. after the firſt beginning of the Scottiſh kingdome. 767. His fathers corps which at the firſt was ſecretely buried as occaſion ſuffered, whiles the Romaines were yet in the Countrey, hee cauſed to be taken vp, and conueyed ouer into the Ile of Iona, otherwiſe called Colmekil, where with al ſolemne pomp and ceremonies it was intumulate, according to the ordinance which he himſelfe had deuiſed in his life time, within the Abbey there.

430. Hē
760. Hē

The bodie of Ferguſe is buried in the Abbay of Iona otherwyſe Colmkill.

In like maner Maximianus to the intent to eſtabliſh himſelfe the more quietly in the eſtate of Brytayne, and to deliuer his ſubiects the Brytaynes, which bordered vpon the Scottiſh dominions, from all trouble of warres, was contented to make peace with the Scottes vpon lyght ſute made vnto him for the ſame.

Maximus graunteth peace to Scotiſhe.

After this alſo, he being once fully eſtabliſhed in the eſtate of Britaine, coueted alſo to attaine to the tipe in gouernment of the whole Empyre, & therfore aſſembling al the forces of the Brytiſh youth, ſayled into Gallia, cauſing himſelfe to be proclaimed emperor, & ſo vſurped ỹ title as in the

Engliſh

Engliſh and Italian hyſtorie, you maye finde more largely expreſſed. He left behinde him in Brytayne his father in lawe Dionethus as chief gouernor there, with one legion of Romain ſouldiours.

After this did Etius the Emperors Lieutenãt in France, ſend for ſuch Romains as Maximianus had left in Brytaine, who reuolting frõ their othes of allegiãce giuẽ vnto the ſame Maximianus, obeyed Etius as one that ſupplyed the rowmth of their rightfull Lorde and maiſter the Emperour Valentinian. So that in this wiſe was Brytaine diſpurueyed of all maner of able men meete for defence, whereof the Scottes and Pictes tooke good occaſion to inuade the Brytiſh borders, not ſparing to purſue with fire & ſworde all ſuch of the Brytaines as did yet continue in obeyſance to Maximianus.

The Scots and Pictes inuade the Brytaynes.

They firſt droue thoſe Brytaines out of all the Countreys, which had bene taken from them by the ſame Maximianus, & by other of the Romains and Britains, as Pictland, Kyle, Carrik,



and Cunningham, Galloway, the Marches and Northumberland. This done, they entered into Cũberland, Weſtmerland, & Kendal, not ceaſing til they had ſpoyled & defaced all thoſe countreys with the moſt part of all Yorkſhire, in ſuch cruell wiſe that they made al thoſe quarters barren both of corne & cattaile which way ſoeuer they paſſed.

The Brytains perceyuing into what daunger they were brought, if ſome good redreſſe were not found in time, ſent ouer with all ſpeed vnto Rome for ſuccor to be had at the Emperor Valentinians handes, for Maximianus was otherwiſe occupied. Valentinian deſirous to deliuer the Brytaynes from ſuche cruell enimies as the Scottes and Pictes ſhewed themſelues to be, leaſt through their meanes al the whole Ile ſhould reuolt from the obedience of the Romains, appointed one Gallio born in Rauenna, and as then ſoiourning about Paris in Fraunce, with a legion of ſouldiers, to paſſe ouer into Brytain, to driue back the Scots and Picts from further moleſting the ſubiects of the Empyre.

The Scots and Pictes vpon knowledge had of this Gallios arriual, drew back into their coũtryes, not minding to fight with the Romains, whoſe force they doubted and not without cauſe, hauing had in times paſt ſo many notable ouerthrowes & ſlaughters at their handes. But Gallio purſued thẽ euen vnto the water of Forth, where in ſundrie ſkirmiſhes he ſlue no ſmall number of them, and for that he knewe he ſhould be ſent for ſhortly to returne againe into France, to helpe to reſiſt ſuche barbarous nations as warred in the ſame, for the better defence of the Brytaynes againſt their enimies the Scots and Picts (whom he knew would not be any while in quiet after he was once gone,) he cauſed the wall to bee newly made by betwixt Abircorne and the mouth of Clude water, thereby to defend the Romain prouince from all ſoden inuaſions of the enimies.

Gallio purſueth the Scottes and Pictes.

Gallio cauſeth the wall of Abircorne to be repayred.

This wall was earſt made of turfe, but now repayred with ſtone, and ſtregthened with great poſtes or pyles of wood, driuen in betwixt in places moſt needfull. It was alſo. viij. foote in breadth, and. xij. foot in height, and in certain turrets, caſt forth vpon this wall, Gallio appoynted watche and warde to be kept, that vpon the enimies approche towardes the ſame, warning might be giuen by fire in the night, and by ſmoke in the daye, vnto ſuche of the Brytaynes as dwelled neare vppon thoſe borders (commaundement being giuen vppon paine of death for being found in the contrary) that euery man vpon ſuch knowledge had, ſhoulde reſort immediatly to the place appointed, with ſuche armour and weapon, as for him was requiſite.

The maner of the buylding of that wall.

The ordinance of Gallio for watch to be kept on the wall.

When Gallio had thus giuen order for the suretie of the Brytaynes, and deliuered them at that present from the cruell handes of theyr enimies, he returned into Fraunce with the armie that he brought with him, according to the commaundement which he had from Etius the Emperours Lieutenant there.

Gallio returneth into Fraunce.

His departure out of Brytaine was no sooner knowne of the Scottish men and Pictes, but that with all their maine force they determine to set vpon the Brytains againe. So that assembling their powers togither, the kings of both those nations exhort their men to doe valiantly: Eugenius the king of the Scottish men encorageth them throughe hope of high rewardes and spoyle: the Pictish king likewise for his part promiseth the Lieutenantship of Camelon (an office of most honour amongest them) vnto him that first should passe the wall of Abircorne.

The Scots and Pictes determin to inuade the Brytaynes againe.

Whervpon the Brytains being aduertised of their enimies intentions, according to the ordinance before appointed, drewe in defensible wise vnto that part of the wall, where they vnderstood the Scottes and Pictes were minded to assault. At length when the Scottish and Pictish kings were come to the wall, and had theyr people readie to giue the approch, they themselues stode apart somewhat out of daunger of shot: and suche bandes as were appointed to assayle, aduaunced forth of the maine battailes vnder the leading of that Graym, the which as ye haue heard, was chiefe in repulsing the Brytaynes when they had first made the same wall by commaundement of Victorine the Romaine Lieutenant. Neyther shewed he lesse proofe of his valiancie at this time than hee had done before. For though the Brytaynes made earnest resistaunce, so farre as their power woulde extende, yet at the lengthy by syne force the Wall was vndermined and throwne downe in sundrie places, so that the whole numbers of the Scottes and Pictes entered by the same into Pictlande, beating downe the Brytaynes on eche syde that went about to make resistaunce, for none escaped theyr handes, but such as saued themselues by flight.

The Brytaines resort to the Wall of Abircorne to defende it.

The Scots and Pictes approch the wall to assault it.

Graym assaulteth the wall.

The wall is ouerthrowne.

There came also an other power of Scottes and Pictes by water out of Fyfe, and landing in Pictland, pursued the Brytayns with more crueltie than the kings did themselues. Both houses and people passed by fire and sworde, insomuche that all such of the Brytaynes as coulde get away, withdrewe forth of the Countrey, not staying tyll they came beyonde the Ryuer of Tyne: by reason whereof, all that Countrey which lyeth betwyxt Tweede and Tyne was deliuered by appointment of the Kings vnto the Souldiers, to spoyle and vse at theyr pleasure, whereyppon followed many notorious ensamples of crueltie, enuie, couetousnesse, wrath, and malice.

The Brytaines leaue Pictland and get themselues ouer the riuer of Tine.

In the meane tyme, whilest the Scottishe and Pictishe menne of warre applyed theyr Market, the Brytaines with all diligence repayred and newly fortified the other wall begon (as is sayd) by the Emperour Adrian shooting ouerthwart the countrey, from the riuer of Tine, vnto the riuer of Eske.

The Wall of Adrian is repayred by the Brytaynes.

Howbeit the Scottes and Picts, bicause winter approched, made no further attempt agaynst the Brytaines at that time, but diuiding those Countreys which lie by north from the foresayd wall of Adrian, among themselues, according to the order in that behalfe appointed by theyr kings, they fortified certaine Castels and holdes for defence of the same Countreys, as it were to countergarison suche Brytaynes as continually kept watch and warde vpon the foresaide wall. The Brytaynes therefore mistrusting least so soone as the spring were come, the Scots would inuade their Countreys, which lay on the south part of the same wal, breaking in by force throgh it, as they had done the yeare before throughe the other wall of Abircorne, they sent Ambassadors vnto Etius the Romain Lieutenant gouerning Gallia, nowe called Fraunce vnder the Emperour Valentinian, requyring to haue some ayde and succour at his handes, whereby to resist suche fierce and cruel enimies, as sought to destroy and expulse out of their landes and houses, all such of the Brytaynes as acknowledged themselues in any maner of wise subiectes vnto the Empyre. But Etius, whether bicause he would not, or rather bycause he conueniently coulde not (for that he was otherwise occupied in defence of Gallia agaynste the Frenche men) made a direct answere, that hee had no men of warre in store to sende ouer into Brytaine, and therefore willed thē to do what they could for their own defence, for ayde of him they might none haue.

The Brytaines require helpe and ayde at the handes of Etius.

Etius refuseth to ayde the Brytaines.

The messengers returned home with this answere, and made report therof in a publike assemble of all the Brytish nobilitie, being as then gathered togither at London to consult there for the estate and order of their countrey. Where after long deliberation (notwithstāding that they perceyued they shoulde haue no more ayde from the Romaines) it was yet determined, that to resist the enimies, the whole puissance of the Brytishe nation shoulde be mustred, as well men as women being able to do any feate or seruice available in defence of their Countrey, and rather to trie the vttermost poynt of Fortunes chaunce, than to suffer themselues to be ouerrunne without resistance.

The Brytaines forsaken of Romaines determine to make resistaunce.

But Conanus Camber, a prince of great authoritie amongest them, as one that was discen-

ded

ded of the bloud of Octauius ſometime king of Brytain, went about with earneſt perſwaſions to remoue the reſidue of the nobilitie from this determination, aduiſing them to ſeeke for peace at the Scottiſh mens handes, rather than to trie the doubtfull chaunce of Mars his iudgement, conſidering the feebleneſſe of their whole force now, euer ſithence that the tyrant Maximianus had in manner emptied and diſpeopled the land of all ſuche able men as were apt for ſeruice in the warres.

But this aduiſe of Conanus was very euill taken, and moued the multitude that heard him, to be greatly offended with his wordes, not ſparing to ſay that hee ſpake like no true man nor louer of his countrey: ſo that the former ordinance, (that is to ſay, to ſeeke an end of the wars by dint of ſworde) was allowed for the beſt.

And hereupon there were muſters taken, armure and weapon prouided, and bothe place and day appointed, where they ſhould aſſemble togither to marche forth toward the enimie. Conanus ſore lamenting their doings, called almightie God to record, that that which he had ſayd, was ſpoken onely for the loue and zeale whiche he bare to his countrey, and ſithence his aduiſe might not be followed, he doubted greatly leaſt the ruine of the Brytiſh eſtate by ſome fatall appointment drew faſt vpon them.

The people hearing him ſpeake ſuch wordes, ſome wilfull wicked perſons fell vpon him, and ſlew him there preſently amongſt them: wherwith other being ſore moued to indignation, ſet vpon the murtherers there to haue reuenged his death immediatly. Whereupon began taking of partes, & togither they went by the eares in ſuch furious wiſe, that ſundry amongſt them being ſlayne, the magiſtrates had much a do to appeare the fray.

In this meane time, whileſt the Brytons were thus buſied in ſending of their Ambaſſadours to the Romayns, and conſulting togither for defence of their countrey, the Scottes firſte razed downe the wall of Abircorne, not leauing one piece therof whole, ſo that a fewe tokens excepted, nothing remayneth to be ſeene at this day of all that huge and wonderfull worke, it is called now in theſe dayes, Gramſdike, becauſe that Grayme was not onely (as ye haue heard) chiefe in repulſing the Brytains from the ſame, but alſo at this time in the raſing of it to the ground, he was the greateſt doer.

Which being accompliſhed, the Scottiſh and Pictiſh kings aſſembled their powers, and ouerthrew al ſuch fortreſſes as had not bene deſtroyed the yeare before, ſtanding on the North ſide of Adrians wall, the whiche wall the Brytons had newly fortified, but yet were not able to defend the ſame from the power of the enimie, who now ſet vpon the Brytons with a mayne force, in ſo much that vndermining the fundations of that walle in diuers places: at length ſundry partes therof were reuerſed into the ditch, ſo that the ſouldiers breaking in by the ſame, cruelly beate downe the Brytons which ſtode at defence. Adrians walle vndermined & ouerthrowen.

The entrie being thus wonne, both the kings with their powers marched forth into the ſouth countreys, commaundement being giuen, that no man vpon payne of death ſhould kil any woman or childe, aged perſon or otherwiſe impotent and not able to beare armure. But this commaundement in ſome places was but ſlenderly obeyed. Suche deſire of reuenge was planted in the Scottiſhemens hartes by reaſon of the remembraunce of old iniuries, that vnneath made they any difference eyther of age or ſexe. To be ſhort, all thoſe countreys whiche lie betwixt the riuers of Tyne and Humber, were waſted and ſpoyled, the whole number of the inhabitãts (ſuch as could make ſhift to eſcape the enimies hands) got them ouer the foreſaid riuer of Humber, there to remayne as further out of daunger. Crueltie of Scottes.

The report of which miſchiefe being brought to London to the Lordes there (who as ye haue heard were not all of one accorde togither) they toke new aduiſe, to redreſſe the preſent miſchief in this mãner. Firſt they thought it beſt to ſende forth .ij. ambaſſades, one to the Scots & Pictes to require a peace: And an other with letters vnto Etius the Romaine lieutenant in Fraunce, for freſhe ayde and ſuccour. The tenour of which letters as then ſent vnto Etius here enſueth. The Lordes of Brytaine take new aduiſe.

See more hereof in England.

The lamentable complaints of the Brytons vnto Etius thrice Conſull. At what time our elders became ſubiectes vnto the Romains, they vnderſtood by worthie proues and notable enſamples, that the Senate was a moſte ſafe refuge and hauen, to be wiſhed of all ſuch as fledde to the ſame for ſuppoſt. But we their poſteritie by the pernicious working of the legate Maximianus, tending wholy to our diſtruction, being ſpoyled both of force and ſubſtance, and therfore remayning in greate daunger of loſing bothe kingdome and liues, through the ſore and terrible iuuaſion of our moſt cruel enimies the Scots and Pictes, making humble ſuyte for ſuccours vnto the Romaine Empyre, according to the loyall truſt & moſt aſſured confidence, the which euer like true and faithfull ſubiectes we haue repoſed in the ſame, are yet neglected, and nothing regarded, but deliuered as a pray vnto the Barbarous nations to be ſpoyled, deſtroyed & ſlaine in moſt piteous wiſe, which can not but be an euident ſigne, that eyther the Romains haue chaunged their moſt commendable maners into The tenour of the letters ſent vnto Etius frõ the Brytons, as is written by Hect. Boetius.

the worſt that may be deuiſed, either els theyr moſt large Empyre, through the wrath & highe diſpleaſure of almightie God, is now giuen for a pray vnto other forraine nations. But if it be ſo, that the fatall force of the time preſent, doth require that without all remedie, the lande of the Brytons being take away from the Romains, muſt needes be brought vnder ſubiection of ſome barbarous nation. Wee neither abhorre nor refuſe the gouernment of any people or nation, the Scots & Pictes (the moſt cruell of all other) onely excepted, whoſe crueltie wee hauing long ſithence to muche taſted, are at this preſent brought vnto that point, by theyr late increaſed puyſſance, that we know not now after the loſſe of our goodes and cattell, which way to ſafegard our liues; for the Turfe walles being pulled downe, & the ditches filled vp with earth, whiche afore time did ſomewhat ſtay them, now breaking in vpon vs without letting paſſe any one kinde of crueltie, they haue diſtroyed our fieldes, burned vp our houſes, townes and villages, and beaten downe and raſed to the grounde our caſtels & towers, with ſuch other places of defence, not ſparing to put to the ſworde as well the poore innocent children, women, and impotent age, as ſuch other innumerable numbers of men, whiche they haue ſlayne ſtanding at defence with weapon in hande. And as for vs, whiche are the reſidue of our decayed nation, they haue driuen vs vnto the ſea ſide, and from thence (becauſe wee can not paſſe ouer) wee are put backe vpon our enimies againe. And hereof proceede two kindes of our deſtruction, for eyther are wee drowned in the raging flouddes, eyther els ſlayne moſte vnmercyfully by our cruell enimies. Therefore if the honour of the Romaine people, if our aſſured loyaltie & loue, whiche we beare to the Empyre of Rome, nowe continued for the ſpace of theſe. 500. yeares or there aboute, may moue you to rewe on our miſeries, wee humbly pray & beſeeche you, not to ſuffer vs longer to be trodde vnder foote of theſe our moſt beaſtly & cruell enimies, but ſende vnto vs ſome conuenable ſuccors & that with all ſpeede, leaſt we ſeeme to be more cruelly betrayed of the Romains, than brought to diſtruction by theſe barbarous people, & that wee be not ſet forth as a notable enſample for al other to be ware, how they put confidence hereafter either in the rule or friendſhip of the Romains.

But not ſo largely as here is expreſſed.

Paulus Diaconus, Beede, Erſkray of Dunmouth, Uerermound, and other, make mention of theſe forſayde letters. Whereunto Etius aunſwearing, declared that thoſe calamities, infortunes & loſſes ſuſtayned by the Brytains were right diſpleaſant vnto him, & ſo muche the more for that through the ſundry inuaſions made, aswell into Fraunce as alſo into Italy it ſelfe, and into other parties of the Romaine Empyre by people of ſundry nations, he could not as then ſpare any men of warre to ſend ouer vnto them, and therfore he willed the Brytons to make the beſt ſhifte they could, to defend themſelues for a time, till things were better quieted in other parties, & then ſhould they ſee ſuche redreſſe of their iniuries prouided, as they ſhould thinke themſelues to be very well reuenged.

The anſweare of Etius.

About the ſame time that the ambaſſadours returned with this anſwere vnto London from Etius, the other alſo came backe forth of the north without hope to ſpeede of that about the which they had bene ſent: for the Scots & Pictes would enclyne to no reaſonable conditions of peace, onleſſe the Brytains would wholly ſubmit themſelues as ſubiectes vnto them.

The Scottes & Pictes would agree vpon no reſonable conditions of peace.

The Brytons hereat, toke ſuch indignatiõ, that by a generall conſent they agreed to trie it out with the enimies by mayne force: and hereupon made theyr proniſion with all diligence.

The Scottes and Pictes hearing of the Brytons intents, gathered their people togither with more ſpeede than was thought poſſible for them to haue done, and forthwith ruſhed into the borders of theyr enimies countreys in right prayſaunt wiſe and moſt warrlike order.

The Scottiſh Pictes preſſe againſt the Brytons.

In the forewarde went ſuche as came forth of Galloway and Lunandale with thoſe Pictes whiche inhabited about the coaſtes of Barwike. Then followed there a mightie battell of thoſe whiche came forth of Argyle, Athole, and other Pictes inhabiting neare vnto the parties of Kalendar and Camelone with them of Fyfe, and Angus. In the middes of this battell bothe the kings kept theyr place with their choyſeſt ſouldiers, and ſtandards borne afore them. Then came the cariage and truſſe of the armie, nexte whereunto a great number of noble men of both the nations followed in fayre order of battell, with theyr ſeruaunts and men of warre the beſt they coulde chooſe forth. And laſt of all (as the maner of thoſe nations hath bene euen from the beginning) there came a great multitude of the commons cloſing vp the backe of the whole aforeſayd armie.

The order of the Scots and Pictes comming into the lande of the Brytons.

The Brytons alſo comming forth into the field with theyr whole puiſſaunce to encounter theyr enimies, when they vnderſtood by eſpials the order and mayne force of the Scottes and Pictes, they were halfe diſcouraged in theyr mindes, and thought good therefore once againe to aſſay if any peace might be purchaſed. But ſending forth theyr Ambaſſadours vnto the confederate kings to that end, theyr anſweare was, that except the Brytons would yeeld themſelues, their wiues and children with all theyr goodes and ſubſtaunce into the handes of their enimies, ſimple

The Brytons doubte to ioyne with the mayne armie of the Scots and Pictes.

ſimply without all conditions, there would bee no peace graunted.

When this was knowen abrode in the hoſte of the Brytains, what through kindeled yre on the one parte, and diſpayre on the other, prouoking theyr mindes to diſpleaſure, they generally vpon chaunge of purpoſe required battell, euen al the whole number of them. Whereof enſued a moſt cruell and mortall fight: For the Brytains (as it were) reſolued to die in defence of theyr countrey, and to reuenge theyr owne deaths vpō the enimies, with more fiercenelle thā is credible to be thought, gaue ẏ onſet, & ouerthrew a great number of their enunies, in ſomuch that thoſe of Galloway and the Pictes fighting in the forewarde with them of Argyle, Athole & ſuch other as were in the battell with the kings, were in great daunger to bee put to the worſe: whiche Grayme perceyuing (by whom the moſt part of the army was ruled, and that by cōmaundement

The fierce onſet giuen by the Brytons.

Graymes authoritie in ordering of the battailes.





of both the Kings) called forth a number of the Iland men, who were appoynted to attend the cariage, and ſent them with all diligence vnto the forewarde to the ſuccors of thē of Galloway, being then at the point to haue ſought refuge by flight. But by the comming of theſe Iland men to their ſuccors, they toke courage afreſh, ſo that the battell was againe moſte fiercely renewed, & ſo cōtinued a ſpace with great ſlaughter on both partes, till finally the Brytons being oppreſſed with the multitude of theyr enimies, & not able longer to endure, fell to running away, thinking to ſaue themſelues in certaine bogges, moſſes, & mariſſe grounds neare vnto the place of the battell: but ſuche coyſterels, and other as remayned with the Scottiſh cariage, ſeing the diſcomfiture of theyr aduerſaries, ranne forth and purſued them into thoſe mariſhes, killyng and taking no ſmall number of them.

There were ſlaine in this battell of the Brytons, aboue. xb. thouſand, and of the Scots and Pictes neare hande foure thouſande.

The Brytains hauing receyued this ouerthrowe, ſaw no helpe which way to recouer their loſſes, but onely to ſue for peace at the victorers handes. They ſent therefore an oratour vnto the Scottiſhe and Pictiſhe kings, beſeechyng them humbly to graunt them a peace euen with what condicions it ſhoulde pleaſe them to preſcribe. The kings not moued onely with the preſent fortune of the Brytains, but alſo partely with theyr owne, hauing loſt no ſmall number of right worthie perſonages in the battell, were contented to graunt a peace vpon theſe conditions: That the Brytains ſhoulde in no wiſe receyue any lieutenant or armie hereafter from Rome, nor ſuffer any enimie of the Scottiſh and Pictiſh eſtates of what nation ſo euer hee were to paſſe through theyr countrey. They ſhould enter into no league with any citie or nation, nor be about to make any warres without conſent of the Scottiſh and Pictiſh kings, and further ſhoulde bee ready to ſerue them againſt all maner of enimies when ſo euer they ſhoulde be ſent for. Moreouer they ſhoulde remoue with theyr wiues, children, and whole families out of all thoſe countreys, lying betwixte Tyne and Humber, reſigning the poſſeſſion of the ſame vnto the Scottiſhmen and Pictes. Alſo they ſhoulde gyue threeſcore thouſande peeces of gold then currant to the Scottiſhe and Pictiſhe kings towardes the diſpatche of theyr ſouldiers wages, and farther ſhoulde yeelde as a trybute twentie thouſande peeces of golde, to be payde yearely vnto the ſeuerall vſes of the victorers. They ſhoulde likewiſe deliuer one hundred hoſtages of ſuche as the two kings ſhoulde appoynt, betwixte the age of eightene and thirtie yeares.

Peace graſted by the Scottes with the conditions of the ſame.

60000. pounde ſayeth Balantine, after the rate of Scottiſh money.

20000. pound, ſayth the ſame Balantine, ſo that he eſteemeth thoſe peeces of gold to be of the valew of Frēch crownes.

These conditions of peace though they ſeemed very ſtreight and grieuous to the Brytiſhe nobilitie, yet for that they vnderſtode not how to make a better bargayne, they perſwaded the multitude to accept them, and ſo a league thereupon

vpon was concluded amongſt thoſe people, and the publike ſtate of the lande brought to a more quiet rule than it had bene before. Thus were the Brytains made tributarie to the Scottiſhmen and Pictes, about. 500. yeares after Julius Cæſar had brought them in ſubiection to the Romains, being in the yere after the birth of our Sauiour. 446. and of Eugenius his raygne ouer the Scottiſh men the. vij.

The Brytons tributary to the Scottes & Picres.

436. H.B.



The hereſie of the Pelagians.

In this ſeaſon was this Iſle of Albion ſore infected with ỹ hereſie of ỹ Pelagians, & therfore Pope Celeſtine ſent one Paladius a lerned man vnto the Scottes, to preſerue thẽ frõ that infection, and ordeyned him Biſhop the firſt in Scotland that had his inueſture from Rome, for all the other before him, were ordeyned by the voyces or ſuffrages of the people, chooſing them forth amongſt the Monkes and Prieſts called *Culdeis*, as the Scottiſhe Chronicles do report.

Paladius ſente into Scotland.

Of this Paladius, looke more in Ireland.

Paladius with right good & wholeſome exhortations purged the Scottes and Pictes of ſundrie ſuperſtitious rites of theyr olde Gentilliſh idolatrie, till thoſe dayes vſed amongſt them, wherupõ he is named and reputed for the Scottiſhmens apoſtle. Hee lieth at Fordune, a towne in Mernes, where his relikes remained, and were long after had in great eſtimation.

Paladius accompted the apoſtle of Scotlande.



Seruan biſhop of Orkeney, & Teruan archebiſhop of pictland.

Moreouer he inſtituted one Seruan Biſhoppe of the Orkeneys, ỹ hee might inſtruct the inhabitãts there in the fayth of Chriſte, which as yet they had not receyued, and one Teruan, whõ he himſelf had baptyſed, hee made Archbiſhop of Picte lande.

In theſe dayes alſo many ſtraunge ſightes were ſeene in ſundrie partes of Brytaine before the laſt mentioned ouerthrow: the Moone being in playne oppoſition to the Sunne when it ſhould be moſt round appeared in a quadrant figure.

Vnkyth fights and ſtraunge wounders appeared.

At Yorke it rayned bloud: and trees in ſundrie places being blaſted, wythered and died. The market place or rather if ye will ſo terme it Cheapeſide in London opened, ſo that a great hole apeared & many houſes were ſwallowed vp.

About the ſame ſeaſon alſo (as is ſuppoſed) liued that huge perſonage Fyn makcool, a Scottiſh man borne, of. viij. cubites in heyght. He was a great hunter, and ſore feared of all men by reaſon of his mightie ſtature, and large limmes: many fables goe abroade of him, not ſo agreeable to the likelihoode of a truth, as ought to be regiſtred in an hiſtorie, and therefore here paſſed ouer with ſilence.

Fynmak the greater.



The Romaine Empyre being brought into irrecouerable ruyne by the Vandalles, Gothes, Hunnes, Frenchmen, and other barbarous nations, occupying ſundry partes and poſcions thereof, put the Brytains out of all hope to haue any aſſiſtance from the Emperours, which cauſed them to remayne in quiet certaine yeares without attempting any exployte againſt the Scots or Picts, and ſo duely payde theyr couenãted tribute, though ſore againſt theyr willes, if they might otherwiſe haue remedied it.

At the laſt aboute. x. yeares after the concluſion of this laſt peace, it chaunced that one Conanus the ſonne of the aboue mencioned Conanus deſcended of the bloud of the Octauij ſometime kings of the Brytains, ſore maligned to ſee his countrey thus brought into thraldome of the Scottiſh nation, and deuiſing how to find ſome redreſſe, called togither the moſte parte of the Brytiſh nobilitie, by ſecrete meſſages home to a manour place whiche hee had within a thicke woode in the countrey of Kent, and there opening vnto them a great peece of his minde, perſwaded them with the weightieſt reaſons hee could imagine, to leuie warre againſt the Scots and Pictes, hauing at that preſent, meane to

Conanus Bryton go about to ſwade his trey men breake peace cõ ded with Scots & I

maintaine

maintaine it aſwell by reaſon of theyr increaſe now ſithence the laſt warres, bothe of able men, as alſo of ſubſtaunce to furniſh them with.

Here the nobles were of ſundrie opinions: for ſome aweried with the note of bondage, would gladly haue had warres: other hauing regarde to theyr ſonnes lying in hoſtage with the enimies, would in no wiſe conſent thereto: by reaſon whereof this counſell brake vp without concluſion of any effect.

When eche man was returned to his home, there had bene ſome amongſt them, that gaue knowledge to the confederate kings what mocion had bene made, and what was intended againſt them. Wherevpon they immediatly determined not onely to cauſe the hoſtages to be executed, but alſo to purſue the rebelles with fierce and cruell warres. Yet before they practiſed any violence, they ſent theyr ambaſſadours vnto the Brytains, to vnderſtande theyr full meaning, and to declare vnto them further certaine articles whiche the ſayde kings required to haue performed without all delayes, or els to looke for open warre out of hande.

The chiefeſt pointes of which articles were theſe. Firſt that the Brytons ſhould not aſſemble togither in councell without licence of the Scottiſh and Pictiſh kings, notwithſtanding that their auncient lawes they might vſe at their pleaſure, but they ſhould receiue no ſtraunger into their countrey being a Romaine or a Frenchman, neither merchaunt nor other. Their olde hoſtages they ſhould receyue home againe, and deliuer in exchaunge of them twice ſo many in number of the like age and degree, as was couenaunted by the former league.

The commons of the lande, vnderſtanding what was demaunded by theſe ambaſſadours, were in a wonderful rage, and would haue made a great ſturre if they had not bene quieted by the Lordes, who for theyr paines taken herein, got them an euill report amongſt the inferiour ſorte of people, as though through theyr wante of ſtomake only, the common wealth was brought into ſuche a miſerable eſtate, that looke what pleaſed the enimie to charge the Brytiſh nation with, no man durſt once ſpeake againſt it.

This grudge of the commons encreaſed ſo farre forth againſt their ſuperiours, that after the Scottiſh and Pictiſh ambaſſadours were returned home, with anſweare agreeable to theyr demaundes, there aroſe incontinently a great commotion of the people, conſpiring togither to the vtter deſtruction of the whole nobilitie. But their furie was repreſſed, ſo that they were ouerthrowen in battell at two ſeuerall times with great ſlaughter and bloudſhed, whereupon they withdrew into the mountaynes, and there kepte themſelues, making reyſes vpon the nobilitie, and fetching booties away from the heardes & flockes of cattell belonging to the Lordes and Gentlemen: but finally through famine which beganne to oppreſſe bothe partes, they perceyued what neede the one had of the others helpe, and ſo they agreed. This ciuill warre ſore decayed the force of the Brytons, for beſide the greate ſlaughter that was made betwixt them, by the auoyding of the commons out of their houſes, the ground lay vntilled, whereof enſued a marueylous great ſcarcetie & dearth of all things, by reaſon wherof an innumerable ſorte of people died. Yet ſhortly after followed ſuch plentie, that thoſe that were left aliue forgetting the paſſed miſeries, gaue themſelues to all kinde of vice, whiche toke ſuch rote in the harts of the more parte of them, that for any man to vſe any maner of vertue amongſt them, was a readie meane to procure great enuie and hatred.

One eſtate of men can not liue without helpe of another.

Superfluous wealth occaſio of vice.

In the meane time liued the Scottiſh and Pictiſh kings in good quiet and reſte, applying their ſtudies onely howe to inſtruct theyr people now after the warres were once ended, in laudable exerciſes and neceſſarie occupations, conuenient for the time of peace, wherby their realmes might floriſh in wealth and proſperitie without dreade of any forraine power. For they ſaw ſuch tokens of ruyne in the Brytiſh eſtate, as ſmall likelyhod appeared, that the ſame ſhould at any time be able to recouer againe the former force and dignitie.

The Scots apply theſelues to peace.

Finally the Scottiſh king Eugenius hauing aduaunced the eſtate of his countrey vnto more felicitie & wealth than any of his predeceſſours had euer done before him, after hee had raigned xxx. yeares, he ended his life about the .iiij. yeare of Leo, that vſurped the Empyre of Conſtantinople.

The death of Eugenius the Scottiſh king.



Dongard.

But for ſomuch as Eugenius left no iſſue behind him, his brother named Dongarde ſucceeded in the eſtate. Hee began his reigne in the yeare. 470. and his chiefeſt ſtudie was, according to his brothers enſample, to prouide for the maintenance of good orders and iuſtice, appointing in euery quarter men of good fame and report to haue the adminiſtration vnder him, with

Dongard king of Scottes. 461. H.B.

The ſtudy of Dongard for preſeruatiō of iuſtice and good orders.

with cõmaundement that they ſhould diligently ſeeke, that euery man might enioy his owne.

The repairing of caſtels by king Dũgard.

He himſelfe toke vpon him alſo to ſee to the repayring of ſuch caſtels as were decayed, and to the building vp of newe in places where hee thought moſte expedient, ſpecially neare to the Britiſh borders, for he well cõſidered that peace encreaſſed riches, riches pride and preſumption with other ſinnes, whiche could not long endure without the plague of warres. Therfore he douting the chaunges of ſcornefull fortune, thought good in time of peace to prouide for the daungers of warres, whẽ the ſame ſhould happẽ vnto him.

These ciuill policies and princely prouiſions for defence of his cõtrey & ſubiects, increaſed the fame of Dõgard mightily, but that which he did towards the aduauncement of religion did moſt exceedingly ſet forth his commendation.

First, all ſuche religious men as followed the trade of life taught by Paladius and other, whiche came with him from Rome, hee cauſed them to be highly reuerenced: and for the maintenaunce of their liuing, he aſſigned forth lands, houſes, and other kindes of reuenewes in diuers places of his realme, and graunted not only vnto them, but alſo vnto all other being within any orders of Clergie, ſundry priuiledges, appointing that the Churches and Abbeys with other holy places ſhould be enfraunchiſed and taken for Sanctuaries, that all ſuche as fled to the ſame for ſafegard of their liues, ſhould be ſuffred to reſt in peace, ſo long as they kept them within the ſame.

The bouteous liberalitie of Dongard towards churche men.

Sanctuaries.

Aboute the ſame time alſo and whileſt theſe things were thus a doing in Scotlãd, the Britains being awaried of their ſeruile eſtate, thorow the ſetting on of Conanus conſpired togither, & toke aduiſe by what meanes they might beſt ſeeke to deliuer themſelues frõ the thraldome of Scots & Pictes, and vpon aduice taken they concluded to ſend ouer into Britaine Armorike ſome honorable Ambaſſade vnto Indrocnus the king of that countrey for ayde. Herewith was the Archbiſhop of London, appointed as chiefe Ambaſſadour to go on that meſſage, whiche Archbiſhop vſed ſuche diligence in the mater, that Cõſtantine the ſonne of the ſaid Indrocnus was appointed by his father with a competent power of men to go ouer into great Britaine to the ayde of the Britiſh inhabitants there. Herevpon when the men and ſhippes with all neceſſarie prouiſion were once readie, he embarqued at Saint Malo, where the aſſemble was made, and taking the ſea, ſayled forth with proſperous winde and weather, whiche brought him ſafely into greate Britaine, where hee landed at Totnes in Deuonſhire, as you ſhall finde in the chronicles of England. He was receyued with

The Britons ſend into Britaine Armorike for ayde.

Ayde ſent into Britain frõ the Armorike Britons.

no ſmall ioye, and forthwith proclaymed king of Britaine, whereupon he promiſed to aſſay to the vttermoſte of his power to recouer agayne their whole landes and liberties, and to maintaine them in the ſame according to their wiſhed deſires.

Conſtantine proclaymed king of Britaine.

For the more ſpeedy accompliſhment hereof, commaundement was firſt giuen, that all able men ſhould be in a readineſſe, and come togither at a place appointed neare to the riuer of Humber within fortie dayes after. Whiche order being taken by the aduice of the Lordes and Nobles of the realme, the ſame was put in execution with ſuche diligence, that fewe or none being apt to beare armure withdrew themſelues, euery man in maner comming to the appointed place of the aſſemble, and offering to go againſt the enimies, ſo that it was a wonder to conſider the cõſent of the people now ioyned in one minde and will to recouer theyr former libertie.

The a of the army.

Tneg neſſne Brytai recouc liberti

When Conſtantine beheld ſuche notable numbers of men, hee ſuppoſed the ſame would haue ſuffiſed not onely to vanquiſh the Scottes and Pictes, but alſo vtterly to deſtroy and race them out of all the confines of Albion.

When the newes of all this preparation for warres whiche the Britains made, was once ſignified to the Scottes and Pictes, they likewiſe made theyr appreſtes to meete with them in the field, and thereupon rayſing theyr powers, came forth with the ſame into Yorkeſhyre, and pitched theyr tentes within .iij. myles where Conſtantine with his people was lodged, and the next day after, vnderſtanding how neare vnto the enimie they were, they reyſed and marched forwardes till they came within ſight of him, as then encamped with his people alofte vpon certaine hilles, neare to the aforeſayde riuer ſide.

The S Pictes their

The S Pictes neare Brya

Here bothe the kings of Scottes and Pictes lodging with theyr armies for that night, made readie for battell againſt the nexte day, and in the morning Dongard the Scottiſhe king getting him to a little hill, called his men togither, and there exhorted them by ſundrie comfortable meanes of perſwaſion to put away all feare, and to fight valiantly, aſſuring them of victorie if they would keepe the order of battell by him appointed, and not raſhly breake forth of the ſame in following vpon the enimies when they fell to retyring backe.

Don hort peof man

He had vnneath made an end of his wordes, but that diuers of the ſtanding watche came in, and declared how the Britains began to auale the hilles where they had lodged, and that the Pictes were got forth already in order of battell, and were marching forwards to encounter them. Dongard ſhewing himſelfe to bee right ioyfull of theſe newes, commaunded incontinently

uently, that the ſtanderds ſhould aduance forth, and euery man to attende the ſame according to his appoynted order. Alſo that no man ſhoulde preſume to take any pryſoner before the ende of the battell, nor to yeelde himſelfe ſo long as lyfe lasted. So that ioyning with his enimies there followed a right fierce & cruell battaile. At length both the wings of the Brytains gaue backe frō the Scottiſh men and Pictes, the middle warde abiding the brunte very ſtoutly. Where Conſtantine himſelfe ſtode like a valiant chieftaine doyng hys endeuour to the vttermoſte of his power, vpon whom Dongard earneſtly preaſſing and entring into the thickeſt throng of his enimies, was there beaten downe amongſt the Armorike Brytains, and being aboute to get vp againe by helpe of his weapon, was againe felled to the earth, and ſlayne with many a ſore wounde.

Diuers of the Scottes diſcomfited with this great miſhap, fell to running away: other kindled with more wrath layde aboute them more egerly. The Picts alſo, for their part fought moſt conſtantly, ſo that the battell continuyng till none dayes with doubtful ſucceſſe, at lengthe the Brytains were conſtreyned ſomething to giue backe, and after taking themſelues to fearefull flight, declared that the victorie remayned with theyr enimies.

There died in this mortall battell neare to the point of .xxj. thouſande of the Brytains, and of the Scottes and Pictes aboue .xiiij. thouſand with Dongard the Scottiſh king.

Conſtantine the daye nexte after the battaile, withdrew ſouthwardes. The Scots carryed away with them the corps of their dead king, and conueying it into the Ile of Iona, nowe called Colmkill, there buried it in kingly wiſe. Dongarde was thus ſlayne, in the fyfth yeare of hys reigne after the byrth of our Sauior .475. yeares and about the ſeconde yeare of Zeno the Emperour.



After him ſucceeded in gouernment of the Scottiſhe kingdome Conſtantine the brother of the aboue rehearſed Eugenius, a Prince vnlike in noble vertues vnto his brother the ſayd Eugenius. For though in him there appeared ſome good tokens of commendable towardelyneſſe, as hee ſeemed outwardly to ſhew, yet was he giuen more vnto wanton pleaſure and luſt, than to the regard of the good rule & gouernment of his ſubiectes, a deflourer of byrgins, a raiſher of honeſt Matrones, and aboue all, a fauourer of backbiters and ſlaunderers. Neuer ſhewing any ioyfull countenaunce amongſt his nobles, but amongſt ſcoffing ieſtours and other vile perſons, he was as pleaſant and merie as the iocundeſt man aliue.

Conſtantine the Scottiſhe king nothing like in noble conditiōs vnto Conſtantine king of the Brytains.

Thus though hee repreſented the Brytiſhe king Conſtantine in name, yet in manners hee farre differed from him: for the Brytiſh Conſtantine ſtudying to aduaunce the common wealth of his ſubiects, trayned them in laudable exerciſes, and reduced them from theyr former euill vſages vnto ciuill order and good cuſtomes. Contrarywiſe, the Scottiſhe Conſtantine did nothing worthie prayſe at all after he was once inſtituted king, but followed ſtill his owne inordinate luſt and ſenſuall appetite.

Peace graunted vnto the Brytains, and diuers caſtels deliuered into their handes.

Hee graunted peace vnto the Brytains they vnneth requyring the ſame, releaſing not onely the tribute, but alſo deliuering vp into theyr handes by ſecrete meanes diuers caſtels ſtanding vpon the riuer of Humber.

Many other things hee was aboute to haue done to the great preiudice and hinderaunce of the Scottiſhe eſtate, had not the Nobles of the realme the ſoner withſtode his raſhe and vnaduiſed attempts. Suche malice alſo was ingendred in the hartes of the moſte parte of the Nobilitie towardes him, that had it not bene through the wholeſome admonition and perſwaſion of Dongall of Galloway, a noble man of righte reuerende authoritie amongſt them, they had leuied ciuill warres againſt him, but the foreſayde Dongall declaring to them the daunger and greate inconuenience that might thereof enſue, reſtrayned their wrathfull mindes from enterpriſing any thing againſt him by force, ſo that for certayne yeares they ſuffered and bare with this his miſordered gouernment.

The good counſel of Dongal.

In the meane whyle the Pictes noting the wante of all vertuous qualities thus in the king of Scottes, and againe what tokens of valiaunt courage appeared in the king of the Brytains, doubted leaſt if hee ſhoulde ſeeke to reuenge olde iniuries againſt them, they ſhoulde be little able to matche him without ayde of the Scottes, (whereof they had ſmall truſte nowe, by reaſon of the inſufficiencie of the Scottiſhe king) they deuiſed a meane howe to ridde the Brytiſhe kyng out of the way, and ſo appoynting certain ſlie felowes to go into Britain for ỹ accōpliſhment of their deuiſed purpoſe, at length the ſame was brought to paſſe, as in the engliſh

The Picts ſtād in feare of the king of Brytains.

chronicles

Chronicles yet ſhall finde more at large though in the ſame Chronicles there is mention made but of one Pict that ſhoulde worke this feate, where the Scottiſh writers recorde of diuers, whiche neuer the leſſe were apprehended, and after bound both hande and foote, were caſt into a a mightie great fire, and therein brent to aſhes in moſt miſerable wiſe, as by the ſayde Scottiſhe writers it appeareth.

Conſtantine the Scottiſhe king is ſlayne by one whoſe doughter he had rauiſhed. Anno. 481.

The death of this Conſtantine king of Bry- tons, happened in the .xb. yeare of Conſtantine king of Scottes, neyther liued he long after, for hauing rauiſhed a noble mans daughter, borne in the weſterne Iſles, he was ſlayne by hyr fa- ther in the night ſeaſon, after hee had reigned in great infamie for his reprochfull life, the ſpace of xbij. yeares.

Don- gall.



Dongall the ſonne of Don- gard is made king of Scot- land.

He was Dongall his nephew, as ſon to his brother Don- gard, proclaymed king, a prince of diſpoſition indifferēt either to peace or warre, though in the beginning of his reigne, he ſhewed himſelf more deſirous of peace than of warres, by reaſon the ſtate of the common wealth ſo required, conſide- ring how things ſtoode not all in the beſt order, through his predeceſſours negligence.

The poletike rule of Don- gall.

Dongall therefore deſirous of a reformation, appointed men of great wiſedome & good fame to be iudges and officers vnder him, who in re- dreſſing miſorders, in puniſhing tranſgreſſions, and in deciding of al ſtrifes and contentions be- twixt partie and partie, did ſo well their ende- uour, that peace and concorde therevpon enſu- ing, the people recouered peaceable reſt and qui- etneſſe, to theyr no ſmall comfort and conten- tation.

In this meane while that things paſſed thus among the Scottes, by the procurement of one Vortigerne, Conſtantius the eldeſt ſonne of the late deceaſed Cōſtantine king of Brytons, was taken out of an Abbey, where he was ſhorne a Monke, and aduaunced to the kingdome: but be- ing not meete of himſelf to gouerne, Vortigerne had the whole rule committed to his handes, wherevpon he firſt cauſed the league to be re- newed betwixte the Brytons, the Scottes and Picts, and appointed a garde of the ſame Scots and Pictes to be attendant on the kings perſon: in the end alſo he procured ſome of them to mur- ther the king, and after put all the ſayd Scottes and Pictes to death, as well the giltie as the vn- giltie, and finally made himſelfe king, as in the hiſtorie of England you ſhall finde more at large

Conſtantius a Moke elected king of Bry- taine.

Vortigernes treaſon. Conſtantius murdered.

expreſſed. The Scottes and Picts (for diſplea- ſure that theyr countrey men whiche had bene appointed to garde the perſon of Conſtantius king of the Brytons, were maliciouſly circum- uented, and the more parte of them wrongfully executed) made ſundry roades and forrayes into the Brytiſh borders, neyther ſparing fire nor ſworde where they came. So that the ſayde Vortigerne by a grieuous reporte informed hereof, cauſed an army with all ſpeede to be le- uied, and appointed Guytellus the prince of Wales to haue the leading thereof againſt the enimies. Whileſt he (doubting leaſt the people woulde not bee ruled by him, for that it was knowen how he would haue made away Con- ſtantines children kept him about London, and durſt not committe himſelf ſo much to the ſight of a multitude, as to go forth in that iourney in his owne perſon.

Guytellus, in reſpect of the loue which he bare to his countrey, purpoſing to ſerue truely in de- fence thereof, chaunced vpon his approche to the borders to take the number of. b.C. of the ene- mies, being aduaunced from the reſidue to fetche a bootie. Theſe, Guytellus cauſed to be hanged, as condemned for robbers and pillers of the coū- trey afore any ouerture of warre was denoun- ced. Wherevpon ſuch other as eſcaped by flight, and had ſeene theyr fellowes thus executed, de- clared vnto their gouernours, what had happe- ned to theyr fellowes.

Guytell nerall c Britiſh cauſeth hundre the ſonh behang

The confederate kings, being in a great chafe herewith, gather togither theyr people, and haſte forwarde with all ſpeede towarde the enimies, who at the firſt ſhewed manifeſt tokēs that they were ſore afrayed of the Scottiſh and Pictiſhe power: wherevpon Guitellus their generall with comfortable wordes willed them to be of good courage, and not to doubte of victory, ha- uing ſo iuſt a cauſe to fight with truce breakers, and ſuche as were giuen more vnto pillage and ſpoyle, than to any other commendable exerciſe or practiſe of warre. With whiche and ſundry other the like wordes the Brytains being enbol- dened, as might well appeare by their chaunge of countenances, Guytellus therevpon remoued his campe more neare vnto his enimies, ſo that at the firſt and for certaine dayes togither, there chaunced onely diuers ſkirmiſhes betwixt the parties, as occaſion ſerued. But at length, the one being ſore moued againſt the other, they ioyne in a pight field. The beginning of whiche battell was right fierce and doubtfull, for on that ſide where Dongall the Scottiſhe king fought, the Brytains ſhortly began to preuaile, through the layne fighting of his people: which daunger Galanus the Pictiſhe king quickly perceyuing, forthwith prouided remedie, for taking with him certaine

The So and Pict kings g their pe reſiſt th tains.

Guytell courage appalle of his warre w comfort worder.

The Br ioyne in pight fi with th and Pic

The So put bac

Galane of Picts coureth Scottes

certaine bandes out of his owne battell, willing the reſidue to ſtande to it manfully, and in no wiſe to giue grounde to the enimie, he himſelfe with the ſayde bandes fetched a compaſſe about, and ſet vpon the backes of them that ſo had ouermatched the Scottes.

This ſodein chaunce ſore diſordered the Brytains, and immediatly the Scottes encouraged a freſh, aſſayled theyr enimies with more egre mindes than they had done at the firſte, ſo that mayntenantly bothe the winges of the Brytiſhe armie were vtterly diſcomfited. And herewith a certaine number of the Pictes were commaunded by their king to make haſte to winne the campe of the Brytains, that ſuche as ſought to eſcape by flight, ſhoulde finde no refuge in the ſame.

Thus the Brytains being chaſed & ſlayne on euery ſide, they knew not whither to flee: ſo that in the end a great number of them throwyng away their weapons, yeelded themſelues, moſte humbly crauing mercie at their enimies hands.

There were ſlayne in this battell aboue. xx. thouſande of the Brytains togither with theyr generall Guitellus, and a great number of other of the nobilitie. There died alſo of the Scottes and Pictes neare hande foure thouſand. The priſoners with the ſpoyle of the fielde was deuided by appointment of the kings amongſt the ſouldiers. Whiche done, they marched forth into the countrey to conquere caſtels and townes, ſuche as ſtood in their way.

In the meane time the Brytains being ſore diſcofoyted with the ouerthrow, aſſembly a coũcell at London, there to deuiſe by what meanes they might beſt defend their countrey frõ the imminent daunger in the which it now ſtood.

Uortigerne as one giltie in conſcience, doubted leaſt through wante of good willes in his commons, he ſhould not be able to withſtande the mightie inuaſion of his enimies, wherevpon he was minded to haue auoyded the realme, but there were of his councell that aduiſed him to the contrarie, holding that better it was for him to trie the vttermoſt pointe of fortunes happe, than with diſhonour ſo to yeelde at the firſt blow of hys frowarde hande, conſidering the abundance of treaſure whiche he had in ſtore, wherewith hee might wage ſouldiers and menne of warre out of Germanie and other places, in number ſufficient to matche with his enimies.

This counſell as the beſte, was followed, and meſſengers with commiſſion and ſufficient inſtructions ſente with all ſpeede into Germanie, to retayne a number of Saxons, and to bring them ouer into Brytaine, to ſerue againſt the Scottes and Pictes in wages with Uortigerne.

At the ſame time there were amongſt thoſe Saxons, two bretherne diſcended by rightfull lignage of the Princes of that nation, who being reputed for valiant Captaines, appointed with the Brytiſhe commiſſaries for a certaine ſumme of money to take vp theyr preſcribed number of men, and to receyue charge of them as Colonels, aſwell for theyr conuoy ouer into Brytaine, as alſo for their ſeruice there, after theyr arriuall. The one of theſe two bretherne hight Hengiſt or Engiſt, and the other Horſus. Who hauing their appointed numbers once filled, conteyning aboute ten thouſand ſouldiers in the whole, they beſtowed them aboorde in. xxx. hulkes, boyes, and playtes, and in the ſame tranſported them ouer into Brytaine, in the. 449. yeare after Chriſte, as our hiſtories do affirme. Where they were receyued with greate ioye and gladneſſe of Uortigerne, who truſted by theyr ayde to ouercome his fierce and dreadfull enimies.

Hengiſt and Horſus, retayned in ſeruice with Uortigerne.

Therefore when they had refreſſhed themſelues ſomewhat after theyr trauayle by ſea, they were ſent forth with an other army which Uortigerne had aſſembled of his owne ſubiectes the Brytains, to the frounters of the enemies countrey, where at theyr firſte comming they paſſed ouer the riuer of Humber, before the Scottes or Pictes had knowledge, that any ſuch people were come in ſuppoyt of the Brytõs to bidde them battell. They beyng therfore amazed with the ſtrangeneſſe of the thing, ſome of them fledde into the inner partes of theyr countrey, and other that made but ſory ſhifte, fell into the handes of the Saxons, who to beginne theyr enterpriſe with bloude, ſlewe all ſuche as they coulde lay handes vpon, without any reſpect of perſon.

The Saxons togither with a power of Brytains, are ſent to the borders of the enimies countreys.

The Saxons in hope of good ſucceſſe, begin the warres againſt the Scottes with bloud.

Great was the ſlaughter by them committed in all thoſe parties where they paſſed, namely aboute the riuer of Tyne. And when they had made an ende there, they entred into Northumberlande, and ſo into the Dales aboue Barwike, next adioyning vnto Pightland, diſtroying all before them with fire and ſworde.

The Pictiſhe king in the meane time had ſent vnto Congall the king of Scottes to come with all ſpeede to ſuppoyte him againſt the dreadfull inuaſion of the enimies, whoſe force being nowe increaſed with a power of Saxons, would worke muche miſchiefe if the ſame were not the more ſpeedily in the beginning repreſſed: but hearing that the Saxons and Brytains dayly approched, he thought not good to tarie for the comming of the Scottes, but haſted forth with his owne power to encounter his aduerſaries, & raſhly giuing battel, he was ouercome, and thereby loſt no ſmall number of his people.

The king of Picts, ſendeth for ayde vnto the Scottiſh king.

The king of the Picts vanquiſhed.

The Saxons wonne prayse, and the Brytõs noted of cowardize.

In this conflict the Saxons wanne them a greate name for theyr highe valiauncie, where contrarily the Brytaines gotte them no small note of guiltie cowardize, fighting so fayntly, that theyr Captaines had muche a dw to cause them to keepe theyr grounde, being ready still to haue runne away, whiche their fayntnesse of stomacke being noted of Hengist, euen then put him in no small confidence that it shoulde bee an easie mater for him to conquere them at his pleasure, when tyme and occasion might serue thereto.

The Pictishe nation hauing receyued this grieuous ouerthrow at the handes of theyr cruell enimies, sent agayne an other Imbassade vnto the Scottish king Congall, to signifie to him by way of lamentation, what losse had happened to them by that moste cruell people the Saxons voyde of all religion and mercie, and what mischiefe by the same people was intended, aswell against Scottes as Pictes, to the great daunger of the vtter ruine of bothe the nations, if the enimies in time were not resisted. They ꝑ were sent declared all this mater vnto king Cõgall, ꝛ as they had in cõmission, besought him of speedie succors. Congall not only moued for the harmes and losses of the Pictes his frendes and alies, but also muche more for the lykelyhode of the imminent daunger and perill towardes him selfe and his owne people, determined speedily to goe with all his power, and to ioyne with the Picts, as fully resolued to preuent that mischiefe which was lyke to follow, if the violent rage of the enimies were not the sooner resisted.

The Picts eftsoones solicite the Scottes for ayde.

Congall promised to ayde the Pictes.

Hee sente worde therefore to the Pictishe king, that if hee might keepe off the enimies by lighte skyrmishes and incursions for a small tyme, hee woulde come to his ayde shortly, with all the whole puyssance of his realme.

Prouisiõ made by Scottes, to ayde the Picts.

And herewith hee commaunded by open proclamation, that all those within his dominions whiche were able to beare armure, shoulde by the twentith day after, assemble togither at the South side of Calidone wode, all and euery of them bryngyng then and there with them vitayles sufficient to serue them for two moneths. Accordyng to the whiche proclamation, there came togither at the day and place assigned, aboute the number of. xl. M. able men, fitte and meete for the warres.

On the morrowe after, when Congall had taken the musters and vewe of his whole numbers, hee sette forwarde towardes the place where hee vnderstoode that the king of the Pictes as then lodged, who had lykewise assembled his people, and in campe taried for the comming of this Scottishe armie.

The fifth day after, bothe the kings met togither, and shewed greate tokens of entire loue and frendshippe the one towardes the other. After this they go to heare diuine seruice, where they make theyr deuoute prayers vnto almightie God for theyr good speede and luckie successe in that iourney: which beyng done, they marche forth towardes the enimies, as then lying in campe not paste tenne myles from them.

The Scott and pictis kings, assi ble togith with the powers.

Here at the firste sight of the enimies, diuers of the Scottes and Pictes beyng stryken with feare to beholde so greate a multitude, as the lyke had not bene seene in those parties many a day before, they stale away and secretely hidde themselues in the nexte woodes: but the kings to giue ensample to other, caused them that were thus stolne away to be sought out, and brought agayne into the campe, where they were hanged in the open sight of all the armie.

The Scot pictes co within sig the enim

The Saxons and Brytains also vppon the approche of theyr enimies gathered their companies togyther, and mayntenantly herewith the Saxons encouraged with suche comfortable speache as Hengist vttered amongst them, required to haue battayle without delay: whose ensample the Brytains following, shewed themselues also right willing thereunto.

The Sax through fort of exhortat desire b

Congall the Scottishe king perceyuing the enimies to make readie for batail, went likewise amongst his folkes, and exhorted them in the best wise he coulde, to play the men. The like did Galanus the Pictishe king amongst his people, omitting nothing that might encourage them to fight manfully.

The Sc and Pic kings e their pe fight va

After this, the batayles on bothe sides comming forewarde to ioyne, the arrowes and dartes flewe freshly betwixte them, but neyther parte minding to giue place for all the shotte: at length they ioyned at hande blowes, firste the Brytains in the right wing, with the Scottes in the left wing: but the Brytaines not able long to endure agaynst the force of the Scottes, gaue backe and fledde. In the meane while came a great shower of rayne, mixte with suche a tempest of hayle, that the hardiest there wished himselfe thence, the storme beating so fast vpon them, that one might vnneath see an other, so that the Scottish menne and Pictes wiste not whether were better to pursue the Brytains that fledde, or to keepe their places.

The ba is bego

The Br flee.

A grea

On the other parte the Saxons accordyng to theyr maner in time of any present daunger, closed themselues togither and drewe neare vnto theyr chiefetayns standerd. Finally the tempest no sooner beganne to ceasse, but the Scottes and Pictes leauyng their order of battayle, fell to followe the chase of the Brytaines, supposing the victorie had bin wholly theirs. Which ꝑ Saxõs (now after that the clement began to cleare vp) plainly

The Sa close r selues ther.

The S Pictes the Bry

playnely perceyuing, by commaundement of theyr generall Hengiſt, aſſayled the Scottes and Pictes here and there diſperſed aboute the ſpoyle and ſlaughter of the Brytains, and made ſuche murder of them on euery ſide where they found them, that pytie it was to beholde. Thoſe that eſcaped by flight, neuer ſtayed till they were gotten into places farre ynough out of daunger.

This was a blacke day with the Scots and Pictes. Neyther was it very ioyfull to the Brytains, of whom no ſmal number died in the place by the enimies ſworde.

Hengiſt hauing thus gotten the victorie, withdrew to Yorke, leauing thoſe countreys betwixt Tyne and Twede in the enimies handes, of purpoſe reſalling from further endomaging them, that the Brytains might haue neighbours whome to feare: For that as he thought ſhould make much for his purpoſe, alreadie hauing determined to make a conqueſt of this Iſle.

When Sommer then was well neare paſſed, he placed his ſouldiers in herbrough to lodge for the winter ſeaſon, and went himſelf to London, where he counſelled Uortigerne to ſende of his owne people to the borders of his enimies, to keepe the ſame from theyr inuaſions till the next ſpryng, againſt whiche time hee promiſed to cauſe ſuche notable numbers of his countreymen to come to his ayde, as ſhoulde ſuffice not onely to banquiſhe the Scottiſh men and Picts, but alſo vtterly to deſtroy bothe the nations, or at leaſt wiſe to driue them forth of the whole countrey.

This offer vnto ſome of the nobilitie was not greatly lyked, as euer ſuſpecting that whiche followed, leaſt in tyme to come Hengiſt ſhould ſeeke the dominion of the realme in placing his owne people, and expulſing the former inhabitants. But Uortigerne did not onely giue him moſte hartie thankes for thoſe his offers, but alſo ſhewed by the maner of the intertaynement whiche hee bſed towardes him, that he thought he coulde not do vnto him too muche honour for ſuche notable ſeruice, as he had done already, and truſted hee ſhoulde do hereafter.

According to Hengiſtes aduiſe alſo, there was a crewe of men of warre of Brytains ſent vnto the borders to the number of fiue thouſande, who ſhortely after theyr comming thither were quickly diſpatched and made away in ſundry ſkyrmiſhes and encounters with the Scottes and Pictes, that aſſayled thoſe places whiche they were appointed to defend.

Shortly after was ſente thyther alſo an other companie, double in number to the firſte, to reuenge the deathes of theyr fellowes: but they finding fortune as frowarde vnto them as the former had done before, ſpedde muchewhat a like, for in ſundry conflictes diuers of them being ſlayne, and diuers other by treaſon of the borderers themſelues deliuered captyue into the aduerſaries handes, the reſidue that were left, perceyuing in what daunger they ſtoode, ſithence they might not truſte their owne countreymen, returned backe into the inner partes of the lande, and ſo left the borders altogither vnfurniſhed.

In this meane while a newe ſupplie of fiue thouſande Saxons, with theyr wiues and children, came ouer into this lande, in eyghtene hoyes, and amongſt other came Hengiſts wyfe and his doughter the Ladie Roxena. Shortly after alſo king Uortigerne gaue vnto Hengiſt and his Saxons a greate parte of the countrey called Lyndſey, with a caſtell of greate ſtrength called Twhancaſtre. Some haue written that Hengiſt requyred of Uortigerne ſo muche grounde, as hee might compaſſe with an Oxe hide, and hauing that graunted, he toke a mightie Oxe hyde, and cut it into ſmall thonges, and ſo cõpaſſing about a right ſtrong plot of ground with thoſe thonges line wiſe, beganne there the fundation of a Caſtell, whiche toke name of thoſe thonges, wherewith the plotte thereof was firſte meaſured, and ſo was it called Twhang caſtell.

A new power of Saxons cometh ouer into Brytaine.

Twhang caſtel, or Thong caſtel.

But vpon what conſideration ſo euer it toke that name, certaine it is by record of al the Scottiſhe hiſtories, that there the Saxons firſt inhabited after their entring into Brytaine.

The Saxons firſt inhabited in Lyndſey.

When Hengiſt had ſette things in order for the placing of his people there in dwellings, (appoynted them by Uortigerne) according as ſeemed beſte vnto his poletike head and craftie forecaſt, hee toke forth the ſouldiers and menne of warre, ordered vnder certayne Captaynes and officers of bands, and led them forward by ſlow iourneys as it were ſtaying for the comming of the Brytains.

Uortigerne had gathered as then an huge hoſte of his ſubiectes, and appointed his generall Lieutenant ouer them his ſonne Uortymere, a yong man of greate force and valiauncie, but ſo that he ſhould be ordered in all things by the aduice and diſcretion of Hengiſt, whoſe auctoritie for the warres he commaunded to bee chiefly followed.

Vortymer generall of the Brytons.

When bothe the armies of Saxons and Brytaines were mette togither, Hengiſt ledde them ouer the riuers of Humber & Tyne, marching directly towardes the place, where hee thought the enimies lay. The Scottiſhe and Pictiſh kings, hauing knowledge of ſuch preparation made by the Brytons, they gathered their powers togither, to the number of. lx. M. men,

The Saxons & Brytains, againſt the Scots & Picts.

Ix.M. of Scots & Picts, come to meete their enimies.

furniſhed with prouiſion of vitayles for a long time. But before theyr comming to the riuer of Tyne, vpon knowledge had that the Saxons and Brytains were paſſed the ſame, they made ſtreight towardes them, in purpoſe to haue giuen batayle without longer protracting of time: howbeit comming to the place where they were lodged, they founde them ſo ſtrongly encamped, that no aduauntage coulde be perceyued whiche way they might be conſtrayned to rayſe & come forth of theyr ſtrength to receyue battayle vpon ſome euen grounde, whiche Hengiſt of purpoſe for a time ſeemed to deferre.

Hengiſt prolongeth time to giue battel.

Betwixt the alſo and the armies of the two kings there was a valley, in the botome full of myres and mariſhe grounde, whiche the Scottiſh men and Pictes muſte needes paſſe, ere they coulde finde meanes to do any notable diſpleaſure to the enimies. Wherefore at length they determined with turfe and fagottes to make paſſage ouer thoſe myres. Which being accompliſhed in the night following, the nexte morning they paſſed ouer and got them vnto certaine hilles lying right ouer againſt the Saxon and Brytiſhe campes, ſome of them taking their lodgings vpon the browe or fronte of an hill ſo neare to the lodgings of theyr enimies, that they might throwe a darte into theyr campe: and hereof they toke no ſmall occaſion to worke a feate againſt their aduerſaries, to their great annoyance and vexation.

There was growing in that place where they were thus encamped, very muche of that kinde of Heath or lynge, whiche the Scottiſhmen call hadder. Of whiche Heathe, or hadder, they gathered a great quantitie togither, and binding it in bundels lyke vnto faggots, in the night ſeaſon they ſet the ſame on fire, tumbling it downe the hill, on that ſide where the Saxons lay. The wind in that inſtant being ſomewhat aloft, cauſed theſe bundels of lynge to blaſe and brenne vehemently, and hereto ſtanding that wayes forth, droue the flambe ſo ſtreynably amongſt the tentes and cabanes of the Saxons, that the fire catching in the ſtrawe and twigges whiche they had couched togither vnder them in ſteede of beddes, encreaſed the feare amongſt the ſouldiers wonderfully, by reaſon that the blaſing bundels of the lynge or hadder, ſtill comming downe the hill vpon them, ſeemed as though the ſame had fallen from aboue, and euen forth of the heauen it ſelfe.

A policie of the Scottes.

The tumult & feare rayſed in the campe of the Saxons.

Great was the tumulte and noyſe through out the whole cãpe, with ſuch roring of beaſts, and running vp and downe bothe of them and of the horſes whiche were there in the campe, that if heauen and earth had gone togither there coulde not haue bene a more terrible noyſe nor clamour. At length when the Souldiers had done what they coulde to quenche the fire, and to appeaſe the trouble, not without ſome vprore and diſorder rayſed on eache ſide, they got them with their armour and weapons forth into the next fielde, whiche Hengiſt himſelfe perceyuing (hauing firſt done what he coulde to ſtay them) enuironed with a companie of his choyſeſt men of warre, he got him vp vnto a little hill next adioyning, and there gaue knowledge by the ſound of a trũpet that all his people ſhould drawe thither vnto him. After this, when they were come togither, he diſpoſed them in order of battel with all diligence, abiding for the ſpring of the day, to vnderſtand more certainely the meaning of his enimies.

Heng leth plet

The Scottes and Pictes ſuppoſing the enimies to be farre diſordred by reaſon of the fire diſcended downe from the hilles, fully determined to aſſayle them in their campes: but vpon their approche to the ſame, perceyuing howe the Saxons were gotten forth, and ſtoode ready in good order of bataple, minding to defende theyr grounde, bothe the kings thought it beſte to tarie the morning ere they made any exployte, for doubt of perils that might befall thereof.

Cong horta the S

In the breake of the day Congall came amongſt his people, exhorting them to remember theyr worthie elders, and by their example to chooſe rather to die in defence of theyr countrey and auncient liberties, than by cowardize to ſaue a diſhoneſted lyfe, whiche (if theyr chaunce was to be vanquiſhed) they ſhould paſſe in great thraldome and miſerie. The Pictiſhe king alſo, with lyke wordes encouraged his menne to do valiantly. Neyther was Hengiſt ſlowe in perſwading his Saxons to play the men, that obtayning the victorie they might deliuer themſelues from terrour of all enimies from thenceforth in Brytaine.

Heng teth t to fg fully.

Whileſt he was thus exhorting his people, the Scottes and Pictes with greate force and violence beganne to giue the charge vpon him, whiche whyleſt the Saxons and Brytains went about to defende, they were beaten downe by heapes ſo fiercely on eache ſide, that the diſcomfiture had light vppon them forthwith, had not Hengiſt by ſounde of trumpet called forth aboute three thouſand freſhe menne to their ſuccours, whiche hee had placed in an ambuſhe a little before the ſpring of the day within a thicke groue of wood, faſte by his campe, appoynting them to remayne there in a readineſſe, to come at his call vpon what daunger ſo euer happened. Theſe moſte fiercely ſetting vpon the backes of the Scottes, brought them ſtreyght out of all order, for they beyng occupied with the other Saxons before, & now aſſayled of theſe behinde, they

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they had vnneath rouneth to any aduantage to turne theyr weapons. In the meane time the Picts being matched with the Brytains, did put them to flight, & chaſed them out of the field, not ceaſſing to purſue thē in the chaſe, till they came to a riuer in the whiche a great number of them were drowned, as they ieoperded to paſſe ouer the ſame, & to ſaue thēſelues by ſwimming. On the other ſide the Scottes being ſore handled by the Saxons, both before and behind, were at the length conſtreined to giue ground & breake forth by flight, ſo to eſcape the cruell handes of the enimies. Many were ſlayne in the chaſe and ſome taken priſoners. The reſidue getting away, fledde ſtreyght to the Pictes, but Congall himſelfe through helpe of his houſeholde ſeruaunts eſcaped to the toppe of an highe hill, and ſaued himſelfe all wounded as he was.

The Picts returning from the chaſe, and vnderſtanding howe the Saxons had giuen the Scottes the ouerthrow, and that they were now marching forewarde to encounter alſo with thē, determined not to abide theyr comming at that time. And ſo night approching ere the Saxons had got ſight of them, order was giuen by commaundement of theyr king, that all their cariage and a greate quantitie of logges and faggottes, ſhould be placed and pyled togither before them, and in the darke of the night to be ſet on fire, whiche beyng executed according to the appointment, when the fire was once kindeled, the Pictes with the Scottes whiche were gotte vnto them, departed as ſecretely as they might, & ſtayed not to make away, till they were farre enough out of the daunger of the Saxons.

Hengiſt thus hauing got the victory, and perceyuing no enimie abrode to bid him battayle, muſtered his men, and found that he had loſt in this iourney as good as .iiij. M. of one and other. After this, he withdraweth to Yorke, and leauing his army there, went himſelf vnto Londō, where he was receyued with ioy inough by king Vortigerne. And ſhortly after, vpon knowledge that Aurelius Ambroſe and Uther the ſonnes of king Conſtantine prepared to come ouer with a mightie army of Armorike Brytons and other French men, to clayme the crowne of Brytaine as lawfully diſcended to them frō theyr father, the Saxons were ſent for out of the north partes, & had dwellings appointed vnto them in Kent, to be at hand if neede were to reſiſt any ſuch attēpted inuaſion. But ſhortly after, for a policie Hengiſt cauſed it to be bruited abrode, that the Scots & Pictes meant eftſoones to inuade the Brittiſh confines, & therfore was there an other power of Saxōs called into the land, & placed in the north parts, to defend the ſame againſt the Scots and Picts. Decca the ſonne of Hengiſt had ỹ leading of theſe Saxons, who brought them ouer (being x. M. mē of warre, in .l. playtes & .l. hoyes. They brought with them alſo theyr wiues & children, & ſetled thēſelues in the north partes betwixt the riuer of Humber, & the borders of the Pictiſh dominiōs. And euen thē it began to take the name of Northumberland, which is as you would ſay the land by north the riuer of Hūber, & ſo it doth continue. Shortly after, Uortigerne forſaking his lawfull wife, married the ladie Roxena or Rowen, Hengiſts doughter, to the high offence of God, & great diſpleaſure of his ſubiects. And in the meane time Decca not attempting any exployt againſt the Scots & Pictes, rather ſought to get into his handes all the fortreſſes betwixt Tyne & Humber, euen from the eaſt ſea to the weſt: whiche his purpoſed intent he greatly aduaunced, winning caſtels and fortreſſes there in thoſe parties, ſome by force, & ſome by ſurrēder: & amongſt other places of importance, he firſt got poſſeſſion of Yorke, and fayning accuſations againſt many of the nobles & gentlemē, ſurmiſing that they would betray the countrey vnto the Scots & Pictes, he put diuers of them to death, ſome ſecretly & others openly, as cōuict of ſuch offēces as were forged & layd againſt thē. Here vpō the Brytons for the ſtay of ſuch miſchief as they ſaw at hand, depoſed Uortigerne frō his kingly ſeat, & placed his ſonne Uortimer in his rowme, whiche being done, ambaſſadors were ſent bothe vnto the Scottes and Picts, to require their aide and ſuppoyte againſt the cruell oppreſſion of the Saxōs, who ſought not only by craftie meanes & fraudulent waies to attaine the dominiō of the whole Iſle, but alſo to extinguiſh & vtterly ſubuert the faith of Chriſte, & the vſe of his religion throughout the ſame. Therfore they entirely deſired the Scottiſh & Pictiſh kings, to aſſiſt them againſt ſuch cōmon enimies as had bene called into the realme not by publike conſent of the nobles, but only by the priuate cōmaundement and ordinance of Uortigerne, to help aſwell towards the ſubduyng of the Scots and Picts, as alſo to repreſſe all commotions of the Brytains, which they might happely rayſe againſt him for his wicked tyrannie vſed amongſt them, as his guiltie conſcience might put hym ſtyll in feare of.

Northumberland when it firſt began to be ſo called.

Vortigerne marieth Hengiſts doughter.

Yorke in poſſeſsion of Hengiſt.

Vortigerne depoſed by his ſubiects.

Vortimer choſen to gouerne the Brytons.

The Brytons require ayde of the Scottes and Pictes againſt the Saxons.

The Scottiſhe king Congall (vnto whome firſt the ambaſſadours were ſente) for anſweare declared, that hee was ſorie to vnderſtande into what daūger the miſerable Chriſtians of Brytaine were thus fallen, and therefore if nothing els might moue him to ioyne with the Brytains againſt the Saxons, yet that were ſufficient cauſe to enforce him to do the beſte hee coulde to helpe to deliuer the whole Iſle from ſuche an Ethnike generation, as not onely vſed

The anſwere of Congall king of Scots vnto the Brytiſh meſſengers.

the rites and ceremonies of their falſe religion, and that openly among the Chriſtians, with doing ſacrifice in the honour and worſhip of theyr helliſh goddes, to the great horror and terrible offence of the beholders cõſciences, but alſo ſought by all meanes they could deuiſe, how to deſtroy and quenche vtterly the faith of oure Sauioure Chriſte in all places where they myght get the vpper hande. He promiſed therefore to employe his whole puiſſance to recouer out of the enimies handes all ſuche countreys as lay betwixt the frontiers of his dominion, and the ryuer of Humber, and further to ayde the Brytains to dryue them quite out of the Ile, if the Brytains would aſſure him, frõ thence forth neuer to make clayme, title nor intereſt, to any the countreys aforeſayde, lying betwixt the ſaide riuer of Humber, and the confins of his realme, but to leaue the ſame in the handes of the Scottiſhmen and Pictes, to haue holde and enioy for euermore in quiet, whiche to performe, the Ambaſſadours had (amongſt other things) alreadie promiſed in name of all the Brytiſhe nation, as a recompence or meede to haue the ſuppoſte and ſuccours of the Scottes. The like anſwere the ſame Ambaſſadours receyued of the Pictiſh king, and returning therewith vnto Morpincre declared afore him and his counſell howe they had ſpedde.

Vpon what conditions Congall couenaunted to ſupport the Brytons.

Shortly after for the more and better aſſuraunce of all promiſes, couenaunts and articles paſſed betwixte the Scottiſhmen, Pictes and Brytaines, there was an amitie and bonde of peace nowe renewed ratified and eſtabliſhed according to the tenour of the auncient league whiche had bene concluded in times paſte betwixte them, with ſome newe conditions of agreement included in the ſame: all olde iniuries being ended and quieted clearely betwixt them, ſo that no cauſe of grudge or diſpleaſure, might be thought to remayne in remembrance.

A league concluded be Scots, Pic Brytons.

The firſte enterpryſe put in execution after the concluding of this league, was made by the Scottes againſt Occa and his Saxons, whiche (as partly ye haue heard) had ſtabliſhed themſelues betwixt the ryuers of Tyne and Humber.

The Sco inuade borderes Northum land.

Againſt thoſe Scottes as they were very earneſtly occupied in ouerthrowing Caſtels and Towers, with ſlaughter of ſuche Saxons as ſtoode at defence, Occa commeth into the fielde with an army ready to encounter with them, but perceyuing the multitude of his enimies to be ſuche as he doubted leaſt hee ſhoulde not be well able to matche with them, he ſtayed a while from giuing the onſet: but in the end perceyuing he could not retyre backe but to his great diſhonnour, hee boldly gaue ſigne to his people to ſet vpon theyr enimies: whiche they fiercely ex-

The Sa encoũt the Sco



ecuting, it was harde to tell for a whyle to whether parte the victorie woulde encline. But at length the Saxons not able to ſuſtayne the force of the Scottes ouerpreſſing them with multitude, began to giue backe, whiche Occa perceyuing did what hee coulde to hemme them in from running away, but yet notwithſtanding all that he coulde do, feare at length ouercomming regarde to theyr Captaines commaundement, ſhame of rebuke was quite ſet aparte, and ſo they toke them to their feete, and fled away ſo faſt as they might, the Scottes purſuyng after them a mayne.

The Saxons vanquiſhed by the Scottes.

Occa ſea int

Occa yet eſcaped with diuers of his nobles, and comming to the mouth of Humber, got a ſhip, & ſayled forth in the ſame with great daunger, till at length he arriued within the Thames.

The ſlaughter of the Saxons vpon the diſcomfiture was greate, ſpecially in the chaſe, for the Scottiſhmen calling to remembraunce that

they

they had to do with infidels, and with the enimies of the chriſtian fayth, were ſo eger vpon them, that they ſaued fewe or none that fell into theyr handes.

About the ſame time was Uortymere entred into Kent againſt Hengiſt & his Saxons there, and encountring with them in battel ſlew tenne thouſand of them, and chaſed the reſidue forth of that countrey.

Thus Kent returned vnto the Brytains, and the countreys beyond Humber northwards vnto the Scottes and Pictes, according to the tenour of the league before mencioned.

Hengiſt and his ſonne Occa (who a little before this battaile in Kent was come vnto his father) with the reſidue of them that eſcaped, haſted with all ſpeede towardes Northumberlande, in purpoſe to remaine in that countrey till they had recouered theyr ſtrength by ſome power to be ſent ouer vnto them out of their owne countrey, but being repulſed with no ſmall ſlaughter from thence by the Scots and Pictes, they withdrew vnto the mouth of Humber, where getting certaine veſſels they paſſed ouer into Saxonie, leauing a great ſorte of theyr nation behind them, diſperſed abroade here and there in this Iſle, as fortune then beſt ſerued.

Uortymere hauing got the victory as before is mencioned, vſed not the ſame very cruelly, for taking onely from the Saxons whiche were taken priſoners theyr armure and weapon, hee ſuffred them to depart into theyr countrey: other of the ſame nation being but huſbandmen, and as it were poore labourers of the grounde he permitted to tarie in the countrey with theyr wiues and children as ſeruauntes vnto the Brytons.

After this Uortymere gaue order for the repayring of Churches and reſtoring of the chriſtian religion into the ſtate of the former puritie therof, as then ſore decayed, partly through the euill example taken by dayly converſation amongſt the Saxons, and partly alſo by the infectiue hereſie of the Pelagians, as then mightily ſpred ouer the moſt parte of Brytaine. At length the ſayde Uortymer through treaſon of his ſtepmother Roxena was poyſoned and died. Then was Uortigerne agayne reſtored to the rule of the kingdome, firſt forced by othe to promiſe neuer to ayd the Saxons, nor to receiue by way of ayde any forrein people into the realme.

Uortigerne then reſtored thus vnto the crowne, ſhewed ſuche diligence in cauſing due adminiſtration of iuſtice without rigour to be executed, and proviſion made for the reſiſting of all inuaſions that might be attempted by any forraine power, that his prayſe was greate amongſt all his ſubiectes, who to ſhewe theyr good willes likewiſe towardes him as to theyr naturall prince, were not ſlacke in honoring him aſwell by giftes and preſentes, as by all other maner of wayes.

He founde meanes alſo to renew the league with the Scottes and Pictes with like conditions and articles, as it was concluded laſtly betwixt them and his ſonne Uortimere. The league renewed betwixt Brytons Scots & Picts.

But notwithſtanding his politike proceeding thus to anoyde all inconuenience that might happen: ſhortely after Hengiſt returned, & what by force and ſubtill ſhiftes, at length got poſſeſſion of the more parte of Brytaine, ſo that the Brytons were conſtreyned to flee into Wales, whither alſo Uortigerne fledde and remayned there a certaine time, til at length Aurelius Ambroſius and Uter the ſonnes of king Conſtantine came ouer out of little Brytaine, and beſieging Uortigerne in a caſtell, brente him with the houſe and all, when they could not otherwiſe come by him, according to that which Merlyne the Brytiſh ſothſayer had prophecied before. It is fooliſhly ſuppoſed that this Merlyne was got by a ſpyte of that kinde whiche are called Incubi, that is to underſtand, ſuch as couеying mans ſeede from him, and therewith by illuſion (taking vpon them the ſhape and figure of man) do lie with women, and vſe them after the manner of carnal copulation. In this place Hector Boetius by the way recyteth a like tale or two, of ſuche illuſions of ſpyrites wrought not long before his time in Scotland, whiche ſomewhat abridging the ſame we haue here inſerted. Hengiſt returneth. Uortigerne brent.

In the yeare. 1480. ſayth he, it chaunced as a Scottiſh ſhippe departed out of the Forth towardes Flaunders, there roſe a wonderful great tempeſt of winde & weather, ſo outragious, that the Maſter of the ſhip with other the Mariners wondered not a litle what the matter ment, to ſee ſuche weather that tyme of the yeare, for it was about the middeſt of Sommer. At length when the furious pyrrie & rage of windes ſtill encreaſed, in ſuche wiſe that all thoſe within the ſhippe Illuſions of ſpirites. A tale of a woman abuſed with a ſprite. About S. Barnabees day.



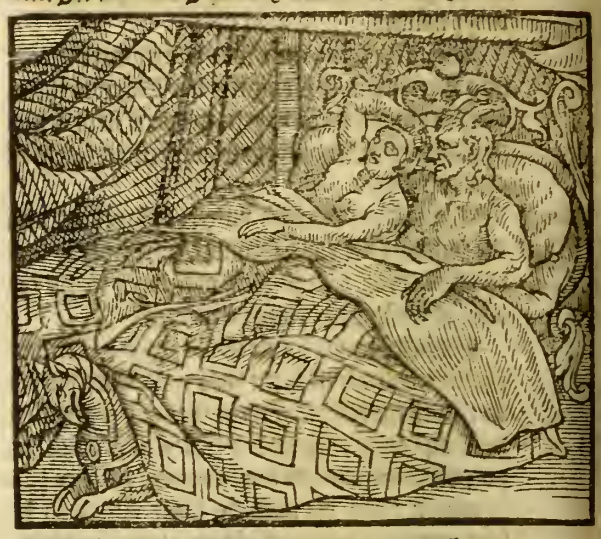
H.iiij. loked

loked for preſent death, there was a woman vnderneath the hatches, called vnto them aboue, and willed them to throwe hyr into the ſea, that all the reſidue by goddes grace might yet be ſaued: and thereupon tolde them, howe ſhee had bene haunted a long tyme with a ſpryte, dayely comming vnto hir, in mans lykenes, and that euen as then, hee was with hir vſing his filthye pleaſure after the maner of carnall copulation. In the ſhippe there chaunced alſo to bee a prieſt, who by the maiſters appointment going downe to this woman, & fynding hir lyke a moſt wretched and deſperate perſon, lamenting hir greate miſfortune and myſerable eſtate, vſed ſuche holſome admonitions and comfortable aduertiſements, willing hir to repent and hope for mercy at the handes of almightie God, that at lengthe ſhe ſeeming right penitent for hir greuous offences committed, and fetching ſundry ſighes euen from the bottome of hir heart, being witneſſe (as ſhould appeare) of the ſame, there iſſued forthe of the pumpe of the ſhippe, a foule and euill fauored black cloude, with a mightie terrible noiſe, flame, ſmoake and ſtinke, which preſently fel into the ſea. And ſodeinly therevpon the tempeſte ceaſſed, and the ſhip paſſyng in quiet the reſidue of hir iourney, arriued in ſafetie at the place whether ſhe was bounde.

A yong man haunted with a ſpryte.

Not long before the hap hereof, there was in lyke maner a yong man dwelling in Gareoth, within a village there, not paſſing. xiiij. myles from Aberdyne, right faire and comely of ſhape, who declared by way of complaint vnto the Biſhop of that dioceſſe, howe there was a ſpryte which haunted him in ſhape of a woman, ſo fair and beautifull a thing, that he neuer ſaw ỹ lyke, the which would come into his chāber a nights, & with pleaſant enticementes allure him to haue to doe with hir, and that by no maner of meanes he could be rid of hir. The biſhop like a wiſe mā aduiſed him to remoue into ſome other countrey and to giue himſelfe to faſtyng and prayer, ſo to auoyde his handes of that wicked ſpryte. The yong man folowing the Biſhops counſel, within few days was deliuered frō further tentation.

Aboute the ſame tyme alſo, there was in the countrey of Mar, a yong Gentlewoman of excellent beautie, and daughter vnto a noble man there, refuſing ſundry wealthy mariages offred to hir by hir father, and other frendes. At lengthe ſhe proued with chyld, and being rigorouſly cōpelled by hir parentes to tel who was the father, ſhe confeſſed that a certain yong mā vſed nightly to come vnto hir, and keepe hir companie, and ſometimes in the daye alſo, but howe or from whence he came, or by what meanes he went away, ſhe was not able to declare. Hir parentes not greatly crediting hir wordes, layde diligent watche to vnderſtand what he was that had defyled their houſe: And within. iij. days after, vpon ſignification giuen by one of the maydens,



that the forniicatour was at that verie inſtante with their daughter, incontinently therevppon, making faſte the dores, they enter the chamber with a great meignie of torches & lights, where they find in their daughters armes, a foule monſtrous thing, right horrible to beholde. Heere a number comming haſtily in, to beholde this euil fauoured ſight, amongſt other, there was a prieſt of right honeſt lyfe, not ignorant (as was thought) in knowledge of holie ſcripture. This prieſt (all other being afrayde) and ſome of them running their wayes, began to recite the beginning of Saint Johns Goſpell, and comming to theſe wordes, Verbum caro factum eſt, ſodeynely the wicked ſpryte making a right fore and terrible roaring noyſe, flew his wayes, taking the roofe of the chamber away with him, the hangings & couerings of the bed being alſo brent therewith. The Gentlewoman was yet preſerued, & within. iij. or. iiij. dayes after, was deliuered of ſuche a miſhapen thing, as the lyke before had not ben ſeene, whiche the midwiues and women ſuche as were preſent at hir labour, to auoyd the diſhonour of hir houſe, immediatly brente in a greate fyre, made in the chamber for the ſame intent.

Thus muche out of Hector Boetius, which, with more, he hath written to proue that all is not fayned whiche is written of the illuſions of deuils and euill ſpirites, the credite whereof I leaue with the Author.

Now to returne where I left touching Aurelius Ambroſe: ye ſhall vnderſtande, that he hauing once ſubdewed and diſpatched hys aduerſarie Voretigerne, he determyned to make warres againſt Engiſt and his Saxons, to proue if his chance myght be to recouer the realm out of their handes, and ſo to reſtore again the chriſtiā religion. But firſt ere he attempted any exploit againſt ỹ ennmies, he ſent ambaſſadors both vnto

Aurelius Ambroſe prepareth to warres the Saxons.

Congall

Congall the Scottiſh king, and alſo vnto one Loth a towardly yong gentleman, and of right comely perſonage, as then raigning among the Pictes, requiring them both to ayde him in ſo neceſſarie an enterpriſe as he had in hande againſt the enimies of Chriſt and his religion. Whereupon both theſe kings weying with themſelues the duetie of all Chriſtian Princes, in reſpect of the aduauncement of the cauſe of fayth, and ſuppreſſing of ethnike Idolatrie, promiſed their help to the vttermoſte of their powers againſte the Saxons, who had in ſuch tyrannyke ſort ſubuerted and aboliſhed the Chriſtian profeſſion within the Britiſhe confines. And therefore the olde league according to the articles and couenantes afore time concluded betwixte the three Nations, was once againe renued, and an army prepared by euery of them, to meet at a place and day appoynted, for the better expedition of thys their attempted voyage.

First Aurelius Ambroſe, with ſuch power as he brought with him forth of Fraunce, and ioyning thereunto a great multitude of thoſe Brytaynes which had eſcaped the Saxons handes, eyther by withdrawing themſelues into Wales, or elſe by conueying themſelues into the Countreys of the Scottes and Pictes, ſetteth forward towarde the Scottiſhe armie. But firſt calling togither thoſe Brytaines that he had about him, and going vp to a little hill, where he might bee hearde of them all, he made a long Oration by way of complaynt, of the great iniuries and cruell practiſes vſed by Hengiſt, againſt the lynage of king Conſtantine, and the whole eſtate of the Brytiſh comon wealth. Alſo of the horrible perſecution made by him and his people the Saxons againſt the profeſſors of the Chriſtian religion. All which matter he handled in wordes ſo pithily, his talke yet ſauouring of the Romaine eloquence, that the mindes of the Souldiers beeing kindled therwith, required nothing but battayle, as men not doubting but by his wiſe and politike conduyt to atchieue ſome glorious victorie. And to the ende all things might be done in better order, according to his appoyntment, immediately they proclaymed him king. Which was by accompt of the Scottiſhe Chronicles, in the yeare. 498. after that Uortigerne with his ſonne Uortimer had raigned ſeuentene yeares in the whole.

Aurelius Ambroſe proclaymed king of Brytayne.

Aurelius in this wiſe being eſtabliſhed King of Brytayne paſſeth forth with his people, and within ſixe dayes after, met with the armies of the Scottes and Pictes. Generall of the Scots at that time, was one Conranus brother to king Congall, who was troubled with the Goute, ſo that he could not come himſelfe in perſon.

Conranus generall of the Scottes.

Loth the Pictiſhe king was there himſelfe amongſt his people, verie deſirous to ſhew ſome proufe of his manly prowes and manhood. Aurelius Ambroſe ſhewed al the honour that might be deuiſed, as wel to ỹ one as to the other of thoſe two Nations, promiſing to requite them wyth as muche friendſhippe when time and occaſion ſhould craue the like aſſiſtance.

Loth king of the Pictes.

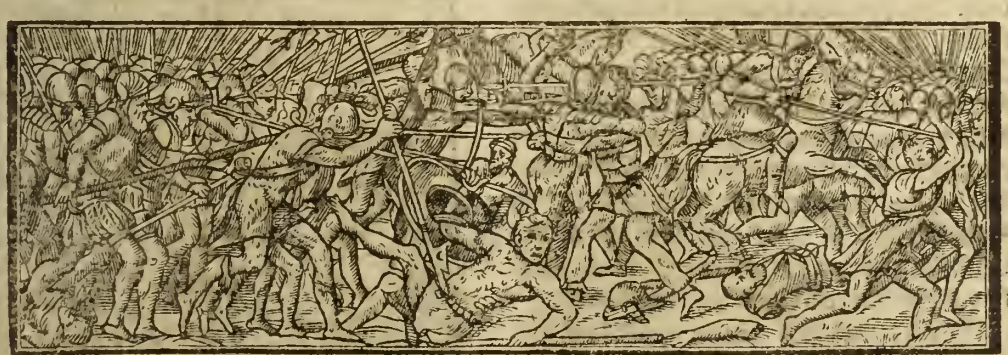
Theſe three mighty armies therefore beeing thus aſſembled, marched forth towardes a place called Mahelbell, where they vnderſtoode that Hengiſt with his power as then did ſoiourne. Where when both the campes were pitched, and one lying not farre from the other: at the firſt certaine light ſkirmiſhes were procured by both partes betwixt the light horſemen, wherewith at length being the more prouoked to diſpleaſure, they come into the fielde with their whole maine battailes, right fiercely encountering eche other, ſo that as it appeared, their force was not ſo great but their mortall hate was euen as much, or rather more, if the hyſtories ſay right.

Mahesbel.

The Albions and Saxons encounter in battaile.

The Armorike Brytayues.

The Armorike Brytaynes with a new kinde of order in their fight, ſore troubled the Saxons, in piercing their battailes, with their men arrayed in certaine wardes, brode behinde, and narrowe before wedgewiſe. The Scots alſo and Pictes



bare downe both the wings of the Saxons, in ſuch maner, that the ſtandardes of all the three Nations, Scottes, Pictes, and Brytaynes, were at poynt almoſt to meete, hauing made way thereunto through the middeſt of their enimies. Wherewith the Saxons (beeing ſore diſcouraged) began to giue backe, and finally, notwithſtanding all that Hengiſt could ſay or do,

The Saxons diſcomfited.

to haue ſtayed them, they fell to running away, and fled amaine, which when he throughly ſaw, and perceyued that there was no recouere, hee himſelfe (in maner the laſt man that abode) fled likewiſe his wayes out of the field, with an ambuſhmēt of horſmen about him, but being purſued by Aurelius right fiercely, he was run through the bodie by him with a ſpeare, and ſo was there

See more here of in England.



Hengiſt is ſlain by Aurelius as the Scottiſhe Chronicles ſay

ſlain out of hande, in the 488. of Chriſt, and 40 after his comming into the Ile. Howbeit the other of the Saxons cōueyed his ſonne Occa (being alſo ſore wounded) away with them vp into the next mountaynes, whither they fled for their refuge, leauing the dead bodie of his father Hengiſt in the fielde, to their high reproch, there to be ſpoyled and abuſed of his enimies.

Aurelius haſteth forth to London.

Aurelius Ambroſe hauing thus got the vpper hande of his enimies, haſteth forth with all ſpeede vnto London, where hauing both the Citie and tower deliuered into his handes, hee recouered the whole Ilande from the poſſeſſion of the Saxons: and ſuch of them as were apt men, able to beare armor, and to ſerue in the warres, he cōmaunded to depart forth of the land. The other that were minded to tarie behinde their fellowes that were thus forced to depart, became ſubiectes to the Britains, and couenanted to become chriſtians. Thus much haue I written touching Aurelius Ambroſe, according to the report of the Scottiſh writers, but more hereof ye may reade in the hyſtorie of Englande, where ye ſhall finde this matter ſet forth more at large. For ỳ which wee write here, is but to ſhewe in what ſort the Scottiſhe writers make relation of the warres which their nation had with the Saxons, when they began firſt to ſet foote here in this lande.

To our purpoſe then: In the meane time Aurelius hauing thus recouered the lande out of the Saxons hands, and now remaining at London, did all the honor he coulde ymagine, both vnto Loth the Pictiſh king, and alſo vnto Conranus generall of the Scottiſhe men, acknowledging howe that by their ayde chiefly hee had got the vpper hande of his enimyes, and ſo hee willed to haue it notified amongſt his ſubiectes.

By ſup Scotte Pictes. us conf he got torie o Saxons

Hereto hee cauſed the league to be renued betwixt the Scottes, Pictes, and Brytaynes, the auncient ordinaunce for the Countreyes beyond Humber, beeing appointed to remayne vnto the Scottiſhe men and Pictes: alſo that the Saxons ſhoulde bee reputed common enimyes to all the three Nations, and that vpon inuaſion made by any forraine power, the Scottes, Pictes, and Brytanes, ſhould ayde one another as occaſion ſerued.

The le twixt Pictes, tains is

This league beeing concluded with theſe articles of couenauntes was the more ſtrongly confyrmed, by reaſon of ſuch affinitie and allyaunce as then alſo enſued. For whereas Aurelius had two ſiſters, the one named Anne, and the other Ida, virgins both. Anne beeing the elder, was gyuen in maryage vnto King Loth, by whome certaine yeares after hee had iſſue two ſonnes, Mordred, and Walwan, or Galwan, with a daughter named Thametes: Ida beeing the yonger ſyſter, was maryed vnto Conranus, generall (as is ſayde) of the Scottiſhe armye. Howbeit ſhe lyued not paſt two yeares after, but dyed in trauayle of childe, which alſo dyed wyth the mother. And ſo ended the alyance of Aurelius and Conranus.

Anne daugh Aurelii in mari to Loth of Pict

Ada ma vnto C

The Brytaynes beeing delyuered through the victorie and meanes afore rehearſed from the cruell handes of the Saxons, enioyed ioyfull peace certaine yeares after, but in the meane time dyuerſe of thoſe Saxons which were lycenced to remayne in Brytayne, counterfeyting to become Chriſtians, bled neuertheleſſe to make ſacryfice vnto Idolles, according to the maner of the Gentyles, whereof their Prieſtes beeing accuſed and condemned, ſuffered death by fyre for that offence, accordingly as the lawe dyd then appoynt them.

Diuers Idolat burned



Whileſt

Whilest these things were thus in hande, Congall king of the Scottes being wone with long sickenesse, departed this life, and was buried in the Ile of Iona, otherwise called Colmekill, with all kingly pompe and accustomed ceremonies. He raigned ouer the Scottishmen about xx. yeares in great fame and glorie.



After hys decease, his brother Conranus, with great reioysing of al the Scottishe Nation, was admitted King, in the yeare after the byrth of our Sauiour, 512. and the xxij. of the raigne of the Emperor Anastasius.

This Conranus (otherwise also called by some Gozanus) being established king, first toke order that the sonnes of his brother Congall being within age, shoulde be brought vp in the Ile of Man, vnder the gouernance of certaine wyse instructors and scholemaisters, to be trayned in learning and vertuous discipline, according to an auncient ordenance thereof made and enacted.

Also doubting least peace and quietnesse nowe after long warres, should minister matter to his people of raysing some commotion, to the disturbance of all ciuill order and politike gouernment within his realme, hee rode as it had bene in circuite rounde about the same, making inquirie of all maner offenders, on whom he caused due punishment to be executed, without respect eyther of kyth or kinne.

And amongst other enormities, which he vnderstoode to be vsed in maner through al his countreys, this (as hee thought) was most greeuous, that the husbandmen, and other commons of the Countrey, being euil intreated and misused at the gentlemens handes, durst not complaine, nor procure any redresse: by reason whereof, when they were oppressed or suffered any manner of wrong or iniurie, they were without remedie to haue the same reformed, he ordeyned therefore, that the names of al such offenders, with the maner of their offences shoulde bee secretly registred in a booke euerie yeare, by certaine Inquisitours thereto chosen and appointed, and if it chaunced that those which were thus accused, might afterwardes be founde guiltie before the kings Justices by matter plainly proued against them, they shoulde then be sure to bee punished according to the measure of their offences.

This custome of accusations, commonlye called inditements, continueth euen vnto these our dayes.

Conranus himself (as is reported) vsed much to be present at Assyses and Sessions, to see the lawes duly ministred, either else to passe the time in hunting within some Forrest or chase, nere to the place where his Justices sate. The king present at Assises.

Nowe whilest Conranus king of Scottes thus studieth for the good gouernment of his people, Aurelius Ambrose the king of Brytaine fell sicke of a consumption, whiche brought him to such weaknesse, that all recouerie of health in him was dispayred, whereof Occa and Pascentius sonnes to Hengist beeing aduertised, returned with a mightie power of Saxons into Brytain, which (as Hector Boetius sayth) they named at that present Engelsland. Aurelius Ambrose fell sicke of a consumption. Occa and Pascentius return into Britaine.

Uter the brother of Aurelius, lay also the same time sore sicke of a flixe in the parties of Wales, so that to auoyde dissention that was rayled among the Brytaynes about the appointing of a generall to go agaynst the enimies, Aurelius our sicke as he was, caused himself to be carried forth in a litter, with whose presence his people were so encouraged, that encountering with the Saxons, they wanne the victorie, although with such losse on their side, that Aurelius was glad to take truce for the space of foure monethes, and therewith breaking vp his campe, went vnto Wynchester, and sent Ambassadors vnto the Scottish and Pictish kings for ayde against the time when the truce should expyre, which was graunted, and so hee prouided for all things readie for the warres against the appointed time of theyr assemble. Occa also sent his brother Pascentius into Germanie for more ayd, but as some write, hee was driuen by contrarie windes into Irelande, and getting a greate power of men togyther there, he came backe to his brother with the same. But whether he had those men out of Irelande, or Germanie, sure it is that the power of the Saxons was greatly encreased therewith. In the meane time died Aurelius Ambrose, who was poysoned by a mischieuous Monke a Saxon borne, named Eopa, or Copa as some bookes haue, that toke vpon him to be skilfull in phisick, and a Monke by profession, his death was sore lamented of the Brytaynes: but contrarywise, the Saxons reioyced greatly thereof, so that immediatly after, Occa with his power inuadeth the Brytons, vsing greate cruelties in all places wheresoeuer he came. Aurelius Ambrose departeth this life.

In the meane time the Scottish and Pictish armies were come forwarde towardes Aurelius, according to promise made vnto his Ambassadors: but whē his death was certainly knowne amongest them, the Captaynes and leaders of both those armyes, resolued to returne home againe; The Scottish armie returns home againe.

gaine, and ſo they did, for that they doubted in what ſtate and order things ſhoulde ſtande amongſt the Brytaynes now after the deceaſſe of their late king.

After the death of Aurelius Ambroſe, hys brother Uter was made king of Brytaine, and falling in loue with the wife of Gothlois Duke of Cornwall, hee did not onely force hir to lye with him, but alſo to the ende hee might enioye hir the more freely, he ceaſſed not to purſue hir husbande to ridde him out of the way, whome at length he toke within a Caſtle into the which he was fledde, and forthwyth cauſed him to bee executed, ſurmyſing matter againſt him for that he had forſaken one of his Captaines cleped Nathaliod, in battaile againſt the Saxons. By the wife of this Gothlois, Uter had iſſue the greate Arthure, and becauſe he had no legitimate ſonne, he appoynted that Arthure ſhoulde ſucceede him in gouernment of the realme.

Uter begat Arthure.

Herewith Loth the Pictiſh king was not a little moued, diſdeyning that Arthure beeing a baſtarde, and begot of another mans wife in adulterie, ſhoulde be preferred before his ſonnes the rightfull heyres of the Brytiſhe kingdome: and therefore by Ambaſſadours he did what he could to diſſwade Uter from making any ſuch ordinance. But when he ſawe that he coulde not remoue him from his opinion, he thought beſt to content himſelfe with ſilence, till the time ſerued better for his purpoſe.

At length when the warres were agayne renued betwixt Uter and Occa the Saxon king, Loth in reuenge of the iniurie done to him and his children, ioyned himſelf with the Saxons, and was with them at the battaile, in which the Brytaynes got the victorie by the preſence of Saint Germaine that holy Biſhop of Auxer as the Scottiſh writers make mention. Whiche battail as the ſame is ſet forth by Hector Boetius, bycauſe it toucheth the ſtate of the Pictes, we haue thought good here to expreſſe.

It was therefore about the feaſt of Eaſter, when the armies came into the fielde, the Saxons with the Picts on the one ſide, and the Brytaynes on the other, of whome no ſmall number (being eyther growen to be Idolaters through conuerſation with the Saxons, either elſe infected with the Hereſie of the Pelagians) euen there in campe, by hearing ſuch godly Sermons as Saint Germain preached amongſt them, were conuerted to the true beliefe, receyuing at the ſame tyme the Sacrament of the Lordes bodie, togyther in companie with other of the faythfull Chriſtians.

S. Germain preacherh vnto the campe.

Finally when both parties were readie to giue battaile, Saint Germain toke vpon him to haue the leading of the forewarde, wherein he had all the Prieſtes and eccleſiaſticall Miniſters giuing commaundement, that when he ſhould crie Alleluya, they ſhould all anſwere him with one entier voyce.

S. Germaine leadeth the forewarde.

Their cr Alleluy

Thus proceede they forth towardes the battaile, Saint Germain bearing the kings Standarde in the forefront, and vpon the approche to the enimies, he with the Prieſtes crying with a lowde voyce thrice togither Alleluya, was anſwered by all the whole hoſt, uttering and crying the ſame crie ſo wholly togither, that the verie ſounde thereof cauſed ſuch an eccho on eche ſyde, by reaſon of the hollow mountaynes and cliues hard by them, that the Saxons amazed at thys doubled noyſe, and doubting not onely another power of their enimies, to be hidde priuily among the hilles, which they ſawe on eche ſide of them, but alſo leaſt the verie rockes and mountaynes would haue fallen downe vpon theyr heades togither with the frame of the Element, readie (as it ſeemed to them) to breake in ſunder, they toke them to their feete, in ſuche dreadfull haſte, that their breath was not able to ſuffice halfe the deſire they had to continue theyr courſe. Many of them made ſuch haſte, that running to the next ryuer in hope to paſſe the ſame, were drowned therein. To conclude, all of them generally threw awaye both weapon and armure, the more lightly to make away.

Saint Germaine beareth kings ſt

The Sa miracul diſcomf

Thus through the pollicie of that bleſſed man Saint Germaine, the victorie remayned wyth King Uter and his Brytaynes, wythout any bloudſhed.

Saint Bede making mention of this battayle, aſſigneth the tyme to be at the firſt comming of Saint Germain into this lande, where Hector Boetius, following Ueremond, ſuppoſeth it to be at the ſeconde time of his comming hither, which was in the dayes of king Uter.

Bede di teth fro tor Boe his auth Verem

But at what time ſoeuer this victorie thus chaunced, certaine it is, the Brytaynes waxing prowde thereof, nothing regarded the power of the Saxons, nor toke any heede for prouiſion of further defence: but after that thoſe holy Biſhops Germain and Seuerus were returned into theyr Countrey, they fell to all kyndes of gluttonie and exceſſe, in following onely their ſenſuall luſts and fleſhly concupiſcence: which abuſes, the Biſhops and other godly men lamenting, ceaſſed not moſt earneſtly to reproue, menacing deſtruction vnto the whole Countrey, if the people leauing their wicked liuing and moſt heynous offences towards God, did not amende and repent in due time and ſpace.

The Br giue th ues vnt kindes and abh nations

The thr ning of geance ceede vi liuing.

Neither were they deceyued herein: for within fewe yeares after, Occa eftſoones beganne to make warres vpon the Brytaynes agayne, and gaue them a notable ouerthrow, ſleaing of them

them to the number of .xv. thouſande, with theyr generall Mathaliod, but yet this victorie was not greatly pleaſant vnto the Saxons, for in the chaſe they loſt their king the forelayde Occa, being aduaunced a good way of from the reſidue of his armie with fiue hundred horſemen, and a few footmen, in purſute of his enimyes, whiche was the only cauſe, that as then the Saxons attempted no further exployte agaynſt the Brytaynes.

And yet for that they woulde not be without a gouernour, they created an other Occa to their king, the nephew of the former Occa by his brother Oiſcus. And then turned all their force to make warres agaynſt the Pictes, for that Loth king of the Picts, contrarie to his othe of credence had ayded the Brytaynes in the laſt battaile, as by certaine priſoners taken in the ſame, they had perfite vnderſtanding.

Occa therefore being fierce of nature, to the ende to endomage his enimies the more, ſent into Germany for one Colgerne, or Colgern, a man of great eſtimation and byrth amongſt the Saxons, to come ouer with a power vnto him into England, promiſing for recompence of his trauayle and ayde agaynſt the Pictes, to deliuer vnto him all ſuch landes as lay beyonde the water of Humber, which might be recouered out of the handes of the Pictes, to enioy vnto him and his for euer.

Colgerne, or Colgerme a Saxon, is ſent for by Occa.

Colgerne accepting the offer, landed ſhortly after in Northumberlande, putting the whole Countrey vnto fire and ſworde. Which cruell dealing, cauſed a great number of Scottes and Pictes, which held diuerſe Caſtels in that quarter, to come forth into the fielde to defende the countrey, and ioyning battail with their enimies

Colgerne landeth in Northumberland.





were diſcomfited, their ſlaughter being muche encreaſed by the comming of Occa at vnwares vpon them. For he firſt taking truce with Vter king of the Brytaynes, haſteth with all ſpeede to ioyne his power with Colgerne, after he heard once that he was come a lande.

These newes being brought by ſuch as fled away into Galloway and Pictland, cauſed both the kings, Loth and Conranus, in moſt ſpeedie wiſe to aſſemble their forces, and with the ſame to march forthwith towardes the Saxons: but being come within ſight of them, readie to gyue battaile, great was the feare and terror in both their hoſtes to ioyne in fight with ſuch a number of fierce people, as they ſawe there before theyr faces. Which feare roſe firſt through the Brytaynes, of whom no ſmall number was there, in ayde of the Scottes and Picts, agaynſt the Saxons, declaring many things of the great valure, ſtrength of bodie, and huge forme of lymmes of the ſame Saxons, being ſo fierce and cruell in fight, as they alledged, that they were able to put their enimies to flight, euen with their grymme lookes and terrible countenances. Whereof ſuch feare and terror was ſpredde through both the whole armies, that if ſhame had not partlye wrought amongſt the men of warre, many of them woulde haue fledde their wayes before any battail had bene attempted at all.

The kings perceyuing ſuche diſcomfiture amongſt their men, cauſed them to aſſemble togither, and appoynted one ſuch as was thought meete for the purpoſe, to declare vnto them on theyr behalfes, how they could not but maruel to vnderſtand ſuch feare and lack of courage, as appeared generally through both the armies, conſidering there was no cauſe thereof, they being ſuche a number of able warriours prefectly appoynted, and there with led by ſuch gouernours and Captaines, as there was no reaſon why to be doubtful of victorie, before they had ſeene ſome tryall and iuſt occaſion of diſaduauntage. For as touching the Saxons, they were no ſuch men but that they might be ouercome well ynough, as it might ſufficiently appeare, both by proufe of ſuch victories as Vortimere the Brytiſhe king had obteyned agaynſt them, and alſo Aurelius Ambroſe, who had vanquiſhed them in ſuch ſort, that

The kings cauſe one to make an oration vnto their people to remoue all feare out of theyr heartes.

that when they durst not eftsones encoũter with him in battaile, they founde meanes by trayterous practise to make him away through poyson. Then sith the Brytaynes (whom the Scottish men and Pictes so often had subdued) had at sundrie tymes vanquished the Saxons, why should they feare in such wise to fight with them in common defence of theyr Countrey, and reuenge of such iniuries as they had lately receyued at theyr handes, sith the righteous God (as all good men ought to trust) is euer readie to aduance a righteous quarell. And where it was bruted amongest them, that the Saxons were so huge of stature, and mightie of lymmes, that no force was able to withstande them, it was certainly knowne, that the Scottes and Pictes were indewed with no lesse nightinesse & strẽgth of bodie than the Saxons: so that if they were not of lyke stomackes, that rested in their owne slouthfull cowardise, and not in natures worke, hauing done hir part in bestowing hir gyftes vpon them touching bodily force, in such plenteous maner, as no other nation did lightly any wayes surmount them.

Many other arguments were alledged & layd forth to remoue feare out of their hartes, and to incourage them to fight, insomuch that in the end it appeared the same wrought the wished effect, in such wise, that they generally requyred battaile, offering to liue and die at theyr Captaynes feete, and to follow them whither soeuer it should please theyr kings & liege lords to appoynt them.

The Scottes through comfortable words of an oration recouer newe courages.

Herewith the kings being satisfied, forth they march towardes their enimies, whome they found readie to receyue them, and that with such rigorous violence, that in the ende after greate slaughter made on both partes, the Scottes and Pictes were put to flight, the Saxons pursuing in the chase till the darke night caused them to withdraw and returne into their campe.

The Scots and Pictes are put to flight.

The day next following, the Scottish king with the residue of his army, hasted away with al speede towardes Galloway, and the Pictish king withdrewe into Pictlande.

The Saxons vsing the victorie most cruelly, slue all such of the Pictish and Scottish nations, as they met with, in all places betwixt Tine and Tweede.

Then did Octa create the forenamed Colgerne duke of Northumberland, who repayring all such Castels and strong houses, as he thought expedient to haue kept, placed in the same garrisons of souldiers, to defend the countrey agaynst all maner of enimies.

Colgern created Duke of Northumberlande.

After this, Octa turned his power agaynst the Brytaynes, whiche in the last battayle had ayded the Scottes and Pictes, as before is partly touched. The Brytaynes receyuing a great ouerthrowe in battaile, Uter the Brytishe king was glad with suche as mighte escape the enimies handes, to withdraw into Wales, leauing the residue of his Countreys vnto the Saxons, who thereupon recouered not onely the Citie of London, yeelding it selfe vnto them for doubt of some long siege, but also all those countreys and prouinces, whiche Hengist the first of the Saxons that raigned as king within the bounds of Albion at any time, had holden or enioyed, & ceassed not after recouerie of the same, to vexe and disquiet the Scottes, Brytaynes and Pictes, with continuall incursions, hoping by such meanes to keepe them still occupied.

The Brytaynes ouerthrowen in battaile by the Saxons.

Uter withdraweth in Wales.

London recouered by Saxons.

In the middes of this trouble Uter king of the Brytaynes departed this worlde, poysoned (as some haue written) by drinking water taken out of a fountain, which the Saxons had enuenomed. He died in the yeare after the byrth of our sauiour 521. and in the xbiij. of his owne raigne.

The death Uter poisoned by drinking water of a

521.

After his decease, Loth king of the Pictes sent his Ambassadours vnto the Lordes, and other the estates of the Brytish dominions, requyring thẽ according to the accustomed lawes, and auncient ordenances of the Realme, to receyue him as king, sith he had maryed the sister and heyre of the two brethren Aurelius Ambrose, and Uter, their two last kings, being as then both deceased without leauing behinde them any lawfull issue, by reason whereof, their estate was fallen vnto him, to enioy the same during his life, hauing maryed (as is sayde) theyr owne naturall and lawfull borne sister, and after the decease of him and his wife the sayde sister, then it ought by course of the lawes of all Realmes and Countreys to discende vnto such issue as hee had begot of hir, whiche was two sonnes, the one named Mordred, and the other Ualuane, or Gawane, as some doe call him.

Loth requireth the kingdome of Brytayne.

Mordred.

Gáwane.

The Brytaynes disdainfully vsing the Pictish Ambassadours that came with this message, refused not onelye to come vnder subiection of Loth, but also denyed that his sonnes begot of his lawfull wife, the sister of Aurelius and Uter, shoulde haue any rule or gouernment amongest them, as those that were no Brytaynes borne, but straungers vnto them, being both borne and vpbred in a forraine countrey.

The Brytaynes refuse to receyue either Loth or any of his sonnes to raigne ouer them.

Those Ambassadours then hauing theyr answere, and beeing sent home with reproche, the Brytaynes contrarie to the lawes of all nations, proclaymed Arthure, beeing a bastarde borne, king of their Realme, and forthwith assembling theyr powers vnder his leading, marched on agaynst the Saxons, in purpose to abate some part of their strength, before the Pictes (whiche was doubted woulde shortly come to passe) shoulde ioyne with them.

Arthur proclaymed king of Brytaynes.

Therefore

Therefore hauing procured ayde of the Armorike Brytaynes forth of Fraunce, they fought with theyr enimies within ten myles of London at the firſt, where the Saxons beeing at two ſeuerall tymes banquiſhed, were conſtrayned not onely to pay tribute, but alſo to receyue magiſtrates to gouerne them by the ſaid Arthures appoyntment, with other grieuous articles of agreement, to the great reioyſing of the Brytains, for theſe ſo luckie beginnings in the firſt exploits of their late elected king.

Afterwardes was London eaſily wonne by the Brytains, wherein Arthure remayning for a ſeaſon, toke aduiſe with his nobles howe to proceede in his warres againſt the reſt of the Saxons. Finally hauing prepared a mightie army, he determineth to go againſt thoſe which inhabited beyond Humber northwards, with whom (as he had certaine knowledge) the Picts were ioyned: for Loth cõming to agreement with Colgerne, concluded a league with him, wherby they were bound to ayd one another againſt the Brytains, as cõmon enimies and aduerſaries to them both.

The Brytaynes at theyr comming into Yorkſhire pitched their campe not farre off from theyr enimes, who were alreadie ioyned togither and encamped abrode in the field. The next day after, knowledge beeing had that they ſhoulde haue battail, Arthure appoynted Howel leader of the Armorike Brytains to encounter with the battaile of the Picts, and he himſelfe to matche with the Saxons. Thus they mette togither on both partes very fiercely, and a ſore battaile was fought ther betwixt them, ſo that for a good ſpace it was doubtful whether part ſhould haue the auauntage of the day, but at length the Picts were put to flight, which aduaunced the Brytaynes to the gayne of the whole field. For the Saxons after they perceyued howe the Picts were diſcomfited, dreading to abyde the whole brunte by themſelues, betoke them alſo to theyr heeles, and made theyr race towardes Yorke, as faſte as theyr feete myght beare them.

Arthure purſuing them thither, beſieged the Citie almoſt three Monethes togyther, but the Saxons defended the Walles ſo ſtoutly making often iſſues forth vpon the Brytaynes, that till hunger began to conſtrayne them, they cared little for the ſiege. In the end when they were determined to haue yeelded vp the Citie, they had knowledge, howe there was an huge armie of Picts and Saxons newly aſſembled, and readie to come forwarde to their ſuccors, alſo that king Occa (eſcaping from the battayle wherein he had receiued the ouerthrow at Arthurs hands, and fleing afterwarde into Germanie) was now returned with a newe power, and arryued with-

in the mouth of Humber. Which newes cauſed them to deferre all communication, in hope that if they might abyde the ſiege but for a ſmall tyme, the Brytaynes ſhoulde ſhortly bee compaſſed in on eche ſyde, and oppreſſed on the ſodaine. Occa returneth of out Germanie with a new power.

Arthur heard of the comming of theyr ſuccours in like maner, and iudging it no wiſedom to tarie the comming of his ſo puiſſant enimies, conſidering what a number of diſeaſed and ſicke perſons he had alreadie in his hoſt, by reaſon of their long lying abrode in the fielde) rayſed hys ſiege, and withdrewe himſelfe ſo ſpeedily as was poſſible with his whole army into Wales, where he appoynted the Armorike Brytaynes to ſoiourne for that Winter, with other of the meaner ſort of his own ſouldiers. Whileſt he toke the reſidue of his choſen bands, and went to London, there to prouide that no rebellion ſhoulde be rayſed amongſt the Saxons of Kent, or other of the countreys neare about. Arthure rayſeth his ſiege. Arthure returneth to Lõdon

In the beginning of the next ſpring, he gathered his hoſt togither again, and with the ſame went forth againſt Colgerne and Occa, who being iſſued forth of Northumberland, were entred into the Britiſh confines, ſpoyling and waſting the countrey with their accuſtomed cruelty. Wherevpon encountering them twice in battail, he obteined the victorie, and then beſieging Yorke, at length he entred into that Citie, by meanes of a Brytayn, who dwelling amongſt the Saxons there, in the night ſeaſon cõueyed a ſort of Brytains into the citie, the which breaking open the gates in ẏ dead of ẏ night, did let in al the whole hoſt. Where Arthur would not ſuffer his men to make any great murther of the enimies, whiche were content to yeeld themſelues, but bled them very gently, therby to win more praiſe amongſt all thoſe that heard of his worthie victories. Arthure diſcomfiteth the Saxons twiſe in battaile, & then againe lieth ſiege to Yorke and winneth it. Arthure vſeth the victorie with gentleneſſe.

The Brytaines hauing thus conquered the Citie of Yorke, many feates of armes were dayly practiſed betwixt them and the Saxons, which held poſſeſſion ſtill of the countrey there aboutes. But the Britaines lying in that citie al the ſommer and winter following, at length beganne to take their eaſe, namely in the depth of the winter, and therewith gaue themſelues to banketting, drinking, play, and other kindes of voluptuous pleſures, ſo ẏ it ſeemed they truſted more to their paſſed victories than to their preſent force, not fearing ſuche danger as was like to follow. The Brytaines ſoiourning for the winter time within Yorke, giue themſelues vnto banketting and voluptuouſneſſe.

It is thought of ſome, that aboute the ſame tyme, Arthur firſte inſtituted, that the feaſte of Chriſtmaſſe ſhoulde be kept with ſuch exceſſe of meates and drinkes, in all kyndes of inordinate banquetting and reuell for the ſpace of thirtene dayes togyther, according to the cuſtome vſed ſtill throughe both the Realmes

of

of England and Scotlande euen vnto this day, reſembling the feaſtes which the Gentiles vſed to keepe in the honour of their dronken God Bacchus, called in latine Bacchanalia: wherein all kindes of beaſtly luſt and ſenſuall voluptuouſneſſe was put in vre. But whence ſoeuer, or by whom ſoeuer this inſatiable gourmandiſe came vp amongſt vs, ſurely a great abuſe it is, to ſee the people at ſuche a ſolemne feaſt (where they ought to bee occupied in thankes giuing to almightie God, for the ſending downe of his onely begotten ſonne amongſt vs) to giue themſelues in maner wholy to gluttonie and exceſſiue filling of their bellies, with ſuch maner of lewde and wanton paſtimes, as though they ſhoulde rather celebrate the ſame feaſtes of Bacchanalia, and thoſe other which the Gentiles alſo kept, called Floralia, and Priapalia, than the remembrance of Chriſtes natiuitie, who abhorreth all maner of ſuch exceſſe.

Chriſtmas bankets reſembling the feaſtes Bacchanalia.

But nowe to my purpoſe. When the next Sommer was once come, Arthure led forth hys Brytaynes againſt their enimies, but by reaſon of ſuch eaſe and pleaſure as they had taken whyleſt they ſoiourned in Yorke, being nowe come into the field, they were able to abide no paynes, ſo that no good was done of certaine yeares after, till finally Arthure ioyned in league wyth Loth king of the Picts. The conditions of which league were theſe. That Arthure during his naturall life ſhould raigne as king of the Brytains, and after his deceaſſe, the kingdome to remaine vnto Mordred and his iſſue, if he chaunced to haue any. That the Pictes ſhould ayde the Brytaynes againſt the Saxons, and haue all ſuche landes as might bee recouered of them beyonde Humber. Alſo the league whiche was betwixt them and the Scottes, they ſhould duely obſerue. Mordred ſhould marrie the daughter of Gawolan a noble man amongſt the Brytaynes, and of higheſt authoritie next vnto Arthure himſelfe: the children of this maryage to bee brought vp with their grandfather in Brytain, till they came to yeares of diſcretion. Gawan the brother of the foreſayde Mordred, ſhoulde ſerue king Arthure, and receyue at his handes large entertainment, and great poſſeſſions to maintayne therewith his eſtate.

The Brytaines through reſt and eaſe became vnapt to ſuſteyne the paynes of warres.

A league concluded betwixt Arthure king of Brytaynes, and Loth king of Pictes.

Mordred marieth the daughter of one Gawolane a Brytayne.

Gawan or Gawen in ſeruice with king Arthure.

Other articles there were compyled in this league, according as was thought requiſite for the maintenance of ſtable friendſhip betwixt theſe kings and their nations. So that Arthur hauing concluded this league, and ſtill being deſirous to purge the whole Ile of all miſcreantes and enimies of the Chriſtian fayth, hee ſente vnto the Scottiſh and Pictiſh kings, requiring them on the behalfe of that dutie which they ought vnto the aduauncement of Chriſtes religion, to aſſemble their powers, and to meete him at Tynmouth, whither he woulde repayre to ioyne with them, at ſuch day as they would appoynt, from thence to march forth againſt the Saxons.

Arthure ſendeth Ambaſſadours vnto the kings of Scots and Pictes.

Loth king of the Pictes, and Conanus king of the Scottiſhmen, fayled not in this ſo neceſſarie an enterpriſe, but agreeable to Arthures requeſt, within fewe dayes after they came forwarde, and ioyning with the Brytaynes, forth they went againſt the Saxons, whom they vnderſtode to be alreadie in campe, vnder the conduite of their king Octa, in purpoſe to ſtop their paſſage.

Scots and Britons ioyne againſt the Saxons.

When both the armies were approched neare togither, they prepared to the battaile, and firſt Colgerme Duke of Northumberlande mounted vpon a light gelding, rode almoſte euen harde to the faces of the Pictes, where they ſtoode in theyr order of battaile right ſtoutly, and there vttering many reprochfull wordes vnto Loth and other of his nobles, for breach of their promiſed friendſhip to him and his Saxons, declared that he truſted ſhortly to ſee iuſt puniſhment light vppon them for this falſhood and vntruthes ſake, in thus ioyning with theyr former enimies againſt their moſt truſtie friendes and ſtedfaſt allies.

Colgerme proueth.

The Pictiſhe king not greatly moued herewith, commaunded his Standards to aduaunce forwarde, and the Saxons likewiſe haſted apace towardes them, ſo that the one being come within daunger of ſhot of the other, the Pictes let flie their Arrowes right freſhly. Arthur in the meane time hauing ſet his people in aray, exhorted thē to fight manfully: and ſo ſone as he perceyued that the fray was begon by the Pictes, he in ſemblable wiſe commaundeth the Brytaines to giue the onſet, ſo that immediately there enſued a ſore conflict: the Scottes beeing in the right wing, ſleaing Cheldricke one of the chiefeſt Captaines amongeſt the Saxons, quickly diſcomfited that Wing with the which they were firſt matched.

Colgerme with his Saxons encountring as is ſayde with the Pictes, placed in the left wing, ruſhed in amongſt his enimies (vpon an earneſt deſire to be reuenged of his aduerſarie king Loth) with ſuch violence, that at their firſt encounter he ouerthrew the ſame Loth: but immediately therevppon two Pictiſhe horſemen running at Colgerme ſideling wiſe, bare him quite through. In the meane time, Loth by meane of his ſtrong haberioyne eſcaping without hurt, was relieued by ſuch as ſtood about him, and reſtored againe to his companie: but Colgerme being deade before he could be recouered from amongeſt the throng of his enimies, his mē were ſo diſcomforted therwith, that ſtreight wayes thereupon they fell to running away. The maine battaile of the Saxons being thus left bare on both ſides, began to

Colgerme runne by his ſtirryes.

The Saxons are put to flight.

giue

giue backe, which Arthure perceyuing, the more earneſtly preſſed forth vpō them, ſo that in the end Occa being conſtrayned to flee, and receyuing a ſore wound, had much ado to be conueyed away by ſome of his horſemen, the Brytains purſued ſo fiercely vpon him. At length being brought vnto the ſea ſide, he got veſſels, and eſcaped ouer into Germanie. This victorie being thus atchieued, conſtrayned the Saxons to yeeld vnto king Arthur, ſimply cōmitting themſelues vnto his mercie, who of his clemencie was contented to pardon them of life and goodes, vpon condition they woulde become chriſtians, and from thenceforth neuer after to make any warres vpō their neighbors the Brytains, Scots, or Pictes. But if they woulde not agree hereunto, then leauing their goods, armor, and weapon behinde them, they ſhould auoyd the land, and that within .xiij. days next enſuing.

Many of the Saxons that could get paſſage, ſayled ouer into Germanie. Other feigning themſelues to become Chriſtians, remayned in the lande, loking one day for better happe and fortune. Diuerſe that were not able by meanes of pouertie to get away within the tyme appoynted, and yet refuſing to be chriſtened, were put to death, according to the Proclamation ſet forth for the ſame purpoſe, ſo that in compariſon verie few amongſt them receyued the Chriſtian fayth ſincerely, and with a true meaning minde.

Things beeing thus quieted in Northumberland, Arthure toke order for the repayring of Churches abrode in the coūtrey, which the Saxons had ouerthrowne or defaced, namely in the Citie of Yorke he beſtowed great coſt, where the cruell infidels had done muche hurt vpon Churches, and other religious houſes.

In the yeare following, Arthure had newes how the Saxons which helde the Ile of Wight, ioining with the Kentiſh Saxons, had don great diſpleaſures vnto the Brytaynes, on that ſyde of the Thames, killing and ſleaing an huge number of them with great cruelties, wherewyth being ſore moued, hee drewe towardes London with his armie, purpoſing vtterly to deſtroy all the Eaſt and South Saxons, ſith otherwyſe hee could not prouide for the ſurtie of his ſubiects, being ſtil in daunger to be murthered and robbed, ſo long as anye of that wicked generation of the Saxons remained here amongſt them.

By meanes alſo of the league, he had wyth him in this iourney ten thouſand Pictes, and as many Scottes: Eugenius nephew to king Conran by his brother Congall being generall ouer the Scottes, and Mordred the ſonne of King Loth by his wife Anne, gouerned the Pictes, a luſty yong gentleman, very wittie and towardly in al his doings. Furthermore Arthur vnderſtanding what hurt reſt and eaſe had done amongeſt his men of warre, cauſed them to keepe the fielde in al this iourney, and paſſing by London, lodged them a little beſide the riuer of Thames. But he himſelfe with ſome of his nobles, entred into the citie, cauſing ſupplications to be made vnto almightie God three days togither, for good ſucceſſe to folow againſt the Saxons. On the fourth day hearing diuine ſeruice celebrated by the Biſhop of London, and cauſing a ſermon to be made in the Market place, he committed himſelfe & his whole armie vnto the tuition of Chriſt, and his mother the virgin, whoſe Image in ſtreede of a badge, he bare in his ſhield continually from that day forward, as diuerſe heretofore haue written.

Arthurs badge

Arthures exhortation to his people.

After this, iſſuing forth of the citie, he willed al his men to be of good comfort, as they that fought in a iuſt quarell againſt Pagans, and enimies of the fayth. Mordred and his father in law Gawolane paſſed on before the battayles with fiue thouſande horſemen, and being come within fiue myles of the Saxons, who likewiſe were aſſembled in campe, there came from them vnto Arthur Ambaſſadors, requiring him to ſtay his iorney, for they were readie if they might haue libertie ſo to do, to depart out of the lande, with their goods and ſubſtance, without further moleſting the Brytains, either by one meanes or other.

An offer made by the Saxons vnto king Arthure.

Arthur would neither conſent hereunto, nor yet graunt a truce for three dayes, for the which they made earneſt ſute, but bad them depart for that time, only aſſuring thē that he woulde not come paſſing two miles forward for that day, ſo that if they thought good, they might returne to him in the morning, and haue anſwere what the chiefeſt gouernors of his hoſt thought touching their requeſt, by whom he woulde haue the matter more throughly debated. In the meane time whyleſt the Brytaines were buſied with hearing of theſe Ambaſſadors, & taking aduiſe what was beſt to do touching their demaund, the Saxons marched forth with all ſpeed, and cōming vpon Mordred and Gawolan at vnwares, they gaue the onſet freſhly vpon them, & that very muche to the diſaduauntage of the Brytains & Pictes, who notwithſtanding through the earneſt exhortation of their captains, receyued their enimies right fiercely, in doing that which was poſſible for ſo ſmall a nūber to do, howbeit in the ende oppreſſed with multitude, they were forced to flie and ſo did, not reſting till they came in ſight of the whole armie. In which flight, Mordred and Gawolan by help of their ſoldiers, being mounted vpon their horſes, eſcaped without hurt, though they loſt no ſmall number of their cōpanie, as wel in the fight as in the chaſe. The Saxons Ambaſſadors being not yet departed out of the Britiſh campe, were hereupon ſtayed till the next morning, and then had

The Saxons comming vpon Mordred and Gawolan, put them with their people to the worſe.

What anſwer the Saxons Embaſſadors had at Arthurs hands.

anſwere giuen them, that from thencefoꝛth the Bꝛytaynes were not mynded to heare any meſſengers of the Saxons comming to intreate of peace, ſith it was manifeſt inough, they ment nothing but falſhode, as well appeared in that they had againſt the law of armes, whileſt their Embaſſadoꝛs were in cõmunicatiõ, diſtreſſed part of the Bꝛitiſh army, and therfoꝛe they ſhould aſſure themſelues, to haue at Arthures hands nothing but cruel war to the vttermoſt of his powꝛer in reuẽge of ſuch their great vntruthes & cloked dealings.

They had vneth receyued their anſwere, but that there came from the Saxons. xl. other Embaſſadoꝛs, being mẽ of great authoꝛitie amongſt them, to excuſe that whiche had happened ouer night, in laying the fault vpon a ſoꝛt of vndiſcrete perſons, nothing priuie vnto that which the gouerners of the armie had done, touching the ſending of their Embaſſadours, and therevpon had without their aduiſe made that ſkirmiſh.

The excuſe of the Saxons.

But Arthure iudging that there was ſome newe ſubtill practiſe in hande vnder pretence of this newe Embaſſage, commaunded as wel theſe that came laſt, as the other which came firſt, to be kept in the Marſhalles tent, that in no wiſe they ſhoulde eſcape, whileſt he himſelfe in the ſeconde watch of the night departed out of his camp, with all his puiſſance, which he deuided into thꝛee battailes, & hauing marched thꝛee miles foꝛwarde, he was vpon his enimies ere they vnderſtode any thing of his cõming, inſomuch that the Bꝛitains had ſlain and chaſed the watche of the Saxons campe, befoꝛe it was certainly knowne what the matter ment. Herof alſo enſued ſuch a tumult & noyſe amongſt the Saxons, running vp & doꝛwn, calling & crying one to another, as it happeneth in ſuch caſes of extreeme feare, that the beſt aduiſed amongſt thẽ, will not wel what to do. Wherevpon Moꝛdꝛed deſirous to reuenge his laſt ouerthꝛow, bꝛake in alſo vpõ his enimies right fiercely. But ſome of them hauing gotten them into their armoꝛ, ſtood at their defence awhile amõgſt

The inuaſ by th tains Saxo

The mult Saxo

Mor firou reuer



their cartes and cariages, and ſo reſiſted the Bꝛytains on that ſide foꝛ a ſeaſon: other of the Saxons hauing no leyſure to arme themſelues, noꝛ to dꝛaw into any oꝛder of battaile, by reaſon of the ſodaine inuaſion of the Bꝛytaynes, bꝛake foꝛth of the campe on the contrary ſide, and fled ſo faſt as theyꝛ feete myght beare them. But being purſued by the Bꝛytiſhe Hoꝛſemen, and beaten doꝛwne, a great number of them ranne into the next Ryuer, and there were dꝛowned, chooſing rather that kinde of death, than ſo cruellye to be murthered by the aduerſaryes handes: verily the Bꝛytaines ſhewed no mercie that day, foꝛ ſo manye as came within theyꝛ daunger, dyed without redemption. And this bloudie battaile made an ende of ſuch an huge number of Saxons, that it was thought they ſhoulde neuer haue recouered againe any puiſſaunce able to haue endomaged the Bꝛytaynes in any maner of wiſe.

The Saxons are put to the flight.

The cruelties of the Brytains in ſleaing the Saxons.

Arthure hauing thus banquiſhed his enimies, gaue licenſe vnto thoſe nobles which hee had deteyned (as is ſayde) in his campe, being ſent vnto him as Embaſſadoꝛs, to depart ouer into Germanie, appointing the reſidue of ſuch Saxõs as were men of no defence, to remain ſtil in the land, yeelding a yearly tribute vnto the Bꝛytains, and alſo with cõdition that they ſhuld become chꝛiſtians.

The Scottiſhmen and Pictes which had ayded the Bꝛytaynes in this iourney, ſoiourned awhile after at London, where Arthure feaſted and banketted them in moſt royall wiſe, ſhewing them al the honoꝛ that might be deuiſed, and afterwardes ſent them home right pꝛincely rewarded with many great giftes and rich preſents.

Arthu nifice

Whileſt ſuch buſineſſe as ye haue heard was thus in hand betwixt the Saxons & Bꝛitains, the eſtate

eſtate of the Scottiſh common wealth, was gouerned by great wiſedome and policie, without any notable trouble or diſorder.

But finally when king Conrane beganne to waxe aged, and that ſuch as had the chief doings vnder him, ſought not the execution of iuſtice, but their owne commodities, to the hinderance of a multitude, the people began to repine thereat, and to practiſe a conſpiracie with diuerſe of the Nobles againſt Conrane, and thoſe which ruled by his appoyntment.

It chaunced that there was one Toncet, a mã of baſe byrth, aſſigned by the kings commiſſion to be chiefe iuſtice, or as it were Chauncelor for the adminiſtration of the lawes in Murrey land, a perſõ paſſing full of rygorous crueltie, eſpecially in iudgements of life & death, and in gathering vp of all maner of forfeytures of penall lawes which he did onely to purchaſe fauor of the king, by the enriching of his coffers, in reſpect whereof he had ſmal regard either of right or wrong, ſo that there were hope of ſomwhat to be gotten.

Amongſt other the violent doings of this Toncet, he cauſed diuerſe marchant men of the towne of Fozes in Murreyland (as thẽ the chiefeſt town of all that countrey) to be accuſed of treaſon by a light information, and in the end executed without any apparant matter, onely vpon a couetous deſire to haue their goods and riches, by cauſe they were men of great wealth and ſubſtance. Diuerſe noble men of the countrey there aboutes, & namely of the towne of Fozes, being partly of kin vnto thoſe marchants, were ſore offended with this act, and hereupon they firſt came vnto Toncet, & reuiled him with many high reprochful wordes, & afterwards fell vpõ him in the place of opẽ iudgement where he ſat as then in his iudgement ſeat, and there murthered him, getting them forthwith vp into the moũtains to auoyd the danger, which they knewe vnpoſſible for them to eſcape, if they ſhould happen to be taken whileſt Conran ſhould be liuing. After this, they deuiſed how they might encreaſe their heynous deed and bolde enterpriſe with an other far more horrible & notable, which was to ſlea the king himſelf, as the originall cauſe of all ſuch miſchief that then raigned in ỹ realme through the vnworthie gouernment of his vniuſt miniſters & couetous magiſtrates, hoping withall to obtain the fauor of ſome of the noble men, whom they knew to maligne the king & his coũſell moſt extreemly, & thereby in ſhort time to be aſſured of their pardon. Shortly after it chaunced that one Donald alſo gouernor of Athol, a mã in great fauour and truſt with the king, had vnderſtanding what theſe outlawes intended, & thereupon practiſed with them by priuie meſſengers, that they ſhould come in ſecret maner vnto Enuerlochtee, where the king ſoiourned, promiſing them by moſt aſſured meanes of othes & vowes, that they ſhuld haue al ỹ furtherance he could deuiſe towards the atchieuing of their enterpriſe.

Hereupon theſe outlawes according to their inſtructions, came in ſecret wiſe vnto Enuerlochtee and were cloſely conueyd into Conrans bed chãber by Donalds meanes, who as though he had knowne nothing of the matter, got himſelf quickly out of the way when he ſawe them once entred within the doore of the chamber. Conran the king perceiuing how he was betrayed, and that his enimies were got into his chamber ready to murther him, ſtept forth of his bed, & falling down vpõ his knees beſought them to take pitie of his age, & not to defile their handes in the bloud of their naturall lord and king, conſidering the fault was not his, if they had beene any wayes wronged. Howbeit they doubting nothing but leaſt he ſhould eſcape their hands, ſtraightwayes diſpatched him out of life, and withal made haſt away. This was the ende of king Conranus, in the. xx. yeare of his raigne, being the. xvj. of Arthurs dominion ouer the Brytains, the fifth of the Emperor Juſtinianus, and in the yeare after the byrth of our Sauior 531. But his corps was buried in ỹ Abbey of Iona, otherwiſe called Colmkil, wt ſuch funerall pompe & exequies, as in thoſe dayes were vſed.

The outlawes enter into the kings bed chamber.

Conran is murthered within his bed chamber by trayterous meanes. 35. H.B.

20. H.B.

535. H.B.



Eugenius.

After him ſucceeded his nephewe Eugenius, the ſon of his brother Congall, the which Eugenius as aboue is ſayde, was with Arthure in the laſte mentioned iourney againſte the Saxons.

Eugenius is inueſted king of Scotland.

There were that counſayled him in the begynning of his raigne (which he beganne in Argile being placed there vpon the chaire of marble) that he ſhoulde ſee in any wiſe the auctours of his Vncles death duely puniſhed, to giue enſample to other, that they ſhoulde not attempt the lyke hereafter againſte theyr liege Lorde and crowned King: but he contrarywiſe did not onlye forgiue the offence, but alſo receyued the forenamed Donalde wyth other the murtherers into his ſeruice, and made them of his priuie Counſell, which cauſed many men to ſuſpect, leaſt he himſelfe had beene of counſell with them in committing that murther. The talke wherof, was ſo common in all mens mouthes, namely amongſt the common people, that the Queene Dowager late wife to king Conran, doubting not only the ſuretie of hir owne life, but alſo of hir two ſonnes (which ſhe had by the ſaid Cõran, the one named Reginan, and the other Aidan) fled with them ouer into Irelande, where within fewe yeares

Regicides or kingquellers ought chiefly aboue al other to be puniſhed

Eugenius is ſuſpected of his predeceſſours death.

The Queene Dowager fled with hir two ſonnes into Irelande.

after, ſhe dyed with the one of hir ſonnes, that is to wit Reginan: the other Aidane was honourably brought vp by the king of that Countrey, according to his byrth and degree.

Eugenius in the beginning of his raigne, to win thereby the peoples fauor, demeaned himſelf moſt gently in al his proceedings, doing nothing that tasted in any part of crueltie. He woulde oftentimes ſit amongſt the Judges himſelfe, and if he ſuſpected leaſt any man had wrong, he wold licence them to pleade their caſe of new. And ſuch as he perceyued were not of abilitie to folow their ſuite in any cauſe of right, he would helpe them with money of the common treaſurie. He ordayned alſo, that no orphane ſhould be compelled to anſwere any action, or otherwiſe bee vexed by ſuite of law. Moreouer, that no widow ſhould be conſtrayned to come paſt a mile forth of hir own dores for any matter in controuerſie betwixt hir and any other perſon, to be heard afore any Judges or publike officers. Robbers, theues, and their receptors he cauſed to be duly puniſhed, to refrain other from attempting the like offences. And alſo he had a ſpeciall regarde for the obſeruing of the league betwixt his ſubiects and the Pictes, with the Brytaynes, according to the tenour of the ſame.

The humanity and fauorable friendſhip of king Eugenius towardes his people.

Commēdable ordinances.

About this ſeaſon ſhould it be alſo that Arthur did atchieue all thoſe worthie victories which are aſcribed vnto him againſt the Scots, Iriſh men, Danes, Norwegians, & other northren people. Moreouer it is written by ſome authors, that he ſhoulde ſubdue the moſt part of Germanie with the low coūtreys, Brytain, Normandie, France, and the Romaines, with the people of the Eaſt, but the credit hereof reſteth with ẏ ſame authors. Only it is certain (as Hector Boetius affirmeth) that Arthur liued in the dayes of Iuſtinianus the Emperour, aboute whiche time the Gothes, Vandales, Burgonions, and Frenchmen did inuade ſundrie partes of the Romaine Empyre, pitifully waſting and ſpoyling the ſame, where yet ſuche writers as haue ſet forth thoſe warres make no mention of Arthur at all. Therfore letting all doubtfull things paſſe, I will proceede with my author, and declare what he hath found written in ſuch Scottiſh Chronicles as he followeth touching the Britiſh Arthur, which for that it partly varieth from the other our cōmon chronicles, namely Geffray of Monmouth, I think it worthy to be noted here, to the ende that euery man may iudge therof as to him ſeemeth beſt.

The victorions conqueſts aſcribed to Arthure.

This cauſeth no ſmal doubt to ariſe of the greate victories aſcribed vnto Arthure.

Geffray of Monmouth.

To the purpoſe then: after the Brytains were deliuered from the terror of the Saxons, and that with quietneſſe they began to ware welthie, they repented them of the league, which they had concluded afore with Loth king of the Pictes, ſpecially for that they could not in any wiſe be cōtented to haue any ſtranger to raign amongſt them, and hereupon comming vnto Arthur, required of him, ſith he himſelf had no iſſue to ſucceed him, ẏ it might pleaſe him yet, to name one of his owne nation to gouerne them after his deceaſe.

The Brytaines repent themſelues of the league concluded with the Pictes.

The req the Bryt to haue their ov tion ap ted to ſu king A

Arthure not gainſaying their requeſt, willed them (ſithe their pleaſure was ſuch, in no wiſe to haue a ſtranger to raigne ouer them) to name one themſelues, being diſcēded of the bloud royal, and ſuch a one as in whom they had perceyued ſome towardly proufe of wiſedome & valiancie: and he for his part promiſed to ratifie their election.

The Nobles with great reioycing of the people drawing togither to conſult for the choyſe of ſuche a one, as might bee acceptable to all the Brytiſh nation, at length agreed vpon Conſtantinus, the ſonne of Cadore Duke of Cornewall, a goodly yong Gentleman, both for his perſon and other his worthy qualities muche to be commended. Who being brought by the peeres of the Realme into the counſell chamber, and there preſented vnto king Arthure, as one moſt meeteſt to ſucceede him. Arthure accepted their election right gladly, and cauſed the ſame Conſtantine forthwith to bee proclaymed heyre apparant vnto the crowne, by the name of Prince of Brytayne, which notifyed him to be ſucceſſor to the king in gouernment of the realme.

Conſtan proclay heyre and prin Brytain

Conſtantine being in ſuch wiſe preferred, behaued himſelfe ſo honourably, and with ſuche a ſhew of gentle demeanor, that he wan him much prayſe, with an opinion of high worthineſſe amongſt all the Brytiſh nation.

In this meane time was Loth the king of the Pictes deceaſſed, leauing his name as a perpetual memorie vnto his Countrey of Pictlande, the which euer ſithence, as a remembraunce of his worthineſſe, hath beene called Lothian, or Lawthian. But his ſonne Mordred ſucceeding him in gouernment of the Pictiſhe kingdome, and hearing that Conſtantine was proclaimed heyre apparant of Brytayne, was ſore moued therewith, and immediately ſending his Ambaſſadors vnto king Arthure, complayned, for that contrarie to the honour of his kingly eſtate, he had broken the league concluded betwixt him and hys father late of famous memorie king Loth, wherin it was agreed amongeſt other things, that there ſhoulde none ſucceede in the kingdome of Brytayne, after Arthures deceaſſe, but the children begotte betwixt King Loth and his wife Queene Anne, or ſuche as diſcended of them: where contrariwyſe it was notifyed vnto the Pictiſhe people, that Conſtantine the ſonne of Cadore was elected Prince, and thereby enabled as heyre apparaunt to the crowne.

Lothian kerth th of Loth Pictiſh

Mordr ceeded in the dome lande.

Mordr playne king for th ſtantin create heyre

They required him therfore to cal himſelfe to remembrance, & not ſo lightly to agree vnto the flattering

flattering perſwaſions of the Brytains, admiſing him vnto that thing which was meerely repugnaunt to reaſon, and agaynſt both Gods lawes and mans, admoniſhing him withall to obſerue the league, according to the othe, which he had ſolemnly taken vpon him, and to moue his ſubiects to do the like, leaſt for the contrarie, they ſhoulde prouoke the wrath of almightie God againſt thē, who is the iuſt reuenger of all ſuch as go aboute to breake leagues and couenanted pactions.

Herevnto anſwere was made, by conſent of the nobles of Brytayne, that the league whiche was concluded betwixt Arthur and Loth, endured but for the life times of them two onely, and to ceaſſe by eyther of their deathes: therefore Arthur had done nothing contrarie to any pact or promiſe made, but according to the duetie of a Prince that tendred the weale of his ſubiects, had prouided them one to ſucceede him of their owne nation, for doubt leaſt the realme after his deceaſe ſhould fall into the handes of ſtraungers, whiche in no wiſe ought of right to be ſuffered. Therefore if the Pictes loued the ſuretie of their owne eſtate, it ſhoulde be good for them to holde themſelues contented with their owne bounds, leaſt if they ſought for other mens liuings, they might happely within ſhort time perceyue, what doth enſue oftentimes vppon ſuch raſh and vnaduiſed attemptes.

The Pictiſh Ambaſſadours returning home with this anſwere, cauſed the whole Nation to take ſuch diſdaine therewith, that immediately they reſolued to reuenge their wrongs, by open warres: but firſt they thought good to trie if they might procure the Scottiſh mē to take part with thē in reuenge of ſuch iniuries as they had in like maner lately receiued at ỳ Britains hāds. Moreouer, repenting themſelues, that they had in times paſt ayded the Brytaynes againſt the Saxons, they purpoſe to trie if they might now moue the ſame Saxons eftſoones to make warres vpon the Brytains, thereby to be the better able to maintaine their owne quarell againſt them.

The Pictes purpoſe to be reuenged on the Brytaines by open war.

The Picts ſolicite both Scottes and Saxons to make warre vpon the Brytaynes.

Firſt ſuche Ambaſſadors as were ſent from Worgred vnto Eugenius king of the Scottes, found him very agreeable vnto their requeſts, and the ſooner, for that ſuch Scottiſh rebels as fledde vnto Arthure, were not onely receyued by him, but alſo mainteyned to make rodes and incurſions into the Scottiſh borders.

Eugenius the Scottiſh king agreeable to the requeſt of the Pictes.

Arthur hauing knowledge of the deuiſes of his enimies (the warres being firſt proclaymed) hee furniſhed all the ſea coaſts with notable numbers of men, to withſtand the landing of the Saxons, if they ſhould fortune to attempt any inuaſion. That done, he paſſed forth with the reſidue of his people towarde the Scottes and Pictes, who were alreadie aſſembled in campe, and were come

Arthure ſetteth forwarde towarde the Scottes and Pictes.



as farre as the Ryuer of Humber, neare to the bankes whereof they had pitched their tents, as in a place fatall for the Brytaynes to be vanquiſhed in.

Both the armies being brought here into order of battaile, the one in ſight of the other, there were certain Biſhops of thoſe three nations, that tooke great paynes to ride to and fro betwixt thē, to exhort the kings vnto peace and concord, conſidering what miſchiefe & great bloudſhed ſhould enſue, if vpon wilfulneſſe they would ſeeke to trie that by dint of ſworde, which they might make an ende of, by meanes of amiable treatie & friendly agreement. Again, they could not do the thing that might more content the Saxons, common enimies to the chriſtian religion, than if by theyr encoūtring togither in battail, they ſhould ſo enfeeble their whole powers, whereby the Saxons might haue readie meanes and occaſion offred to execute their greedy deſires to cōquer ỳ whole ile.

Mordred and Eugenius were perswaded to peace.

Mordred and Eugenius were perswaded by this earnest trauayle of the Bishoppes, to putte theyr matter in compromise, and to lay awaye theyr armour and weapon, if they might haue assurance that the league made with king Loth should in euery poynt be obserued.

Arthure likewise at the sute of the same Byshoppes, would haue bene contented for his part to haue agreed hereunto, but other of the Brytayns, namely those that were of kinne and alliance vnto Constantine theyr Prince, coulde in no wise be perswaded thereunto, but rather with many reprochfull wordes rebuked the Bishops for theyr vntimely sute, seeing the enimies readie raunged in battaile at poynt to giue the onset, so that as they alledged it might be doubted what they ment by their motion, onelesse they were about to betray the army, vnder pretence of a cloked treatie for an vnprofitable agreement.

The Brytaines woulde not cõsent to haue any peace talked vpon.

These or such like wordes were vnethes ended, when sodainly the noyse being raysed on bothe sides, the battailes rushed togither right fiercely. The Brytaines had the disaduauntage of the place, being so encumbred in myres, bogges, and Mosses, that they coulde not well ayde themselues, nor handle their weapons to any purpose. Yet did the battaile continue a long time to the destruction of such numbers of men, that the riuer of Humber (neare vnto the whiche this field was fought) was so mingled with blond, that the water thereof being all ouer coloured red, caried no small multitude of dead bodies downe

The battaile is begon.

A cruell taile.



into the sea. In the middes of the fight, there was one with lowde voyce in the Brytish tongue, cryed out to the Brytaynes (of purpose prompted thereunto) that Arthure with other of the nobles on his side were slaine, and therefore it were but folly to trust any longer vpon victorie, but rather were it wisdome for euerie man by flight, to prouide for his owne safetie.

A craftie policie. This was one of the Pictes,

This voyce wonderfully encouraged the Scottish men and Pictes, but the Brytaines were put in such feare therwith, that the most part of them immediately herevpon fell to running away.

The Brytaines put to flight.

Other of them iudging this to be but a craftie and some subtile practise of the enimies deuised of purpose, as it was in deede, to discomfort them with, abode by it still, manfully continuing in fight, till they were beaten downe and slaine in maner euery mothers sonne.

This victorie being thus hardly got, cost more liues than any other had done of many yeares before: for of the Scottes and Pictes being vanquishers, there dyed in that mortal battaile aboue .xx. thousand men togither with Mordred, and a great number of the nobilitie of both the Nations.

Twentie thousand of Scots and Pictes slaine.

Mordred slaine.

Of the Brytains and such other as were with them in ayde, there were slaine what in battaile and in the chase, at the poynt of .xxx. thousand, among whom was Arthure himselfe, with Gawan or Galuan, (as some bookes haue) brother vnto Mordred, who bare such good will and entier loue vnto his Lord and maister the sayd Arthur, that he fought that day most earnestly on his side against his own naturall brother ỹ sayd Mordred.

Arthure xxx. tho Brytains Gawan is

Also there were killed Cayme and Gawolane with the most part of al the residue of the Britishe nobilitie, and many prisoners taken, by reason that Humber kept them in from fleing any way forth on the one side, whiche prisoners also were afterwards slaine, the gentlemen only excepted.

Cayme & Gawolan slaine.

The day next after the battaile, the campe of the Brytains was rifled, and amongst other rich spoyles, there was found Queene Guaynore Arthures wife, with a great number of other Ladies and gentlewomen. The whole spoile of the campe and field being equally deuided by lottes betwixt them,

Queene Guaynore taken

The spoile of the Brytains camp deuided

thent, the Scottes had for their partes certaine fayre Charets, laden with rich ſtuffe and iewels, alſo horſes and armors, beſide ſundry noble men, which they had to theyr priſoners.

Unto the Picts fell for their portion Queene Guaynore, with the Ladies and gentlewomen, and diuerſe other of the Noble men, beſides a greate quantitie of other riche pray and bootie. Theſe priſoners which the Pictes had, were conueyed vnto a Caſtel in Angus, called Dunbarre, a place of great ſtrength in thoſe dayes, thoughe at this preſent there remayneth nothing but the name with the ruynes thereof. In whiche Caſtell they were deteyned vnder ſure warde, during the reſidue of theyr naturall lyues. In witneſſe whereof there be remayning vnto this day, the graues and monuments where manye of thoſe captyue Brytaynes were buryed in the fieldes of a towne in that Countrey called Negill, not paſt ten myles from Dundee. But amongeſt the reſidue, that of Guaynore is moſte famous.

There goeth a plaine tale ouer all that countrey, tolde for an aſſured truth, that if any woma̅ chaunce to treade vpon that graue, they ſhall remaine barren withoute bringing forth any iſſue more than the ſayd Guaynore did. But whether this be true or not, certaine it is, as Boetius writeth, that there dare no women come neare that graue: not only eſchuing it themſelues, but alſo commaunding their daughters to beware therof.

This bloudie battaile weakened ſo much the forces both of the Scots, Pictes and Brytaynes, that many a day after they were not able to recouer againe their former eſtates or dignities.

The yeare alſo that theſe three nations encou̅tred thus cruelly togither, was after the byrth of our Sauiour 542. the .xxvj. of Arthurs raigne ouer the Brytaynes, and the .xj. of Eugenius his gouernment ouer the Scottiſh men.

The ſame yeare before the battaile, were ſene many ſtraunge ſightes in Albion. Graſſe and hearbes in Yorkeſhyre appeared to bee ſteyned with bloud. Neare vnto Camelon, a Cowe brought forth a Calfe with two heades. Alſo an Ewe brought forth a lambe, that was both male and female. The ſunne appeared aboute none dayes al wholy of a bloudie colour. The element appeared full of bright Starres to euery mans ſight continually for the ſpace of two dayes togither. In Wales there was a battaile betwixt Crowes & Pies on the one ſide, and Rauens on the other, with ſuch a ſlaughter of them, as before that time had not bene heard of.

But to proceed, Eugenius king of the Scots at his returne from the battail, gaue to thoſe that had eſcaped with life, and abid by him in the chief daunger of the fight, many bounteous and large rewardes. The ſonnes and neareſt kinſfolke of ſuch as were ſlaine, he alſo aduaunced vnto ſundrie preferments of landes and liuings, that they enioying the ſame, might bee a witneſſe in tyme to come of the good ſeruice of their auncelters ſhewed, in defence of their king and countrey, and alſo of his princely liberalitie, in rewarding the ſame vpon their iſſue and progenie. By whiche noble beneuolence, hee wanne him ſuche loue amongeſt his people, that afterwardes it ſeemed howe hee gouerned the eſtate of his kingdome more by clemencie, than by any rigour of lawes.

Eugenius gouerneth his people with clemencie.

The Brytaynes immediately vpon knowledge had that Arthur was ſlaine, crowned Conſtantine his ſucceſſor in the Britiſhe kingdome, and for that there ſhould remaine none amongſt them aliue to make any claime to the ſame kingdome, other than he with his iſſue, or ſuch as he ſhoulde appoynt to ſucceede him, they cruelly murthered Mordreds children, in moſte pitifull wiſe running vnto their mothers lap, beſeeching hir to ſaue their lyues, according to hir motherly dutie. They were brought vp in Gawolane their grandfathers houſe, and being thus made away, the family & lynage of their father the foreſayd Mordred was vtterly therby extinguiſhed.

Conſtantine crowned king of Brytayne.

The cruelty of the Brytains in murthering the innocent children of Mordred.

The lineage of Mordred clearly extinct.

The Saxons at the ſame tyme hauing aduertiſement what loſſe the Brytaynes had ſuſtayned not onely by the death of their moſt valiant king and chiefetaine Arthur, but alſo for the ſlaughter of ſuch a multitude of their nation, as died in the battail, they prepare a mightie nauie of ſhippes, and paſſe ouer with the ſame into England, where being landed, they eaſily beat downe the Brytaynes, and driue them with theyr king Conſtantine into Wales, ſo recouering all that part of the land which Hengiſt ſometymes held, & after his name was afterwards called Englād.

The Saxons returne into England, and driue the Brytaynes into Wales.

Some haue written, how that after king Conſtantine had raigned certaine yeares in Wales, his wife and children died, whereupon wexing weary of this world, he forſooke his earthly kingdome, in hope of that other aboue, and ſecretly departed into Ireland, where applying himſelf for a time in miniſtring to the poore, at length being knowne, by the perſwaſion of a Monk he became one of his cote and profeſſion. Afterwardes being ſent by the Biſhop of the Dioces ouer into Scotland to inſtruct the people of that countrey in the true faith and articles of the chriſtian religion, he there ſuffred martirdome by the hands of moſt wicked & godleſſe perſons, and was at legth (but many yeares after his death) canonized a Saint, and ſundrie churches (as are to be ſeene euen vnto this day) built & dedicated vnto him in Scotland by authorite of the Biſhops there.

Conſtantine forſaketh his earthly kingdome in hope of the heauely kingdome.

Conſtantine entreth into religion.

Conſtantine ſent forth of Irelande into Scotlande is there murthered.

The ſame time that the ſayd Cōſtantine was

Irmenrike, or Iurmirike king of the Englishe men.

Iurmirike concludeth a peace with the Scottish men and Pictes.

Eugenius the Scottish king dyeth.

568. H.B.

dyuen into Wales, there raygned amongest the Englishe men one Iurmyrike the fifth (as Bede hath) from Hengist. The same Iurmyrike thoughe hee were not Christened hymselfe, yet hee permytted the Christian fayth to bee preached amongest hys people, and concluding a league with the Scottish men and Picts, kept the same inuiolate, during his life time most sincerely.

The Scottish king Eugenius also lyued in peare the residue of hys lyfe, wythout any trouble, eyther by forrayne enimies, or intestine sedition, and at length dyed in the 38. yeare of hys raigne, and after the byrth of our Sauiour. 569.



AFter his funeral obsequies finished in Colmekill, where he lyeth buried amongest his auncestors, his brother Conuall was chosen to succeed him in administration of the kingdome, a Prince of suche inclinatiō to vertue and godlinesse, as all men may iustly wonder thereat. He bare such zealous deuotion towardes the worshipping of the crosse (a thing to put men in remembrance of Christes passion as he woorke it) that which way soeuer hee

Conuall elected king of Scotlande



Conuals deuotion to the Crosse.

rode, as it is reported he had ỳ same borne before him, and at his getting vp and lighting downe from his horse, he with all the multitude of people standing about him, would worshippe it in kneeling downe, and reuerently kisse it.

This Crosse was of siluer with a Crucifix thereon, and letters grauen in a plate fastened to the staffe, conteyning these two wordes: Christianorum gloria.

Crosses set vpon the tops of steeples.

He commaunded also that the signe of the Crosse should be set vpon the toppes of Steeples, and on the highest towers of the gates of Castels and townes. Moreouer he forbad the Crosse to bee grauen or paynted vpon any pauement, least any man should irreuerently treade vpon it. Furthermore he had priestes and other religious men in such honor, as nothing could be more, appointing them to haue the tenthes of all those fruites which the earth yeelded.

Conuals deuotion towardes Kirkmen.

Sundrie ordinances hee made also, for the grieuous punishment of all such as in any wyse misused a Priest, or other religious person: as he that gaue any of them a blowe, should lose hys hande for it: and he that slue one of them, shoulde forfeyte his goodes, and be brent quicke. Againe, he bestowed many riche iewels, and gaue diuerse great giftes vnto Churches, prouiding the ministers of sufficient liuings, and appoynted that they shoulde haue theyr houses neare vnto theyr Churches, to bee readie to execute that which appertayned to theyr offices, when anye neede requyred.

Conuals liberalitie to Churches.

The king beeing thus vertuously disposed, caused the whole number of his subiectes by his ensample to be the better affectioned towards the aduauncement of religion. The report and fame wherof, moued that holy man Saint Colme, or Colombe, to come ouer forth of Irelande (where hee had the gouernaunce of sundrie houses of Monks) with twelue other vertuous persons into Albion, and there gathering togither a great number of Monkes, being here and there dispersed abrode in the Countrey, hee placed them orderly in such houses, as king Conuall had buylded and founded for that purpose, appoynting amongst them rulers and ministers, suche as hee thought most conuenient.

Saint Colme commeuer for Ireland Scotlad

But Saint Colme himselfe, and the other twelue

twelue, whiche he brought ouer with him from Ireland, placing themſelues to inhabite in the Ile of Iona, now called Colmekill, toke great paynes to inſtruct the Scottes and Pictes in the true articles of the faith.

Amongſt the Pictes the ſame time the hereſie of Pelagius had infected the mindes of many, by meane that diuers of that nation hauing dwelled long time in Brytaine, returning into theyr countrey, brought that peſtilent doctrine home with them, and taught it vnto other. Saint Colme therefore informed hereof, paſſed into Louthian vnto Brudeus as then king of the Pictes, earneſtly trauelling to inſtruct bothe him and his people in the right beliefe, and to extype out of theyr heartes al erronious opinions of that damnable ſect of the Pelagians lore.



The ſame time that bleſſed man Kentigern, otherwiſe called Mungo, gouerned the Church of Glaſkew, as biſhop of the ſame, who reſorting into the companie of this S. Colme, had much conference with him to bothe theyr comfortes, concerning the true articles of our faith.

This Kentigerne was diſcended of the bloud royall of the Pictiſhe kings, as ſonne vnto that vertuous woman Thametes or Thanew, daughter vnto Loth king of the Pictes, whome a yong luſtie Gentleman (or as ſome haue written) the laſt mencioned Eugenius the Scottiſh king) rauiſhed by force, and begot of hir the ſayde Kentigerne.

Hee was greatly in fauour of the foreſayde Brudeus the Pictiſh king, as one that was nere of his bloud. For the ſame Brudeus was Nephew vnto the foreſayde Loth, by his brother cleped Melethon, and therefore ſucceeded in the kingdome of the Pictes, after that Mordred was ſlaine as before is expreſſed.

Kentigerne went with Saint Colme vnto the caſtle of Caledone, otherwiſe called Dounkeld, where they remained ſixe moneths in a monaſterie there, buylded by king Conuall, teaching and preaching vnto the people of Athole, Calidone, and Angus, that in great numbers came vnto them, to heare their godly inſtructios.

There is in the ſame place, where the ſayde caſtle ſometimes ſtode, a Church dedicated vnto Saint Colme, builte of fayre ſquare ſtone, being at this day a Biſhops ſee, commonly called Dounkeld, indued with many fayre reuenewes and great poſſeſſions, for the mayntenaunce of the Biſhop and his Canons. The biſhops ſee of Dounkeld.

At the ſixte moneths ende, thoſe two vertuous perſons taking their leaue eche of other, not without ſhedding of teares, departed in ſunder, Kentigerne returning vnto Glaſkew, & S. Colme into Irelande, where reporting many things, touching the great vertue and holineſſe of king Conuall, and with what deuotion he had bene receyued both of him and his people, he moued many to wounder greatly thereat, to heare that a king in the middeſt of all his allurements to pleaſure, ſhoulde yet be ſo mindfull of diuine meditations and godly exerciſes. Saint Colme returneth into Ireland.

The yeare following S. Colme prepared to returne into Scotland, taking Aydan ouer with him thither, by commaundement of king Conuall, whiche Aydan as ye haue heard to auoyde the traynes of Eugenius, fledde ouer into Ireland with his mother, for doubte to bee made away by the ſame Eugenius. Saint Colme commeth againe into Scotlād, brīnging with him Aydan ſonne to king Conranne.

S. Colme taking the ſea with this Aydan, and comming a lande on the coaſtes of Scotlande, was no ſooner there arriued, but that preſently hee had knowledge howe the king was dead, being the yeare of his reygne the .x.th after the birth of our Sauiour. 579. The death of Conuall.

578. H.B.

Saint Colme then being throughly certified of his death, and that the corps was forward on the way towardes Colmekill there to be buried, he thought it a peece of his duetie to go thither to be at the funerals, and ſo doing was as one of the chiefeſt there in the executing of the obſequies. Whiche being ended, and hearing that Kynnatyll the brother of Conuall was inthronized king in Argyle, by the free election of all the eſtates, he neuertheleſſe kepte on his former purpoſed iourney, and came vnto Kynnatyll, bringyng Aydan with him, (appointed by Conuall to haue receyued the gouernement of the kingdome if he had liued) they were bothe receyued with all benenolence of the ſayde Kynnatyll contrary to moſt mens expectation: in ſo much that embracing Aydan, he badde him be of good cheere, for it ſhould ſhortly come to paſſe, that he ſhould attayne to the poſſeſſion of his graundfathers dominion, and haue iſſue that ſhould ſucceede him to the greate reliefe of the Scottiſhe common wealth. Saint Colme preſent at the buriall of king Conuall. Kynnatyll elected king of Scotland. Saint Colme and Aydan receiued by Kinnatyll. The prophecie of Kynnatyll.

By what ſpyrite of prophecie he vttered theſe

wordes, it is vncertaine, but ſure it is that his purpoſe was to haue giuen ouer the gouernment of the kingdome (as he confeſſed himſelfe lying vpon his death bedde) and to haue reſtored it vnto Aydan who had a right therevnto. Howbeit being preuented by death, he could not haue time to accompliſhe his deſire, for within .xx. dayes after his coronation, being ſurpriſed with a grieuous diſeaſe of a catarrike rewme and the ſquinancie, he was conſtreined to keepe his chāber, cōmitting the publike adminiſtration of the realme vnto Aydan. Herevpon followed a feuer through encreaſing of a flegmatike humor bred by long reſte, that after .viij. monethes ſpace vnbodied his ghoſt, whiche by the inſtruction of Saint Colme, being preſent with him at the houre of his death, he rendred in moſt deuoute wiſe into the handes of his redeemer. Appointing his kingdome as it were by deliuerie of ſeyſin, euen there vpon his death bedde vnto the foreſayde Aydan.

The death of Kynnatyll. Kynnatyll lying vpon his death bed, ſurrendreth his kingdome into Aydans handes.



Ayda

Aydan re uerth his i ſture of t kingdome the hande S. Colme.

AFter that the bodie of this Kynnatyll was entered, according to the maner, in Colmekyll, Aydan receyued the crowne ſitting vpon the marble ſtone, after the cuſtome in thoſe dayes vſed, by the handes of that holy father Saint Colme. Who willing that ſilence might be kept, layde his right hande vpon the kings head, and in his lefte hand holding his croſier ſtaffe, made a briefe exhortation, aſwell to the king as to his people, admoniſhing

S. Colme hortation the king the peopl



them of their dueties eche towardes other, but eſpecially he exhorted them vnto peace and concorde, and before al things to remember to walke in the wayes of the Lorde, for in ſo doyng they might hope for wealth and proſperitie, in the ſtate of their common wealth, with all other good graces, where as otherwiſe, if either of the people forgot their dueties towardes God, or that the king regarded not duely to execute his office, in giuing God thankes for his bounteous liberalitie and high benefites beſtowed vpō him, it ſhoulde come to paſſe, that inteſtine ſedition, conſpiracies, and other miſchiefes ſhoulde riſe amongſt them, to the irrecouerable loſſe of the realme, by bringyng the ſame into daunger to be ouerrunne by ſome forrayne power, if they did not repent in time, and call to God for his fauour that it might pleaſe him to reduce them agayne into the right pathe of his lawes and ordinaunces, when ſo euer they ſhould ſo fall from the ſame.

When Saint Colme had made an ende of theſe or the like his wholeſome aduertiſements, all the people reioyſing thereat, promiſed with one voyce, and therewith vowed to followe the ſame, and to be euer ready to obey the cōmaundement of their prince, and the holy inſtructions of their biſhops & other the Eccleſiaſtical miniſters. The aſſemble being once diſſolued, the king departed into Galloway, and there deliuered the countrey of certaine Britiſhe robbers, that had inuaded it.

The pron of the pe

The kin iourney Gallowa

After this, ſtudying to maintaine good orders and quiet rule through his dominions, he appointed an aſſemble of the chiefeſt peares of his realme to be holden yearely in three ſeuerall parties therof, as in Galloway, Louchquhaber, and Cathneſſe, there to heare & determine all ſuytes & quarels of his ſubiects, & to giue order for the adminiſtratiō of the lawes & al publike affayres, as they ſhould ſee cauſe, & occaſion. He required alſo S. Colme to be preſent euer with thē, ỹ maters

Aydan a teth ſeſſi to be ke yerely in partes of realme.

to uching

touching religion might be the better prouided for, and that the people might take all things done in those publike sessions in right good parte, bycause such an holy and vertuous father of the Churche was amongst them, and hauing the chiefest authoritie.

Thus continued the realme in quiet state for certaine yeares togither, till it chaunced that diuers of the nobles being togither on hunting, fell at variance, and therupon making a fray, sundry of them were slayne. The beginners & suche as were moste culpable were sought for, by the kings officers, to haue bene had to warde, but they in disobeying the arrest, stroke and beate the officers very sore, and immediatly therwith fled vnto Brudeus king of the Pictes, so by wilfull exile to safegard theyr liues.

Kyng Aydan requireth to haue certaine Scottish outlawes deliuered at the handes of Brudeus king of Pictes.

Brudeus by denying to deliuer the Scottish outlawes, procureth warres to him selfe and his countrey.

King Aydan, according to the maner in such cases accustomed, required to haue those outlawes deliuered vnto him, that he might do iustice vpon thē accordingly as they had deserued.

Brudeus taking pitie of the yong gentlemen, alledged many things in their excuse, still deferring to deliuer them, till at length hee procured warre to himselfe and his countrey: For Aydan the Scottishe king offended in that he might not haue those rebelles and publike offendors restored vnto him, he caused a number of his people, first to fetche a great bootie of cattell and prysoners out of Angus.

Wherewith the Pictes being kindled, made a like rode into Galloway. Finally the matter grewe vnto a fielde, whiche was foughten in Menteith, not farre from Caledon castell otherwise called Dounkeld, with great slaughter on both sides, though in the ende the victorie yet remayned with the Scottes, but losing Arthurnus the sonne of Aydan their king, they reioyced not greatly at the gaine.

The breach of peace betwixt the Scots and Pictes.

A field fought betwixt Scots and Pictes.



That holy mā S. Colme troubled with such newes, came vnto Aydan, and declaring vnto him howe grieuously he had offended almightie God in procuring suche mischiefe as had ensued of this warre, & reciting in particuler the brāches therof, he moued the king vnto such repentance for his trespasse, that he wholly submitted himselfe vnto Saint Colmes chastisement, who being about to departe in semblance sore offended, the king got him by the sleeue, and would in no wise suffer him to go from him, till he had declared vnto him some comfortable meane howe to redresse the matter, for the quieting of his conscience. At length Saint Colme lamenting the kings case, suffred himselfe to be entreated, and therupon repayred vnto Brudeus the Pictishe king, mouing him by way of diuers godly admonitions to incline his affection vnto peace. At length he did so much by trauayling sundry times too and fro betwixt the two kings, that he brought thē vnto agreement for al maters depēding in controuersie betwixt thē & their subiects.

Thus S. Colme hauing accomplished that which he came for, returned againe into the westerne Iles vnto his wonted home, where he did by wholesome documents and vertuous ensamples, instruct the seruaunts of God in the way of his lawes and commaundements.

In this meane time the Saxons hauing driuen and put backe the Brytons into Wales, and occupying all the residue of their landes and countreys, they deuided the same into seuen partes, ordeyning seuen seuerall kings, to gouerne the same as kingdomes.

England deuided into seuen seuerall kingdomes.

Ouer that of Northumberland adioyning next vnto the Pictes, one Edelfrede reygned, a man of exceeding desire to enlarge his dominion. He went about by all meanes he could deuise to perswade Brudeus the Pictishe king to renewe the warres with the Scottes, promising him all the ayde he could make against them, not onely for that he knewe the Scottes to haue bene euer enimies vnto the Saxons, but also for that hee himselfe was discended of the nation called Agathirses, of the whiche the Pictes as was thought were also come. But the cause why he wished that there might be warres raysed betwixte the Scottes and Pictes, was not for any good will he bare to the Pictes, but onely to the ende that theyr power being weakened through the same, he might haue a more easie pray of theyr countrey, the whiche he purposed vpon occasion to inuade and ioyne vnto his owne kingdome of Northumberlande.

Edelfred king of Northumberland.

Edelfreds purpose.

Brudeus at the firste gaue no eare vnto his earnest

earnest motions and large offers, but at length through the counsell and procurement of some of his nobles, corrupted by bribes receyued at Ethelfredes handes, and still putting into the kings head sundry forged informations of the Scottish mens dayly attempts against the Pictishe nation, hee determined to ioyne with the Saxons against them, and caused thereupon warre to be proclaymed against the Scottes, as those that had spoyled and robbed his subiects, contrarie to the league & all bandes of old frendship and former amitie betwixt them.

A league concluded betwixt the Scots & Brytons, with the articles of the same.

The Scottishe king Aydan perceyuing the practise of the Saxons, and togither therewith the vntruth of the Pictes, the better to be able to resist theyr malice, ioyneth in league with the Brytons: This article beyng chiefest in the whole couenant: that if the enimies first inuaded the Brytons, then an armie of Scots should be sent with all speede into Brytaine, to helpe to defend the countrey against such inuasions: but if the Scottes were first inuaded, then should the Brytons in semblable maner come ouer to their ayde.

The Saxons hauing knowledge of this appoyntment betwixte Scottes and Brytons, to draw the Scottes forth of theyr countrey, and so to haue them at more aduauntage, procured the Pictes to ioyne with them: and so bothe their powers being united togither, entred into the Brittish confines.

The Picts and Saxons enter into the lands of the Brytõs.

Aydan according to the couenaunt, came straight vnto the ayde of the Brytons. Ethelfred and Brudeus refused to fight for certaine dayes, as it were of purpose, thereby to weary the Scottes with watch and trauayle, being as then farre from home. Also they looked dayly to haue Ceuline king of the west Saxons to come vnto theyr ayde: but the Scottes and Brytons hauing knowledge thereof, first thought it beste to encounter with him, before he should ioyne with the other, and thus vnderstanding that their only refuge remayned in theyr armure and weapons, gaue ẏ onset so fiercely vpõ those Saxons, that at the firste, slaying Cutha Ceulines sonne, with a great number of other, they easily distressed and put the residue to flight.

Ceuline or Ceolyn.

The Scots and Brytons put the Saxons to flight, & slewe Cutha the son of Ceuline king of the west Saxons.

Aydan would not suffer his men to pursue to farre in the chase, but called them backe by the sounde of a trumpet, who being assembled here- with about theyr standerds, made suche ioye and triumphe, as greater coulde not bee deuised, what with daunceing, singing, and playing on pipes and other instrumentes, according to the manner in those dayes.

The triũphant ioy made by the Scots and Brytons, vpon their newe victorie.

But as they were thus in the middes of their chiefest myrth, sodenly appeared the Saxons & Pictes, whiche were with Ethelfred & Brudeus, approching towardes them in good order of battell, with whom were also the residue of the west Saxons, that had escaped frõ the late bickering. Whereupon the Scottes and Brytons amazed with the sight hereof, were sodenly striken out of countenaunce, in somuche that Aydan went amongst them, and with a bolde countenaunce exhorted them to remember, how valiantly they had alreadie put to flight the other of theyr enimies, so that there was great hope for assured victorie of these likewise, if they would now shewe the like mãly courage against them, as they had shewed before in assayling the other. Many other wordes hee vsed in admonishing them to fight manfully, till the onset giuen by the enimies, caused him to make an end.

The soden feare of the Scots & Pict after all the great ioy & triumphing.

Aydan exhorted his men manfulnesse

The Saxons layde about them so stoutly in the beginning, that they forced their aduersaries, with whom they were matched, to giue backe. Neyther did Ethelfred fayle in that occasion to encourage them to follow the aduauntage nowe thus gotten.

The Saxons fight stoutly.

Ethelfred.

Brudeus with his Picts likewise made great slaughter in that wing of the Scottes, with the whiche hee encountred, so that finally the same Scottes perceyuing the Brytons beaten downe and sore distressed on their side, fell through discomfort thereof to renning away.

Brudeus king of the Picts maketh slaughter of the Scots.

The Scots runne away.

There were slaine in this battel on the Scottishmens side Brennius lieutenant, or as they termed him the Thane of the Isle of Man, with Dungarre the kings thirde sonne, and no small number of other Gentlemen beside. The king himselfe escaped by helpe of his sonne, who staying to get his father out of the preasse, was slaine (as is sayde) amongst the residue.

On the Saxons side, there was slaine Theobald Edelfredes brother, and Cutha the king of West Saxon his sonne, as before ye haue heard, with a great number of other. Ethelfred himself lost one of his eyes. Brudeus the Pictishe king was hurt in the thigh, and besides this, he loste a great multitude of his people.

Ethelfred one of his eyes.

Brudeus hurt in the thigh.

Thus Edelfred hauing got suche a notable victorie at Deglastone in Brytaine, hee coulde not be so contented, but eftsones assembling his people, and ioyning againe with Brudeus and his Pictes, the next sommer after inuaded Galloway, and beganne to robbe and spoyle that countrey, to the end he might eyther enforce the inhabitauntes, with other the countreys nexte thereunto adioyning, to yeelde vnto him, eyther els to bring them into extreeme pouertie in wasting all afore him.

Deglaston place where this battel was fought.

Galloway inuaded by Edelfred.

But Aydan being aduertised hereof, sente to the Brytons for theyr couenaunted ayde, and comming forewarde with his owne people, whiche hee had assembled togither, ouerthrew certaine

The Saxons and Pictes.

certayne companyes of his enemyes, as he found them diſperſed abroade in ſeeking for preyes, then paſſing by their mayne armie, he commeth into Innandale, where he ioineth with the Brytons, beyng come ſo farre forward on their way to meete him.

The Saxons and Pictes hauing knowledge of their enemies doings, wanne ſuche a place of aduantage as they thoughte it an eaſye matter for them in keeping the ſame, to diſtreſſe both the Scottes and Brytaynes through ſtopping vp the paſſages, by the whiche they muſt of force paſſe, if they mynded to come forth of that dale. Theſe paſſages lay through certayne quickeſands, and by a ryuer which had but few fordes paſſable.

The Scots and Brytaynes perceyuing how they were thus encloſed, with all ſpeede trenched their camp about, reyſing certayne bulwarkes and turrets in places where they thought expedient, as though they had meante ſtill there to haue continued.

Aydan him ſelfe toke ſuche paynes in ſeeyng euery thing done in due order, that his people moued more through his enſample than by any exhortation, were moſt diligent in their duties, deſirous of nothing ſo much as to haue occaſion miniſtred, to ſhewe ſome proofe of their worthy valiauncies.

At length, when the enemies were moſt at quiet, and as was ſuppoſed, nothing in doubt of any attempt to be made by the Scots and Brytons, in the night ſeaſon, leauing a great number of fyres in their campe, they ſodenly diſlodged, and paſſing the water by ſecret fourdes, they entred into Cumberland, and ſo after paſſing into Northumberland, they waſted and deſtroyed with fyre and ſworde all that came within theyr reach: The report of which their doings brought Edelfred and Brudeus backe into that countrey to reſiſt theyr inuaſion, neither reſting day nor night, till they had got ſight of their enimies.

The next day, the ſouldiers on bothe ſides requiring battell, togither they go with great noiſe and dinne bothe of men and inſtrumentes. To much hardineſſe in the Saxons cauſed no ſmall number of them to be ſlayne, rather chooſing to die with reputation of manhoode, than to giue backe neuer ſo little ground to the enimie. Thus the battell continued for a ſpace, right doubtfull whiche way the victory would incline.

On the Brytons and Scottiſh mens ſide, there were foure chiefe rulers amongſt them, beſide Aydan himſelfe, as Conſtantius and Alencrinus Brytons, Callan and Mordock Scottiſh men. Eche of theſe taking a ſeuerall charge vpon him, did earneſtly apply their vttermoſt endeuers therein, encouraging their bandes to put away all cowardly feare, and manfully to ſticke to their tackle, ſithe by victory there was hope of eternall fame, beſide ſuertie of life, and aduauncement to the common wealth of their countrey, where otherwiſe they might looke for nothing, but the contrary miſhaps, as ſhame, rebuke and importable ſeruitude, ſo that the Scottiſh men and Brytons incouraged herewith, preaſſed vpō the enimies ſo fiercely, that at length aſwell the Saxons as Picts were compelled to breake their array, & fall to plaine running away: the Scots following ſo egrely in the chaſe, that more of their enimies were thought to die in the flight, than before there had done in ẏ battel. S. Colme as yet being aliue, and within his monaſterie in the Ile of Iona, had knowledge by diuine inſpiration (as the Scottiſh chronicles make mention of all theſe matters how they went, and at the very time that the battels were in fight togither, he had aſſembled a companie of right vertuous and godly diſpoſed perſons, making interceſſion for the proſperous ſpeede of their king the foreſayde Aydan, and at the very inſtant, as it was knowen after, that the Saxons began to flee (as they which had the ouerthrow) that holy old father ſhewed greate token of ioy and gladneſſe, declaring vnto his brethern by the ſpryte of ſecrete knowledge or prophecie, how Aydan had the better, and that his enimies were diſcōfited, willing them thereupon to giue vnto God thankes for the ſame.

The Saxons & Pictes diſcōfited & chaſed.

S. Colme endewed with the ſprite of ſecrete knowledge.

There was an huge multitude ſlaine in this conflict, but namely the death of Ceulyne king of the Weſtſaxons, with other two worthie Captaynes of that nation, made the ſlaughter more ſorowfull on that ſide, the one of them hight Cialyne, and the other Quhitellyne.

Ceuline king of Weſtſaxons ſlaine.

Quhitelline or Whiteline.

The day next after the batayle, the ſpoyle of the field being gathered togither, all that whiche was knowen to haue bene taken out of Galloway and other countreys of the Scottes, was reſtored by the kings authoritie vnto the owners againe. The reſidue which remayned was deuided amongſt the ſouldiers, the tenth parte onely excepted, whiche was diſtributed vnto Prieſtes and Curates, to beſtowe the ſame vpon ornaments for theyr Churches. The Banners and Standerds of the Saxons and Picts, with many other riche offerings, king Aydan ſente vnto the Abbey of Colmekill, there to remaine as perpetuall monuments and tokens of ſo notable a victorie.

The deuiſion of the ſpoyle.

The yeare next following, that holy father S. Colme nowe almoſte waſted through age, and hereto alſo ſore troubled with a reumaticke humor, fell ſicke and died. Some ſay hee ended his life in his houſe amongſt his brethern within the Ile of Iona, otherwiſe called Colmekill;

S. Colme departed out of this life.

but

but Saint Bede writeth howe hee died in an Iland called Heu, where againe the Irishe writers affirme, that he departed in a towne in Ireland called Dune, and that his tombe is there in great veneration of the people: vpō the which are these Latine verses engrauen.

Hitres in Duno, tumulo tumulantur in vno,
Brigida, Patricius atque Columba pius.

Which verses Balantine translateth thus:

Saint Colme, Saint Patricke and Brigitta pure,
Thir three in Dune lies in ane sepulture.

Aydan king of the Scottishe mē, departeth this worlde.

Neither did Aydan the Scottishe king liue long time after, for hearing (as is sayde) that Saint Colme was dead, shortly thereupō more through griefe, than by force of sickenesse, he departed this worlde, after he had reygned. xxviij. yeares in gouernaunce ouer the Scottish men, he died about the yeare of our Lorde. 606. 606

In the dayes of this Aydan there was sente into Albion from Gregory the Pope of Rome, diuers learned men (amongst whom were Augustinus and Mellitus) to instruct the English people in the faith of Christ, whiche as yet they had not receyued. By the earnest trauell and exhortation of these instructors, Ethelbert king of the Kentishe Saxons was baptised with all his people. The Brittishe priests nor their doctrine the Saxons could in nowise abide, bicause, as is supposed) the one nation through a naturall hatred, still sought the destruction of the other.

Augustin Mellitus into Alb

Ethelbert baptised.

The Saxe hatred to the Britt Priestes.



Sussex and Essex receyue the Christian faith.

The South and east Saxons moued with the ensample of the Kentish Saxons, shortly after also renounced theyr olde superstitious idolatrie, and likewise receyued the Christian faith.

Edelfred his displeasure.

Edelfred king of Northumberlande moued vnto displeasure herewith, sente word vnto these Saxons of the south partes (as then all of them generally knowen by the name of Englishmen) that sithe they had forsaken the olde institutions and auncient religion of theyr forefathers, hee woulde surely from thence forth be no lesse enimie vnto them than vnto the Scottes and Brytons.

Valdred other wise called Baldred, the doctor of the Pictes.

There liued in these dayes that holy man Valdred a Scottishe man borne, but dwelling amongst the Pictes, whom he instructed in the right faith, and therefore was named the doctor of the Pictes. He departed out of this life within the Iland called the Basse, lying about. ij. miles off from the maine land within the sea where the Forth hath the entry betwixt the same Isle, and an other called the Bay. There were three parishes fell at contention for the buriall of his bodie, as Aldham, Tynningam, & Preston, so farre forth, that they were at point to haue fought about it, but that by councell of some discrete persons amongst them, it was ordeyned that they should continue in prayer for that night, & in the next morning stande to the order of the Bishop of the diocese, who was come thyther the same time to be present at the buriall. The next day in the morning there was found. iij. beeres with. iij. bodies decētly couered with clothes, so like in all resemblance that no man might perceyue any difference. Then by cōmaundemēt of the bishop and with great ioy of all the people, the sayde seuerall bodies were caried seuerally vnto the sayd three seuerall Churches, and in the same buried in moste solemne wise, where they remayne vnto this day, in muche honour with the cōmon people of the countreys neare adioyning.

A myracle be true.

After that the corps of king Aydan was buried in Colmekill, the nobles of the realme assembled togither in Argyle, aboute the election of a newe king. Where by the generall voyces of thē al, Kenethus Keyr the sonne of Conualle (sometime king of the Scottish men as before is mencioned) was nowe proclaymed king and crowned

Kenethus Keyr Kenneth crowned of Scot

crowned according to the maner: but hee liued not paſſing .iij. moneths after, but died of a cankarike rewme falling downe into the artery called *Trachea*, and ſo ſtopped his lungs. He deliuered as it were the poſſeſſion of his kingdome, by way of ſurrendring the ſame into the handes of Eugenius ſonne to king Aydan, by conſent of all the nobles, a litle before he died, for that it was knowen he had a right thereunto after the deceaſe of Kenethus.



THis Eugenius was the fourth of that name, whiche had ruled ouer the Scottiſh men. As it is ſayde S. Colme prophecied that hee ſhould be king long before his fathers death: for when all the ſonnes of king Aydan were brought before him, and that Aydan demaunded of him whiche of them ſhoulde reygne after him, hee ouerpaſſing the reſidue (whiche he vnderſtode by ſecrete knowledge ſhould die in the warres) appoynted forth this Eugenius, called by ſome alſo Bzudus, declaring that it ſhould be onely he.

This Eugenius then beyng placed in the kingly ſeat, forgot not ſuch wholſome leſſons & vertuous precepts, as the foreſayd Saint Colme had taught him in his youth, ſo that ſtudying how to defende rather that which was his owne in peace and quietneſſe, than to ſeeke any wayes or meanes howe to enlarge it, by wrongfull encrochyng vpon other mens poſſeſſions, he grewe into ſuch fauour with all good menne, as greater could not be deuiſed. Unto offendors he was a ſharpe Juſticier, not ſparing any tranſgreſſour of his lawes, neyther in reſpect of nobilitie or otherwiſe, but rather thoſe gentlemen which miſbyſed themſelues in breache of good orders, he chiefly gaue order to ſee them puniſhed: where if they behaued themſelues worthily, and according to theyr calling, there was no prince more gladde than he to aduaunce them vnto honour.

By theſe and the like his princely doings, he was both beloued of his people and alſo dred. He neither fauoured the Picts nor Saxons of Northumberland, for that the one nation being Ethnikes perſiſted in their infidelitie, and the other ceaſſed not by all maner of meanes to ſupporte them, but yet taking a truce with them bothe, he firmely cauſed the ſame to be obſerued.

In the .x. yeare of his reygne Cinigell king of Weſtſaxons and Edelfred king of Northumberlande with ayde of the Pictes, banquiſhed Cadwallo king of Bzytons, and chaſed him into Scotlād, where he remained not long, ſayling from thence into Bzytain in Fraunce, & purchaſing ayde of the king there named Cadoal, returned vnto Wales, where banquiſhing his enimies the Saxons, & ſleaing many thouſands of them, he was reſtored againe vnto his kingdome. Cadwalle is reſtored vnto his kingdome

Aboute the ſame time was Edelfred king of Northumberland ſlaine in battell, at a place called Wintringham, not far from the riuer of Hūber, by Redwald & Ethelbzeth, the one being king of the eaſt Angles, & the other of the middle Angles, in reuenge of ſuche iniuries as the ſame Edelfred had done vnto the Saxons of the coūtrey called Mertia, conteyning as in the Engliſh hiſtorie more plainly may appeare al thoſe ſhyres from the riuer of Thames vnto the riuer of Merſee in Lancaſhyre. Then was one Edwine a right Chriſtian prince, appoynted to reygne in his place, by the aſſignement of the two foreſayd kings Redwald and Ethelbzeth. See more hereof in England. King Edelfred ſlaine. Edwyne.

Whilſt theſe things were a doing, there were ſeuen ſonnes of the foreſaydr Edelfred, that deteſting the vntrue dealing of the Pictes, whiche refuſed to ayde their father in his neceſſitie, and doubting to fall into the handes of Edwyn, got them vnto Eugenius the Scottiſhe king for more ſuretie of theyr liues. Theyr names were Eufreid, Oſwald, Oſlaws, Oſwyne, Offas, Oſmōd, & Oſyk. Ebba the only daughter of Edelfred beyng taken amongſt other pryſoners, and eſcaping from hir taker, miraculouſly got a boate in the riuer of Humber, and with the ſame taking the ſea alone, without all humane helpe, (as hath bene reported) ſhe ſayled forth, and at length ſafely arriued at the poynt of lande which ſtretcheth forth into the ſea, in the mouth of the Forth, called euē vnto this day after hyr name, Saint Ebbes head, where being receyued by the Biſhop of that dioceſſe, ſhee was profeſſed a Nonne, and after continuyng in greate perfectneſſe of obſeruing that profeſſion, ſhe was inſtituted Abbeſſe of hyr houſe, ſhewing ſtill in trade of lyfe an orderly enſample for hyr flocke to followe. S. Ebbas head.

Eugenius the Scottiſh king did louingly receyue the ſonnes of Edelfred, though their father had euer bene a cruell enimie againſt the Scottiſh nation: and within a while after theyr comming into Scotlād, hearing oftētimes the godly ſermons and preachings of the Biſhoppes and Monkes (who in thoſe dayes continually gaue themſelues vnto that exerciſe) they finally abhorred theyr ſuperſticious idolatrie, and receyued baptiſme, that ſalutiferous ſigne and ſacramēt of our chriſtian religiō. Thoſe churches alſo which the Saxōs in time of ẏ warres had ouerthrowē & deſtroyed in Galoway & other coūtreys thereabouts, Eugenius cauſed to be repaired: moreouer alſo he reedified ſundry caſtels in thoſe marches,

and

and placed in them garisons of souldiers, to defend them against all inuasions that might happen.

Thus continuyng his reigne the space of.xb. yeares or there aboutes in honorable peace, to the great aduauncement of the common wealth of his subiects, he lastly died in the yeare. 620. and was buried amongst his elders in the Isle of Iona, within the monasterie of Colmekill.

620.

About this time that reuerend father and Bishop Boniface Quirinus, came forth of Italy into Scotlande, to instruct the people in the faith of Christ there. Whether he were Pope resigning vp the papalitie came thus into Scotland (as some haue supposed) or whether he was sent from the Pope called Boniface that succeeded Sauinianus, it is not certainly knowen: but certaine it is, as the Scottishe writers affirme, that vpon his first comming into Scotland he arriued in the water of Taye, comming a lande at the mouth of a little riuer, whiche diuideth the countrey of Gowrie from Angus:

Bonifacius a godly preacher



His name is yet famous amongst the Scottes euen vnto this day: for that he trauailed through the most parte of the lande, in preaching and instructing the people to their confirmation in the faith, and erecting diuers Churches in the honor of almightie God, whiche hee dedicated to the name of S. Peter. And amongst other he buylt one at the place where he came a lande, an other at a village called Tullyne, not passing three myles from Dundee, & the third at Restennoth, where afterwardes an house of Chanons of S. Augustines order was buylded. At length hee came into Rosse, continuyng there the residue of his life, and is buried at Rossemarken.

There was also the same time amongst the Scottes an auncient godly man named Molock, who followyng suche rules and doctrine as in his youth he had learned of Brandon that reuerend Abbotte, he ceassed not to exhort the people of Mar and Argyle (in whiche countreys he was most resident) to flee and forsake their vicious liuing, and to endeuour themselues to imbrace vertue to the comfort and health of their soules.

Molock a preacher.

Monkes w preachers i those daye

This Molock kept continual companie with the forenamed Bonifacius after his comming into Scotland: and finally died also in Rosse, being about. 94. yeares of age, and was buried in the church where Bonifacius lieth, though they of Argyle say that his relikes rest amongst the in the Churche of Lysmore, whiche is dedicated to his name.



Ferquhard.

After the decease of Eugenius, his son Ferquhard succeeded in his place, for Eugenius had three sonnes, Ferquhard, Fiacre, and Donnewald. These being appointed by their father to be brought vp with Connane Bishop of Sodore (that is the Bishop of Man in vertuous discipline, did not altogither follow his godly precepts and lessons.

Ferquhard king of Scland.

Ferquhard and Donald gladly gaue eare to him, but they thought his instructions did not much appertayne vnto their birth and degree, but Fiacre printing his diuine documēts deeply in his harte, determined to forsake all worldly pompe and dignitie, and to get him some whither farre from home, where he might serue God more freely without lette or interruption of his frendes or kinfolke.

Fiacre gi himselfe t liue a so life in Fr

Thus being disposed, he got vpon him simple apparell, and went ouer into Fraunce, where seeking a solitarie place, Pharo the bishoppe of Meaux gaue vnto him a peece of ground, in the whiche at this day he is worshipped with great deuotion.

There hath gone a tale in that countrey, that no woman might enter into the Chapell where he lieth buried: for if any do, she hath some mishap that falleth vnto hyr, as either the losse of sight, priuation of wittes, or some such like.

As touching the state of the Scottish cōmon wealth vnder the gouernment of Ferquhard, the same was quiet inough without trouble of outward enimies, but his subiectes among themselues fell at such diuision, that euery parte of the realme was full of murder, brenning, and other destructions of men and houses, with such spoyling, robbing, ruing, and al kindes of other mischiefes, that no where was any suertie either of life or goodes: All the which misorders sprong, were nourished and maynteyned through the kings

kings owne negligence, for he miſtaking his office and duetie, was of this opinion, that ſo long as the nobles and eſtates of his realme were thus ready one to kil an other, there was no likelyhood they ſhoulde haue tyme to practiſe any rebellion againſte him, and herevpon he rather holpe to further ſuch diſcorde amongſt them, than toke order for to appeaſe it. But it came to paſſe by this meanes, ẏ he was nothing regarded within a whyle amongſt them, ſo that by meanes of other arbitratours whiche they choſe by common agreement, all matters in controuerſies were taken vp and ended betwixte them, the kyng not once made priuie therevnto.

The ſame tyme it was noyſed abrode in the realme, that Ferquhard, beſide other his wicked behauiours, was alſo infected with the erroneous opinions of the Pelagian hereſie. Whiche ſuſpition was the more encreaſed, for that he vſed to haue ſundry Britiſhe prieſtes in his companie: the whyche nation had bene euer noted with the ſpot of that damnable infection. The nobilitie of the realme moued herewith, ſummoned him by an herálde to come to a counſel which they had appointed to hold of al ẏ eſtates, ẏ they might there vnderſtande, if it were true or not whiche was commonly reported of him. But hee refuſing to come at ſuche ſummonance, they aſſemble togither, & beſiege him in the caſtell wherein he had enclоſed himſelf, and winning the place, got him into their handes, & immediatly therevppon they committed him vnto ſafe keping.

The king is ſummoned by an herauld.

He is taken priſoner.



This done, they conſulte together for the adminiſtration of the realme, whether they ſhould quite depoſe Ferquhard, or reſtore him again to his place. In ẏ end they reſt vpon this agreemẽt to ſende an honourable ambaſſade into Fraunce vnto Fiacre, to require him to returne home into his countrey, and there to receyue the gouernement of the realme.

Fiacre (as the report goth) hearing that there were diuers of the Scottiſh nobilitie coming towardes him vppon this meſſage, in his prayers deſired feruently of almightie God, that it might pleaſe him ſo to worke for him, that hee might continue in his contemplatiue lyfe ſtill, and not be occaſioned to reſort vnto the troubles of the world, whiche all contemplatiue godly mẽ ought to abhorre. And euen as he had wiſhed it came to paſſe. For when thoſe that wer ſent vnto him came vnto the hermitage wherin he had his lodging, they found him (as appeared vnto them) ſo diſfigured with the leprie, that vpon his earneſt refuſal to forſake his ſolitarie lyfe, (which he had profeſſed to leade as an Anker) for any worldely preferments of kingly gouernement, they were content to returne with that anſwer, ſith his infirmitie (as they ſuppoſed) was ſuch, as was not conuenient for him that ſhuld haue any publike gouernement.



This Fiacre had a ſiſter named Syra, which hearing of hir brothers vertuous trade of lyfe,

came vnto him with a company of godly virgines, & being of him confyrmed in hir purpoſed intẽt of chaſtitie, ſhe repayred into Champaigne in Fraunce, where ſhe with hir fellowes remayned in greate holyneſſe of life, leauing in thoſe parties a worthy memorie not forgottẽ amõgſt them there, till this day.

The forelayde Ambaſſadours returning forth of Fraunce, declared in what plight of deformitie they had ſeene Fiacre, and howe earneſtly he had refuſed the offer which they had made vnto him in name of all the ſtates of Scotlande.

The Scottiſh nobilitie hereupon aſſembling togither, choſe forth .iiij. of ẏ auncienteſt peeres amõgſt them to haue the rule and gouernement of the kingdome, till it were otherwiſe prouided. Theſe were named by that age, Wardens, and had full authoritie to order things as ſeemed them good in all poyntes.

In the meane time Ferquhard remayning ſtill in priſon and vexed with ſundry diſeaſes, to ridde himſelfe out of ſuch miſeries, ſlew him ſelfe in the .xiij. yeere of his raigne: and ſo nothing ſpared his owne life in the end, which had bin the occaſiõ of the loſſe of ſo many other mẽs liues in time of ẏ ciuil diſcord, that hee had euer noziſhed.

The deſperate ende of king Ferquhard.

After this wretched end of Ferquhard whiche happened in the yeere of our Lord. 632. the Lords of the land aſſembled togither in Argile, about ẏ chooſing of a new King, where by common cõſent, Donwald the third ſonne of Eugenius, beyng called thither with Byſhop Conan out of the yle of Man, was inueſted King with greate ioy and triumph.

632.

Donwald.

Donewald king of Scotland.



THis Donwald hauyng taken vpon hym the royall adminiſtration, tranſtourming himſelfe into hys fathers maners, reſtored agayne into the former eſtate ſuche things as appertayned vnto Common wealth, and had bin in any wiſe decayed & miſgouerned by the ſlouthfull negligence of his predeceſſor Ferquhard, by meanes whereof he quickly grew into great fauour of his ſubiectes.

In the meane time Cadwallo King of the Brytons, and Penda king of thoſe Engliſhmen which inhabited that part of England aunciently called Mertia, ioyning their powers togither againſt Edwine king of Northumberland, depriued him both of life and kingdome.

King Edwyn is ſlayne.

After this, paſſing through ẏ whole countrey, and entring into the confynes of Pictland, they toke a great part of the ſame by force of armes from Brudeus king of the Pictes, who in vaine had ſued for ayde vnto Donwald king of Scotland, for that his vntroth had bin notifyed more than ynough in times paſt. But Donwald being certifyed of Edwines death, made meanes vnto Cadwallo king of the Brytaynes by hys Ambaſſadors, that Eufred ẏ ſonne of Edelfred might be reſtored vnto his fathers kingdõe, whiche Edwin had wrongfully vſurped. This being graunted, Eufred leauing his brethren ſtill in Scotland, came into Northumberland, wher by authoritie of Cadwallo and Penda he was inueſted king of Beruitia, that is, of the countrey, which is nowe called the Marches. For at the ſame tyme they hadde deuided the kingdome of Northumberland into. ij. kingdomes, appoynting Eufrede (as is ſayde) to reigne ouer the one called Beruitia, and one Oſryke ouer the other called Deira, a man of great wickedneſſe, as by his workes moſt playnly appeared. For certayn yeares after his aduancement to that dignitie, he found meanes to marie one of his daughters vnto the foreſaid Eufred, perſuading the ſame Eufred to conſente with him in reſtoring again the heathenith religion throughoute their whole dominions, and vtterly to renounce the chriſtian faith, which they had lately before receiued by ẏ inſtructiõs of the .ij. biſhops Conane & Pauline. But they enioyed not lõg in felicity after ſo wicked & moſt diueliſh a purpoſe: for the Princes of Albion, vnder the leading of Caduallo king of ẏ Britons, and Penda king of Mertia, with a great armie aſſembled of Saxons, Britons, and Pictes, entring into Northumberland, and encountring in battaile with Oſrike & Eufred, diſcomfited their power, & toke thẽ priſoners, who being put into a cõmon priſon, ſlewe eche other to auoyd ſharper tortures, which by due executiõ they dayly looked for. Then was the kingdom of Northumberland giuen vnto Oſwalde brother to Eufred, both in reſpect of the right whiche he had therto, and alſo of the zeale whiche he bare to the aduancement of Chriſtes religion, ſhewing him ſelf in conſideration therof, an earneſt enimy to his brother Eufred, and al his partakers, in ſo much that in the day of the battaile, he was one of the forwardeſt captaines againſt them: vnto this Oſwalde was ſente a Scottiſhman called Corman, to inſtruct the Northumberland men in the faith, & after him Aydan, as in the engliſhe hiſtorie ye may reade more at large: Finally he was ſlain by Pẽda king of Mertia, as in ẏ ſame hiſtorie appereth. His death chanced in ẏ third yere of Donnewald the Scottiſh king, who ſore lamented the ſame, as of that prince whõ he loued right entierly. Neither lyued king Donnewalde anye long tyme after the deathe of hys deare freende. For that in the fifteenth yeare of

Eufred.

Oſryke: infidell.

12. H

his

of his reigne, being got into a boate to fish in the water called Lochtay for his recreatiō, his chāce was to be drowned, by reson the boate sonk vnder him. Certain days after, his body being found and takē vp, was buried amongst his auncetors in Colmekil, in the yeare of our Lorde. 647.

About the same time ther liued in France. iij. brethren of greate holinesse of life, being sonnes vnto Phitan king of Ireland, the which he begot of his wyfe Galghetes, descended of the lynage of the kings in Scotlande. The names of which. iij. brethren were as followeth, Furseus, Foillanus, and Ultanus. Furseus professing him selfe a monke of S. Benets order, passed ouer into Fraunce, there to set forth & enlarge that profession & being receyued of king Clowys began the fundation of a monasterie there called Latinie, in the which he placed Monkes of that order and began to sowe in those parties the seedes of the Gospel, but not without the darnell of mens traditions, as Jo. Bale sayth in the. xliij. centurie of the Brittish writers. His two brethren Foillan & Ultan folowed him ouer into France, and both by worde and example instructed the Frenchmē to imbrace the faith of Christ, & to renounce ỹ religion of the Gentils: so ỹ it seemeth as yet, such as professed themselues to be monks, & men of religiō (as they were called) had not left of to labor in the Lords vineyard, spending their tyme in reading the scriptures, to instruct & teach others, and to exercise prayer and thankesgiuing: So as no small number by their wholsome doctrine and good example, were conuerted to the christian faith. Foillan at length was martired in a monasterie whiche he hadde founded in France called Fosse.

About the same tyme there was also a contēsion amongst them in Albion for keeping of the Easter day, the Scottish bishops & some of the Brytons barying in their account from all other prelates of the West: but at length through perswasion of the Pope they confessed their error (if it ought so to be taken) and cōsented to celebrate that feast according to the accompt of other nations. These things chaunced in the days of king Donwald.

AFter the decesse of Donwalde, his nephewe Ferquhard the sonne of his brother, the other Ferquhard, succeeded in gouernemente of the Realme, a man of quicke & liuely spirit, but enclined neuertheless rather vnto euill than vnto good, specially after he had attayned the crowne, in somuch as it was commonly spoken of him, that from a liberal and most gentle humane person, he was sodenly changed into an insatiable & most cruell monster. Before he came to ỹ crowne he was liberall beyonde measure. There was no gentleman ỹ wanted money, eyther to redeeme his lands engaged, or to bestow in dower for the mariage of his daughter, but if he had wherwith to helpe him, hee might accompte him selfe sure thereof.

Priests and other deuoute persons, specially such as were poore and in any necessitie, he oftentimes most bountifully releeued to their greate ease and comfort. To be briefe, suche a readinesse was in him to help al mē, that (as was thought) he could better be contented to want himself, thā to see other men haue neede of any thing ỹ was in his possession, so that al men iudged him most worthy of all princely authoritie. But after he was once placed in the kingly seate, he so altered his conditions, that men coulde not but wonder muche therat. Where, before he was knowne to be liberal, wel disposed, righteous, sober, and a reformer of offences, he was now forthwith become couetous, wicked towards god, a tormentor of the iust & righteous people, and insatiable in all vnlauful affections. That which before time he had giuen vnto any of ỹ nobilitie, he now without al shame most vncurteously demaunded to be to him restored, alledging that he did but lend it for the time. And such as went about to delay restitution preceding any excuse, he caused their goodes to be confiscate, and also their bodies to be cōmitted to prison: Now and then he found meanes without cause or matter to put some of them to cruel death. Suche of the Prelates as he vnderstode to be wealthy, he rested not till he had piked one mater or other vnto them, wherby they were sure to forfaite all their treasure vnto his coffers, that neuer myght be filled.

Giftes are required as a loan.

Loe, what a pretence couetousnes hath.

For their goodes sake prelates are troubled.

The bishops of the realme, namely those two reuerend fathers, Colman & Fynnian, perceyuing such wickednes in the prince, blamed him sharply sundry times for the same: & at length bicause they saw howe he regarded not their admonishments, he was by them excōmunicate: whereof he so little passed, that when other wente vnto the church to heare diuine seruice, he woulde get him to the woodes & forrests to hunt the harte, or some other game. Neither were suche wanting as were willing to keepe him companie: so redy is the nature of man at all tymes to follow licētious libertie. He vsed also, contrary to the custome of his countrey, to eate. iij. meales a day, hauing such number of dishes and abundance of delicate fare, as the like had not bene vsed at any tyme before those dayes in that realme: and all to serue his greedy appetit, together with theyrs that followed his companie.

The kyng is excommunicated.

The king is hunting.

He was a glutton.

Of wines and other strong drinkes he would participate abundantly at all times and places without regard of health or honor, being exceedingly giuen vnto moste beastly drunkennesse. He customarily vsed to sit at supper till it were

A drunckard he was also.

very late in the night, hauing his banketting diſhes and cuppes to come in one after an other, till he were ſo miſtempered, that being layde to ſleepe he would ſtreyght vomite out ſuch heauy gorges as he had in ſuche moſt glutteous wiſe receiued. Herevnto he was ſo drouned in the filthie luſt of the fleſhe, that hee defiled his owne doughters: and for that his wife was aboute to diſwade him from ſuch vilanie, he ſlew hyr with his owne handes.



A prophecie.

Thus continuing in his wickednelle certain yeares, at length the nobles began to conſpire againſt him, ſo that they wold haue deuiſed meanes howe to haue rid him out of the waye, if biſhop Colman had not forbidden them that practyſe, prophelying as it wer by diuine inſpiration, that Ferquhard ſore detelling his owne wicked doings, ſhould ſhortely be puniſhed by the handes of Almightie God, according to his deſeruings.

The king is ſicke

And ſure his wordes proued true: for within a moneth after, as the ſame Ferquhard followed in chaſe of a wolfe, the beaſte beeing enraged by purſuite of the houndes, flewe backe vppon the king, and ſnatching at him, did wounde & byte him righte ſore in one of his ſides, immediately wherevpon, whether thorough anguiſhe of his hurt, or by ſome other occaſion, he fel into a moſt filthie diſeaſe: for a venemous humoure with a ſoft conſuming heate, did ſo eate and waſte hys membres and limmes, that a lotheſome ſighte it was to beholde the ſame: for out of his legges, feete and priuie partes, there iſſued filthie corruption and matter, with ſo vile a ſauour, that vneth myght any creature abide it. His belly was ſwollen as though hee had ben infected with the dropſy, & therto was it verie hard withal. Finally lyce bred ſo abundantly in his ſecrete partes that he might in no wiſe be rid or clenſed of them.

He ſent confeſſo

At length when he had ben vexed in this ſort for the ſpace of two yeares togither, or therabouts, he began to call himſelf to remembrãce, and to conſider howe this puniſhment was worthyly fallen vpon him for his ſins, and therupon cauſing biſhop Colman to be fetched vnto him,



being as then about .xx. myles off, he confeſſed vnto him the whole ſumme of his offences, declaring himſelfe right penitent for the ſame.

The king being excõmunicated, is releaſed.

Colman reioycing herat, did not only releaſe him of ỹ ſentence of excõmunication, pronoũced againſt him, but alſo willed him to be of good cõfort, & to put his confidẽce in ỹ mercy of almightie god, who was ready to receiue al ſuch ſinners as turned vnto him with repentãt harts: ſo that being put in hope by theſe & ỹ like wordes of Colman to haue forgiueneſſe of his ſinnes, with bitter teares, he beſought God to haue mercie vpon him: & humbly receiuing the ſacrament, got him into ſimple clothing of heare & ſackclothe. Then cauſing himſelf to be born into ỹ next fieldes, he there yelded vp the ghoſt in ỹ preſence of Colmã who according to the dutie of a good ghoſtly father, was ſtil about him, in exhorting him to cõmit himſelf wholy to the mercy of God, & not to doubt but he ſhoulde be ſure to attayne the ſame.

Ferq yeld the

Thus

Thus Ferquhard ended his life in the. xviij. yeare, after he began his reigne ouer the Scottiſh men, and in the yeare of grace. 664.



In this Ferquhardes daies Biſhop Aydan departed this worlde, & then was Fynnan ſente for, forth of Scotland to take vppon him the gouernmēt of the Chyrche of Lyndefern, where the Biſhops of Northumberland as then had theyr ſee. This Fynnan was well learned, and no leſſe renowmed for his vertuous lyfe than his predeceſſour Aydan. He died anone after the deceaſſe of Ferquhard, & then was Colman remoued vnto that ſee of Lyndefern, who with his vertuous inſtructions and enſamples of holy life conuerted a great multitude of Saxons vnto the true worſhipping of the liuing God. And amongſt other was Penda ſonne to the former Penda, king of Mertia.

There be that wryte how Penda the father alſo was baptiſed by this Colman: and that the ſame Colman trauayled through the moſt parte of all the Engliſhe prouinces ſetting forth the worde of life amōgſt the people, purchaſing him greate fame for his worthie merites. He came to the church of Lyndefern in ẏ daies of Maldwyn that ſucceeded the laſt mencioned Ferquharde.



This Maldwyne was the ſonne of king Donewalde: and after that Ferquharde was dead and buried in Colmekill, he was inueſted king: which function he right ſufficiētly diſcharged, ſtudying to mayntayne peace with his neighbors the Picts, Saxons, and Brytayns: giuing thereby a good enſample to be followed of his ſubiectes. Hereto he had a ſpeciall care for the adminiſtration of the lawes in due forme and order cauſing offendors to be puniſhed, that other harmeleſſe perſons might liue in quiet, ſo that by this meanes all things in the beginning of his reigne had proſperous ſucceſſe.

Afterwardes there fell no ſmall diſcorde betwixt them of Lennox & Argile: for firſt through brauling amongſt the heardes men, theyr maſters made a fray, whereof roſe ſuche deadly enimitie betwixt the parties, by reaſon that the inhabitantes of the Weſterne Iſles ayded them of Argyle, and the people of Galoway the other of Lennox: that if the king had not come into thoſe parties to apeaſe the buſineſſe, and to haue puniſhed the offendors, there had enſued muche manſlaughter, to the greate daunger of the vtter ruyne of thoſe countreys.

The weſterne Iſles take parte with Argyle.

Galoway with Lennox.

The king at his arriuall amongſt them, minded not to purſue the people that followed theyr Captaines, but rather the Captaines and Authours of this tumulte themſelues. Whereof they hauing knowledge, made an attonement togither, being enforced thereto of neceſſitie, ſo to auoyde the prepared puniſhment deuiſed by the king againſt them. And forthwith they fled ouer into the Iſles, but the inhabitants doubting the kings diſpleaſure, would not conſent to ſuccour them, but contrarywiſe toke them and deliuered them to the kings officers, whereupon they were ſafely conueyed to the places where they were borne, and there ſuffered their deſerued execution. Thus that commotion vnaduiſedly begonne, was ſpeedily appeaſed, and the name of Maldwyn by reaſon hereof ſo feared amongſt his ſubiectes, that during his reigne no ſuche trouble chaunced in any parte of all his dominions.

Maldwyne wēt about for to puniſhe the author of this commotion.

The Captaines became frends togither, and fled into the Iſles.

The Ilandmen apprehend the Captaines of the rebelles.

After this he went ouer into Iona or Colmekill, where perceyuing the Abbey Church, wherein his auncеſtors had theyr ſepultures to be in decay, he cauſed it to be pulled quite downe, and workemen forth with ſet in hande to buylde it vp agayne, at his owne proper coſtes and charges. Suche ſpeede alſo was vſed about this worke, that before he departed out of this life, the ſame was finiſhed and dedicated vnto our Sauiour Chriſt, and Saint Colme.

He buyldeth the churche of the abbay of Colmekill,

Aboute the ſame time there reigned through out the moſt part of the world a ſore & grieuous peſtilence conſuming a greater number of men, (before it ceaſſed) then were left aliue: for it continued the whole ſpace of three yeares togither. At length through cōmon prayer, faſtings, giuing of almes, and other vertuous workes, the wrath of almightie God was pacified, ſo that ſuche great mortalitie by his mercyfull appointment did ſtay and giue ouer.

A great peſtilence & death vpon earth.

The Scottiſh men were free from that infection aſwel at that time, as alſo for many yeares after. Neither were they in maner troubled with any ſharpe feuers, or agues, till time that omitting the auncient and wholeſome ſparenеſſe of diet, which theyr fathers in times paſt had vſed, they fell vnto riotous banqueting and exceſſiue feeding, whereby they became ſubiect vnto all kindes of diſeaſes, through malicious humors growing thereupon.

Scotland was free of the peſtilence and plague.

Riotouſneſſe the mother of ſickneſſes.

Colman biſhop of Lyndefer ſeing wonder-

ful numbers of Engliſhmen, periſh dayly of that contagious ſickneſſe, by licence of the king, to auoyde the preſent daunger of death, which by tarying there he ſaw no meanes how to eſcape, he returned into Scotland with his diſciples, and after getting him ouer into one of the Weſterne Iſles, he erected a monaſterie there, wherin he remayned during the reſidue of his life.

Colman erected a monaſterie.

After the departure of Colman forth of Northumberland, the people of that countrey ioyning with the Pictes, made ſundry roades into the Scottiſh bordures: whiche iniurie when Maldwyne reuenged with more diſpleaſure done to them of Northumberland, than the Scottiſhme had receiued, it cauſed the Picts & Northumbers to prepare themſelues with all ſpeede to haue made ſharpe warres againſt the Scottes: but in the meane time Maldwyne died, being ſtrāgled in his bedde one night by his owne wife, vpon ſuſpition of gelowſie, for his vnlawful company keping with an other woman. The next day after ſhe was apprehended with thoſe that were priuy to the deede, and brent openly vpon an hill, according as ſhe had moſt iuſtly deſerued.

Maldwyn Scottiſh ſtrangled his bed.



Maldwyne was thus murthered in the yeare after the birthe of our Sauiour. 684. and in the xx. yeare of his owne reigne.

Eugenius.

Eugenius the fifth.

After him ſucceeded Eugenius the fifth of that name, Nephew to Maldwine, as ſonne to his brother Dongard. About the ſame time Eugenius king of Scots ſēt with al diligence his ambaſſadours vnto Egfred king of Northumberland, to moue him vnto peace. Egfred hauing heard the ambaſſadours which were thus ſente, fayned as though hee had bene willing to haue had peace, where he minded nothing more than to haue warres with the Scottes, ſo ſone as his prouiſion ſhoulde be once readie, and herevpon graunted to them a truce for the ſpace of. xj. moneths, in which meane time he might make his preparation.

Egfred king of Northumberland.

A truce graūted.

Eugenius hauing ſome ſecrete knowledge of Egfredes purpoſe, prouided likewiſe for the warres on his parte: but for that hee would not ſeeme to gyue the occaſion, hee ſtraytely commaunded that none of his ſubiectes ſhould be ſo hardie as to attempt any thing ſounding to the breache of the truce.

Eugenius his cōmandemēt.

In the tenth moneth Egfred hauing all his preparation readie, ſente a companie of his men of warre into the Scottiſhe bordures to fetche ſome bootie, whereby the peace might be broken. Thoſe that were thus ſent fetched not only from thence a great number of cattell, but alſo ſlewe diuers of the borderers that wēt about to reſcue theyr beaſtes and cattell.

The truce broken.

Immediatly herevpon were there ſente ambaſſadours from Eugenius to demaund reſtitution: but they not without muche ado, after certaine dayes attendaunce, got audience, and boldly declaring vnto Egfred theyr meſſage, receyued for anſweare a playne publication of warre. For he alledging how the Scottes, ſithence the truce was graunted, had ſundrie tymes fetched booties out of the confines of his dominions, and therefore had well deſerued farre more domage than as yet they had receyued, wherevppon hee minded not to continue frendſhippe with them that knewe not how to keepe theyr hands from robbing and ſtealyng from theyr neighbours: So that he commaunded them to declare vnto theyr king, that within eight dayes after, hee

Ambaſſadours ſent by Eugenius vnto Egfred for reſtitution.

ſhould

ſhould looke for open warre at the handes of him and other his alies.

Eugenius receyuing this anſwere from Egfred, beſought of God, ſith the other onely ſought to violate the peace, that the vengeance mighte light vpon his owne head, that had thus giuen the occaſion.

Herewith gathering his power togither, hee repayred into Galloway, into the whiche he had knowledge that his enimies would firſte enter. But before hee could get thyther, a great armie of Engliſhe men, were come already into that countrey, and had allieged a ſtrong caſtell called Downſke, the chiefeſt fortreſſe in thoſe dayes of all Galloway. And ere Egfred might winne the ſame, hee was conſtrayned to rayſe his ſiege, and to marche forth to encounter with Eugenius who haſted faſt towards him. They mette neare to the bankes of the water of Lewyſe, as then beyng very deepe, by reaſon it was rayſed with abundaunce of rayne whiche lately before had fallen, where they fought a right ſore and bloudie battayle: for the Scottes had vowed neuer to gyue grounde to the enimies, ſo long as any life remayned in theyr breſtes.

At the firſte there was no greate aduauntage perceyued on eyther ſide, the kings, according to the dueties of valiant Captaines, exhorting their people to ſticke to it manfully: but in the meane time certaine bandes of Egfredes parte getting themſelues to the ſide of an hill, gaue the loking on without comming downe at all to ayde theyr frendes: whiche maner the reſidue of his people perceyuing, doubted of ſome treaſon deuiſed againſt them, and therevpon began to ſhrinke backe.

Egfred aduiſed thereof, came amongſt the foremoſt rankes of his batayle, deſiring the Engliſhmen in no wiſe to giue place to theyr enimies: and for that dayes ſeruice hee promiſed them highe rewardes, and all the pleaſure that afterwarde hee might be any wayes forth able to ſhew them.

But whileſt he was thus buſilie occupied in comforting & exhorting his men to fight ſtoutly, he himſelf chaunced to be wounded in the face with an arrow, ſo ſore, that immediatly he fell downe and died in the place.

The Engliſh mē diſcouraged with this miſchance, were quickly therupō put to flight & chaſed, a great nūber of thē toke ẏ riuer ſo to eſcape the enimies hands, of whom the more part being preſſed downe by weight of theyr armure, were drowned in the raging waues of the floude, the reſidue by caſting from them theyr armures and clothes, eſcaped by ſwimming ouer to the other ſide, but thoſe that made theyr courſe by lande, being cumbred in myres and moſſes, alſo amongſt ſtraytes, rockes, mountains and cliefes, were ouertaken by the Scottes and ſlayne. Few of that number eſcaped away in ſafetie, ſo that there died in the fight and chaſe at the poynt of twentie thouſand Saxons with theyr king the forſayd Egfred: of the Scottes were ſlaine, beſide thoſe that were hurt and woūded, not many aboue. vj. M. By this ouerthrowe the force of thoſe Saxons or Engliſh men of Northumberland was not onely ſore diminiſhed, but alſo of ſuch other Saxons, the which in no ſmall numbers were come vnto Egfred to ayde him againſt the Scottes in that iourney.

Twētie thouſande Saxons ſlaine.

Brudeus the Pictiſhe king hauing knowledge of this ſlaughter, whiche had chaunced betwixt the Engliſh men and Scottes, was nothing ſorie, as one that was frende to neither parte, and now perceyuing that the Northumberland men were ſo weakened, that they were not able to reſiſt an inuaſion, he entred with his whole power, which he had rayſed, into Northumberland, ſore afflicting the inhabitants, in ſo much that he had vndoubtedly either ſubdued that countrey wholly vnto his dominion, eyther els vtterly deſtroyed it, had not the deuout prayers of Saint Cutbert (who as then held the ſee of Lyndefar) preſerued the people from that preſent deſolation. For at length after the Pictes had raged a while through the countrey, they chaunced to fal at variance amongſt themſelues for parting of the ſpoyle, and buckling togither by the eares, there was an huge ſlaughter made amongſt them. And this was the cauſe, that contenting themſelues with thoſe countreys about Barwike, aunciently called Deera, out of the whiche they expelled the Saxons, they abſteyned from all the reſidue, as not willing to deale withall. Neither were the Saxōs of Northūberland being thus ſcourged, able to recouer theyr former forces again of many yeares after.

Brudeus king of the Pictes.

Inuaſion into Northumberland.

Cutberte biſhop.

A ſlaughter amongſt the Picts.

Here is to be noted that where as ẏ Scottiſh writers aſcribe the victorie of that battel, wherin Egfred was ſlaine, vnto their king Eugenius, Beda which then liued, declareth that the Picts were thoſe that fought with him and ſlew him. Finally, Eugenius departed this life in the. iiij. yere of his reigne, and after the incarnation. 688.

Egfred ſlaine by Picts and not by Scots.

Eugenius the fifth died. 688.

After Eugenius the. v. ſucceeded Eugenius the. vj. who was the ſonne of Ferquhard, and by perſwaſion of Biſhop Adannan (with whom he was brought vp) and of S. Cutbert, hee entred into league with the Northumberland mē: but he would at no hande ioyne in amitie with the Pictes, notwithſtanding hee was contented to take truce with them. But when hee ſawe the ſame oftentimes by them violated and broken, to the great perill, domage & hinderāce of his ſubiectes, he cauſed the warre to be proclaymed,

Eugenius the ſixt, ſucceedeth Eugenius the fifth.

A league betweene the Scots & Northumberland men.

Truce taken with the Picts

and ſent them his defiaunce by an Herald. Howbeit through the earneſt prayers (as is ſuppoſed) of the two biſhops Cutbert and Adannan (who had laboured earneſtly to haue brought thoſe people to a quietneſſe) this warre continued without any notable encoũter, ſaue only by light incurſions (wherein no great bloudſhed chaunced) euen vnto the death of Eugenius, whiche fell in the yeare of our Lord. 697. and in the .x. yeare of his owne reigne.

Warre without any notable encoũter.

The death of Eugenius the ſixte.

697.

He was buried togither with the other Eugenius, that laſtly reygned afore him, in the Ile of Colmekill, amongſt theyr predeceſſours.

Wonderfull viſions ſeene.

Many wonderfull viſions were ſeene that yeare in Albion, as the Scottiſhe chronicles make mention. In the riuer of Humber there appeared in the ſight of a great multitude of mẽ, a number of ſhippes vnder ſayle, as though they had bene furniſhed forth for the warres.

In the Churche at Camelon there was heard a noyſe, as it had bene the clattering of armure.

Milke was turned into bloud in diuers places in Pictland, and cheeſe conuerted into a bloudie maſſe or cake. Corne, as it was gathered in the harneſt time appeared bloudie. In the furthermoſt partes of Scotland, it rayned bloud.

These ſightes being ſeene of ſome & declared to other, cauſed a wonderfull feare in the peoples harts, imagining ſome great alteration to enſue.

Ambirkeleth.



Ambirkeleth ſucceedeth Eugenius the ſixte.

AMbirkeleth the Nephew, or as ſome ſay, the ſon of Eugenius ỳ fifth, ſucceeded Eugenius ỳ firſt in the gouernment of the realme: who after his attaynyng to the crowne, ſhortly chaunged therwith his maners & good diſpoſitiõ: for where before he ſhewed himſelfe to be an earneſt defendor of the



poore & ſimple, that al men iudged that he would haue proued a patrone of all vertue, he cõtrary to ỳ expectatiõ, became ſodẽly a paterne of al vices & couetouſneſſe, deliting in nothing but in following his ſenſuall luſtes, as in taking exceſſe of meates and drinkes, and wallowing in fleſhly concupiſcence of lecherous luſte. To bee briefe, when hee toke nothing in hande worthie of his eſtate and degree, it was thought that of neceſſitie the forme of the publike gouernement muſte needes through his negligent ſlouthfulneſſe fall into decay and ruine: whereupon Garnard king of the Pictes ſuppoſing hee had a conuenient time to reuenge all former iniuries receyued at the Scottiſhe menues handes, gathered a great hoſte of menne, and with the ſame entring into the Scottiſh confines, made right pitiful ſlaughter of the inhabitants. At length Ambirkeleth (being ſore blamed of his Nobles for his negligence in ſuffering his ſubiectes thus to be deſtroyed) gathered an armie togither, and with no ſmall feare to ſhewe his head amongſt his people, (as thoſe Princes whiche through theyr owne defaulte haue theyr people in miſtruſt, do euer ſtand in doubt of their owne ſafeties, and namely when any preſent daunger beginneth to appeare) forth yet he goeth without any great good order (God wote) for what might be looked for at his handes, whiche was ſo ouerwhelmed with all kind of exceſſiue gluttonie, immoderate ſurfeting, inſatiable lecherie, and deliting altogither in ſlouthfull eaſe, and ſluggiſhe idleneſſe, the roote from whence al ſuche filthie vices take their beginnings, are nouriſhed and mainteyned? To conclude, he liued as one that toke no maner of regard to that whiche chiefly appertayned to his calling: whereby nowe when he ſhoulde come into the fielde, he was neither able through lacke of practiſe, to take paynes to ſee thinges done as was behouefull of himſelfe, neyther yet to giue order to others, how the ſame ought to be done. Neuertheles marching forward with his army, he came to the water of Tay, & neare to the bãks therof, he pight downe his tentes, where after he had ſupped, he was occaſioned to go forth of his lodging to do the neceſſities of nature, and being only accompanied with two of his ſeruants that were groomes of his chãber, he was ſodenly ſhot thorow the head with an arrow, but frõ whence it came or who ſhotte it, there was neuer any knowen that could tel. Howbeit the king immediatly died of the hurt, after he had reygned not fully .ij. yeares. He was buried in Colmekill amongſt his noble auncеſtours.

Garnard of the Pictes inuadeth land.

Ambirkeleth gathered armie againſt the Pictes.

Idelneſſe breedeth & nouriſhe ſenſuall luſtes.

The death of Ambirkeleth.

Eugenius

THe Lordes & peeres of the land not greatly lamenting the death of ſuche a monſtrous perſon becauſe the army for want of a gouernour ſhould not fall into any daũger, they elected

Eugenius

Eugenius the ſeuẽth, being the brother of the late forelayde Ambirkeleth, to ſucceede as King in the gouernment of the Realme, a Prince of right comely port and perſonage, neyther deſtitute of honourable qualityes and good diſpoſition of mynde.

Being once proclaymed king, he cauſed generall muſters to be take of the whole armie, and perceyuing by ſuruey thereof, that he was not able to match with his enimyes, he founde meanes to conclude a peace with the Pictiſhe king, pledges being deliuered on eyther ſide, for redreſſe to be had of al wrongs and iniuries that had bene committed betwixt them.

The Pictes returning home, and the Scottiſhe armie diſſolued, Eugenius with the moſte parte of the Nobilitie went into Argyle, where hee receyued hys inueſture of the Kingdome, ſitting vppon the ſtone of Marble, accoyding to the maner. The king is crowned.



The bond of peace begonne betwixt the kings was the more ſtrogly confyrmed by meanes of aliaunce, Spontana the daughter of King Garnard being coupled in mariage with Eugenius: ſhe in the yeere following being great with child, was murthered one night wythin the kings bed



chaber in ſtead of the king himſelfe, by two brethē of the coūtrey of Athole, who moued to diſpleaſure for their fathers death, had conſpired to murther ẏ king, & had ſlaine him in deede, had he not through his good hap layne forth of his owne chaber the ſame night. Eugenius being ſuſpected of ẏ murther, & euil ſpoken off for ẏ ſame amōgſt his ſubiects, was at length wᵗ great daūger of life & honour, enforced to make anſwere by way of arrainmēt for clearing of himſelf before ẏ nobles of his Realme, appoynted as competent Iudges in that cace: So greatly beloued was Spontana amongſt all the degrees of the Scottiſh nation. But in the ende being found giltleſſe of the crime (for at the time that iudgement ſhould haue paſſed, the offenders were apprehended and brought in) he was acquit, to the great reioyſing of all honeſt men. Thoſe that had done the deede, were condemned and hanged vp naked on gybbets by the heeles, togither with certaine cruell maſtiue dogs the whiche might ſo deuour them. The king is ſuſpected of the murther. The murtherers are hanged.



But Eugenius being thus cleared of all former suspition, minded to haue bene reuenged on those ẏ had falsly accused him. Howbeit through the godly admonishments of that reuerend father Adannan, he qualified his displeasure.

An example of a good prince.

After this, giuing his minde to the aduauncement of Religion and politike gouernment of his subiectes, he ordeyned that the Hystories of hys auncestours shoulde be written in bookes and volumes, that posteritie might haue to reade the same for ensample sake. These monumentes he also appoynted to bee kept and reserued in the Abbay of Iona, nowe called Colmekill, for a perpetuall memorie: and suche as shoulde write the same, to remaine and haue liuings there in the Abbey.

The king causeth his auncestours hystories to be written.



Moreouer suche spirituall promotions as he perceyued to bee too meane and slender for the maintenance of the minister that should serue the cure, he caused to be augmented in suche wise as was thought sufficient. Hee concluded a league with the Saxons and Pictes, and obserued the same during his lyfe, whiche hee ended at Abernethy, when he had raigned about. xbij. yeares, whereof the last fell in the yeare after the incarnation of our Sauiour. 717. indictione. 15.

Eugenius the seuenth departeth out of this life.

716. H.B.

Hys death was greatly lamented, both of his Lordes and Commons, as they that intierly loued him for his noble and moste princely qualities.

Mordacke.



Mordack succeedeth Eugenius the.vii.

A Little before his death, he betoke the possession of his kingdom vnto Mordacke that succeeded him.

This Mordack was the nephew of Eugenius the bij. by his brother Ambirkelteh: and euen as he was knowne to be of a gentle, meke, and liberal nature before his aduauncement to the crowne, so hee shewed himselfe to be the verie same man during the whole course of all his naturall lyfe, after hee had atteyned to the same.

Aboue all things he wished a generall peace to continue amongest all the Princes of Albion, and thereupon for his part establishing a peace with the Pictes, Brytaynes, and all the English Kings, hee firmely kept euerie article therein conteyned.

A louer of Peace.

In those dayes (as Saint Bede doth testifie) foure seuerall people liued in peace and quietnesse within the boundes of Albion, though differing in maners, language, lawes, and ordinances: Saxons whom he called English men, Britaynes, Scottes, and Pictes. His wordes are these: The Nation of the Pictes at this tyme is in league with the Englishe men, and gladly is partaker of the vniuersall peace and veritie with the Catholike Churche. Those Scottes which inhabite Brytayne, contenting themselues with their owne boundes, goe aboute to practise no deceytefull traynes, nor fraudulent deuices agaynste the Englishe men. The Brytaynes, though for the moste parte through a familyar hatred doe impugne the Englishe Nation, and the state of the whole Catholyke Church, obseruing not ryghtly the feast of Easter, besydes other naughtie vsages, yet both the diuine power and humane force vtterly relysting them, they are not able in neyther behalfe to attayne to theyr purposed intentions. As they which though partlye free, yet in some behalfe are thrall and mancipate to the subiection of the English men: whiche Englishe men nowe in acceptable peace and quietnesse of tyme, many amongst them of Northumberlande: as well of the Nobilitie as other, laying away armour and weapon, apply themselues to the reading of holy Scripture, more desirous to bee in houses of vertuous conuersation, than to exercise feates of warre. What will come thereof, the age that followeth shall perceyue and beholde.

Peace throughout al the of Albion.

The testimonie of Bed

With these wordes doth Bede ende his hystorie, continued tyll the yeare 734. In the whiche yeare Mordacke the Scottishe king ended his lyfe.

734. Mordack ded his h same yer S. Bede n an ende hystorie.

He repayred sundrie Churches and religious houses, whiche being defaced with violence of the enimies inuasions in tyme of warre, had not beene reedified by hys auncestors. But amongst other, hee bestowed muche coste vppon the Churche where the bodie of Saint Ninian lyeth in the Towne aunciently called Candida Casa, and now Whitterne or Quitterne. Saint Bede calleth that place Pictiminia, and the Bishoppe whiche at the same tyme helde the

Candida nowe ca Whitter

Church

Church there, hee nameth Acta, auouching how he was the firſt that was Biſhop thereof after the dayes of Saint Ninian. Whiche if it bee true, it muſte needes bee that afterwardes ſome vacation happened in that Sea for a time, ſith it is notified in the Scottiſh hiſtories that the weſtesterne Iles, Galloway and other regions neare adioyning, were ſubiect vnto the Biſhop of Sodor, (whoſe Sea is in the Ile of Man) vnto the dayes of Malcolme the thirde, who reſtored rather than ordeyned the Biſhops Sea in Candida Caſa againe, after ſuche vacation as before is ſpecified.



But now to return touching the gouernmẽt of the Scottiſhe kingdome, I find that after the deceaſſe of Mordack laſt remembred, his nephewe named Ethſine, the ſonne of the ſeuenth Eugenius, ſucceeded in the eſtate: a man naturally inclined vnto peace and maintenance of iuſtice.

The league which his predeceſſours Eugenius and Mordacke had kept with their neighbours the Brytaynes, Engliſhmen and Pictes, he duely lykewiſe obſerued.

His chiefe ſtudie was to purge his realme of all ſuch as were knowne to be open baretters and offenders in any wiſe, againſt the peace and cõmon quiet of his ſubiects: ſo that cauſing ſundrie notable enſamples of iuſtice to bee executed vpon ſuch euill doers, he was had in ſuch reuerende dreade amongſt his ſubiects, that none of them durſt once whiſper any euill of him. Neyther had they verily any cauſe ſo to doe, whileſt he looked to the adminiſtration himſelfe.

But after he was once fallen into age, he appoynted foure Peeres of his realme to haue the chiefe gouernaunce vnder him: as Dowalde the Treaſurer of Argyle, Collane of Athole, & Mordacke of Galloway his Lieutenants, and Conrath the Thane of Murrey lande. Theſe hauing the procuration of all things touching the gouernment of the Realme, vſed not themſelues ſo vprightly in many poynts as they ought to haue done: but winked nowe and then at faultes and treſpaſſes committed by their kinſfolkes and alyes, permitting the nobilitie to liue accordyng to their olde accuſtomed maner of licencious libertie, to the ſmall eaſe or commoditie of the other inferiour eſtates.

Donalde of the Weſterne Iles, a man of goodly perſonage, but of diſpoſition inclyned to all naughtineſſe, mainteyned a great number of Robbers and ſpoylers of the countrey, liuing only vpon rauine. For lok what they wanted, they woulde not fayle to catche it, if it were in anye place abrode where they might lay handes on it: ſo that al the huſbandmen and commons of Galloway, in which Countrey they moſt haunted, were brought into wonderfull thraldome and miſerie. Neyther did Mordacke the kings Lieutenant there, goe about to chaſtice ſuch inſolent miſdemeaners, eyther for that hee was of Donaldes alyance, eyther elſe priuie to his doings, and partaker of the ſpoyle. The people hereby vexed with continuall iniuries, brought manye pitifull complayntes afore Mordacke, who nothing regarded their lamentable ſuites and ſupplications, but the more they complayned, the worſe were they handled. Neyther was there any hope of redreſſe or amendment, till Eugenius the viij. was admitted to the kingly adminiſtration after the death of king Ethſine, who in the latter ende of his dayes continually beeing ſicke and diſeaſed, could not attende to take order for the publike gouernment, by reaſon whereof ſuch wilfull miſorders enſued. Hee dyed in the yeare of our Lorde. 764. after he had continued his raigne ouer the Scottiſhmen the ſpace of .xxx. yeares, his bodie being buried in Colmekill with all funerall obſequies.

Donalde of the Iles mainteyneth robbers.

The oppreſſion of the commons of Galloway.

Mordacke the kings Lieutenant beareth with offenders.

The deceaſe of Ethſine. 762. H.B.



Eugenius.

His ſucceſſour, the foreſayde Eugenius the viij. that was the ſonne of King Mordack, was inueſted King in Argyle with ſuch pomp and ceremonies as in that caſe apperteyned, and immediately therevpõ he haſted forth to catch Donalde of the Iles, not reſting till at length hee had caught him, though that came not to paſſe without ſome loſſe of his people.

Eugenius the viii. inueſted king of Scots.

Donald of the Iles apprehended.

After he had taken both him and his chiefeſt complices, he put them openly to death: neither ſo ſatisfied, he cauſed Mordacke to be arreyned, who confeſſing himſelfe partly guiltie of ſuche things as were layde to his charge for mainteyning of the forelayd Donalde, he likewiſe ſuffered death, and his goodes beeing valued and deuided into partes, were beſtowed amongſt the commons of Galloway, in recompence of ſuche loſſes, as through his contriued falſhood they had ſuſteyned.

Donald and his complices put to death.

Mordack lieutenant of Galloway is put to death.

The cõmons recompenced.

Alſo he put Dowalde, Collan, and Conrath vnto their fines, for that they did ſuffer Donalde

ſo to

ſo to rob and ſpoyle without chaſtiſement.

A righteous king.

Thrꝛough which cauſing of iuſtice thus to be executed, in reliefe of his commons, he wan him wonderfull loue, not onely in Galloway, but alſo thꝛoughout all his Realme: and therewith were

Offenders put in feare.

offenders put in ſuch feare, that they durſt in no place commit any ſuch like miſdoꝛders againſt the ſimple and meaner people. And foꝛ the moꝛe increaſe of his ſubiectes wealth, he alſo continued the leagne with the Pictes, Brytaynes, and Engliſhe men, accoꝛdingly as his late predeceſſour had done.

But yet as the nature of man thꝛough licencious libertie is euer readie to offende in one poynt oꝛ other, ſo came it to paſſe by thys woꝛthie Pꝛince Eugenius, who in ſuch wiſe as is before expꝛeſſed, raigning in peace & quietneſſe amongſt his louing ſubiects, yet fell into moſt vile luſt to accompliſh his vnſaciable fleſhly concupiſcence, ſeeking al meanes he could deuiſe to defloure yõg virgins and honeſt matrones, and that as well thoſe of the nobilitie as other. And ſuch companions as could beſt further his purpoſes in that behalfe, and deuiſe new meanes and wayes of fleſhly company, thoſe he ſet by, and greatly made of, deliting altogither to haue them in his company. Thus being dꝛowned in leacherous luſt, and filthie cõcupiſcence, he fell daply into moꝛe grieuous

Eugenius is peruerted with ſenſual luſt & concupiſcence.

A filthie delite

Couetouſneſſe linked with crueltie.

byces, as into exceſſiue couetouſneſſe and beaſtly crueltie, conſenting to make away his wealthie ſubiects, to the end he might enioy their goodes.

This wickedneſſe remained not long vnpuniſhed, foꝛ the Lꝛodes and peeres of his realme, peꝛceyuing how he pꝛoceeded daply in his abhominable and tyꝛanlike doings, not once giuing eare to the wholeſome aduertiſements eyther of God oꝛ man, they ſlue him one day amongſt them as he ſate in iudgement aboute to haue condemned a great riche man, though not guiltie in the crime whereof he was accuſed.

Eugenius i murthered



They cauſed alſo immediately a great cõpany of thoſe mates to be apꝛehended, which had bene of his counſell, & pꝛouokers vnto all his wicked & vile doings. Which to the great contentation of the people were hanged as they had wel deſerued.



The ende of Eugenius the viii.

And ſuch was the ende of Eugenius after he had gouerned the kingdome about thꝛee yeares, his bodie was buried in Colmekill amongeſt his auncеſtors, thoughe the people thought it little woꝛthie of that honoꝛ, which had miſuſed it ſelfe ſo inoꝛdinately in this pꝛeſent life.

Ferguſe 767.

After him came the adminiſtration of the Realme vnto Ferguſe the thirde, the ſonne of king Ethſine, in the yeare 767. who being eſtabliſhed in the ſame, beganne freely to pꝛactiſe all kindes of vices, which moſt abundantly raigned in him, howbeit till that day wonderfully diſſembled and kept couert.

Ferguſe th thirde cre king.

He ſeemed to ſtriue howe to paſſe his pꝛedeceſſoure in all poyntes of wickednеſſe. Hee toke no regarde at all to the gouernment of his Realme, but gaue himſelfe to exceſſiue gluttonie in deuouring of delicate meates and dꝛinks, and therwith

A wicked Prince.

with kept ſuche a number of vile ſtrumpettes in houſe with him, whom hee vſed as concubines, that his wife was no better eſteemed than as an handmayde, or rather a kitchin mayde. Who being a woman of great modeſtie: and ſober adviſedneſſe, coulde not yet but take ſore griefe and indignation hereat: and therefore ſundrie tymes aſſayed by waye of wholeſome perſwaſions to turne his minde from ſuch ſinfull vſages and filthie trade of liuing. Finally when ſhe ſaw there was no hope to conuert his depraued minde, nor by any meanes to reſourme him, but that the more ſhee laboured to doe good vppon him, the worſe he was, through verie diſpleaſure of ſuche iniuries as ſhee daylye ſuſteyned at the handes of his concubines, ſhee founde meanes to ſtrangle him ſecretely one night as hee lay in his bed, chooſing rather to be without a huſband, than to haue one that ſhoulde deceyue hir of the right and dutie of mariage, and that in ſuch ſort, as ſhe muſt be faine to ſuffer the reproch daply afore hir face, being miſvſed of them whom ſhe kept as paramours in moſt diſpiteful maner.

The day after ſhe wrought this feate: the bodie being founde deade, was apparayled in funerall wiſe, & brought forth into the place of iudgement, where inquiſition was ſtraightly made what they were that had done ſo heynous a deed. For though there were but few that lamented his death, yet ſome of his friends were verie earneſt to haue the matter tryed forth, that ſuch as had cõmitted the murther, might ſuffer due puniſhment.

Many were apprehended and had to the rack, but yet could none be founde that would confeſſe it. The Queene was voyde of all ſuſpition, as ſhe that had bene taken for a woman at all times of great temperancie. But yet when ſhee hearde that a number of innocent perſons were tormented without deſart, ſore lamenting (as ſhoulde appeare) theyr miſerable caſe, ſhe came haſtily into the Iudgement hall, and getting hir aloft vpõ the bench, there in the preſence of al the company, ſhe had theſe or the like wordes vnto the whole aſſembly. I knowe not good people, I knowe not what God moueth me, or what diuine reuengement vexeth me with ſundry thoughts and cogitations, that of all this daye and morning preceeding, I haue had neither reſt in bodie nor minde. And verely when I hearde that certaine guiltleſſe perſons were cruelly tormented here in your preſence, had not wrath giuen place, partly vnto modeſtie, whereof I muſt confeſſe there is left but a ſmall portiõ in me, I had forthwith rid my ſelf out of the way. The kings death was mine act. Conſcience conſtrayneth me (ſetting apart mine owne ſafegarde) to confeſſe the truth, leaſt the guiltleſſe ſhoulde wrongfully periſhe: Therefore vnderſtande yee for truth, that none of them whome ye haue examined are priuie to the offence. I verily am ſhe, that with theſe wicked handes haue ſtrangled this night laſt paſt Fergus, about whoſe death I ſee you in trouble, moued ſo to do with two as ſharpe pricks as may reſt in a woman, to wit, Impacient forbearing of carnall luſt, and yrefull wrath. Fergus by his continuall vſing of concubines, kept from me the due debt that the huſbande oweth to the wife: whereupon when there was no hope to reconcile him with often aduertiſementes, vehement force of anger ryſing in my heart, droue mee to doe ſo wicked a deed. I thought lieffer therefore to diſpatch the Adulterer, then (being deſtitute of my huſbande, and defrauded of all Queenely honor) to liue ſtill ſubiect vnto the perpetuall iniuries of ſuch lewde women as hee kept and vſed in my ſteade. Loſe ye therefore thoſe that be accuſed of the kings death, and as for me ye ſhall not neede to proceede againſt me as guiltie of the crime by order of law, for I that was ſo bolde to commit ſo heynous an act, will accordingly do execution vpon my ſelfe euen here incontinently in preſence of you all: what honour is due to the deade, loke you to that.

She giueth hir owne ſentence

Hauing thus made an ende of hir tale, ſhee plucked forth a knife which ſhe had hid vnder hir gowne, and ſtroke hirſelfe to the heart with the ſame falling deade vpon it downe to the grounde.

The Queene taketh execution of hir ſelfe.



All ſuch as were preſent, wondered greatly at hir ſtoute and hardie ſtomacke, ſpeaking diuerſly thereof, as ſome in prayſe, and ſome in diſprayſe of theſe hir monſtrous doings.

The bodie of Fergus was caryed forth to the Ile of Colmekill, and there buryed in the thirde yeare after his entring into the gouernment, and in the yeare of our Lorde 769. The Quenes corps was not buried in ſacred ground, for that ſhe liue hirſelfe. 767. H.B.

Soluathius

Soluathius.



Soluathius admitted king of Scotland.

SOluathius ẏ ſonne of Eugenius ẏ viij. was admitted to ẏ rule of the Scottyſhe eſtate next after the death of Fergus: a prince ſurely borne to the accompliſhement of high enterpriſes, if throughe hap of froward deſtinie he had not bin hindred. For in the third yere of his raign he began to bee vexed extremely with the goute, which ingendred by cold in lying abrode in hunting, and ſo continuing with him during his life, ſtayed him from many worthy exerciſes, as well in peace at home, as abrode in time of warres.

Soluathius an impotent mã.

Thus he being in maner impotent and lame of his lymmes, there were ſome commotions & miſorders the more boldly attempted: & firſt amongſt thẽ of ẏ out Iles. For Bane Makedonald gouernor by the kings appointment, of the Iſlande called Tyre, got all the caſtels and fortreſſes of the Iles into his owne handes, and ſtrengthned with a route of vnruly and miſchieuous youthful perſons, toke poſſeſſion of al the ſaid Iles, cauſing himſelfe to be proclaimed king of the ſame.

A rebellion.

Makedonalde proclaymed king of the Iles.

And yet not contented herewith, he gathered a number of ſhippes togither, wherein tranſporting himſelfe with a great armie ouer into Lorne and Cantyre, made great waſt & ſpoyle of thoſe countreys, til Duthquhal gouernor of Athole, and Culane of Argyle, beeing ſent with a choſen power from the king to defend the countrey, chaunced to encounter with him, and putting him with hys people vnto flight, chaſed them vnto ſuch a ſtrait, where there was no way to get forth, ſaue onely that by which they entered.

He inuadeth Lorn and Cantyre.

A power from the king is ſent againſt him.

This place is in Lorn, with a ſtrayght paſſage to enter into it: but whẽ ye are within it, the ſame is verie large and brode, enuironed aboute with craggie mountaynes, chayned togither with a continuall ridge, a deepe riuer compaſſing them in beneath in the bottom, with ſuch ſteepe and ſideling bankes, that there is no way to paſſe forth of the ſame, but by that throughe which ye muſt enter into it. The ſaid Bane with his folkes being entred at vnwares into ſuch a ſtraight, & perceyuing there was no way to iſſue forth, but by the ſame where he entred, he returned backe thither, & finding the paſſage cloſed frõ him by his enimies, he was in a wonderfull maze, not knowing what ſhift to make to eſcape. Finally falling to councel with the chiefeſt of his armie vpõ the danger preſent, and ſo continuing for the ſpace of two dayes without any concluſion auailable, on the third day driuen of neceſſitie throughe hunger, they required of their enimies to be receiued as yeelded men vpon what conditions they would preſcribe, onely hauing their liues aſſured. But when this would not be graunted, in the euening tide they ruſhed forth vpon their enimies, to trie if by force they might haue paſſed throughe them. But ſuch was their hap, that there they died euery mothers ſon: for ſo had Duthquhall and Culane cõmaunded, to the ende that other rebels might take enſample by ſuch their wilfull and rebellious outrage.

The kings Captaines after this paſſing ouer into the Iles, brought all things there into the former ſtate of quietneſſe. Yet after the appeaſing of this tumult, there chaunced a new buſineſſe in Galloway: for Gyllequhalm, ſonne to that Donalde (which as ye haue heard, was executed by commaundement of Eugenius the viij.) gathered togither a great number of vngracious ſcapethriftes, and did muche hurt in the Countrey. But ſhortlye after beeing vanquiſhed by the ſame Captaynes that had ſuppreſſed the other Rebelles of the Iles, the Countrey was ridde of that trouble, and the ring leaders puniſhed by death for their offences.

The king power paſſeth ouer into Iles.

Gillequhalm the ſonne Donalde.

In this meane while, the Engliſh men and Welch Brytaynes throughe multitude of kings and rulers warring eche againſt other, had no leyſure to attempt any enterpriſe againſt ſtraungers. Neither were the Pictes free of ſome ſecrete diſpleaſures, which one part of them had cõceiued againſt another, ſo that the Scottiſh men were not troubled at all by any forraine enimies.

And ſo Soluathius hauing continued his raigne the ſpace of .xx. yeares, aboute the ende of that yeare departed this life, in the yeare of our ſaluation 788.

Soluathius parteth this lyfe.

788.

Acha.



Achaius crated king of Scotlande.

THen after Soluathius was once buried in Colmkill amõgſt his auncеſtors, Achaius the ſon of king Ethfin (a man highly renowmed for his ernеſt zeale to iuſtice and vpright dealing) was aduanced to the gouernance of the realme: who for that by his former conuerſation amõgſt the nobilitie, he perfectly vnderſtood what grudge and ſecrete hatred remayned in their heartes, one wiſhing anothers deſtruction. He forſaw what daunger the common wealth ſtode in, if the ſame were not by ſome good meanes qualified: and therevpon calling them togither, hee handled the matter wyth ſuche wiſdome and dexteritie, that before theyr departure

He make nobilitie agree.

departure from him, all the rootes of former diſpleaſures beeing vtterly extirped and auoyded, they were made friendes on eche ſide, and promiſed in his preſence ſo to continue.

Thus hauing layde the foundation of a quiet ſtate amongeſt his ſubiectes, nowe in the beginning of his raigne, he was at poynt to haue had no ſmall warres with the Iriſhe men, for a number of them being aryued in Cantyre were there ſlaine by them of the Weſterne Iles, which vpon requeſt of the Inhabitants of that countrey were come to ayde them againſt thoſe Iriſhmen.

This loſſe the rulers of the Iriſh nation purpoſed in all haſt to reuenge vpō them of the Iles. But Achaius hearing thereof, ſent ouer an Imbaſſade vnto thē to haue the matter taken vp before any further force were vſed: aledging how ther was no cauſe wherfore warres ſhould be moued for ſuch a matter, where the occaſion had bene giuen but by a ſort of Rouers on eyther ſyde, without commaundement or warrant obteyned from any of their ſuperiours.

Howbeit the Nobles of Irelande (for there was no king amongeſt them at that tyme as it chaunced) moued altogither with indignation for the ſlaughter of theyr Countrymen, made a direct anſwere, that they woulde ſurely be reuenged of the reproche which they had receyued, before they woulde commune of any peace. And therefore whyleſt the Scottiſh Imbaſſadors returned out of Ireland with this anſwere, a great number of them in ſhippes and crayers paſſed ouer into Ila, where getting togither a great pray, and fraughting theyr beſſelles therewith, as they were returning homewardes, they were ſuncke by force of tempeſt, ſo that neyther ſhip nor man returned to bring tydings home howe they had ſped in Scotlande.



The ſtoute ſtomackes of the Iriſhe Lordes and rulers beeing well qualified with this miſchaunce, they were glad to ſeeke for peace ſhortly after vnto Achains. Thoſe alſo that were ſent ouer to treat of the ſame, found him at Enuerlochthee. Where hauing declared their meſſage, and confeſſed howe iuſtly they had beene puniſhed by the righteous iudgement of almightie God for their wrongful attempting of the warres againſt them that had not deſerued it, Achaius anſwered how the Iriſh nation was ſo ſtubborne, that they knew not to ble reaſō, except they were throughly ſcourged: and therefore had the righteous God taken iuſt reuenge vpon them, to the enſample of other, for their contumacie in moouing warres againſt thē that had ſo earneſtly ſought for peace. Neuertheleſſe letting a part all iniuries paſt, as well newe as olde, to ſhewe himſelfe to be the follower of Chriſt, who in ſo many paſſages had prayſed, commended and ſet forth vnto vs peace and tranquilitie, he was cōtented to graunt them peace which now they ſued for.

Thus was the peace renued betwixt the Scottiſh and Iriſh nations, to the no leſſe comfort of the Scottes themſelues, than of the Iriſhmen, as thoſe that had learned nowe by experience & tryall (hauing enioyed peace a good ſeaſon) howe much the ſame was to be preferred before cruel warres.

In this meane time, Charles, ſurnamed the great, as then raigning in France, and vnderſtāding how the Engliſh men did not only by dayly rouing diſquiet the ſeas, to the great danger of all ſuch marchants & other as trauayled alongſt the coaſtes of Fraunce and Germany, but alſo nowe and then cōming a lande vpon the French dominions, did many notable diſpleaſures to his ſubiectes, he thought good by the aduice of his peeres to conclude a league if it were poſſible with ỹ Scots and Piēts, with this article amongeſt the reſidue, That ſo oft as the Engliſh men ſhoulde attempt any enterpriſe or inuaſion into France, the Scots and Piēts ſhould be readie ſtreight wayes to inuade thē here at home: and when they ſhuld make any warres againſt the Scots or Piēts, then the French men ſhould take vpon them to inuade the weſt partes of Englande.

Carolus Magnus in league with the Scots.

There were ſent therefore from Charles vnto Achaius certain Imbaſſadors to bring this matter to paſſe, who arriuing in Scotland, & cōming to the kings preſence, declared effectually the ſum of their meſſage, ſhewing that ỹ cōcluſion of ſuch a league, ſhoulde bee no leſſe to the wealth of the Frenchmen, than of the Scots (conſidering the Engliſhmen to be a people moſt deſirous of all other to get into their hands other mens goods and poſſeſſions) for thereby they might be ſomewhat reſtrayned from ſuch bold and iniurious enterpriſes as they dayly toke in hande againſt theyr Chriſtian neighbors: but it ſhould make moſt of all (ſay they) for the aduancement of the whole chriſtiā cōmon wealth, whereas otherwiſe through their inſolent doings, ſuch force as was alreadie

Imbaſſadors ſent into Scotlande.

prepared

prepared againſt the Saralins (the common enimyes of the Chriſtians) ſhoulde be called backe, therewith to keepe off the layd Engliſhe men, to the great daunger of thoſe partes of Chriſtendome, vpon which the Saralins then bordered as neighbours.

The Ambaſſadors are honorably entertained.

This meſſage being heard with good deliberation by ſuch as were preſent, the Ambaſſadours themſelues beeing honorable perſonages & graue of countenance, were receyued moſt louingly of the king, and lodged in his owne pallaice, hauing all the chear & honorable intertainmēt that might be deuiſed: but touching their meſſage, there were ſundrie diſputatiōs amongſt the nobles, whether the concluding of ſuch a league as they requyred, were expedient for the Scottiſh common wealth or not. And for that ỹ matter ſeemed to be doubtfull, the king thought it neceſſarie to haue the aduice of his Counſell: and therupon calling them togither and appoynting diuerſe of them to goe with the Ambaſſadors on hunting to ſhew them ſome ſport, whileſt he conſulted with the reſidue, (becauſe he wold not haue them preſent) he commanded one Colman, gouernor of Mar (a man of great authoritie amongſt the Scottiſh men for his approued wiſedome) to ſay firſt his mind touching the requeſt of thoſe French Ambaſſadours who therupon ſtanding forth, began as followeth.



No man ought to maruaile, I perceyue, king Achains, if many of this our Nation be deſirous to haue this league concluded with the French men, as they that are perſwaded howe nothing can be better, nothing more profitable, more honourable, or more pleaſant to almightie god, than to ioyne in league and friendſhip with a Nation of greateſt power and wealth in theſe dayes, of all other within the boundes of Europe: for by that meane ſhoulde the Scottiſh name be highly renowmed & ſpoken of through the whole world. But truly theſe conſiderations contenting ſo wel at the firſt, are not ſo much to be regarded as the euils which hereafter may grow therevpon: For ſurely a naughtie and pernicious ende of this determination ſhall manifeſtly teach vs (though to late) howe farre we haue gone beſide the way of reaſon in eſtabliſhing this league, if we once conſent to conclude the ſame. Is it any other thing (I beſeech you) to make a league, and to ioyne in ſocietie with the French men againſt our neighbours the Engliſhmen (whoſe friendſhip might be moſt expedient for vs) then euen to haue from henceforth a nere and in maner a domeſtical enimie at hand, whereas our ſuppoſed friends ſhall be farre of from vs, and ſeparate from our countrey by a great and large ſea, at whoſe pleaſure alſo we muſt make warres againſt our neighbours, and fight for other mens ſafegardes, putting our bodies in hazard of death and wounding for their cauſe, which dwell nothing neare vs: yea and in their quarell to commit our kingdome, goods and liues vnto extreeme perill of vtter deſtruction. I Goode of Co
woulde thinke it good therefore to take better aduiſement and deliberation herein, leaſt whileſt we ſeeke for vainglorie and counterfeyte honour, we do not through prouoking the Engliſh men our next neighbors, loſe our owne liberties got with ſo much trauaile by our elders, for the which they ſo often fought with the Brytaynes, Romaines, Piſts, and finally with the Saxōs. Can there be any thing more pernicious vnto a free natiō and people borne in libertie, than to meaſure lawes of peace, chances of warre, and in fine, libertie it ſelf, by the luſt and pleaſure of another nation, and ſo to enter (as it were) into bondage? for the auoyding whereof, not onely men but alſo all other lyuing things are readie to fight, euen to the vttermoſte. If the Frenche menne in the chiefeſt heate and moſte earneſt brunt of the warre (which

Due conſiderations.

An enemy at hand. Friendes farre off.

(which we ſhall take in hande for theyr ſake, according to the articles of the league) ſhall chance to forſake vs, and conclude ſome maner of peace or league with oure enimies, leauing vs in all the whole daunger, ſhal we haue any iudge afore whome wee maye bring them to anſwere for theyr default, and by whoſe authoritie they may bee conſtrayned to ſee vs ſatisfyed for ſuch loſſe and iniuryes as wee ſhall happely ſuſtayne at the Engliſhe mennes handes? Are we of that force and power to reuenge our wronges vppon them, after wee are vanquiſhed and in manner brought to vtter cõfuſion by thoſe warres which wee ſhall enter into for theyr cauſe? If euer wee bee brought vnto that poynte (as God forbyd we ſhoulde) that through want of ſubſtance and decay of force, the Frenche men ſhall alſo vtterly forſake vs, and that thereby we ſhall not be able to reſiſt the Engliſhe puiſſance: afore whome, I beſeech you) ſhall we accuſe them for breaking of this league? We ſhall dayly haue to doe wyth our enimies after the concluſion of the league (if it bee concluded at all) and but ſeldome tymes wyth our friendes. In the middeſt of our enimies we ſhall be ſtill occaſioned to practiſe for our defence, where we haue a long way both by ſea and land to paſſe ouer to our friends, in caſe any neede ſhall inforce vs thervnto: cõmodities are brought to vs out of Spaine, Fraunce and Germanie, not ſuch as we deſire, but onely ſuch as the Engliſhe men doe permit. Againe when our Marchants ſhall paſſe into Fraunce, what hauens ſhall wee leaue them to reſort vnto in time of daungerous tempeſts, which often chaunce to all ſuche as vſe ſayling? Either muſt they periſh and bee caſt awaye through rage of ſeas, eyther elſe fall into the handes of our enimies togither, with all theyr goodes and fraught. What diſcommodities hereof ſhal riſe, your grace moſt prudent Prince) and you right circumſpect Counſaylers doe well ynough perceyue. I therefore would thinke it expedient that we ſhould continue in ỹ former peace concluded with the Brytaines, Saxons & Picts, according to the cuſtome of our late predeceſſors, who ſawe well ynough what was moſt beneficiall for the wealth of the Scottiſh nation, and not to couet a newe amitie with an vnknowne people, hauing deſerued little or nothing as yet at our handes (whoſe intent I cannot but haue in ſuſpition, ſithe they ſeeke for amitie ſo farre of) except wee ſhall manifeſtly reſolue wyth our ſelues to employe and ieoparde both life and libertie for the ſafegarde of the French men, without regarde of our owne.

Many in that aſſemblie ſhewed themſelues ſore offended with Colmans wordes, ſuppoſing the league with the French men to be both honorable and neceſſarie.

Then one Albian, a man of great nobilitie, (whome the king had lately before inſtituted hys Leutenant in the Iles) ſpake in this maner:

Albian his Oration.

If it were poſſible that there might be one ſure and inuiolable conſent amongeſt thoſe foure people, whiche at this daye haue theyr habitations within the boundes of Albion, or that the Engliſh men knewe what it were to ſtande and abide by fayth and promiſes made & giuen, we would not denie but that thoſe conſiderations and aduiſes which Colman hath here vttered, ought to be followed, bycauſe that then there ſhould be no occaſion at all, why we ſhould conclude any league with any forraine nation. But forſomuche as there was neuer man that founde more vntruth and breache of promiſe in any Nation, than hath beene founde in theſe Saxons (the which hauing got the rule in Albion, are nowe called Engliſhe men as the Scottes, Pictes, and Brytaynes haue by tryall ſufficiently proued, I ſuppoſe it is euidently knowne vnto you, that either we muſt of neceſſitie fight and ſtand at defence againſt the Engliſh men, readie to aſſayle vs both with open force and ſecret craft, eyther elſe linke our ſelues with ſuche allyes and confederates, as by theyr ſupport we may be the better able to withſtande the malice of ſuch vnfaythfull people. Call ye this fayth or treaſon, I pray you? The Saxons in tymes paſt beeing requeſted of the Brytaynes to ayde them agaynſt their enimies, were moſt louingly receyued, and highlye rewarded for theyr ſeruice: but they contrarily in recompence of ſuch kindneſſe, ſhewed themſelues in ſtead of ayders, enimies: in ſtead of defenders, deſtroyers: turning their weapon poynts againſt the Brytains, by whom they had beene ſo ſent for to theyr ayde. And nowe haue not onely deſtroyed a great number of them by fire and ſworde, but alſo they haue ſpoyled them of their kingdome & libertie. What league or truce haue they at any time kept (you your ſelues are not ignorant of this whiche I ſpeake) where eyther they ſawe occaſion to vexe theyr neighbours, or hoped to gaine any thing by falſifying theyr faythes, as they that haue neuer beene aſhamed ſo to do, where hope to haue commoditie (if I maye ſo call it) hath at any hande beene offered. Into what ſundrie and moſt miſerable calamities hath the treachetie of the Saxons brought the ſillie Brytaynes? How often-times haue they broken the peace eſtabliſhed with vs, and alſo with the Picts? Euen when we leaſt thought vpon any ſuch thing. Yea and that more is, amongſt themſelues at this ſeaſon the Engliſh men warre one agaynſt another, more with craftie traines than with open force, in ſuch wiſe that in Northumberland ſo many kings, & ſo many noble mẽ haue bin traiterouſly murthered & made away, that vneth maye there be any founde that

The Engliſh Saxons breakers of promiſe.

To induce others to his purpoſe he taketh the aduauntage of caſual happes charging the whole nation with the faults of a few perticular perſons.

will take vpon him the ſupreme gouernment of that countrey. It is not many yeares agone ſince Oſwin king of that countrey was ryd out of the waye through treaſon of Oſwey that ſucceeded him in the kingdom, and was after depriued both of life and kingdome by Oſrike, whome Egbert deſirous to raigne in his place, founde meanes by trayterous practiſe to diſpatche. Egbert was ſlaine by Mollo, and Mollo by Alfred, which Alfred was after ſlaine by the guilefull craft of Ethelbert. Neyther had Ethelbert any better ſucceſſe in the ende, for nowe of late betrayed by his owne ſubiects, he was by them ſhamefully ſlaine and murthered. Neyther wyth leſſe trayterous ſhiftes and deuyſes doe the Engliſhe men maintaine theyr warres in all places where they are inhabiting within Albion. The reuerende Fathers of the ſpiritualtie, and other godly men addict to vertue, vnto whome the ſetting forth of Gods worde hath beene committed, abweeryed and abhorring this woode madneſſe, rage and wicked miſdemeanour of that Nation, haue left theyr Byſhoprykes, Abbeys, Monaſteryes, and Celles, and from thence haue remoued into forrayne Regions. Therfore where the Engliſh me̅ do abſtaine at this preſent fro̅ making vs warres, it is not to be imputed to any reuerence they haue to faith, equitie, or reſpect of the league, which they haue made with vs, but only vnto ſuch ciuil ſedition & diſcord, as now doth raigne amongſt them. Neither ought any of vs of right to doubt, but that when the ſame once ceaſſeth, they wil immediatly take weapon in hand againſt vs, notwithſtanding all leagues or couenants of peace co̅firmed to the contrarie. To repreſſe therefore and abate their ſubtile practiſes, I can finde no redier meane than to enter into friendſhip, and conclude a league with that people, whiche beeing ioyned with vs, maye chaſtice ſuche outragious furie of this wicked nation, as cauſe and opportunitie ſhall require, Fortune hath offred vnto vs a conuenient meane and occaſion herevnto. For here be at this preſent ẏ French kings ambaſſadors, offring that vnto vs, which (being ſo great a benifit) we might vnethy wiſh for. That is, they require to haue vs to ioyne in league againſt the Engliſhmen, with their king, whom Fraunce, Spaine, and no ſmal part of Germanie do acknowledge for theyr ſoueraine. Ought this to bee deſpiſed of men that haue their perfect ſenſes? Ought the ſocietie of the French nation to be refuſed of vs, inhabiting here in the vttermoſt partes of the earth, the ſame being freely offered by them, vnto whom for their ſincere fayth both towardes God and man, the large Empyre of the worlde is graunted. So that if wee ſhall thankefully receyue thys moſte notable benefite, the ſame ſhall purchaſe vnto vs the friendſhip of the Spaniardes, French men, Germanes, and all thoſe nations which acknowledge king Charles for their head and ſoueraine Lord. Hereupon alſo free paſſage for marchantes ſhall be open, to paſſe to and fro vnto vs, with all kind of marchandiſe & wares of traffike. I truſt therefore that euery one of you (ſo that he wey the thing with himſelfe throughly) will eaſily iudge that the friendſhip and ſocietie of the French men (right puiſſant both by ſea and land) and thereto of approwed fayth and ſtedfaſtneſſe in promiſe, ought more to be eſteemed, and is more beneficial to the Scottiſh common wealth, than the vnſtedfaſt promiſes and great diſloyaltie of the Saxõs. To which of you is it vnknowne, that the Engliſh nation ſtudieth no leſſe to bring vs vnder the yoke of ſeruitude, than they doe the Welchmen, if their force might anſwere directlye to theyr willes? Therefore if we deſire to auoyde the violent power of moſt cruell enimies, if wee meane to auoyde theyr craftie practiſes, if we regard the Chriſtian Religion, for the whiche the Frenche men are continually in armure, if we ſet more by vertue and conſtancie than by vnfaythfulneſſe & breach of couenants and promiſes, if wee labour for the glory and honor of our nation, if we couet to aduaunce our Countrey, our owne reſt, and quietneſſe: and to be briefe, if we paſſe vpon life and libertie, the moſte dearefl things that maye happen to man, let vs with ioyfull heartes eſtabliſh this league with the French men, and firmely continue in the ſame, vppon aſſured truſt and confidence that it ſhall bring perpetuall commoditie and renowne vnto vs, both for the ſafegarde of our realme, and reſtraynt of the Engliſh mens vnlawfull attemptes & wrongfull iniuries, which hereafter they either ſhall or may at any time enterpriſe againſt vs.

By this Oration Albian drew the multitude eaſily vnto his purpoſe.

Then Achaius vnderſtãding how the minds of all his ſubiects were in maner wholy inclyned to the league, cõmaunded al the cõpany to be ther in the ſame place againe the next day. And ſo breaking vp their aſſembly for ẏ time, the king made the French Ambaſſadors ẏ night a coſtly ſupper with a banket, and after hauing cõference w̃ his nobles & lords of the counſel, it was agreed by generall cõſent amongſt thẽ, that for the ſolemne ratifying of this league with king Charles, accordyng as he had requyred, there ſhould go with his Ambaſſadors at their returne the Lord William the brother of king Achaius with foure other honorable & learned perſonages, being men of perfite knowledge & ſkil, and ſuch as were eſteemed moſt meete for ſuch a purpoſe. Alſo ẏ they ſhould take iiij. M. men ouer with thẽ to ſerue againſt the infidels & enimies of the chriſtian religion, where & in ſuch ſort as king Charles ſhould appoint thẽ.

The Frenche men in thoſe days poſſeſſed not onely that part of Gallia which we now cal France, but alſo the moſt part of the coũtreys now inhabited by the Teutſhmen or Germaines, namely on this ſide the ryuer of Rheine.

The league with the French agreed

Herevpon

Hereupon the next day going firſt to Church, and there making their common ſupplications vnto almightie God, according to the rytes and auncient cuſtomes, they after reſorted vnto the counſell chaimber, where Achaius opened and declared vnto the French Ambaſſadors al that was concluded by him, and other the eſtates of hys realme, touching the meſſage whiche they had brought from king Charles. Who reioyſing (as ſhould appeare) greatly hereat, gaue moſt hartie thankes vnto him, and to all the reſidue for theyr benevolent willes herein ſhewed towardes king Charles their maiſter, & all the French Nation.

After this remayning certaine dayes with Achaius, who made them all the cheare that might be imagined, they departed towardes Hungus king of the Picts, vnto whom at their cõming to his preſence they made ẏ like requeſt on their maſters behalfe, whiche they had made before vnto Achaius.

It is ſayd that Hungus gaue the French men moſt hartie thankes for their good willes, but yet he would not graunt to cõclude any league with thẽ at that time, for that (as he alledged) the matter being weightie and of great importaunce required no ſmall time to deliberate and take aduice for a full reſolution therein.

The Ambaſſadors hereupon returned vnto Achaius without ſpeed of their purpoſe with Hungus, and the ſecond moneth after, all things being readie for their returne, and the paſſage of thoſe that ſhould go with them, the Lord William the kings brother, togither with the ſame Ambaſſadors and ſuch foure perſons as the king had choſen forth amongſt all the learned Cleargie of his realme (whoſe names were Clement, John, Raban, and Alcuine) and alſo hauing with him thoſe foure M. men of warre which were at the firſt appointed to goe with him, paſſed forth towardes France, where he with all the whole cõpanie landed within few dayes after in ſafetie, according to their owne wiſhed deſires. At their comming into Fraunce, Charles the Emperor receiued them in moſt gladſome wiſe, doing them all the honor that might be deuiſed, & the ſouldiers which were come to ſerue him vnder the leading of the foreſayd William, he retayned in wages, vſing them after the ſame ſort and rate as he did his owne naturall people the French men.

Shortly after alſo at the requeſt of the Scottiſh orators, according to ẏ charter ſigned by Achaius and confirmed by conſent of king Charles the league betwixt the French men and Scottes was ſolemnely publiſhed by Heraldes at armes, according to the maner in thoſe dayes vſed, the ſame to endure betwixt thoſe two nations and their poſterities for euer.

The chiefeſt articles compriſed in this league were as followeth:

The articles of the league.

The amitie and confederation betwixte the French men and Scottes to be perpetuall & firme to endure betwixt them & the poſterities of both the nations for euer.

The iniuries and warres which the Engliſh men ſhould attempt againſt either nation, ſhould be accounted as common to them both.

The French men being aſſayled by warres of the Engliſh men, the Scottes ſhould ſende theyr ayde of ſouldiers, hauing their charges borne by the French men, as well for furniture, as wages, and all other things neceſſarie.

The French men ſhoulde contrariwiſe ayde the Scots in time of warres againſt the Engliſh men at their owne proper coſtes and charges.

Whatſoeuer he were, priuate perſon or publike of theſe two confederate nations, that againſt eyther of them ſhould ayde the Engliſh men wyth armor, counſell, vitailes, or in any other maner of wiſe, the ſame ſhould be reputed for a trayter vnto both their Princes and countreys.

Neither might either of them conclude a peace, or take any truce, without conſent of the other.

These were the principall Articles of the league, as then confirmed betwixte the Scottes and Frenchmen, indited in Latine, and fayre ingroſſed in parchment, & reſerued as a monument in both realmes, for a witneſſe vnto ſuch as ſhuld come after, of this friendſhip thus begunne, as the Scottes Chronicles affyrme.

The armes of Scotlande.

And for a further memorie of the thing, Achaius did augment his armes, being a red Lion in a field of golde, with a double trace ſeamed wyth floure de Lyces, ſignifying thereby, that the Lion from thenceforth ſhoulde bee defended by the ayde of the Frenche men: and that the Scottiſhe Kings ſhoulde valiauntlye fight in defence of theyr Countrey, libertie, Religion and innocencie, whiche are repreſented by the Lylies, or Floure de lyces, as Heraulds doe interprete it.

The Lord William, the ſayd Clement, and John, remayned ſtil with king Charles, but Raban and Alcuine returned into their countrey.

The valiantnes of William.

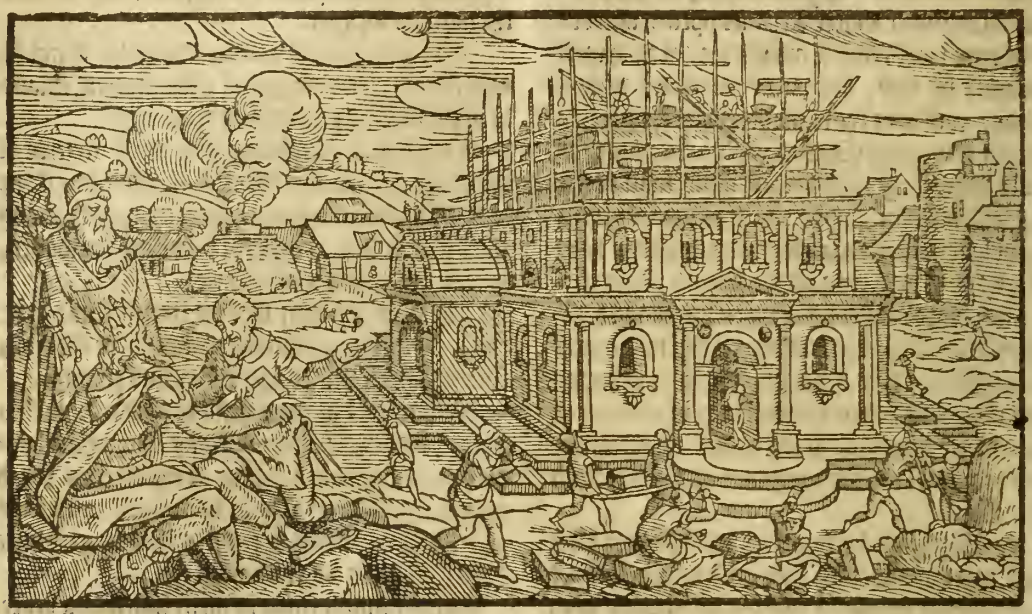
In all ſuch warres and iourneyes as Charles afterwardes made againſte any of his enimies, the ſayde Lorde William was a chiefe doer in the ſame, ſo that his fame and authoritie dayly grew in all places where he came.

His ſeruice ſtoode King Charles in notable ſtead in his expeditions againſt the Saxons, Hungarians, & other, but namely his eſtimation in Italy was moſt highly aduãced, at what time the ſayde Charles reedified the Citie of Florence, appoynting this William to be his Lieutenant in Tuſcane, and to haue the chiefe charge for the reſtoring of the ſayde Citie, which he wyth ſuche

Florence is reedified.

William Lieutenant of Tuſcane.

diligence applyed, that wythin ſhoꝛt tyme the ſame was not onely foꝛtified wyth newe walles, repayꝛed and repleniſhed with great numbers of houſes, Churches, and other beautifull buildings, but alſo peopled and furniſhed with Citizens, a great companie of Nobles and gentlemen being called thither out of euerie Citie and towne thereaboutes foꝛ that purpoſe.



The Citie being thus reſtoꝛed vnto hir foꝛmer ſtate and dignitie, thꝛough the bounteous benefite of king Charles, and the diligent adminiſtration of his Lieutenant the foꝛeſayde William, the Citizens to ſhew themſelues thankefull, deuiſed foꝛ a perpetuall memoꝛie to beare in theyꝛ armes a redde Lillie, reſembling one of thoſe which the kings of Fraunce giue, ſaue that it differeth in colour, to teſtifie thereby, that their Citie (after the deſtruction thereof by the Gothes) was recdified and reſtoꝛed to the foꝛmer dignitie, by the benefite of the frenchmen.

The armes of Florence.

And to acknowledge the diligence herein of the Lieutenant, they did inſtitute publike plaies to be vſed and celebꝛate euery yeꝛe, wherin with many pompous ceremonies they crowne a Lion. And further that there ſhould be kept vpon the charges of the common treaſurie within the Citie certain Lions (foꝛ the ſayd Lord William gaue a Lion foꝛ his cognisance) and theꝛvpon as the Scottiſh Chꝛonicles affyꝛme, thoſe beaſtes grew to be had in ſuch honoꝛ amongſt the Flogentines.

A Lion crowned.



Lions ke Florence

Thus this valiant Captain, the foꝛeſayd Lord William, paſſing his time in noble exerciſes, and woꝛthie feates of chiualrie vnder king Charles, is accounted in the number of thoſe. rij. martiall warriours, whiche are called commonly by the Scottiſh men, Scotteſgylmoꝛe.

Scotteſg more.

And foꝛ that he was continually occupied in warres, he was neuer maried, wherevpō growing in age and purpoſing to make Chꝛiſt his heyꝛe, he buylded diuerſe Abbayes and monaſteries both in Italy & Germanie, richly indowing ẏ ſame with landes and rents, ſufficient foꝛ the finding of ſuch number of Monkes, as he appoynted to be in the ſayd Abbayes, wherein none might be admitted, accoꝛding to the auncient oꝛdinance by him deuiſed, except he were a Scottiſh man boꝛne.

William maried kerb Ch his heyr Monaſte Scotiſhm German

In witneſſe of which oꝛdinance, there are ſundꝛie of theſe houſes remayning in Almaigne euen vnto this daye, nothing chaunged from the firſt oꝛder oꝛ inſtitution.

Before the accompliſhment of theſe things, by the afoꝛeſayde Lorde William, bꝛother as is ſaid vnto the Scottiſh king Achaius, I finde that the Vniuerſities of Paris and Pauia were inſtituted by king Charles, chiefly by the helpe and meanes of thoſe two foꝛeremēbꝛed learned Scottiſh men, John and Clement, inſomuch that Clemēt was appoynted chiefe preſident of all the ſtudentes at Paris, and John of the other at Pauia.

The V ſitie and I

But now to returne to the other doings of Achains, ye ſhall vnderſtande, that about the ſame time oꝛ not muche differing from the ſame,

Adel treth Dea

Adelſtane

Adelſtane the ſonne of Ethelwolfe king of weſt Saxons, taking vpō him the dominion of Kent, Eaſt Saxon, Mertia, and Northumberlande, whome Egbert his grandfather had receyued into his gouernment) deſirous nowe to enlarge his kingdome, entred into that part of the Pictiſh dominion, whiche auncientlye hight Deira, and conteined the Marches about Barwike, alledging how the ſame apperteyned to his kingdome of Northumberlande, and had bene fraudulently taken from his auncetters by the Picts: but forſomuch as there was a commotion reyſed the ſame time in Mertia, he was called backe to appeaſe it, and herevpon putting all to the fire and ſworde in Deira, ſauing ſuche priſoners as hee brought away with him, he returned.

Deira waſted by fire and ſworde.



Hungus the Pictiſh king ſore ſtomaking this iniurious enterpriſe of the Engliſhmen, determined to reuenge the ſame in all poſſible haſt, & therfore made inſtant ſute vnto Achaius (who had maried his ſiſter) to haue his ayde againſt them.

Achaius of his owne accorde minding to doe the Engliſh men a diſpleaſure, ſent forthwith vnto Hungus to the number of ten thouſand men. With which, and with his owne power King Hungus inuaded the borders of Northumberland, fetching from thence a great bootie of goods & priſoners: but yet he forbare ſlaughter of men, and burning of houſes, for a reuerence whiche hee had, as is ſuppoſed, towardes the Chriſtian religion.

Athelſtane being certified hereof, omitting his iourney into Mertia, turned al his power againſt the Picts: & hearing that they were withdrawne into theyr Countrey, he followed them ſo neare at the heeles, that very earely in one morning he was vpon their backes where they lodged by a broke ſide, not paſſing two miles from Haddington, before they had any knowledge of hys approche.

Athelſtane vpon a fierce courage, hauing thus founde his enimies according to his wiſhed deſire, and herewith comming vpon them in ſuche order of battaile as they had no way forth to eſcape without fight, hee commaunded a proclamation to be made by one of his Heralds, that all the whole number of the Pictes ſhoulde paſſe by the edge of the ſworde.

The Pictes thus ſeeing theyr enimyes at hande, and hearing of thys cruell commaundement, were wonderfully amazed wyth the ſtraungeneſſe of the thing, and oppreſſed ſo wyth feare, that they wyſt not what might bee beſt for them to do.

The Pictes are amazed.

At length, by commaundement of Hungus theyr King they fell vnto fortifying of theyr campe: but yet they quickly perceyued howe that it woulde not long preuayle them, conſidering that theyr enimyes had gotten into theyr handes not onelye all the ſpoyle whiche they had brought wyth them oute of Northumberlande, but alſo all other theyr prouiſion, truſſe, and baggage, which they had left in a field there adioining vnto the ſide of their campe. Herevpon manye reaſons were put forth amongeſt them, which way they might eſcape out of that preſent daunger.

The Picts entrench their campe.

In whiche meane tyme Athelſtane hauing brought his people into good order of battaile, prouoked the Pictes to come forth of theyr ſtrength into the playne fielde, there to trie their forces. But for that daye no notable thing was done: the Pictes keeping themſelues ſtill within theyr campe.

Athelſtane doth chalenge his enimie.

In the night following, after ſundrie conſultatiōs had amongſt the, it was agreed by general conſent, that the next day they ſhould giue battail to the Engliſh men. And ſo herevpon preparing

The Pictes prepare themſelues vnto battaile.

themſelues for the purpoſe, euen vpon the breake of the day forwarde they make towardes their enimies with fierce willes, ſpecially encouraged thereto by the comfortable wordes of Hungus.

The Engliſh men are put to flight.

The Engliſhmen halfe amazed at the hardie approch and onſet of the Pictes, were not long able to ſuſteyne their fore impreſſion: ſo that, beginning ſomewhat to ſway, at length they were forced to flie vnto the place, where ye heard howe they toke the baggage and ſpoyle of the Pictiſhe campe: were they were beaten downe in greater numbers than before, inſomuch that ſuch priſoners as they had before taken of them that kept the ſayde ſpoyle, greatly now to aduance the victorie of their fellowes, ſhewing more crueltie towardes the Engliſhe men than any of the reſt, now that they ſawe once howe the victorie was inclined to the Pictiſh ſide.

In fine, ſuch ſlaughter was made, that of the whole Engliſhe hoſte whiche was there aſſembled, there vneth eſcaped fiue hundred. Athelſtane himſelfe at the firſt encounter was runne through the bodie with a Speare, and ſo dyed, gyuing name to the place of the battaile, whiche continueth euen vnto this day, being called Athelſtanes fourde,

Adelſtane is ſlaine.

Aylſtone foord

A dreame.

This victorie fell to the Pictes by myracle, for in the night ſeaſon as Hungus was layde downe to ſleepe (after it was agreed that they ſhoulde giue battaile) there appeared vnto him the Apoſtle Saint Andrewe (as the tale goeth) promiſing him and his people victorie againſte theyr enimies on the day next following, and for an aſſured token thereof, he tolde him that there ſhoulde appeare ouer the Pictiſhe hoſte in the element ſuch a faſhioned Croſſe, as hee ſometyme

The Croſſe of S. Andrew.



ſuffered vppon. Hungus awakened, and beholding the Skie, ſawe the Croſſe as the Apoſtle had tolde him: Wherevpon calling his people togyther, hee not onely ſhewed them the ſame ſight, but alſo declared vnto them what viſion had appeared vnto him in hys ſleepe, wylling them therefore to bee of good comfort, ſithe there was cauſe of ſuch aſſured hope to haue aſſyſtaunce from aboue againſte theyr cruell enimies.

Saint And the Scotti mens pat

The ſigne of the foreſayde Croſſe was not onely ſeene of the Pictes and Scottes beeyng there wyth them in ayde, to both theyr greate comfortes and gladneſſe, but alſo of the Engliſhe men to their no leſſe diſcouragement, as they that vnderſtode Saint Andrewe to bee Patrone and Aduowzyer of the Scottiſhe and Pictiſhe Nations. For it did put ſuche a feare into theyr heartes, that when they came to the poynte of ioyning, theyr ſtomackes ſo fayled them, that wyth ſmall reſyſtaunce they were eaſily vanquiſhed (as is ſayde) and put to flyght.

For this ſo manifeſt a myracle, after the battaile was once ended, and the victorie obteyned, Hungus repayred with his people following him, vnto the Church of that bleſſed man Saint Regulus, nowe called Saint Andrewes, where they made theyr offrings wyth humble deuotion vnto the Relykes of the Apoſtle, rendring thankes vnto him for theyr victorie with deuoute prayer after the accuſtomed maner then.

Saint Re

Why Sc men vſe Androſc io warfar

They vowed there alſo at the ſame tyme (as the fame goeth) that from thenceforth as well they as theyr poſteritie in tyme of warre ſhoulde weare a Croſſe of Saint Andrewe for theyr badge and cognifance. Which ordenance continually after remayned with the Pictes, and after their deſtruction & extermination, with the Scots euen vnto our time.

The bodie of Athelſtane was buried in the next Church vnto the place where the fielde was fought, howbeit, ſome haue left in wryting that his head was cut off from the bodie and brought to Inchgaruie, where beeing ſet vppon a ſtake, it was ſhewed to the people in reproche of his iniurious enterpriſe.

Athelſta buriall.

Hungus the Pictiſhe king to ſhewe himſelfe yet more mindefull of the due honoring of the holy Apoſtle, by whoſe ayde he acknowledged himſelfe to haue got the victorie aforeſayde, not only augmented his Church with new buildings and neceſſarie reparations, but encreaſed the number of prieſts in the ſame for the celebrating of diuine ſeruice: he alſo gaue many riche and coſtly ornaments vnto the ſame, as Chalices, Cruets, Baſons & ſuch like. Moreouer he cauſed to be made the Images of chriſt and his .xij. Apoſtles of fine gold and ſiluer, which hee beſtowed there, with a caſe alſo of beaten golde, therein to inclofe the relykes of S. Andrew. And beſides this, he ordeyned that the Spiritualtie ſhould haue the tenthes of all increaſe of goods: as of corne, cattailes, herbage,

Hungus reth S. A Church.

Images golde an ſiluer.

Tenthes giuen v Clergi

bage, and such like throughout his realme and further that spirituall persons should not be cõpelled to answere before any temporall iudge.

But these beneficiall priuiledges the Pictishe clergie did not lõg enioy. For Feredeth that was the fourth, which raigned amongst the Pictes after Hungus tooke from them all suche giftes as this Hungus, had giuen them, and further ordeyned to the derogation of their Priuiledges, that they shoulde answere for secular crymes afore secular Magistrates: And that lyuing vppon theyr former reuenewes, Souldiers and menne of warre shoulde enioye the other whiche Hungus had so freely bestowed vpon them.

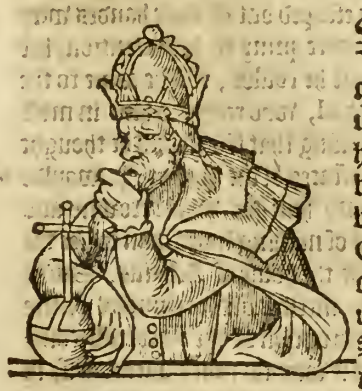
The Nobles of the land mainteyned Feredeth in his doings, reckening all that spirituall persons had to be but cast away, which was the cause (as some thought) that theyr Kingdome came into suche ruine, as shortly after followed.

There bee some Chronicles that wryte how these things whiche are mencioned of Hungus, and Athelstane, chaunced not altogyther aboute this season, but Hector Boetius followeth Veremond in moste of his accounte, as the authour whome he taketh to be most certaine, as well for the accounte of the tyme as in the course of the whole Hystorie. And for that we meane not to presume wholy to derogate the same Boetius his credite wee haue not muche dissented from hym, but rather followed him in most places, leauing suche doubtes as may bee worthily put forth of that which he wryteth, vnto the consideration of the diligent Reader, sithe it is not our purpose to impugne, but rather to report what wee finde written by other, except nowe and then by the way to admonishe the reader of some vnlikelyhodes, (as the same doth seeme to vs and other,) and happely not without iust occasion.

But nowe to our purpose: Aswell Hungus King of Pictes, as Achaius King of Scottes, after the ouerthrowe and death of Athelstane, lyued with theyr people in good quiet & rest, for the Englishe men attempted nothing agaynst the Scottes or Pictes afterwardes, during the time of their raignes. At length Achaius after hee had raigned. xxxij. yeares, departed thys lyfe, in the yeare of our Lorde. 810. whiche was about the sixt yeare of Hungus his dominion ouer the Pictes.

His bodie was buryed in Colmekill, according to the maner of Kings amongest hys predecessours.

In the dayes of thys Achaius beside Clement and others, of whome before ye haue heard) lyued Bysshop Seruadius a notable Preacher in Murrey lande. Also Bishoppe Glacian with Modan and Medan two brethren, all Doctors and men of singular knowledge, in respect whereof they were had in great credite and estimation with the people.



Conual.

After the decease of Achaius, Conuall that was his Uncles son by Dongal, the brother of king Ethfine, succeeded in gouernment of ỹ Scottish kingdome. Conuall succeedeth Achaius.

Betwixt this Conual and Hungus the Pictish king, there was wonderfull loue and amitie shewed, both of them studying by all wayes and meanes how to mainteyne the auncient league & aliance betwixt their people, wherevpon ensued greate wealth and quietnesse to both their kingdomes. Loue and amitie.

Finally Hungus wasted with a continual consumption deceased, delyuering by his kingdome into the handes of hys sonne Dorstologus, and that in the presence of King Conuall, who likewyse lyued not long after hym, for in the fifth yeare of his raigne hee lykewyse departed oute of thys World, by force of naturall sickenesse. Hungus falleth into consumption. Conuall deceaseth also. 802. Io.Ma.



Dongal

Dongall the sonne of king Soluathius was receyued to succeede by the common consent of the estates of all the Realme, a man of singular wisdome and great knowledge. But for that hee was somewhat seuere in punishing the misordred behauiours of the Nobilitie and misgouerned youth of hys Realme, dyuerse of the Nobles conspyred agaynste hym, forcing one Alpyne the sonne of Achaius to make clayme to the Crowne, who perceyuing there was no remedie, but eyther to follow their mindes, or else to be murthered amongest them, consented to goe with them into Argyle, where they purposed to crowne him king sitting vpon the Chayre of Marble, according to the maner. Dongall succeedeth after Conuall. A seuere punisher of malefactors. Alpine constrained by the nobles, taketh vpon him to be crowned king.

Alpine vnwilling to receiue the crowne, fled.

Howbeit at his comming into that countrey, he found meanes to conuey himselfe from amongst them least through his meanes the quiet state of his countrey should be brought into trouble: and forthwith being escaped out of their handes with a few other that were priuy to his intention, hee maketh all the hast he coulde, till he came to the presence of Dongall, who receyued him in most ioyfull wise, promising that if it should be thought necessarie by the estates of the realme, he woulde gladly resigne vnto him his whole crowne and dignitie, desirous of nothing more than to see the aduancement of the house of Achaius. Suche sayth he, were the merites of that famous prince towardes the preseruation of the Scottish common wealth, that it were too much wickednesse to goe about to defraude his issue of the inheritance of the realme.

Alpine was ioyfully receyued of Dongall.

Alpine his excuse vnto Dongall.

Alpine giuing the king most hartie thankes, besought him to continue in the administration, drawing God and the worlde to witnesse, that he minded nothing lesse than to be about to clayme the gouernment of the kingdome so long as hee liued. For as touching his offence, in that he had gathered an armie and ledde the same into Argyle, it was not his fault, but the conspiratours which had forced him thereto, being determined to haue slaine him, if he had not consented vnto theyr desires.

Dongall mocketh at and against the rebelles.

Within three dayes after, there came messengers from the rebelles to excuse themselues also, and to put all the fault in Alpine: but king Dongall giuing small credite to their forged wordes, gathereth his power, and maketh such speede towardes the place where he vnderstood the sayd rebels were assembled togither, that he was vpon them ere they had any knowledge of his setting forwarde. So that before they coulde make any shift to escape out of daunger, which they went about to do, they were apprehended, and immediatelly condemned and put to death. Which execution put other presumptuous persons in feare, so that the state of the Realme remayned afterwards a great deale the more in quiet.



Eganus murthereth his brother.

Whilest things passed thus in Scotlande, Eganus the seconde sonne of king Hungus the Pictish king, found meanes to murther his brother Dorstologus, to the ende he might raigne in his place: and through support of some of the nobilitie he attayned to his purpose. And for that he woulde assure himselfe the more firmely in the estate, he frankly bestowed his fathers treasure amongst his Lordes and chiefest peeres of hys realme, and toke to wife also Bzenna the king of Mertia his daughter, which his brother the forenamed Dorstologus had maried, that thereby he might allwage the sayde king of Mertia his displeasure, which otherwise he should happely haue conceyued for the death of his other sonne in law the same Dorstologus.

His feare was great on eche side, and therefore had small affiance in any person, doubting least one or other should seeke to reuenge his brothers death. He durst neuer go any wayes forth abiode without a garde of men of warre about him, whome he had wonne and made his fast friends by his passing great larges and bountiful liberalitie. At length yet, his wife in reuenge of hir former husbandes death, founde meanes to strangle him as he lay one night fast a sleepe, hauing dzunke a little too muche in the euening before, and in this sort he came to his ende after he had raigned much what about the space of two yeares.

Eganus in feare.

Eganus strangle his Que

Thus both Eganus and Dorstologus being made away without leauing any issue behind them, forsomuch as now there remayned none of the posteritie of Hungus to succeede in gouern-

ment

ment of the Pictiſhe kingdome, Alpine nephewe to the ſame. Hungus, by his ſiſter Ferguſiana, with the aduiſe of king Dongall, made clayme therbnto, and therbpon ſent his meſſengers bn-to the lords and peeres of the Pictiſh dominion, to require them on his behalfe, that he myght be receyued to the gouernemente of the kingdome due bnto him by lawfull inheritance, as they wel bnderſtode: and that if they throughly conſidered of the thing, they might perceiue it was the proui-ſion of Almightie God, that for want of lawfull ſucceſſion lineally deſcended from Hungus now to ſucceede in the eſtate of the Pictiſh kingdom, by this meanes both the nations Scottes and Pictes ſhould be ioyned in one, to the aboliſhing of all ſuch mortall warres, as by diſcorde and contention might aryſe betwixte thoſe two people, in lyke ſorte as before tyme there hadde done, to the great perill and danger of both their vtter ruines.

The Pictiſh nobilitie hauing knowledge that theſe meſſengers with ſuche kynde of meſſage ſhould ſhortly come from Alpine, with generall conſent and whole agreemente, chose one Feredeth to be their king, a man of greate authoritie amongeſt them, ſuppoſing this to be a meane to defeate Alpines title, and that thereby he ſhoulde ſeeme to be excluded from any further clayme.

Within fewe dayes after, came bnto Camelon the Scottiſhe ambaſſadors, where Feredeth with his nobles at that preſente were aſſembled: they being admitted therfore to declare their meſſage, when they began to enter into their matter of the right which Alpine had to the kingdom of the Pictes, the people woulde not ſuffer them to proceede any further therein, but began to make ſuche an vprore, that to appeaſe the noyſe, Feredeth himſelfe toke vpon him to make aunſwere bnto the Ambaſſadors, and therbpon commanding ſilence, declared bnto them that the Pictes neyther might nor ought to admitte any ſtranger to reigne ouer them: for there was an ancient lawe amongſt them, of moſte high authoritie, that in caſe of neceſſitie they might tranſpoſe the crowne from houſe to houſe: And further, that by the ſame law ther was an ordinance decreed, that if any man were once made & created king, he might not be depoſed during his natural lyfe. And therfore though it were ſo, that Alpine were the nephewe of Hungus by his ſiſter Ferguſiana, yet bicauſe he was a ſtraunger borne, and cõſidering withal, that the people by their ful authoritie had tranſlated the regall adminiſtration bnto an other houſe, of the whiche one was alreadie proclaimed and inueſted kyng, there was no reaſon nowe, why Alpine ſhoulde make any further clayme or demaunde bnto the kingdom.

Upon the meſſengers return home with this anſwer, Dongal ſhewed himſelf to be in no ſmal chafe, that the Pictes ſhoulde thus goe aboute by ſuche ſubtill argumentes and contriued inuentions to defraude Alpine of his righte. And therbpon the ſeconde tyme he ſente his ambaſſadors bnto them, requiring them eyther to doe him reaſon without any further ſurmiſed cauillations, eyther elſe within. iij. moneths ſpace after, to looke for open warres at the Scottiſhe mens handes.

Dongall hys diſpleazure with the Pictes aunſweare.

Ambaſſadours are ſent again.

Theſe Ambaſſadours paſſing forth on theyr iourney, at their approching bnto Camelon, certaine ſergeants at armes met them, and did forbid them to enter the citie: alſo they further cõmaunded them in name of Feredeth their king to auoyde out of the confines of his dominion within foure dayes ſpace, bpon pain of death.

Ambaſſadours are not receyued.

The Ambaſſadors being terrified with ſuche maner of inhibitions, they went no further: but yet accordyng as they had in commiſſion, they pronoũced the warre in the name of Alpine and Dongal, requiring thoſe that thus came to meet them, to giue ſignification therof bnto their maiſter Feredeth, and to the whole Pictiſhe nation: and ſo returned home the ſame way they came.

Warre is pronounced vnto the Pictes.

Then did the Scottiſhe Lordes repaire bnto Dongall, who the ſame tyme laye in Carryke caſtell, and there taking counſell for the maynatenance of theſe warres, not one was founde amongeſt them which offered not to ſpende both lyfe, landes, and goodes in Alpines ryghtuous quarell.

By this means was great preparation made on both ſydes for the warre, the Scottes mynding to ſet Alpine in his right, and the Picts determining not to receyue any prince of a ſtrange nation to reigne ouer them. But whileſt Dongall goeth about to prouide all things readye for his enterprize, he chaunced to be drowned in the

The Scottes willingly giue them ſelues vnto the war.



ruer of Spey, as he was about to paſſe the ſame in a boate.

This miſhap happed him in the. vj. yeare of

his reigne, and after the birthe of our Sauiour,
930. 830. His bodie was buryed in Colmekill, with
all funerall obſequies.

Alpine crowned king of Scotland.

AFter Dongall was Alpyne receyued to the crowne and gouernement of the realme by the generall voyces of all the people, whoſe chiefeſt ſtudie was vpon his firſt entring into the eſtate to followe his ſuite touching his title to the Pictiſh kingdom: and herevpon with all diligẽce preparing a mightie hoſte and all other thinges (which were thought requiſite for the furthering of his enterpriſe) he paſſed forth towardes Angus, not ſtaying till he came to the caſtel of Forfair, which he beſieged, but the thirde daye after his comming thither, Feredeth the Pictiſhe king with a great armie of his ſubiectes araunged in good order of battayle, came and preſented himſelfe in ſighte of the Scottes, whervpon immediately neere to the towne of Reſſennoth they mette, and ioynyng there in battayle, foughte

Alpine with his army inuadeth Pictlande.



righte fiercely: At the firſte encounter the righte wyng of the Scottiſhe armie was neere hand ouerthrowne, but Fenedocht lieutenaunte of Atholl came ſpeedyly to the ſuccours with. 400. of his countreymen, and reſtored the batayle on the Scottiſh ſide: wherby enſued a ryght cruell bickeryng with great ſlaughter, and no ſigne of ſhrinkyng on eyther parte, by meanes whereof it ſemed doubtful for a log ſpace to whether ſide the victorie woulde enclyne. At length Feredeth perceyuing the myddle warde of his battayle a little to ſhrinke, ſpeedylye prealed forthe to ſuccour the ſame with a choſen companie of ſuch as hee hadde appoynted to attende him: but entring thus with greate violence amongeſt the thickeſt preaſe of his enimies, he was cloſed in on eche ſyde, and excluded ſo from the reſidue of hys owne people, that he coulde neyther returne by the ſame waye hee entred, neyther yet by any other, ſo that hee wyth thoſe that were wyth him, perceiuing their lyues to be in preſent danger, they didde caſte themſelues into a ryng, determinyng yet to reuenge theyr owne deaths, whereupon rather awearyed with continuall fyght, than vanquiſhed or with any feare oppreſſed, they were ſlayne all the whole number of them, togyther with Feredeth their king. Yet herewith did not the other Pictes giue ouer the battayle, ſo long as any daylyghte was on the ſkye. So that the nyght in the ende parted them in ſunder, bothe the armyes withdrawyng to their campes with ſmall ioye or triumphe, by reaſon of the greate ſlaughter, whiche had bene made on both ſides.

Fenedocht the Thane of Athole.

Feredeth is ſlaine in.

The nyght parted the armies.

The Captaines of the Pictes weying with theſelues the loſſe of their king & great multitude of their mẽ, thought it not beſt to abide any longer in the field: wherfore leauing their wounded people behind them, with all their baggage in the cãpe, they fled inctõinently the ſame night, ſome into one place, & ſome into an other, where they thought beſt for their owne welth and ſafetie.

The Pictes fled by night.

The Scots had fled immediatly likewiſe, but that word was brought them, as they were about to depart how the Picts were gone alredy, and had left their campe voyde of men of warre to defende the ſame. Wherupon the Scottes taryed til it was day not far from the place of the battail. In the morning there wer certain horſemen apoynted to ride abrode, & to viewe ẏ fielde, therby to underſtand whether ẏ Picts ment any deceite by their departure, as by laying of ſome embuſhmẽts, or otherwiſe, but vpon ẏ return of thoſe horſemẽ: whẽ it was once knowen how ther was no ſuch mater, but ẏ they wer fled in dede, ẏ Scots reioycing therat, fel to & gathered ẏ ſpoile of the fielde, deuiding the ſame amongſt themſelues according to their accuſtomed order.

The Scottes vide the ſ

Alpine

Alpine himſelfe commaunded the bodie of his enimie Feredeth to be layde in chriſtian buriall, not farre from Forfair. After this cauſing the muſters of his people to be taken, he found that he had loſt ỹ third part of his armie in that mortall and cruell battaile, and thervpon brake vp his campe for that tyme, licenceyng thoſe that were left aliue to returne vnto their homes.

This battaile being fought in the firſte yeare of the reignes of the two forſayd kings, weakened the forces of both the nations, ſo farforth that the Scottes doubting to bring the realme into daunger of vtter ruine (if they ſhoulde committe their whole puiſſance eftſones to the hazarde of an other foughten field) determined to purſue the warre by making of incurſions and inrodes only vpon their enimies, ſo to vexe the Pictes, and to bring them vnto reaſon, if it were poſſible: and ſo much verily the Scottiſhmē did by ſuch their cōtinual rodes and incurſions which they made into Angus, that the countrie was left voyd and deſolate of all the inhabitants.

Neyther did Brudus the ſonne of Feredeth, (whome the Pictes had choſen to ſucceede after his father in the kingdome) fynde any ſpeedy redreſſe to withſtande thoſe dayly inuaſions thus made by the Scots vpon his countreis and ſubiectes, for he was but a slouthfull perſon, & very negligent in his office, whervpon he was had in deriſion of his own people, who in the end ſlew him amongſt themſelues before he had reigned fully the terme of one whole yeare.

Then ſucceeded Keneth, the ſecond ſonne of Feredeth, with no better happe or ende than his brother. For gathering togither an armie of his ſubiects, and comming with them into Angus, he came no ſoner within ſighte of his enimyes, but that caſting off his armour, he fled incontinently, leauing his people in the fielde. And for that his haſte, was ſlayne by a Ploweman that



met him by chaunce, and knew him not, but perceyued yet howe he had fled from his company, and therefore deſerued not to haue any other fauour.

His people ſeeing themſelues deſtitute of their head capitayn and gouernour, retired from their enimies, keeping themſelues in order of bataile without any further attempt.

Brudus kyng of the pictes.

After this infortunate end of Keneth, the Pictes choſe to their king one Brudus a man of a ſtoute and manlyke ſtomack, who immediately vpon his entring into the eſtate, comming into Angus which regiō the Scots had made waſte, catched there certaine Scottiſh robbers, & forthwith hanged them vp vpon gibets.

Biudus ſent vnto Alpyne for renuing their league.

After this, he ſent forth his ambaſſadors vnto king Alpine for reformation of all iniuries and wrongs betwixte the two nations, and to haue the auncient league renewed betwixte them.

Alpyn refuſeth any treatie of peace.

Alpine & the Scottiſh lordes hauing quickely aduiſed what to anſwer, declared vnto the Pictiſh ambaſſadors playnly, that they would not heare any treatie for peace, till the Pictes had deliuered the kingdome vnto the right heire.

Brudus ſēdeth an ambaſſador vnto Edwyn king of England for ayde with a ſumme of money.

Brudus vnderſtanding by this anſwere, that the Scots would ſtill follow the warres againſt the Picts, to be the better able to withſtand their malice, he purpoſed to procure the friendſhip of the Engliſhmen, to haue their ayde againſt the Scottes. He ſent therfore his ambaſſadors with a great ſumme of money vnto Edwyn king of Northumberlande, requiring him of his fauour, and to haue ſome number of his people for his wages to ſerue him againſt the Scots.

The money is receyued & aide promiſed.

Edwyne receyuing the moneye promiſed to come himſelfe with a myghtie armie, at what tyme and place Brudus ſhould appoint, to goe againſt the Scottes in defence of him and his ſubiectes the Pictes.

The picts ſom doe reioyce, and ſome myſtruſt of the engliſhe mens aſsiſtaunce.

Many of the Pictes reioyced greately, that they ſhould haue ayde thus of the Engliſhmen, hoping therby to haue aſſured victorie of their aduerſaries. Other myſtruſted not a little the Engliſhmens offers, by reaſon of the olde enimitie betwixt the Pictes and them.

The Scotes take Angus.

In this meane ſeaſon the Scots take a leaze vpon all the countrey of Angus, euen from the mountain of Granzebēe vnto the riuer of Tay, wherof Brudus being certified, ſendeth a poſte with all ſpeede vnto king Edwin king of Northumberland, requiring him to ſend to his ayde, a power of Engliſhmen, to helpe to reſiſte the Scottes, whiche at that preſente inuaded his countrey.

Brndus ſendeth vnto Edwin for ayde.

Edwyn deferreth his ayde.

Vnto which demand, Edwyn made this anſwere, that he was not only troubled with ciuile warre made againſt him by other Engliſhmen, but alſo had bin requeſted by Lewes ſurnamed Pius, as then French king in no wyſe to endomage the Scottes his confederates, ſo that for

that

that yeare preſent he might not cõueniently ſend to him any ſuccoures, but if he wold deferre the warres till the nexte yeare, he ſhoulde haue the beſte helpe that he were able to ſhewe hym.

Brudus being deceiued of the engliſhmen called his own ſubiects to the warre, aſſembling them at the foot of Calydon wood.

Brudus perceyuing himſelfe thus mocked & deluded by the engliſhmẽ, cõmãded by ſolemne ſummonance that all ſuche of his ſubiectes, as were able to beare armor, ſhould aſſemble in nether Calydone within eighte dayes after, wyth conuenable prouiſion of victuals, there to knowe his pleaſure.

Brudus entereth into Angus with an army.

His commaundement was obeyed: ſo that a mightie armie of men at the daye and place appoynted came togither, whiche beeing muſtred, they ſtreight ways remoue vnto Calydon caſtel, now called Dunkeld, where they paſſe the riuer of Tay, and ſo enter into Angus, not without ſome difficultie, but being once gotten ouer, they marche forthwith towardes the place wher they vnderſtood their enimies did lye.

A woonderfull polycie vſed by Brudus.

Brudus the night before the day in the which he thought they ſhould haue battaile, by the aduice of certaine expert warriours, whiche he had with him, appoynted all the horſes that were in the campe, ſeruing for burden, to bee beſtowed amongſt the women, lackeys and coyſtrels, part of them being clad in armure, and part in white lynnen, with long polles in their handes lyke to ſpeares and iauelins. Among them alſo hee ordeyned an hundred horſmen to be placed, whom he made priuie to his entention, as thē by whoſe leadyng that feate which ſhould be wrought in this behalfe, was to be atchieued. Theſe he cauſed to lye couertly within a wood neere vnto the place where the battaile ſhould be fought, giuing them in cõmaundment not to ſhewe themſelues till the battayle were begon.

The encamping of Alpyn his armie.

King Alpine this whyle helde himſelfe in a caſtell, whiche ſtode vpon an hill, a little from Dundee, beyng nowe decayed, ſo that litle therof remaineth to be ſeene at this daye. Upon the north ſide of the hille, there lyeth a greate large playne, compaſſed on eche ſide with mountains as then full of woodes and laundes, but now for the moſt part bare & without any trees or buſhes In this playne were the Scottes encamped.

Alpine beholding forth of the caſtell, how the Pictes approched to giue battayle, got him into the campe, & exhorting his people to ſhew themſelues valiant, diſpoſed them in array.

Raſhly the pictes begyn the battayle.

The Pictsno leſſe deſyrous to fight thā their gouernours woulde haue wiſhed them, beganne the battaile before they had commaundemente with ſuch violence, that the righte wing of the Scottes was ſore diſordered.

But Alpine perceiuing that, came ſpeedyly to their ſuccours, greatly reproouing them for their fayntneſſe of courage. To be ſhort, he didde ſo muche to enbolden them that by his meanes the fighte was renued in moſte cruell wyſe. In ſo muche that thoſe whiche before were put backe, began to winne grounde agayne, and to beate downe their enimies right fiercely.

The Scottes being deceiued with a counterfait trowe of horſmen fled.

But herewith did the counterfaite troupe of horſemen, whiche was hid in the wood ſodainly come forth, and ſhewed themſelues vpon the back half of ẏ Scottiſhmen, appering in ſight to be an huge number, and far more than they were in deede: with whiche ſight the Scottes beeing brought into a ſodain feare leaſt they ſhoulde be compaſſed aboute with multitude of enimies, they brake their aray, threwe off their armoure, and toke them to their feete, ſo to eſcape & ſaue themſelues by flight. Thus fewe were ſlayne in the battayle, but a great number died in ẏ chaſe, and were beaten downe on eche ſide as they wer ouertaken by the Picts.

King Alpyn taken by his enemies & after beheaded

Alpine himſelfe was taken, and hauyng his handes bounde behynde him, was led to the next towne, and there beheaded. The place beareth ẏ name of him vnto this day, being called Palalpine. His head alſo was ſet vpon a polle, and



borne vnto Camelon, and there ſet vp vpon one of the higheſt turrets of the wall.

Kenneth ſonne of a iniected of Scotl

The Scottes that eſcaped from this ſorowfull ouerthrow, got them with all ſpeed into Argyle, wher they inueſted Kenneth the ſonne of Alpine king of their realm. This was in the yere of our Lorde. 834. and the fourthe yeare after Alpyne entred firſt into the eſtate.

834.

The Pictes thankes God, for victorie.

The Pictes hauing atchieued this great and ioyfull victorie, aſſembled at Camelon by commaundement of their king, where cauſing a ſolemne proceſſion to be made, in rendring thanks to almightie God for their good ſucceſſe in their paſſed iourney: they take a generall othe vppon the Goſpell booke, that from thenceforth they would not ceaſſe to make the Scottes warre, til they had vtterly deſtroyed the race of them: and herewith ordeyned a law, that if any man made

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mencion of any peace or league to be had wyth the Scottes, he ſhould loſe his head for it.

There were in deede ſome auncient perſonages amongſt them, that ſpake againſt this inſolent outrage of the people, alledging that in time of proſperous ſucceſſe men ought to vſe a modeſtie: but certain youthfull perſons offended with ſuch graue aduiſe, thruſte the authors therof out of the Churche, within the whiche they were as then aſſembled.

The Scottes being certified hereof, were nothing therewith diſcouraged, but rather put in good hope of better ſucceſſe, ſith the enimies abuſed themſelues thus in tyme of felicitie.

The nert ſommer after, the Pictes aſſembled their power together, and ſetting forewarde towardes the Scottes, thorough a light occaſion they fel at variãce amongſt themſelues, & fought with ſuche hatred together, that the king was not able to appeaſe the fray til nyght parted them in ſunder.

Then calling the lordes afore him, he aſſayde al wayes to haue agreed the parties, but whẽ he ſaw it would not be, in the morning he gaue thẽ licence to departe euery man to his owne home, breaking off his iourney for that tyme.

Eudus lined not paſt .iij. moneths after, for thorough griefe that things wente not forewarde as he wiſhed, he fell into a grieuous diſeaſe, and finally therof dyed.

After whoſe deceaſſe the Pictes choſe his brother named Druſken, to ſucceede in gouernemente of the kingdome, who applied his whole endeuour vpon his firſt entring into the eſtate, to appeaſe the ciuile diſcord amongeſt his ſubiects. But whileſt he was thus buſily occupied about the ſame, there were certain Scottes, which ſore diſdained to vnderſtand ỹ the head of theyr late king ſhuld remain vnburied in ſuche reprochful ſort amongſt their enimies, wherupon hauyng perfecte knowledge of the Pictiſhe toung, they fayned themſelues to be merchaunt men of that countrey, and comming vnto Camelon, watched their tyme till they founde meanes in the night ſeaſon, to ſteale to the walles, and ſecretly taking awaye the heade, eſcaped with the ſame home into their owne countreye. This acte of theirs was not a little commended: and ſo now the head of king Alpin being recouered, was cloſed in a leaden coffin, and Kenneth himſelfe, hauing in his companie a great number of his nobles, went with it ouer into Colmkill, where he buryed it in the abbey, amongſt the ſepultures of his elders, together with the reſidue of the bodye in ryght ſolemne wyſe, as apertayned. And further thoſe perſons that had put their lyues in aduenture to fetche the ſame head from the walles of Camelon, wer by Kẽneth rewarded with rich gifts and lands in perpetuitie to remayn to them and to their heires for euer.

After this, Kenneth deuiſing for the ſuretie of his ſubiectes, furniſhed all the holdes and caſtels on the frontiers of his enimies with men & munition, according as he thought expedient. And moreouer toke order, that all the youth of the realme ſhould be in a readineſſe vpon an houres warning, to goe forth againſt the Pictes, if they attempted any new inuaſions. Keneth fortified the realem.

But the Scottiſh lordes had no great luſt to take any enterpriſe in hand eſtſoones againſt the Pictes, remembring how infortunatly they had ſped the laſt time: ſo that for the ſpace of .iij. yeares there was no great exployte atchieued, ſaue certaine roades and incurſions, whiche both the nations cõtinually vſed to make one vpon an other, as tyme and occaſion ſerued.

At length king Kenneth beeing very deſirous to be reuenged of the Pictes, for the death of his father king Alpine, and other iniuries by them done and attempted againſt the Scottiſh natiõ, in the fourth yeare of his reigne, he aſſembled the peeres and chiefeſt nobles of his realme, truſting to perſuade them to ayd him in al ſuch enterpriſes as he mente to take in hand againſt the Pictes, whom he purpoſed to purſue with opẽ warres, till he had them at his pleaſure. Keneth called his nobles to reuenge his fathers death.

But calling his lordes and peeres thus aſſembled one day before him, and going earneſtly about to moue them to the warres, he could ſtir them no more to his purpoſe, than if he had ben in hand to haue coũſelled them vnto that which in no wyſe had appertained vnto their duties: which their lacke of ſtomacks, Kenneth perceyuing, he began to deuiſe a pretie ſhift, wherby to induce them to his accorde.

Firſt therfore, breaking vp the aſſemblie for the ſame day, he cõmaunded ỹ they ſhould come togither agayne on the next morow, to conſult further for the ſtate of the realme, as they ſhould ſee cauſe. The ſame euening alſo hee had them all to ſupper, whiche being prolonged tyll farre in the night, it was late before they went to bed, ſo that being ouerwatched, when they were once gotten to reſte, they were ſone brought into a ſound ſleepe: Now had the king appointed for euery one of their chambers one man apparelled in garmentes pretily deuiſed and made of fyſhe ſkinnes vnſkaled, bearing in one of their hands a ſtaffe of ſuche rotten woode, as ſhyneth in the night, and in their other hand a great ore horn, to the ende that vttering their wordes thorough the ſame, the ſound of their voyces ſhoulde ſeeme farre differing from the vſuall ſpeeche of man. A pretie ſhifte deuiſed by the king to perſwade the nobilitie.

Thus appointed in the dead of the night, they enter the chambers to eche of them aſſigned, where (as is ſayd) the lordes laye faſte a ſleepe,

who

who being at the firſt as it were half awakened, were wonderfully amazed at the ſtrangeneſſe of the ſight, doubting whether it wer but a dreame or ſome true and vnfayned viſion. Herewith alſo were heard certaine ſeuerall voyces, farre greater than thoſe of men, declaring that they were meſſengers ſente from almightie God vnto the Scottiſh nobilitie, to commaunde them to obey their king, for his requeſt was iuſt: The Pictiſh kingdome due vnto him by righteſull heritage, ought to be recouered from that people, which for their great offeces and ſinnes towards almightie god ſhoulde ſhortly come to vtter deſtruction: ſuch was the determinate pleaſure of his diuine maieſtie, againſt the whiche might neyther coũſell nor puiſſance of man be able to reſiſt.

Of ſuch ſlightes there were many in thoſe dayes: and oftentimes no doute eſteemed to be heauenly viſions in deede.

When the counterfaited meſſengers had thus made an ende of their wordes, they ſlighly hid their ſtaues vnder their innermoſt garmentes, & therwith quikly cõueyd their vppermoſt veſtures made of fiſh ſkales (as I haue ſaid) into their boſoms in ſuche ſlight and nimble wyſe, that it ſeemed theſe viſions had ſodeynly vaniſhed away.

Thoſe lordes that had ſeene theſe ſightes, lay ſtill for that night, greatly muſing on the mater. In the morning being got vp, and aſſembled in the counſell chamber, they declared to eche other what they had ſeene and heard in the nyght paſſed, and for that all their viſions which they had ſeene by eche others reporte, were in euery behalfe lyke, and nothing differing one from an other, they beleeued verily, that it was ſome celeſtiall oracle and meſſage ſent from God. Therefore preſently they got vnto the king, declaring vnto him how they had been admoniſhed from aboue, to continue the warres with all their forces againſt the Pictes.

The lords declare their viſion vnto the king.

The king tolde them he had ſeene the like viſion, but they ought to kepe it cloſe, leaſt by glorying too much in the fauour ſhewed by almightie God towardes them, they myghte haply diſpleaſe his diuine Maieſtie, which otherwiſe they might perceyue was readie in their ayde. Then finally might the viſion be publiſhed, when thorough his fauourable aſſiſtance, the warres were brought to a luckie ende.

The anſwer of king Kenneth

This aduiſe of the kyng was well lyked of them all, and commaundement giuen, that all maner of prouiſion ſhoulde be prepared with all ſpeede for an armie to be ſet forth into Pictland. The lordes going buſily about to prouide themſelues of all things neceſſarie, muſtred their men in all partes, ſo that there was leuied a greater hoſte than had bin ſeene in thoſe parties of long tyme before.

Kenneth entred into Starlingſhire.

When the whole power was come togyther, Kenneth marched forth with the ſame, entring by greate violence into the Pictiſhe boroures about Sterling.

Druskene lilly inua his enimi

Druskene the king of Pictes aduertiſed hereof, and hauing his armie in a readineſſe bothe of Pictes and ſuch Engliſhmen as he had reteined to ſerue him for his wages, fetcheth a compaſſe about, and paſſing by the Scottiſhe armie in the night, encampeth betwixt them and home, in ſo muche that the daye did no ſooner appeare, but the one parte deſirous to be in hande with the other, without token of trumpet or commandement of capitayne, they ruſhed togither moſte fiercely. The haſtie ſpeede of the Pictes to ioyn, put them to no ſmall diſaduantage, but the departure of the Engliſhmen, withdrawing themſelues aſyde to the next mountayne, moſte of all diſcouraged them: for the Scottes therwith giuing a ſhoute, declared themſelues to bee highly recomforted with that ſight.

The Engliſhmen fled.

Druskene ſendeth to Engliſhmen

Druskene in all haſt ſent vnto thoſe Engliſh men a meſſenger, willing them with large promiſes of rewarde to returne to his ayde: but the Engliſhmen aunſwered, that their vſe was not to fyght without order and cõmaundemente of their generall, and that the Pictes lyke vnſkilful men had caſt away themſelues to bee ſlayne by the enemies hande: where it appertained vnto warlyke knowledge to auoyde the battail, when no hope of victorie appeared.

The middle warde of the Pictes ſeing themſelues left naked on the one ſyde, and aſſayled on the backes where the Engliſhmen ſhoulde haue kept their grounde and defended them, they began to ſhrinke: which the Scottes perceyuing, ſtroke on the more freſhly, til at length the Pictes not able to withſtand their force, fell to running away. They made their courſe towards the water of Forth, whiche was not farre from the place of the battaile, where beeing ouertaken, they were beaten downe and ſlayne in greate numbers: for Kenneth gaue cõmandement that they ſhuld ſpare none of the Pictes nation, neither gentleman nor other, y fel into their handes.

The Pictes vanquiſhed

The Engliſhmen whyleſt the Scottes and Pictes were thus occuppyed in the fyghte and chaſe, withdrewe homewardes with all ſpeede, and by reaſon of the mountaynes whiche they had to paſſe, that toke awaye the ſight of them from the Scottes, they eſcaped into their countrey without any purſuite.

The Engliſhmen eſcape.

Druskene himſelfe ſo ſoone as hee perceyued howe the field went againſt him, got him to his horſe, which he hadde appoynted to bee readie for him at hande vpon all occaſions, and ſo eſcaped out of daunger with a fewe other in his compayne.

Druskene caped by flight.

The Scottes returning from the chaſe, remayned in the place of the battayle all nyghte, keeping ſtrong watche aboute their campe, for doubt

doubt least the Englishemen had bene lodged in some secrete place nere by to haue set vpon thē at vnwares, if they might haue seene any aduauntage: but in the morning when it was knowne howe they were quite gone their wayes, and returned into theyr countreye (as before yee haue heard) then was the spoile of the fielde and Pictishe Campe gathered and bestowed amongest the souldiers, after the auncient custome of that natiō. And then were they all licenced to departe euery man to his home, with thankes for their seruice and paines in this iourney so manfully employed.

Within fewe dayes after, the Pictishe king Druskene sent his ambassadors vnto king Kēneth to sue for peace. Kenneth was contented to heare them, and promised to graunt a peace, so they would surrender into his handes the gouernement of their kingdom due vnto him by right of inheritance. But this condition being vtterly refused of the Picts, was ẏ cause that the war was eftsoones renewed with more cruelties than before. The yeare nexte ensuing this battayle, Kenneth got Mernes, Angus, and Fyfe into his handes, furnishing all the castels and holds with men, munition, and victuals. But whylest hee went about to subdue the countreis about Sterlyng, worde was brought him that suche as he left thus in garison in those countreys, were betrayed by the inhabitauntes, and slayne euerye mothers sonne.

Kenneth wonderfully kindled in wrathe for the newes, left off his treatie which thē he had in hande with the people of Menteth and Sterlingshire for their submission, and returned in greate hast towardes Fyfe, where being arriued, he put all to the fire and sword, not leauing one alyue of the Pictishe nation within all those quarters.

The lyke cruelties was shewed thorough the whole countreys of Mernes and Angus, for an ensample to other to beware howe they falsifyed their fayths once giuen by way of allegiance.

In the meane tyme that Kenneth with hys Scottes raged in suche wyse throughe those countreys, Druskene assembling all the power of his countreys, came forthe into the fielde, to meete the Scottes, meaning eyther to put them backe out of the confines of his dominion, eyther else to dye with honoure in the attempte therof.

Thus passing through ẏ coūtrey, at length he came vnto Scone, where afterwards stood a famous Abbey of Chanons of Saint Augustines order, and here he found Kenneth with his army already encāped. The next day when both parties were ready to haue giuen battell, Druskene wishing rather to aske peace whilest his power was yet in safetie, then after he were once vanquished (if such were his misaduēture) to intreate for the same in vaine, sent an herauld at armes vnto Kenneth, willing that he might talke with him before they ioyned, for that he had to say certaine thinges whiche being followed might turne to the great benefite and commoditie of both the Scottish and Pictish nations.

Kenneth for that he would not seeme to refuse any indifferent offers, was cōtented to come to a cōmunication, & so thervpon both the kings in presence of both their armies arraunged in the field ready to fight, came togither in a place appointed, either of them being accompanied with a like number of their nobles, as by the heraulds it was accorded.

Here Druskene with many reasons going about to perswade peace, shewed howe necessary the same was betwixt the two nations. And againe how doubtfull fortune was to them that trusted to much in hir vnstedfast fauour, at length he grew to this end, that if Kenneth could be cōtēted to graunt a peace, the Picts should release all such right, title and interest as they had in the countreys of Mernes, Angus, & Fyfe, vnto him and his successors the Scottish kings for euer, so that he should make no further clayme to any other of those countreys whiche the Picts as yet possessed.

The persuasion of peace by Druskene.

Merns, Angus and Fyfe is required of the Pictes to release.

Herevnto Kenneth answeared, that he well vnderstoode how vnstable fortunes lawes were, but thence the Pictes fought in an vniust quarell, as to defraude the posteritie of theyr lawfull king Hungus, who lately reigned amongst thē of the rightfull inheritaunce of theyr kingdome, they themselues had iust cause to doubt fortunes chaunce, where the Scots hauing put vpō lawful armure, and seeking to attaine that by warre, whiche by other meanes they could not attayne at the handes of the vniust possessors, they had lesse cause to mistrust hyr fauour, and therefore if the Pictes were desirous of peace, they ought to cause a surrender to be made of theyr kingdome into his handes, accordingly as they well knewe it was reason they shoulde: and what commoditie might thereof ensue to both nations being by suche meanes once ioyned & vnited into one entier kingdome, hee doubted not but they vnderstoode it sufficiently enough. And as for other conditions of peace than this, he told them plainely there would be none accepted.

Kenneth his answere.

Thus did the kings depart in sunder, without any agreement concluded: and being returned to theyr armies, they make ready to trie the matter by dinte of sworde.

Kenneth exhorted his people that day to shew themselues menne, sithe the same shoulde iudge whether the Scottes shoulde rule and goueme,

the

the Pictes, or the Pictes the Scottes.

The order of the battaile.

Wyth these and many other effectual wordes when he hadde encouraged his folkes to the battayle, hee deuided them into three wardes, as two wings and a mayne battayle. In euery of them hee set fyrst archers & arkbalesters, and next vnto them pykes or speares, then bill men and other with suche shorte weapons, last of all, an other multitude with all kynde of weapons as



to the battail, which the Scots began with such a chearefull shoute, that the Pictes euen vpon the first onset were so amazed, that if Dyuskē had not with comfortable wordes relieued their faintyng stomakes, the most part of them had fledde without any stroke stricken. But beeing encouraged throughe the presence of their kyng, shewing himselfe with chearefull countenaunce amongst them, and therewith exhorting them to stande by him at that present, there was fought a ryghte sore and cruell battaile betweene them.

King Druskē emboldeneth his people the pictes.

The women that were amongest the Pictes, of whome there was no small number, specially in the right wing, made suche a woeful noyse when they beheld the men one kill an other, that they were a more encumber to the Pictes thā ayd when it came to the poynt of seruice: by reason wherof, that wing was shortly beaten downe, and put to flight.

The women were cā umber to the pictes.

Which when Kenneth beheld, hee sette in with his horsemen on the backes of the Pictes, now left bare by the running thus away of those in the foreslayd wing: and so entring in amongst them, disordred their aray in suche wise, that by no meanes they were able to ayde themselues, or come into any order agayne, so that in the ende they were fayne to throw downe their weapons, and take them to their feete, thereby to escape the daunger.

Kenneth with the horsmen disordred the pictes aray.

The right wing of the pictes is put to flighte.

Suche heapes of slayne men, armure & weapons lay here strewed in the place of the battail, that the Scottes were inforced in followyng the chase to breake their araye, to passe the more speedily: by meanes wherof, fallyng amongest wholle bandes of the Pictes, manye of them were slayne.

This mischiefe Kenneth perceyuing, cōmandeth to sound the retreat, & so gathering his people about their standerdes, he appointed certaine cōpanies in warlyke order to pursue in chase of the enemies, whilest he himselfe with the residue aboade still in the place (where the fielde was fought) al that day & the night nexte folowing.

Kenneth causeth the treate to sounded.

The Scottishe captaines that were sente to followe the chase, earnestly in executyng theyr kinges commaundement, made greate slaughter of the Pictes in all places where they might ouertake them.

Dyuskene the Pictishe king himselfe beeyng pursued to the riuer of Tay, for that he could not passe the same, was there slaine with the whole retinue which he had about him.

The kil the pict

It is sayde, that the Scottishemen encountred with the Picts that day seuen sundry times, and in seuen sundry places, and still the victorie aboade with the Scottes.

The day after the battaile suche as had followed in the chase returned to the camp, where they presented vnto Kenneth their king, the armure and other spoyle of Dyuskene the Pictish king,

king, which they brought with thē, beſides great abundance of other pillage and riches, whiche they had got of the enimies that were ſlayne. Dzuſkenes armure and other things belonging to his owne bodie, was offered vp to S. Colme, in the Churche dedicated to his name within the Ile of Colmekill, there to remaine as a monumēt of this victozy to ſuch as ſhould come after.

After this the whole pray and ſpoyle was gathered and deuided amongſt the ſouldiers, Kenneth was counſelled to haue diſcharged his armie and to haue departed home, but he purpoſing now to make an ende of the whole warres, ſithe he was in ſuche a fozwardneſſe, called togither the multitude, and in this wiſe began to vtter vnto them his minde and purpoſe.

It is the duetie of a good Captayne, when he hath the victozy in his handes, and as yet the warres not ended, if he minde the preſeruation of himſelfe and his countrey, and to vſe the victozie as hee ought, not to ceaſſe from purſuing the enimies once vanquiſhed, till hee haue eyther made them his frendes, oz elſe vtterly deſtroyed and ridde them out of the way: foz if any man ſhall thinke it beſte to ſuffer the enimie to remayne in quiet after he be once weakened and brought to a lowe ebbe, till time peraduenture he ſhall haue recouered his fozces agayne, he ſhall procure to himſelfe (as I geſſe) moze daunger than happely hee is well ware of. And that we may ſpeake ſomewhat of this daunger now preſent, the ſtate of the Piciſhe kingdome (as yee know) is foze enfeebled, theyz power being diminiſhed by fozce of warre, is brought to that poynt, that it reſteth in our handes vtterly to deſtroy and exterminate the whole nation. Whiche act ought to be abhozred if it were poſſible foz vs by any meanes to drawe them (our honour ſaued) vnto our frendſhippe. But the Picts are of ſuch a ſtubboꝛne nature, and ſo deſirous of reuenge, that ſo long as there remayneth any one of them aliue, they will beare in theyz hartes a deſire to reuenge all ſuche loſſes as they haue in any wyſe ſuſtayned by this warre. Wherevpon I do verily beleeue that there is none of the Piciſhe nation from hence fozth, will beare any faythfull frendſhip towardes the Scottes. Therefoze ſithe wee can not make the Picts, thus lately ſkourged by vs, our frendes, I thinke it beſte (excepte wee will neglect our owne ſafeties) vtterly to deſtroy the whole nation, by putting to the ſwoꝛde not onely bothe men and women, but alſo all theyz youth and yong chyldren: leaſt they, beyng diſcended of that lynage, hereafter in time to come, arme thēſelues to the reuenge of theyz parentes deaths, and that not without perill of the vtter loſſe of our countrey and kingdome.

This ſentence of the king, though it ſeemed ouer cruell to many, yet whether foz that they ſawe the ſame to ſtande with the kings pleaſure, oz that they thought it moſte expedient foz the ſuretie of the Scottiſhe common wealth, it was allowed and ratified by them all. The commons allowe the kings ſaying.

Such crueltie herevpō was forthwith ſhewed throughout all the Piciſh regions, that there was not one liuing creature of humane ſhape left aliue, ſauing ſuch as ſaued themſelues within the walles of Camelon, oz in certaine other holdes and foztreſſes, and alſo aboute two thouſande of thoſe that fledde into Englande: foz all the reſidue were moſte vnmercyfully murthered and ſlayne without reſpect eyther to age, ſexe, profeſſion, oz eſtate. A cruel acte committed by the Scots vpon the Pictes.

Thus Kenneth hauing diſpatched the inhabitants, ſeaſed the cōutrey into his owne hands, making partition of the ſame as he ſawe cauſe, and deuiding it amongſt his nobles, accozdyng to the merites of euery of them duely waged and conſidered, he added newe names alſo vnto euery quarter and region (eyther after the name of the gouernour, oz els of ſome promontozie, riuer oz other notable water oz place, accozdyng as was the auncient cuſtome of the nation) that the memozy of the Piciſhe names might ende togither with the inhabitants. Pictland parted vnto diuers men.

The countrey aunciently called *Horeſtia*, was giuen vnto two bzetherne, Ingusian and Wernan, by reaſon whereof the one parte of the ſame countrey was called Angus, and the other the Wernes. The linage of thoſe two noble men remayne vnto this day. Newe names are giuen vnto euery region. Angus. Merne.

The region whiche till then was named *Otholinia*, was turned afterwardes to the name of Fyfe, after the name of one Fyfe Duffe: whoſe valiancie was throughly tried in theſe laſte warres with the Picts. Fyfe.

There remayne vnto this day tokens and old ruines of a Caſtell ſituate betwixt the riuer of Leuine and Saint Kenneths churche, which (as yet appeareth) was fenſed about with ſeuen rampers and as many diches, wherein the poſteritie of this worthy man after his deceaſſe had theyz habitacion by the ſpace of many hundzed yeares.

Louthian reteyned ſtill the fozmer name, ſo honozable was the remembzaunce of that famous Pzince king Loth amongſt all men. Louthian.

The ſtrongeſt caſtle of the whole countrey Kenneth beſtowed vpon that valiant Captaine named Bar, whoſe councell and fozewarde ſeruice ſtood the Scottes in no ſmall ſtede in thoſe warres, in whiche the Picts were thus ſubdued. That foztreſſe euer ſithence (after his name) hath bene called Dunbar, that is to ſay, the Caſtell of Bar. A rewarde giuen vnto Bar, which was the fortreſſe of Dunbar.

The famelie of Dunbar.

There descended of hym a noble house or family bearyng the name of this Castell, continuing in greate fame and honour, euen vnto our tyme, of the whiche the Earles of Marche had theyr beginniug, and continued long in that dignitie from one to an other, with diuers branches of right famous memorie.

The changyng of the names of the Dales.

The names of diuers dales were also chaunged, and some kepte the olde names still.

Annandale.

Dydolucia shortely after begaune to take the name of Annandale, of the ryuer of Annan, that renneth through the same.

Tweedale.

And so lykewise Tweedale toke name of the water of Tweede.

Cludesdale.

And Cludesdale of the ryuer of Clud.

In lyke maner many other Countreys, Townes and Castels had theyr names chaunged at the same tyme, after they came into the possession of the Scottish nenne, vpon sundrie considerations, for a witnesse of theyr victorious actes, atchieued agaynst the Pictes.

The Gentlewomen are preserued in Camelon.

Furthermore into the citie of Camelon were withdrawen the moste parte of all the noble mens wiues of the Picts with their chyldren vpō truste to be safe in the same, aswell by reason of the strength of the place, as also of the strong garyson whiche was appoynted to defende it.

Kenneth sendeth vnto Camelon, commaunding the for to yeelde.

Kenneth therefore hauyng taken his pleasure abroade in the countrey, came thyther with a mighty armie to besiege the Citie, and firste sendyng vnto them within, to knowe if they woulde yeelde, he was aunswered howe sithe it plainely appeared that the Scottes coulde be satisfied with nothing but with the slaughter of all suche as fell into theyr handes, aswell of women and chyldren, with impotent age, as of other, they were minded neuer to surrender theyr holde with lyfe. Wherevpon the siege continued by the space of many dayes.

They of Camelon require truce for three dayes.

Whylest the Scottes in the meane tyme gotte togither greate number of faggottes, and other suche brusheand stuffe to fill the ditches withall whiche were very deepe and broade, at length when they within beganne to want vitayles, they requyred a truce for three dayes, in the whiche meane time they might take aduise for the surrender of the Citie.

Kenneth mistrusting no deceyt, graunted theyr requeſt, and therevpon commaunded his people to ceasse from all maner of annoyance of the enimies, for that terme.

The Pictes issue vpon the Scottes with great fortune.

But in the meane tyme the Pictes prepared themselues of all things necessary to make an issue vpon the Scottes. There was also an olde gate forlet and stopped vp with earth and stones vpon the one side of the Citie, so that of a long tyme before there had bene no way forth by the same, wherefore in the darke of the night the Pictes ridding away the earth and ramell wherwith it was closed vp, aboute the third watche, they passe forth at that gate in good order of battayle, setting firste vpon suche Scottes as kepte the standyng watche, who were in doubte of nothing lesse than of any issue to be made on that side, by meanes whereof they were easily oppressed, and likewise the other that kepte the inner watche, in so muche that the slaughter went on almoste, euen to the kings tent with greate noyse and clamour, as is commonly seene in suche sodayne tumultes, especially chanceyng in the night season. When the day began once to appeare, the Pictes withdrawyng towardes the Citie by the same way they came, were pursued by the Scottes, and no small number of them slayne at the entring. The Citie also had bene taken at the same time, but that the Pictes out of the turrettes and loupes of the walles, discharged a wonderfull number of quarelles, dartes, arrowes, stones and other things vppon the Scottes, as they approched neare to the gate, where theyr fellowes (that made the issue) hasted to enter againe into the towne.

Anewowe king

There were slayne of the Scottes at this bickeryng aboue fyue hundred, wherewith Kenneth was so kindeled with wrath, that detesting the falsehod of the Pictes, hee vowed by open othe that he woulde not departe from the siege, till he had put the citie and them within to the fire and swoorde, without sparing of any, eyther one or other.

The of th whē beſe

Sundrie times he attempted to haue wonne the citie by force of assaulte, but the Pictes still defended theyr walles so stoutly, that he coulde not atchieue his purpose. Wherevpon the siege continued the space of foure moneths togither. So that suche scarcetie of all kindes of vitayles still rose amongst them, that the wretched Citezins abstayned from nothing that might in any wise be eaten, though it were neuer so much to be abhorred. And yet although they were brought vnto suche miserable stay, that there was no hope longer to defende themselues, if any man notwithstanding all suche extremitie were heard to make mencion of surrendring, he was forthwith slayne by his fellowes, as an enimie to his nation and friend vnto the Scots. It was thought that Kenneths othe made them so obstinate in theyr wilfull contumacie, because they sawe nothing but death whiche way so euer they inclined.

Ap vſed net

At length when the citie was thus reduced into all extreeme misery, & the diches filled with faggottes and other suche stuffe, Kenneth one night appoynted fyue hundreth of his chosen Souldiers to lie in ambushe within a wood, adioyning neare to one side of the Citie, so that

that in the morning when he ſhoulde gyue the aſſaulte on the contrary ſide, they might ſodenly come forth and ſkale the walles on that other.



These ſouldiers accordyng to that whiche they had in commaundement, ſhortely after the breake of day, hearyng that Kenneth had begon the aſſault on his parte, quickely came forth of the wood, and hauing theyr ladders ready, came to the walles, reared them vp, and ſwiftely getting into the citie, opened one of the gates where one parte of the army entred, the cytezins ſtanding in no doubt at all of any attempt on that ſide, ſo as beyng gotten togither to defende the walles on that parte where Kenneth gaue the aſſaulte, and now hearing how the enimies were got into the citie, and comming on theyr backes they were wonderfully amazed, but yet ſo long as they were able to make any reſiſtāce, they did what lay in theyr vttermoſte power to beate backe the Scots, & to dryue them out of the citie againe. The ſlaughter therefore was great whiche the Scottes made of the Pictes in euery corner of the ſtreetes, in ſo muche that the Scottiſhe Lordes and other Captaynes in reuenge of the late receyued loſſe of theyr men through the falſe practiſed policie of the Pictes, commaunded in a greate furie to ſette fire on the houſes, and to kill and ſlea all ſuche of the Pictiſhe nation as came in theyr way.

Thus the murder proceeded vpon al eſtates, aſwell religious as other, and lykewiſe vppon women and chyldren without any difference.

A number of Ladyes and Gentlewomen, gettyng them into the preſence of kyng Kenneth, beſought him in moſte lamentable wiſe, to haue pytie vpon theyr wofull eſtate, and to ſaue theyr lyues from the handes of his moſte cruell ſouldiers. But ſuche was the rage kindled in the Scottiſhmens hartes, that there was no more fauour ſhewed towardes them than towardes the other, and ſo immediatly were they alſo ſlayne without all compaſſion.

So farre forth was the murder executed on all hands, that there was not one left aliue of the Pictiſh nation, neither man, woman nor childe to bewayle that miſerable deſtruction of theyr countrey and kinſfolkes. Then were the walles throwen downe and made euen with the plaine grounde. The houſes and buyldings aſwell priuate as publike with the churches & chapels were ſet on fire, and that which might not be conſumed with the rage of fire was ruynate and deſtroyed with hande, ſo that there remayned of all that famous citie, nothing but the aſhes with heapes of the broken and brenned ſtones, and likewiſe of the pauement and fundacion of ſome parte of the walles.

All the Pictiſh natiō deſtroyed.

The citie of Camelon is throwē downe.

The ſame time the caſtell of Maydens now called commonly Edenburgh caſtell was ſtill kept with a mightie garyſon of Pictes, but they hearing of the miſerable deſtructiō of Camelon, and doubting to fall into the like miſehaunce, left the caſtel voyde, and fled into Northumberland. Thus ended the kingdome of the Pictes in Albion in the yeare after they firſte began to reigne therein. 172. and in the yeare after the byrth of our ſauiour. 839. from the firſt cōming of Fergus. 166. and after the creation of the worlde. 4806. if the Scottiſh chronicles be true.

The caſtell of Maydens is left of the Pictes.

839.
1421. H.B.
6038. H.B.

But where as the truthe concernyng the tyme of the firſte comming into this Iſle, aſwell of the Scottes as Pictes reſteth doubtfull, and that aſwell by authoritie of approued writers, as by reaſonable coniectures, wee haue in the Hiſtorie of Englande more largely

written thereof. Wee referre those that bee desirous to see further of that mater, vnto the same, following here in this historie of Scotlande the report most an ende, as we finde it in Hector Boetius, and other the Scottishe writers, not taking vpon vs so frankely to set downe our owne opinion in this Scottishe, as in the Englishe historie through want of suche helpes in the one as we haue got in the other.

Prodigious tokens seene in the ayre.

There was seene the same yeare two cometes, or blasing starres of dreadfull aspect to the beholders, the one went before the sunne rysing in harueste season, and the other followed the going downe thereof in the spryng of the yeare. There was often times seene also in the ayre a vision of fierie armies, runnyng togither with brennyng staues, and the one being vanquished, they sodenly bothe of them vanished away. Also at Camelon as the Bishoppe was at seruice holding his crosier staffe in his hande, it was kindeled so with fire, that by no meane it coulde be quenched til it was brent euen to ashes. About noone dayes, the ayre being fayre and cleare, as well in the countreys of the Scottes as of the Pictes, there was heard such a noyse & clattering of weapons and armure with braying of horses, as though two armies shoulde haue bene togither in fight, whereby many of eyther nation which heard it, were put in great feare.

The interpretation of these tokens.

These vnkouth wonders were interpreted by deuinors diuersly: some affirming the same to betoken ioy and happie prosperitie, and other aledgyng, how they signified rather mishap and vtter calamitie.

But to returne to our purpose, King Kenneth hauing thus destroyed the Pictish kingdome together almost with the whole nation, caused the marble stone (whiche Symon Breke sometime brought out of Spaine into Ireland, & the firste Fergus out of Ireland into Albion, as before is recited) to be brought now forth of Argile where till that time it had bene diligently kepte) into Goury, whiche region before appertayned to the Pictes, there to remaine from thence forth as a sacred token for the stablishment of the Scottishe kingdome in that countrey: he placed it at Scone vpō a reysed plot of ground there, bicause that the last batayle whiche he had with the Pictes was fought neare vnto the same place, the victory as before is specified chaūcing to the Scots. Vpon this stone, as before is rehearsed, the Scottishe kings were vsed to sit, when they receyued the inuesture of the kingdome.

The marble stone is remoued frō Argile into Goury, in the place called Scone.

Some writers haue recorded that by commaundement of Kenneth at the same time, whē this stone was thus by him remoued, those latine verses were engrauen vpon it, whereof mention is made before, where we spake of the aforesayd Fergus the first his cōming ouer forth of Ireland into Albion, there to reygne.

Now in the meane time when those fewe of the Picts, which by flight had escaped the Scottishmens hands, and were gotte into England, could by no meanes perswade the Englishmen being troubled with intestine warre, to ayde thē in recouery of their countrey, some of them passed the seas ouer into Norway, and some into Denmarke, and diuers other of them remayned still in England, where they got their liuing eyther by some manuall occupation, eyther els by seruice in the warres. The residue of the Picts dispersed.

The Scots from thence forth liued in quiet, during the life time of king Kenneth, who deserued eternal fame, by the enlarging of the boūds of his kingdome, so mightily and in suche wise, that where he founde the frouters, hee made the same well neare the middest of his kingdome. Other things he did also touchyng the politike gouernment of his subiectes in time of peace, no lesse worthie of prayse than his noble & famous conquestes: but specially he ordeyned certayne lawes for the wealth of his people, whereby his iudges and other officers should proceede in the administration of iustice, of the whiche I haue thought requisite to rehearse parte as yet beyng vsed, that aswell the Author, as the time of their first establishment, may the better appeare, to suche as shall peruse this historie. The Scots liue in quiet. Kenneth ordeyneth lawes.

The Chapters of those lawes whiche yet remayne to be obserued, are these.

Yet euery shyre haue certayne men skilled in the lawes appoynted to bee resident in the same, accordyng as in the beginning it was instituted. Let their sonnes also in their youth bee brought vp in knowledge of the same lawes. Lawyers ordeyned.

Let them only keepe in their custodies the tables of the lawes, with the register bookes of the kings and peeres of the realme. The tables of the lawes kept.

If any of them be conuicted of extorte brybing or other the like vniust dealing, let him die hanged vpon the gallowes, and his bodie remayne vnburied. Bribers hanged.

Such as are condemned for theft, let them be hanged, and those that are proued giltie of murder, let them lose their heades. Punish theft other.

A woman which is condemned to die, eyther let hyr be drowned in some riuer, eyther els let hyr be buried quicke. A woman condemned drowned buried.

He that blasphemeth the name of God, of the Saintes, of his Prince, or of the Captayne of his tribe, lette him haue his tongue cut out. Blasphemers haue tongue cut.

He

He that is conuicted of a lie to his neighbors hinderance, let him haue his swoorde taken from him, & be banished out of all mens companie.

Aduersaries in suyte of law.

Suche as be accused of any crimes that deserue death, let them passe by the sentence of. vij. honest men, eyther els of. ix. xj. xiij. xv. or moe, so that the number be odde.

Robbers by the highe wayes, destroyers of corne growyng in the fieldes as is vsed by enimies in time of warre, let them die by the swoord.

Fugetiues, vagabounides, and such other idle persons, let them be whipped and brenned in the cheeke.

Let not the wife suffer for the husbandes offences, but the husbād shal answere for the wifes misdeedes if he be prime therebnto.

Any mans lemman or concubine, shall suffer the same paynes that he dothe whiche offendeth with hyr.

Hee that rauisheth a mayde shall die for it, onlesse she requyre for sauegarde of his life, to haue him to hyr husband.

If any man be taken with an other mans wife in adultrie, she consenting vnto him therein, they shall bothe suffer death for it. But if shee consent not but be forced agaynst hyr will, then he shall die onely for the same, and the woman shall be releassed.

If the childe hurt the father either with tung, hande, or foote, let him first be depryued of that member, and then hanged, his body to remayne without buriall.

A murderer a dumbe person, or he that is vnthankefull to his parentes, shall not inherite his fathers patrimonie.

Jugglers, Wysertes, Nicromancers and such as call vp spyrytes, and vse to seeke vpō them for helpe, let them be brent to death.

Let no man sow in the earth any grayne before it be purged of all the weedes.

Hee that through negligent slouth, suffereth his errable grounde to bee choked vp and ouergrowen with weedes, for the firste faulte lette him forfeyt an oxe, for the second ten oxen, and for the third let him forgoe the same grounde.

Thy companion in the warres, or thy friend beyng slayne, see him buried, but let the enimie lie vnburied.

Any strayfe catayle that commeth into thy grounides, eyther restore them to the owner, eyther els deliuer thē to the searcher out of theeues, commonly called *Tonderach*, or to the person or vycar of the towne: for if thou retayne them in thy handes by the space of three dayes, thou shalt be accompted giltie of theefte.

He that findeth any thing that belongeth to an other man, lette him cause it to be cried in the market, or els hee shalbe iudged for a fellon.

He that striketh him with whome he goeth to the lawe, aboute any mater in controuersie, shall be iudged giltie of the action, and the other set free.

If oxen or kyen chaunce by runnyng together to kill one an other, the truthe beyng not knowen whiche it was that did the hurte, that which is founde without hornes shall be iudged the occasion of the skathe, and he that is owner of the same, shall haue the dead beast, & satisfie him for the losse to whom it belonged.

Oxen or kyne, hurting eche other.

If a sow eate hir pigges, let hyr be stoned to death, and buried, so that noman eate of hyr flesshe.

A Sowe.

A swyne that is founde eating of corne that groweth in the field, or growing vpon the tilled grounides, let it be lawfull for any man to kill the same without daunger.

Swyne.

Other kindes of beastes, wherein other men haue any propertie, if they breake into thy pastures or eate vp thy corne, impounde them, till time the owner haue satisfied thee for the quantitie of the domage.

Beasts domage leiant.

These were cyuill ordinaunces belongyng to the good gouernment of the people, other there were whiche appertayne to religion: as these.

Articles touching religiō.

Thou shalt deuoutly reuerence the Aulters, Temples, Images, Oratories, Chapels, Priests, and all men of religion.

Thou shalte obserue with deue reuerence festiuall and solemne holy dayes, fasting dayes, vygiles, and all maner of ceremonies instituted by the godly ordinaunce of man, in the honour of our Sauiour Christe and his Saintes.

Keeping of holy dayes.

To hurt a Priestе let it be accompted an offence worthie of death.

Priests.

That grounde wherein any that is slayne lieth buried, leaue it vntilled for seuen yeares space.

Ground to be left vntilled.

Repute euery graue holy, and adorne it with the signe of the crosse, so as thou shalt be well aduised that in no wise with thy feete thou treade vpon it.

Graues.

Burie the dead according to the quantitie of his substaunce.

Buriall.

The body of a noble man & of him that hath well deserued of the common wealth, shal be buried in solemne and pompouse wise, but yet in mourning sorte and dolorous manner.

Buriall of noble men.

Let there be two knights or squiers to attend his bodie to the graue, the one being mounted vpō a whyte horse shal beare the coate armure of the dead, & the other in mourning apparell with his face couered shal ride vpō a blacke horse: who after the corps is brought to churche, turnyng his horse from the Aulter, shall crie out how his maister is dead: & therwith the people making an

outerie against him, he shall straight wayes departe and get him with all speede to the place frō whence he came, the other going straight to the aulter shall there offer vp to ỹ priest his coate armure with his horse, as a token to signifie therby that his master doth enioy euerlasting lyfe, in the land of permanent light and ioyes eternall. But this custome of buriall as that whiche was supposed not appertayning to the order of the Christian religion, the age that followed dyd vtterly abolishe, appoynting to the Priestes in steede of the horse and armure .v. pound sterlyng in money for the offering.

With these and diuers other ordinaunces, whiche tyme and other statutes by other kings diuised haue abrogated, Kenneth gouerned his people in great felicitie during his lyfe time.

The Bishops sea, whiche before had bene at Abirnethy, hee translated vnto the Churche of that holy man Saint Reule. Euer sithe whiche time the towne hath bene called Saint Andrewes, and those whiche gouerned the same Churche long time after, were called the greate Bishoppes of Scotlande: for the realme was not deuided into Dioceses till the daies of Malcolme the thyrde, who by deuine inspiration (as is sayde) ordeyned the sea of Murthlake, now called Aberden: but suche as were reputed of vertuous behauiour and knowledge meete for the office, vsed the authoritie and rowmeth of Bishoppes in what place so euer they were resident. Yet suche was the continuaunce of those which gouerned the church of Saint Andrewes, that there haue bene aboue the number of fortie Bishoppes, resident there sithe the firste institution of that sea: many of them for the opinion conceyued of theyr holinesse beyng numbred accordyng to the maner in times paste in the register of Saints.

S. Reule his Church, nowe called Saint Andrewes.

The boundes of the Scottish kingdome.

But nowe to returne vnto Kenneth, who hauing (as is sayde) enlarged the boundes of his kingdome, so as the same stretched forth vnto the confynes of Northumberlande on the one side, and to the Iles of Orknay, on the other, the sea compassing in the residue, at the length after hee hadde reygned aboute twentie yeares in greate renowme and glory, hee departed out of this lyfe, through to muche abundaunce of rewmatike mater, at Forthoite, in the yeare of our Lorde. 855. His bodie was conueyed into the Ile of Colmekill, and there honorably buried amongst his auncestours.

King Kenneth departeth out of this life. 855. H.B.

Donald

Donald the fourth of that name succeedeth his brother Kenneth.

After his decease succeeded in gouernment of the realme his brother Donald, farre differing in qualities from his noble brother the foresayde Kenneth, but yet before he came to the rule of the realme, he disclosed not his vicious nature, for doubte of offending the king his brother. Neuertheless he had continued vnneth two yeares in the astate, but that he had subuerted all good orders in his realme, by his naughtie ensamples of dissolute liuing: for his minde was set on nothing but on wanton pleasures: as in the vnlawfull vse of concubines, riotous banquetting, keepyng of Hawkes, Houndes, and Horses for pleasure, and not for the vse of warres, whereof hee had no regarde at all: for suche charges as hee shoulde haue bene at for mayntenance of men of warre to keepe the frounters of his realme, was imployed vpon a sorte of rascals, that serued him in the furtherance of his wanton delites and voluptuous desires, as Huntsmē, Fauconers, Cookes, Bawdes, Ruffians, and suche lyke.

The king is of dissolute behauiour.

Whereupon diuers of the Nobles remembryng what appertayned to theyr duelies, spared not but freely admonished the king what daunger woulde ensue of his misordered behauiour, if hee reformed not his manners, nor restrayned the licencious doyngs of his seruaunts and familie. But when they perceyued that theyr wordes were not regarded, but for the same they themselues ranne into displeasure, they sorrowed not a litle to see so small hope of amendment of suche enormities, as euery where reygned through the region: for all youthfull persons gyuen to sensuall luste followed the same without any feare or care of correction, so that there was no measure of offending and haunting of euill rule in all parties, in so muche that shortely through wante of all good gouernaunce, wrong was placed in steede of righte, and contempt of Goddes honour embraced euery where in place of vertue.

The king is admonished his Nobles.

In this meane whyle, the residue of the Pictes remayning amongst the Englishmen, ceassed not to solicite the gouernours of the countrey to ayde them towardes the recouerie of theyr dominion out of the Scottishmens handes, promysing to be subiectes vnto the English nation, if by their helpe they might be restored to their auncient seates.

The exiled Pictes require ayde of the Englishmen.

At length Osbert and Ella kings of Northumberlande were perswaded through instant suyte to take that enterprice in hande, the rather vpon trust of good successe, for that they vnderstood what lacke of politike gouernment was then remayning amongst the Scottes, by reason of the kinges naughtie demeanour and most disordinate trade of lyfe.

Osbert & Ella kings of Northumberland.

But first there was a league concluded with newe articles of agreement betwixte the Englishmen and Britons, as yet inhabiting alongst the coastes of Cumberlande, by meanes of

The Englishmen & Britons ioyned the powers with the Pictes

of whiche league bothe Bꝛytons and Engliſhmen ioyned theyꝛ powers togither, and in moſte ſpeedy and foꝛcible wiſe paſſed the water of Tweede, firſt pitching theyꝛ campe in the countrey of Mers. From whence immediatly kyng Olbert (beyng appoynted as generall in that iourney) ſente an Herault vnto Donalde the Scottiſhe king, commaunding him eyther to ſurrender vp vnto the Pictes all ſuche regions as the Scottes had taken from them, eyther elſe to loke to haue the Engliſhmen and Bꝛytons no leſſe theyꝛ enimies than the Pictes, whoſe cauſe they had taken vpon them to mayntaine and defende.

Donald being at the firſte ſoꝛe troubled with theſe newes, yet at lengthy by the aduiſe of his nobles hee toke a good harte vnto him, and in defence of his realme, cauſed muſters to be taken throughout all his dominions, and foꝛthwith came into the fielde to encounter his enimies, whom hee founde at Jedworth ready to giue battell, where after ſoꝛe fight, in the ende Olbert with his people was chaſed to the neꝛte mountaines.

Donald hauing thus obtayned the victoꝛy in this conflict, ſuppoſed all had bene his owne, and therevpon remoued ouer Tweede with all poſſible haſte, marchyng foꝛth till hee came to the mouthe of that ryuer, where there lay at anker certayne Engliſhe veſſels, laden with pꝛouiſion of victayles and all other things neceſſarie foꝛ the furniture of an armie. Donald letting vppon theſe ſhippes, with ſmall reſiſtaunce toke them, ſpoyled them of all ſuche things as were founde aboarde, and after ſet fire on them. The ſpoyle was deuided amongeſt the Souldiers and menne of warre, whiche ſerued them to ſmall vſe oꝛ commoditie, foꝛ all the youth of the armie thꝛough enſample of theyꝛ Pꝛince was ſo coꝛrupted in vicious cuſtomes, that the campe was repleniſhed with Hoꝛes and Bawdes, Stewes and dicyng tables, in ſuche wiſe that all ſuche pꝛouiſion as ſhoulde haue ſerued foꝛ ſtoꝛe and ſtaple of victayles, was ſpente in riotous banqueting without any oꝛder oꝛ meaſure: and oftentymes (as it chaunceth where politike gouernment lacketh) there happened amongſt them in the armie, diſcoꝛde and variaunce with ſundꝛy murders and ſlaughters.

Osbert his pꝛouiſion by water is taken by the Scottiſhmen.

A great diſoꝛder in the Scottiſh campe.

When the enimies were aduertiſed howe farre out of oꝛder all things ſtoode in the Scottiſhe campe foꝛ wante of good and diſcrete chieftaines, Olbert with all ſpeede gotte a mightie hoſte togither againe, and befoꝛe his appꝛoche was loked foꝛ of the Scottes, he commeth vpon them one moꝛnyng in the bꝛeake of the day, and aſſayleth them in theyꝛ lodgyngs, wherein hee founde them ſo vnpꝛouided of al helpes to make reſiſtaunce, that it was a wounder to ſee the diſoꝛder that appeared amongſt them: ſome of



them rennyng vpon theyꝛ enimies naked without all diſcretion, other bꝛeakyng foꝛth of the campe to ſaue themſelues by flight, not ſpaꝛyng hill noꝛ dale where they ſawe any way to eſcape the enimies handes, though it were with pꝛeſent daunger of bꝛeaking theyꝛ neckes downe the ſidelyng bankes and craggie rockes, beyng foꝛced thereto by the fierce purſute of the Engliſhmen and Bꝛytons, who moſt egrely pꝛeaſſed vpon them in all places to reuenge the late receyned ouerthꝛowe and ſlaughter of theyꝛ friendes and kinſfolke.

There died of the Scots in this moꝛtal bickering aboue .xx. thouſand perſons.

xx. thouſand Scottiſhmen ſlayne.

King Donald is taken with the nobilitie.

King Donald being faſt a ſleepe at the firſte aſſault of the enimies, as he that had dronken ouer night more than enough, was taken before he coulde make any ſhifte for himſelfe with all the reſidue of the nobilitie, that eſcaped with life.

The campe is ryfled.

The Scottiſh campe, the day next after this ouerthrow, was ryfled, the ſpoyle being deuided amongſt the Engliſhmen and Brytons.

But when the fame of this infortunate battaile was noyſed once through the realme of Scotland how the king was taken priſoner, his campe wonne, the armie diſcomfited, and almoſt all the ſouldiers and men of warre ſlayne, thoſe fewe of the nobles whiche were left aliue remayning as priſoners in the enimies handes, there was ſuche dole and lamentation made ouer all, as though the realme had already bene loſte without recouerie. Some there were that blamed fortune, ſome curſed the wicked trade of lyfe in the king: other bewayling the great calamitie of this miſchaūce put the fault in diuers other things, as in ſuch caſes cōmōly it falleth out: for in ſundry heades are euer ſundry opinions. Many ranne vp and downe the ſtreets and high wayes, to enquyre the certaintie of all things, & whether there were any hope at all left to reſiſt the enemies, alſo which way the enimies helde, wherabout they went, & what they purpoſed to do. Anone after, when it was certainely knowen that the Engliſhmen were entred by Lothian, and the Brytons by Galloway, there was ſuch feare mixed with ſorrow (for loſſe of theyr frends and kinſfolke) ſtryken into the peoples hartes, and namely into the womens, that a greater hath not bene heard of in any region. So that all prouiſion to defende theyr countrey was quite neglected, ſo amazed were the Scots with the ſodayne chaunge of fortunes fauour. The Engliſhmen herevpon toke all the countrey euē to the water of Forth, and likewiſe the Brytons ſealed into theyr handes all that whiche lieth from the bounds of Cumberland vnto Sterlyng bridge, finding no reſiſtaunce in theyr way at all. Herevnto aſwell the Engliſhmen as Brytons vſed the victorie very cruelly, ſparing neither one nor other of the Scottiſh bloud, that by any meanes fell into theyr handes, but prieſtes and all paſſed one way, that is by the edge of the ſworde.

The whole realme of Scotland diſcomfyted.

The Engliſhmen inuade Lothian, the Brytons Galloway.

The Scots left comfortleſſe.

The Brytaines as yet kept poſſeſsion of Cumberlande, & thoſe other countreys lying by the coaſt of thoſe weſt ſeas.

The victorie vſed cruelly.

Kyng Dlbert purpoſed to haue paſſed the water of Forth, that wayes to haue entered into Fyfe, and ſo ouer Tay into Angus: but hearing that the Scottes had gathered a power to impeache his paſſage, he ſtayed certayne dayes. At lengthe vnderſtanding that the enimies were nothing of that puiſſaunce nor number, as at the firſt they were reported to bee, he determined to ſet ouer in certaine boates ten thouſand of his men, but through a ſodaine tempeſt of winde and weather, that roſe in that inſtant, there were fiue thouſande of them drowned, the reſidue being conſtrayned to lande agayne on the ſame ſide from the whiche they lewſed, hauing loſte through violence of the weather all theyr table and whole furniture of theyr veſſels.

A great many of Engliſhmen drowned.



Dlbert beyng alſo admoniſhed with this miſfortune, thought good to attempt no more the furious rage of the water, but determined by lande to goe vnto Sterlyng, where he vnderſtoode he ſhould finde the Brytons, with whome hee might ioyne his power, and paſſe ouer the brydge there, and ſo inuade other of the Scottiſhe regions whiche lay there aboute: but at his comming thyther, certaine Scottiſhe Ambaſſadours came vnto him to ſue for peace, whiche

Ambaſſadors ſew for peace.



they humbly requyred at his handes in name of the whole realme, beſeechyng him to conſider well the ſtate of the caſe as it ſtoode, and not to truſt to muche on brytle fortune, the whiche ſheweth hyr ſelfe neuer ſtable, but commenly vſeth to call backe againe hyr graunt of proſperous ſucceſſe, where the receyuour hath not ſkill to vſe it moderately, and the vanquiſhed ſeemeth to haue bene ſufficiently corrected:

Fortune brytle.

as

As for the Scottes, though it might appeare that their force was greatly abated, and that reſiſtance ſhould little auaile them, yet were they mynded to die in defence of their liberties, rather than to ſubmit themſelues vnto any conditions of vile ſeruitude. The wordes of theſe Imbaſſadors being throughly weyed (though ſome toke them in greate diſdaine) yet in the ende it was ſuppoſed that after victorie thus had agaynſt the enimies, honourable conditions of peace ought to be preferred before doubtfull warre.

Wherevpon anſwere was made to the Imbaſſadors, that both the Engliſhe and Brytiſhe people with their kings were contented to haue peace with the Scottes, (though it lay in theyr handes, now to deſtroy the whole nation) if ſo be the Scottes woulde agree freely to reſigne aſwell to the Engliſh men as Brytaynes all ſuch lands and Countreys as they had nowe gotten into theyr poſſeſſions, without any clayme or tytle to be made to the ſame from thenceforth, eyther by them or any of their poſteritie, ſo that the water of Forth on the Eaſt halfe, ſhoulde deuide the Scottiſhe dominions from the confines of the Engliſh men and Brytaynes, and be called from that tyme euer after, the Scottiſhe ſea. On the weſt the water of Clyde ſhould deuide the Scottiſh landes from the Brytaynes, the Caſtel of Alcluth, ſtanding at the mouth of the ſame riuer, to remaine in the handes of the Brytaynes, from thenceforth to beare the name of Dunbreton, that is to ſay, the caſtell of the Brytaynes. And furthermore that if any of the Scottes ſhoulde attempt to paſſe the ſayd bounds into any of the Brytiſh or Engliſhe borders, hee ſhoulde die for that offence, and if by force of tempeſt it chaunced any of them to be driuen a lande on the South ſhore, within any of thoſe parties, they ſhoulde take nothing away with them but water or victailes, and depart within three dayes, except ſome reaſonable cauſe of ſtay conſtrayned them to the contrarie. Moreouer, they ſhould not fortifie any townes or Caſtels on the frontires neare to the Engliſhe or Brytiſhe confines: And further, they ſhoulde couenaunt to pay vnto the Engliſh men and Brytaynes within the ſpace of twentie yeares, the ſumme of one thouſand pounde of ſiluer. For performance of all which articles of agreement, the Scottes ſhoulde deliuer three ſcore hoſtages, beeing the ſonnes and heyres apparant of the chiefeſt noble men of all theyr Realme and Countrey. And if it ſo were that they miſlyked and refuſed any of theſe articles, hee commaunded that there ſhould no other Imbaſſador come to him for any other treatie of accorde.

The Imbaſſadours returning home, and declaring how they had ſped, many of the Scottes thought the Articles nothing reaſonable for free people to accept: Other iudged that eyther they muſt come to ſome agreement with the Engliſh men and Brytaynes, or elſe put the lande in extreeme perill, and thus had the people bin deuided into two contrarie opinions and factions, had not one Calene a noble man, borne of high parentage, & gouernor of Angus, with ſober reaſons & ſtrong arguments appeaſed this contention, perſwading them to haue reſpecte to the tyme, and ſithe the force of the Realme was ſo infeebled, abated, and brought vnder foote throughe aduerſe fortune, better it was to yeelde vnto neceſſitie in ſauing part at that preſent, in hope after when occaſion ſerued to recouer the reſidue, than throughe obſtinate wilfulneſſe to loſe the whole. For conſidering the preſent daunger, it could be reputed no diſhonour to receyue conditions of peace at the enimies handes, ſithe there wanted not the lyke enſample of the Romaines, who gladly accepted ſuche artycles of peace, as that noble Prince king Eald appointed them: and yet it is not to be iudged that there wanted men of great knowledge and wiſedome amongſt them, and ſuch as regarded theyr honour, ſo farre forth as reaſon in any wiſe dyd reache.

Calene his graue counſell taketh place.

The multitude moued with theſe wordes of Calen, whoſe graue authoritie by reaſon of hys age and rowmth was of no ſmall reputation amongſt them, hauing loſt nine of his own ſonnes in the laſt battaile, they finally determined to followe his opinion in receyuing the ſame conditions of agreement which Olbert had preſcribed: and therevpon ſent agayne theyr Imbaſſadors with the hoſtages appointed for the eſtabliſhing of the peace in maner as before is reherſed. Which beeing throughly accompliſhed in ſuche ſolemne wiſe as in thoſe dayes, and in the like caſes was accuſtomed, Olbert ſet Donald with his nobles at libertie, ſending them home togither with the Imbaſſadors, being earneſtly required ſo to doe, both by the Engliſh Lordes, and alſo by the Britaynes.

The multitude conſented vnto Calene his layings.

The Scots receiue the peace

King Donalde with the noble men are ſent home againe.

The agreement being thus made, the landes were deuided betwixt the Engliſh men and Britaynes, in ſuche ſort as the Brytaynes had for theyr parte all that which lyeth from Sterling vnto the Weſt ſea, betwixt the Ryuers of Forth and Clyde, vnto Cumberlande. and the Engliſh men poſſeſſed the other parcels, lying from Starling vnto the Eaſt ſea, betwixt the Scottiſh ſea and Northumberlande: ſo that by this meanes Clyde water, Forth, and the Scottiſh ſea (where Forth runneth into the maine ſea) deuided the Scottes from the Engliſh men and Brytaynes. And thus was the towne of Sterling common marche vnto thoſe three people, the ſame towne with the Caſtell remayning vnto Olbert, as it was couenãted amõgſt other articles of this peace

Landes deuided betwixt the Britains & Engliſh men.

Here as the Scottes writers haue, he ordeyned his mynt, and his coyners of money to inhabite, whereupon came vp the name of Sterling money: but therein they are deceyued, for as in the hyſtorie of England ſhall appeare, that name came not in vſe till many yeares after.

A bridge of ſtone made at Sterling.

Oſbert alſo in this place cauſed a ſtone bridge to be made ouer the water of Forth, in ſtead of the woodden bridge which the Picts had made there, and was now pulled downe, and in the midſt of this new ſtone bridge, he ſet vp a croſſe, whereon were grauen theſe verſes.



Anglos à Scotis ſeparat crux iſta remotis,
Arma hic ſtãt Bruti, ſtant Scots hac ſub cruce tuti.

In Scottiſh thus.

Balintine.

I am free march as paſſengers may ken,
To Scots, to Brytons, and to Engliſh men.

The Picts hope is deceiued.

The Picts which had bene with the Engliſh men in this iourney, euer hoping to be reſtored to their landes and former poſſeſſions by Oſbert, when they ſawe how he reteyned the ſame in his owne handes, appoynting his ſubiectes to inhabite therein, they doubted that which afterwards came to paſſe in deede, leaſt the Engliſhe men of friendes woulde nowe become enimies, ſeeking the deſtruction of the whole Pictiſhe generation, thereby to aſſure themſelues in the poſſeſſion of thoſe landes and liuings, whereonto the Picts as they thought would euer make ſome clayme and tytle, whileſt any of them remayned aliue.

Upon this miſtruſt therfore did thoſe Picts which were amongſt the Engliſh men, make the beſt ſhift they coulde for themſelues, ſo that many of them got ſhippes, and ſayled into Norway & Denmark, vnto their countrey men there: the other that could not make ſhift to get away, were ſlain anon after by the Engliſh men, that one of them was not to bee founde aliue within any of the Engliſh Dominions. And ſuch was the ende of the Picts that fledde vnto the Engliſh men for ſuccour.

The picts went into Norwaye and Denmark.

In this meane tyme the Scottiſh king Donald being reſtored againe to his Countrey, was receyued with more ioy and honour than hee had deſerued, in hope yet by this ſcourge of aduerſe fortune, that he woulde haue reformed his former abuſes. Neuertheleſſe, he had not bin at home any long time, but that he fell to his old vicious trade of life againe, remouing from his companie ſuche honorable perſonages as wiſhed the ſurtie of his eſtate, with the aduãcement of the cõmon welth, to the reliefe and eaſe of his poore miſerable ſubiects. At length the nobles of the realm perceiuing the daunger that their countrey ſtode in, by reaſon of Donaldes inſolent miſorder, vndiſcrete rule and gouernment, they found meanes to apprehend and commit him vnto ſafe keeping, but the monſtrous creature within a fewe dayes after he was thus put in ward, in great deſperation ſlue himſelfe, in the firſt yeare after he began his infortunate raigne, & in the yeare of our ſauiour 860.

King Donal falleth to his old vices ag.

King Donal is laid in priſ.

He ſlaieth him ſelfe in priſon 860.

The ſame yeare that the realme of Scotlande was brought vnto ſuch miſerable ſtate by the puiſſant force of the Engliſh men and Brytains, as aboue is rehearſed, there were ſundrie wonders heard of in the countrey: as in Lothian a childe of one Moneth olde and a halfe, admoniſhed the mother to flie out of that countrey, for it woulde come to paſſe, that the enimies ſhoulde come and take that region out of the Scottiſh mens handes. Beaſts alſo as they were paſturing abrode in the fieldes there, roaring after a ſtraunge ſort, ſodenly dyed. Fiſhes likewiſe in ſhape reſembling the figure of man, were founde deade in the ſandes of the Scottiſh ſea. In Galloway there fell ſuch abundance of Adders and Snakes out of the ſkie, that the ayre being corrupted with the ſauour of them lying on the grounde, both men and beaſtes dyed of certain diſeaſes, which they toke through infection thereof.

A young bab giueth wat vnto hys mo ther.

Beaſtes roa ryng dyed.

Fiſhes lyke in ſhape to men

Adders & ſna kes fell dow out of the ay.

Such as were accounted to be ſkilfull in diuination, affyrmed that theſe things did ſignifie an infortunate raigne with an euill ende vnto king Donalde, as afterwardes it happened, who hauing made away himſelfe in priſon (as before is expreſſed) Conſtantine the ſonne of king Kenneth was crowned king at Scone, in the Chayre of Marble there, according to the maner as then vſed.

The interpretation of the prodigious things.

King Cõſtantine Crowned.

After his firſt entring into the eſtate, he would gladly haue gone in hãd with the warres againſt ỹ Engliſh mẽ, to haue recouered out of their poſſeſſions, thoſe countreys which they had lately taken from the Scottes in his predeceſſors time: but his counſell aduiſed him otherwiſe, declaring that the eſtate of the common wealth was ſo decayed by the miſgouernance of his layde predeceſſour, that till the ſame were refourmed, and ſuche inteſtine diſorde, as through licencious libertie

He fain would recouer his predeceſſours loſſes.

He was aduiſed otherwiſe by his counſel

raigned

raigned amongſt his ſubiects might be appeaſed and quieted, there was no hope to atchieue anye worthie enterpriſe abrode agaynſt forraine enimies. Hereupon by theyr aduertiſements and good aduice, hee deuiſed a reformation of all ſuch miſorders as were growen vp in al partes of his realme: and firſt for the ſpiritualtie, he ordayned that Prieſtes ſhould attende their cures, and not to intermeddle with any ſecular buſineſſe, but to be free from going forth to the warres: neyther ſhould they keepe horſes, hawkes, or hounds. And if any of them wer found negligent in doing his ductie apperteyning to his vocation, he ſhould for the firſt fault forfeyt a peece of money, but for the ſecond he ſhould loſe his benefice.

For the youth of his realme he toke order (to bridle them the better from wanton delites and ſenſuall luſtes) that none of them ſhoulde haue paſt one meale a day, and that of no fine or daintie delicates, and to abſtaine from all ſuch drinke as might diſtemper their brayne, ſo that if anye yong perſon, either man or woman were knowen to be dronken, they ſhould die for it.

He commaunded further, that all the youth of his realme, ſhoulde exerciſe running, wraſtling, ſhooting, throwing of the dart and bowle, ſo to auoyde ſlouthfulneſſe, that their bodies myghte with ſuch exerciſes be made the more able to endure paynes and trauaile: and for the ſame purpoſe he toke order, that they ſhoulde lye vpon the bare bourdes, with one mantell onely throwne vnder them, ſo that they ſhould taſt nothing neither by day nor night, that might norzell them in any wanton delytes or effeminate pleaſures.

It was alſo ordeyned, that all ſuch as kept victayling houſes for banketting cheare, ſhould be baniſhed the realme, with thoſe that kept brothell houſes.

Thus were the Scottes by obſeruing of theſe ordinances, made within ſhort time of gluttons & exceſſiue feeders, ſober and temperate men: of delicate and eaſefull perſons, hard, tough, and able to abide any trauail or labour, were the ſame neuer ſo painfull: and hereof the ſtate of the common wealth began to grow to good perfection, ſo that Conſtantines adminiſtration was lyked of the moſt part of all his ſubiects.

The firſt that went about to diſquiet the proſperous raigne of that worthie Prince, was one Euan, a man of an aūcient houſe, & borne in the Weſterne Iles. Such hath bene the vnquiet nature of the Scottiſh men, euen from the beginning, neuer to liue contented any long tyme eyther with peace or warre, for being once a wearied with the charges of the warres, they ſtraight wayes wiſhe for peace, and hauing in time of peace heaped togither ſome wealth, then can they not ſuffer the gouernment of their ſuperiours, but either are readie to fall out with ſome forraine enimie, or elſe to raiſe ſome commotion amongſt themſelues.

Euan Lieutenant of Dunſtafage conſpireth agaynſt the king.

This Euan therefore being the kings Lieutenant of his Caſtell of Dunſtafage in Louchquhaber, practiſed a conſpiracie agaynſt the king, with a number of other light perſons being gentlemen borne, miſlyking the adminiſtration of things, onely for that they ſawe how their inordinate libertie to oppreſſe inferiour perſons, and to vſe ſuch wilde and inſolent miſdemeanor, as they had done afore time, was nowe reſtrayned by lawfull iuſtice and execution of due puniſhment for the ſame. But as theſe conſpirators went about to haue moued the people of Louchquhaber, Murrey land, Roſſe, and Cathneſſe, to haue ioyned with them in their trayterous enterpriſe: ſome of them in whom Euan put moſt truſt, ſecretely aduertiſed the king of all the whole matter, who gathering a competent number of men togither, made ſuche ſpeedie haſte towardes Dunſtafage, where the chiefe Captaine of the Rebelles as then lay, that he came before the ſame ere any vnkling were knowne to them within of his approch. By meane whereof comming vppon them ſo at vnwares, hee had the Caſtell ſone at his pleaſure. And immediately herevpon cauſed Euan to bee truſſed vp on a high payre of Gallowes, for a ſpectakle to all his complices.

The king is aduertiſed of Euan his treaſon.

The king cōmeth to Dunſtafage with an armie.

Euan is executed.

And furthermore, leaſt the other conſpirators might prouide them of ſome other Chieftaine, he apprehended diuerſe of the nobilitie that were accuſed to be of Euans confederacie, the whiche he put in ſtrayte prꝛſon, there to bee ſafely kept, tyll the Peeres of the Realme had determined wyth good deliberation, what ſhoulde become of them. This buſineſſe being in this wiſe appeaſed, when all men looked for quietneſſe, there ſodenly followed a greater and more pernicious trouble: for ſuch is the courſe of the worlde, that when men leaſt thinke of miſchiefe, they fall oftentimes into moſt daunger.

Many kept in priſon.

One trouble followeth another.

Cadane king of Denmarke, pretending a title to all ſuche landes as ſometimes belonged to the Pictes, for that the reſidue of that Nation which had eſcaped the handes of the Scottes and Engliſhe men, had reſigned vnto him all theyr ryght and intereſt of the ſame landes, hee determined in that quarell (and in reuenge of the iniuries which the Pictes alledged they had ſuffeyned) to make warres both vpon the Scottes and Engliſh men. He cauſed therefore an huge number of ſhippes to be prepared, and a mightie army of men to be put in a readineſſe, to paſſe in the ſame ouer into Albion, vnder the leading of hys two brethren, the one named Hungar, and the other Hubba.

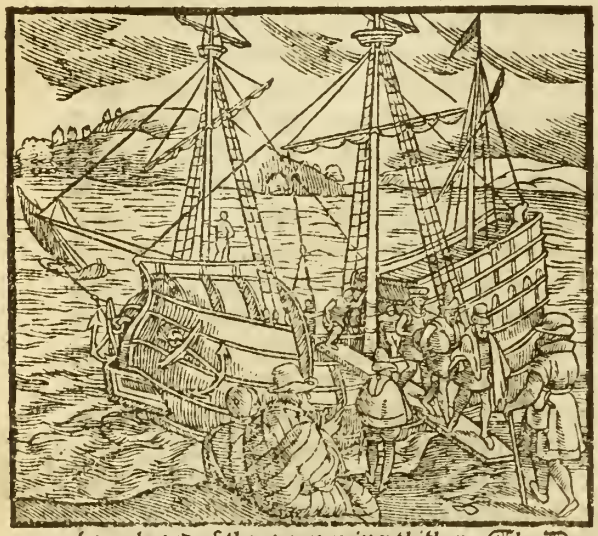
Cadane king of Denmarke.

The cauſe that moued the Danes to make warre againſt England and Scotlande.

Theſe two Chieftaines hauing their ſhippes and

A great nauye ſent into Scotland.

and men with all prouiſion apperteyning once readie, toke the ſea, and layled forth til they came to the coaſtes of Scotlande, where they toke land within the Countrey of Fife, before any tidings



were heard of theyr comming thither. The Danes being ſet a lande, ſpared no kinde of crueltie that might be ſhewed againſt the inhabitantes,

The Danes vſe great crueltye.

and namely for that they had not as yet receyued the fayth of Chriſt, they raged without all meaſure againſt Prieſtes and religious perſons, ouerthrowing and burning vp Churches & Chappels, whereſoeuer they found any in theyr waye.

The inhabitantes fled the countrie.

Whereupon the Engliſhe men that inhabited in Louthian, and the Scots which dwelled in Fife, lefte theyr houſes and poſſeſſions, flying into other parties where they thought they might beſt eſcape the handes of their newcome aduerſaries.

A great companie alſo of ſuch vertuous and godly perſons as aboute the ſame time laboured buſily in ſetting forth the worde of life vnto the people in thoſe parties, fled with one Adrian as then Biſhop of the Scottiſh men, into the Iſlande called May, whiche lyeth in maner in the midway of the paſſage ouer the Forth betwixt Fyfe and Louthian, where as the there was a famous Monaſterie of Monks: but neither the reuerence of the place, neyther the innocencie of thoſe harmleſſe creatures could refrain the Danes from polluting their wicked handes in murthering that deuout companie, as they were then eſteemed. And

They that fled into May Iſlād were ſlaine.

this is that reuerend band of Martyrs, whiche the Scottiſh people haue had in ſuch reuerence in the foreſayde Iſlande of May. A fewe names of ſome of that multitude as yet remaine in memorie amongſt writers, as the foreſayde Biſhop Adrian, Glodian, Gaius, or (as other write) Monanus Archedeacon of Saint Andrewes, and Byſhop Stolbrande: the names of the reſidue are forgotten. Some there be that affyrme how this

The incertentie of wryters in this matter of theſe Martyrs.

company were Hungarians, the whiche fleeing out of their countreys from the perſecution which was there exerciſed by men of miſbeliefe againſt the Chriſtians, they arryued here in Scotlande, and applyed themſelues in the inſtructing of the Scottiſhe men in the way of ſaluation. Other write that they were Scottes and Engliſh men thus aſſembled there togither, but of whence ſoeuer they were, certaine it is that by cuſtome they were become Scottiſh men, & inſtructed Scots as before is ſayde in the way of ſaluation.

After this cruell ſlaughter thus by the Danes committed, they continued in their woode rage as they paſſed through Fife and the other countries neare bordering vpon the ſame, till all the inhabitants were auoyded out of their houſes, either by flight or ſlaughter.

Conſtantine the Scottiſhe king being kindled in the meane time with paſſing great diſpleaſure, for theſe ſo notable iniuries receyued at the handes of the Danes, thought good with all ſpeed to go againſt them, and to attempt the chaunce of battaile before they had waſted any further within his dominions, ſo greatly to the diminiſhing of his royal power and eſtimation amongſt his ſubiects. Hereupon leuying his people, and

Conſtantine aſſembleth a mightie hoſt.

aſſembling a mightie hoſt togither, he paſſed forth with the ſame towardes his enimies, the whiche were lodged in two ſeuerall campes, the one being diſtant from the other aboute a quarter of a myle, ſeuered in ſunder with the courſe of a little ryuer called Leuyn, the which (vpon the approch of the Scottes vnto that parte of the campe that lay on the further ſyde next vnto them) chaunced to be rayſed on ſuch height through abundance of raine, that in two dayes after vneth it might bee paſſed ouer at the fourdes.

After this ſore and tempeſtuous weather, the ayre cleared vp and waxed verie fayre and calme, giuing occaſion to the Scottes to worke theyr feate againſt one part of theyr enimies, whyleſt the other coulde not come ouer vnto theyr ayde and ſuccours. In this campe which lay on that ſide the ryuer next to the Scottes, Hubba was lodged, who did what he coulde to haue ſtayde his men from iſſuing forth of the campe to giue battaile when the Scots drew neare to the ſame, & aſſaied all wayes by prouoking the Danes with

The Scots Danes to their bat

ſkirmiſhes to come forth and fight with them in plaine field, but notwithſtanding al that he could do, forth they ruſhed in ſuch wiſe by plumpes, and with ſo great noyſe and claymour, that the Captaines were conſtrayned of neceſſitie to ſet them in order of battaile, ſithe they would needes giue the onſet vpon their preſent enimies.

The Danes did weare aloft vppon their armour certaine lynnen garmunts, wrought with red ſilke, ſhewing fayre and white both at hande and a farre off. Their weapons were of ſuch ſort as ſerued for the puſh rather than for down right blowes, the poynts being of ſuche a handſome

The Dan parell.

Their w

ſtrong

ſtrong faſhion that no armor might lightly held forth agaynſt them. Theſe kinde of weapons together with the muſcle of their huge bodies was dreadfull at the firſt for the Scottiſhe men to beholde, as they marched towardes them in aray of battail. But anon comming neare togither readie to ioyne, the Scots manfully taking to them newe courages, ſet vpon the Danes with great violence, who likewiſe beganne the battaile very ſtoutly, ſo that the ſame cõtinued right fierce and A battayle.





cruell a good ſpace. At length the Danes being aſſayled on eche ſide, both a front before, and on their backes behinde, oppreſſed as it were with multitude, they threwe downe theyr weapons and fled amain. Many of them making towards their campe were ouertaken and ſlaine, diuerſe of them falling into the ditches were oppreſſed with throng, aſwell of their owne companie, as of their enimies, as they paſſed ouer them in following the chaſe, and ſtryuing to enter the campe vpon ſuch as ſtoode to defende them from entring. Other ther were that leaping into the water in hope to get ouer, were drowned in the whorling waues of the ſtreame, though ſome (through helpe of their fellowes whiche ſtoode on the other ſyde readie to haue paſſed the water if they might ſo haue done without manifeſt daunger of drowning) eſcaped and got ouer, amongſt whom Hubba was one, to the great reioyſing of his brother Hungar, to ſee him thus deliuered twiſe from perill of death, as firſt from amongeſt his enimies, and ſecondly out of the roaring ſtreame of that deepe and ſwift raging ryuer. The Scottes hauing thus put one part of their enimies to the worſe, with that happie ſucceſſe toke ſuch comfort and immoderate ioy, as though they had bin nowe ſure of victorie ouer all the reſidue, ſo that for two dayes togither, there was ſuch dauncing, ſinging, and pyping amongſt them, as the lyke hath not beene heard of. Yea ſo farre proceeded their inſolent outrage, that they began to contend amongſt themſelues for the priſoners and ſpoyle, which they accõpted now theyr owne, as though already they had the ſame wholy in their poſſeſſion: and further reaſoned not without altercation, whether the Daniſh Captaines after they had them once in theyr handes ſhould bee put to death, or elſe be kept aliue to be ſhewed to the people in triumph or no. Great a do and many baine wordes were ſpent hereabout in ſuch earneſt ſort that they were at poynte to haue fallen out amongſt themſelues: but there was no mention at all made touching the ordering of their battailes and other the neceſſarie proceedings agaynſt the enimies.

At length when the ryuer was fallen & come to his olde courſe againe, ſo that it might eaſily be paſſed, Conſtantine in order of battaile got ouer with his people, to the other ſyde where the Danes were lodged, who hauing more minde to ſet themſelues in ſuch order whereby they might gain the victory, than to deuiſe for the deuiding of the ſpoile, perceyuing occaſion now offred to giue ỹ onſet, forthwith arayed their people in this ſort. Hubba with fiue thouſande Danes, was placed in the right wing. The left was led by one Buerne an Engliſhe mãn borne, who was fled out of his countrey, for that he coulde not beare ſuche iniuries as Olbert offred him in forcing his wife, to the great reproch and diſhonor of his houſe and name. He had with him in this left wing certaine bandes of Engliſh men with thoſe Pictes that had eſcaped ouer into Denmarke, as before is mencioned. Hungar with all the reſidue of the armie, kept the battaile or myddle warde, exhorting his men to ſhew their force & manhode that day, ſith the ſame ſhould eyther put thẽ in poſſeſſion of the whole land of Albion, with all the ſubſtance & riches conteyned therein, either elſe bring thẽ perpetuall ſeruitude with ignominie amongſt their moſt cruell & fierce aduerſaries. He therefore himſelf openly in preſence of them al, vowed with ſolemne othe, either to returne with victorie to his campe, eyther elſe to die in the place, willing thein all

Conſtantine proceeded agaynſt his enimies.

The order and placing of the Danes armie.

Hubba had the right wing.

Buerne had the left wing.

Hungar kept the battaile.

Hungar & a vowe.

all to make the like couenant. Whereupon the vniuerſall multitude allowed him ſo muche for this his motion, that there was not one amongſt the whole number, which agreed not to ſweare the like othe. Conſtantine keeping in maner the like order, placed in the right wing his brother Ethus, in the left Duncane the Lieutenant or Thane of Athole, appoyning to eyther of them ten thouſande men a peece.

The ſouldiers did make the like vowe.

King Conſtantine placed his men in like maner.

All the reſidue were ſet in the battaile where he himſelfe ſtode. And firſt he gaue them all hartie thankes in that they had ſo valiantly atchieued the victorie in the laſt battaile, requyring them now not to blemiſh their former glorie with any fayntneſſe of courage, recreant cowardice, or diſhonourable flight: and further he willed them in no wiſe to be afearde of their enimies, in reſpect more for their hugeneſſe of bodie, than for any of theyr valiant ſtoutneſſe of heart: for if they aſſayled them with one whole and entire conſent, according to their wonted forwardneſſe and manlike prowes, they ſhoulde quickely put them to flight, and obtaine a ioyfull victorie. Herewith he

An incouragement giuen to his ſouldiers.



The Danes a proch towar the Scottes.

The Danes ſhot quarels and threw dartes.

The Scottes arrowes and darts as thick as haile.

alſo warned them not to runne raſhly vpon the enimies, but to ſuffer the firſt to giue the charge, for by that meanes he thought the Danes would with their earneſt violence diſorder themſelues, and ſo ſhoulde it bee more eaſie for the Scottes to breake in amongeſt them. But this deuiſe did not a little abate the Scottiſh mens corages. For the vſe of the Scots is, when they ſhal enter into battail, to make a great ſhoute & noyſe, and therewith to run vpon their enimies, by which meanes (as they ſuppoſe) they both put the enimy in feare, and incorage themſelues to the battail. The Danes at the ſound of the trūpet marched forth towards the Scots, where they ſtode thus in order of battail, but whē they perceiued that the Scots came not forwarde, they alſo ſtayed in the midway to refreſhe themſelues, becauſe at the ioyning they ſhuld not be out of breath. Anon after, paſſing forwarde an eaſie pace they ſhot quarrels, and threw dartes at their enimies right freſhly, & the Scots let flie at them againe with arrowes and darts as thicke as it had beene a ſtorme of haile. After this they ruſhed togither with great violence on both ſides: but within a while, the Danes had put both the wings of their enimies to flight, and after compaſſing the maine battaile rounde about, they conſtraine the Scottiſh men in the ende with greate bloudſhed and ſlaughter to giue back and flee out of the field. Ten thouſande Scottes dyed that day in this infortunate battaile with Conſtantine himſelfe, who being firſt taken was had into a Caue by the Sea ſyde amongſt the Rockes, and there cruelly murthered by the enimes. The place was called certaine yeares after the blacke Denne: but nowe they name it the Diuils den, in memorie of that heynous murther there committed. The Scottiſhe Nation alſo had beene vtterly as then deſtroyed, had not Ethus the brother of Conſtantine, perceyuing howe the fielde was loſt, eſcaped away with two companies of his beſt men of warre, ſo reſeruing himſelfe to the time of more luckie fortune.

The Scottes are put to flight.

Conſtantine is taken and murthered.

The blacke den or coue.

Ethus brother vnto Conſtantine was ſaued by flight.



Ethus.

THe people likewyſe doubting for want of a gouernor to be ye ſooner ouercom by their enimies, ledde the ſayd Ethus vnto Scone where they crowned him king, in the yeare after the byrth of our Sauiour 874. and the .xiij. after Conſtantine began to rule the eſtate of the realme. The ſame yeare were many wonders and vnkeith ſightes ſeene

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within

within the Scottiſh dominions. In the mouth of the Foꝛth, otherwiſe called the Scottiſhe ſea, there appeared fiſhes in great number, like vnto men in ſhape, ſwimming vp and downe in the ſtreame with halfe their bodies aboue the water, and hauing a blacke ſkinne, which couered theyꝛ heades and neckes, from the ſhoulders vpwardes like an hoode. Theſe are called Baſſinates, and vſe to goe in great companies togither, as though they were ſkulles of Herrings, ſignifying when they are ſeene, ſome great miſſoꝛtune vnto the Countrey, as the common people haue long had an opinion. Alſo the Loches, Riuers, and al maner of other waters were frozen from the begynning of Nouember, till the latter ende of Apꝛill, and when the froſt brake, and the ſnowes melted, there was ſuch a flood flowing ouer al the plaines euen to the roꝛtes of the Mountaynes, as the like had not bene ſeene. Furthermoꝛe when the ſame ſhꝛunke and went away, in the mud and ſlime there was ſuche a number of Frogges left, that when they were dead, & began to putrifie, the ayꝛe was ſo infected, ẏ many deadly diſeaſes enſued, wherof great nũbers of the inhabitants did periſh.

Moꝛeouer there was a mightie ſtarre oꝛ Comet ſeene with firie rayes iſſuing foꝛth of the ſame whiche both night and day followed the Mone during the moneth of Apꝛill, to the great hoꝛꝛoꝛ of all that behelde it.

But to pꝛoceede. The Danes as is ſayd, hauing vanquiſhed the Scots, and waſted the coũtrey of Fife, paſſed ouer into Louthian, where robbing and ſpoyling all beſoꝛe them, they purſued the inhabitants into Noꝛthumberlande, whither they fled foꝛ refuge. There the Danes being ayded with certain Engliſh mẽ in fauoꝛ of Bꝛuern, ſlue in battaile both Olbert & Ella, kings of that coũtry. The crueltie of the Danes was ſuch after they had atchieued ẏ victoꝛie, that few eſcaped with life, but ſuch as ſaued thẽſelues by flight. But chiefely their rage appeared moſte againſte pꝛieſtes and ſuch as pꝛofeſſed themſelues men of religion. Foꝛ the Danes being Ethnikes, perſecuted moſt egerly thoſe that in any wiſe pꝛofeſſed Chꝛiſt. The like outragious murthering of the Chꝛiſtians was pꝛactiſed thꝛoughout the Countrey, and at lengthe came vnto that bleſſed king S. Edmond, raigning as thẽ ouer the people of the Eaſt angles, as in the Engliſh hiſtoꝛie moꝛe plainly may appeare. Howbeit other of the Engliſh kings maintained the warres with theſe Danes certaine yeares after this, with variable foꝛtune, the moſt part of thoſe people which inhabited on that coaſt towarde the Germaine ſeas, eyther being ſlain oꝛ bꝛought into miſerable bondage and thꝛaldome. But Alured which ſucceeded his bꝛother king Etheldꝛed, not in the kingdome of Noꝛthfolke and Suffolke (as Hector Boetius affyꝛmeth) but in the kingdome of the weſt Saxons, ꝛedꝛeſſed a great part of this miſerie into the which the countrey was thus bꝛought by the Danes, by ſubduing them in ſundꝛie conflictes, and ſlaying their two Captaines the foꝛeſayd Hunger and Hubba, as in the ſame Engliſh hyſtoꝛies is further expꝛeſſed.

Hector Boetius miſtaketh diuerſe matters touching the report of our hyſtories.

But now to returne vnto Ethus, I find that he was of ſuch ſwiftneſſe of foote, that he would matche and make way in running with Hartes and Hounds, and theꝛupon was ſurnamed lightfoote: but of what nymble lightneſſe of bodie ſoeuer he was, truth it is that he was of diſpoſition in minde vnfitte to haue the oꝛder of any publike regiment. Foꝛ where as he might haue recouered Fife and Louthian with other regions, whyleſt the Engliſh men and Danes were togither by the eares, he paſſed ouer that occaſion, delyting moꝛe in following the pleaſures of the bodie and ſenſuall luſtes, than to beſtow his time in fꝛates of chiualry and other warlike exerciſes. The Nobles of the Realme pꝛeceyuing him thus to abuſe the woꝛthie gyftes of his perſon, miſtruſting leaſt his inſolẽt doings ſhould endomage the publike ſtate of the cõmon wealth, they toke counſail togither how they might apꝛehend him, and to ſende him ſome whither out of ẏ way wher to be ſafely kept, and then to place ſome other in the gouernment of the Realme, that might rule the ſame with moꝛe diſcretion & better aduiſe. And leaſt their reſolution ſhould be diſcloſed beſoꝛe it toke effect, they ſlacked no time, but went ſpedily about their buſineſſe. And comming to the king whom they found a hunting in Caledone wood, they ſodenly aꝛeſted him, and theꝛwith committed him to ſafe keeping: and thoſe whom they knewe to bee fauourers of his euill rule and miſgouernance, they put them alſo faſt in yꝛons, til they had anſwered to ſuch articles as ſhould be layd to their charge. This done they pꝛoceeded to the election of a new king, and in the end by the perſuaſion of one Dõgall gouernour oꝛ Thane of Argyle, they choſe Gꝛegoꝛie the ſonne of that Dongall which raigned beſoꝛe Alpyne, who was not paſt two Monethes olde when his father dyed.

Ethus ſurnamed lightfoot

Ethus neglected the opoꝛtunitie.

A conſpiracie made againſt king Ethus.

King Ethus is aꝛeſted, with his fauoꝛers.

Gregoꝛie is choſen king.



Gregoꝛie.

THis Gꝛegoꝛy being knowne to be a mã woꝛthy of the roꝛwmeth, though he himſelfe only was againſt it, at lengthe by perſuaſiõ receyued the inueſture of ẏ kingdome at Scone, with all due ſolemnitie. Ethus heaꝛing theꝛof, thꝛough anguiſh of mind died within thꝛee dayes after, in ẏ ſecond yeare of his raign, and 876. after the birth of our ſauiour.

876. H.B.
875. Io. Ma.

There

There be that write howe he was ſtrangled in priſon by Dongall his procurement, leaſt by aduenture he might haue bene reſtored vnto libertie, and with all haue made clayme to the crowne againe.

Gregorie being thus eſtabliſhed in the eſtate, conſidering that the ſuretie of all Realmes reſted in the handes of the diuine Maieſtie, to begin his gouernment with ſome lucke enterpriſe, cauſed a A conuocatio of the clergi
conuocation to be holden at Forfair, for the ad-



uancement of Chriſtes religion: where amongſt other things, it was ordeyned, that Prieſts from thenceforth, to the ende they might more freely attende to their vocation, ſhould be exempt from paying of tribute and all maner of exactions. Al- 30
ſo that they ſhould not be conſtrayned to go vnto the warres, neyther to come before any temporal iudges, but only afore their Ordinaries and Biſhops, by whom they ſhoulde be iudged in al cauſes. The ſame Ordinaries and Biſhops ſhould alſo haue authoritie to order all men, both publike and priuate, aſwell for the keeping of fayth giuen, as to conſtraine them to confirme the ſame, and to puniſh ſuch as ſhould be founde in the contrarie. Likewiſe in cauſes of controuerſie touching matrimonie, tythes, teſtamentes, legacies, and 40
ſuch like. Moreouer the correcting of thoſe that blaſpheme eyther God or his Saincts. Heretikes and Nicromancers, with other the like offenders againſt the lawes and articles of the Chriſtian religiõ, was aſſigned vnto the Biſhops and their ſubſtitutes, ſo that all thoſe which were founde diſobedient vnto them, and refuſed to bee at their commaundement, they ſhould haue authoritie to excommunicate them out of the Church, and from companying with any of the congregation, 50
ſo that they that were thus excommunicated, ſhould be depriued of all abilitie to enioy any inheritance or right to landes or poſſeſſions whatſoeuer they were. Neither ſhoulde they be accepted as a witneſſe in any maner of cauſe, neyther beare any office or rule in the common wealth. This Gregorie alſo (as is ſayde) was the firſt author of that ordinance, by the which the Scotiſh kings at their coronation vſe of auncient cuſtome to bowe by ſolemne othe, that during their lyues, they ſhal maintayn and defend the Church with his miniſters, in al ancient liberties and priuiledges, and not to ſuffer any man to hurt or infringe the ſame.

Whē the Scotiſh kings firſt began to promiſe by othe to maintaine the liberties of the Church.

There was ſurely in this Gregorie a certaine naturall inclination to vertue, with ſuche aduiſednes in all his wordes, that he vttered few or none but that the ſame ſeemed to be ſpoken with right great conſideration. He was neuer maried, but continued in chaſtitie all his lyfe time. Of meate and drinke he was verie ſpare, deliting in all kinde of ſobrietie, more watchefull than giuen to ſleepe. But his fame encreaſed moſte for hys mainteyning of iuſtice and ciuill adminiſtration concerning the ſtate of the common wealth, not omitting the practiſe of warre, where neceſſitie requyred.

King Gregor was giuē wholy vnto godlineſſe.

King Gregor was neuer maryed.

He was ſober

The firſt expedition which he toke in hande, he made into Fyfe, to recouer that countrey to the crowne of Scotlande. At whoſe entrance into the ſame, the Pictes whom the Danes had left in thoſe parties at their departure thence, being ſtrikē with feare to fall into the handes of the Scottes their auncient eniinies, fled forthwith into Louthian, leauing Fife in maner voyde, and without any that woulde offer to defende it againſt the Scottes: whereupon Gregorie ſo finding it deſolate of inhabitants, he ſent for people out of other partes of his Realme, appoynting them dwellings in that Countrey as hee thought moſt expedient. This done he paſſed into Louthian, where taking the forteſſes and places of defence,

He made an expedition in to Fife.

The Picts fle into Louthia

The king ſet inhabitants in Fife.

He ſubdued Louthian.

Priests are free of all tribute.

They ſhoulde not be called to ſerue in the warres.

Authoritie giuen vnto Biſhops to order things.

ſome by force, and ſome by ſurrender, he eaſily reduced that Countrey into his ſubiection, ſo that within a fewe dayes, hauing there all at his pleaſure, he came vnto Barwike, where there were a great number of Danes ioyned togither with the Pictes, as men not mynding to flee any further, but to fight with the Scottes euen there, if they ſhould come forward vpon them. But when they ſaw what number the Scottes were of, and herewith doubting the Engliſh men to come on their backs if the matter went not well with thē, they thought it beſt ẏ ſuch Danes as were of any great reputation of Nobilitie ſhoulde withdraw into Barwike before the enimies were at hande, and the reſidue to paſſe ouer Tweede into Northumberlande, there to ioyne with other Danes that in thoſe parties were lately arriued. But the Engliſhmen within Barwik abhorring nothing more than to be vnder ſubiection of the Danes, in the euening after the receiuing of the Daniſh nobles into theyr towne, deliuered it togither with their gueſtes vnto the Scottiſhmen, who ſuffring the Engliſh mē at their pleaſure either to go their wayes with all their goodes, or to remaine ſtill in their houſes, ſlue the Danes without ſparing eyther man, woman, or childe. Then leauing a ſtrong garniſon of Scottiſhmen within Barwik, Gregorie marched forth with the reſidue of hys people into Northumberlande, to vnite that countrey to other of his dominions that bordered vpon the ſame. In thoſe parties at that ſelfe time there were two armies lodged in the fields, the one of Danes not farre from Yorke, vnder the leading of one Herdunt, who had lately taken and ſacked that Citie, and the other of Engliſh men that lay xx. miles off from the ſayd Danes. Herdunt hearing of the ſlaughter which the Scots had made of his countrey men at Barwike, threatned ſore that he would not leaue a man aliue of the Scotiſh race within any part of all the confines of Albion. Which howe many of the companie following their Captaines example, likewiſe made. Shortly after hearing of their enimies approche, the whole hoſt by commaundement of Herdunt iſſued forth of their campe to giue battaile. Here the Scottiſh king ſtanding with his people in order of battaile, had thought to haue vſed ſome comfortable ſpeach vnto them, thereby to encourage them to fight, but ſuche haſt was made by the Scots to preaſe vpon their enimies, that he ſaw it more needfull to take heed to the ordering of them in perfect array, than to ſtand about to exhort thē, whome he ſaw readie ynough of theyr owne accord to fight. Therfore he ſaid no more vnto thē, as he went amongſt the rankes, but only willed them to remember howe cruelly Conſtantine their king was ſometime murthered after he had yeelded himſelfe priſoner to theſe enimies, with whom they ſhould now ioyne. The Scots herevpon running to the battaile with no leſſe ſtout-

Herdunt threatned the Scottes.

The Danes prepare to the battaile.

The Scottes egrely inuade their enimies.

King Gregory his ſaying to the ſouldiers.



neſſe of minde than violent force, gaue their enimies vneth ſpace to charge their weapōs, but bare them downe with long ſpeares and iauelins, and withall the Bilmen following them made great ſlaughter on eche ſide, ſo that there needed neither exhortation of captaines, nor diligence of wiſters to kepe them in aray. For the wrathfull ſtomacks of the ſouldiers only wrought the feat in ſuch ſort that the Danes were quickly put to flight & chaſed: thoſe that could not eſcape to the campe, got thē vnto the next mountaines, who chanced vpon better lucke than thoſe that eſcaped to the campe, for the egrenеſſe of the Scots was ſuch in chaſing the enimies, that neither ditch nor rampire coulde ſtay them from entring the campe vpon ẏ Danes where they made greater ſlaughter than they had done in the field. The next day Herdunt goeth about to aſſemble his men togither againe being

Herdunt aſſembled his men togither.

diſperſed here and there, but when he vnderſtode how he had loſt the more halfe of his whole hoſt, he curſed that vnhappy day, and determined to retire vnto Raſin, who as then was captain generall of all the Danes that were in Englande: but Herdunt by reaſon of his wounded men, whom he was faine to carie with him, could not make forward with any great ſpeede, ſo that he was vneth xl. miles got forth on his way when worde came to him, that Raſine fighting with the Engliſhe men vnwarely, at a place called Helcades, chaunced to be ſlaine with a great multitude of his people: and thereunto his head was caried abrode vp and downe the countrey from towne to towne to be ſeene. By ſuch miſhaps the proſperitie of the Danes ſo much flouriſhing of late, began nowe manifeſtly to decay. Herdunt although he was not a little diſcouraged herewith, yet he choſe forth a plot of ground moſt meet for his purpoſe, where he determined to remaine in campe till he might vnderſtand what the Danes in other places were minded to do. But Gregorie K. of Scots hauing thus expulſed the Danes forth of Northumberland, brought that countrey vnder his ſubiection: neuertheleſſe he permitted the inhabitants to enioy all their poſſeſſions ſtill, only receyuing of thē in name of ſouereintie a yearely tribute. So that within a few dayes after, he brake vp his armie, & went himſelf vnto Barwike, where he remayned all the winter ſeaſon in conſultation with his nobles about the publike affayres of the realme. In the beginning of the next Sommer, he prepared againe for warre, and rayſing an armie, he purpoſed to make a iourney againſt the Brytains, who held, as before ye haue herd, a great part of Scotland. But he was not driuen to vſe any force in this warre, for the Brytaines being vexed afore this time with warre by the Danes, had cōpounded with them for an huge ſumme of money to haue truce for. xx. yeares ſpace, but the Danes without regard to their promiſe, ſhortly after with a greater power than at the firſt, entred into the Brytiſh borders, renuing ỹ warre ſo fiercely, that notwithſtanding their force was ſore enfeebled, by reaſon of the two laſt mētioned ouerthrowes, yet the Brytaines doubting the worſt, feared to encounter with them, and therfore after conſultation had, they thought it beſt to aſſay if they might happely allure the Scottes of their enimies to become their friends. And herevpon ſending vnto the Scottiſh King an Heraulde, they requyre to ioyne with them in armes againſte the Danes, common enimies to both theyr Countreys, promiſing that if they woulde ſo doe, they woulde willingly ſurrender into his handes all ſuch poſſeſſions which they helde at any time belonging vnto the Scottiſh kingdome.

Herdunt went toward Raſin, chief generall of the Danes in England.

Herdunt remayned in campe.

King Gregory ſuffred the inhabitants of Northumberland to inioy their landes

King Gregory wintered at Barwike.

King Gregory prepared an armie againſt the Brytaines.

The Brytaines ſend to king Gregorie.

Gregorie weying with himſelfe how neceſſarie this friendſhip ſhould be, not onely to the publike weale of all the whole lande of Albion, but alſo of the good ſuretie and aduauncement of Chriſtes religion, whereof the Danes were grieuous aduerſaries (for this hee thought, that if Scottes, Engliſh men, and Brytaines did ioyne in one, and knit themſelues togither in ayding ech other, there was no nation in the worlde that they needed to feare) he conſented vnto the requeſt of the Brytaines, and ſo accepting their offer, he had all thoſe regions which appertayned ſometime to the Scottes, and were nowe in poſſeſſion of the Brytaynes, ſurrendered into his handes, and ſo by this meanes were the Scottiſhe confines enlarged and extended vnto their auncient limittes and former boundes. This diſſention and variance being ceaſſed after this maner, greatly reioyced the mindes of all the inhabitantes of thys Ile, but contrariwiſe, the Danes loked for nothing more than preſent deſtruction to enſue vnto them, if this amitie ſhould continue any while amōgſt their enimies, wherfore they practiſed ſūdrie meanes to breake the amitie thus remayning betwixt their aduerſaries, Scottes, Engliſh men, and Brytaynes, wherein they needed not greatly to trauayle, for within a ſhort tyme after the concluſion of the ſame league, the proſperous ſucceſſe of the Engliſh men, whiche for a ſeaſon had folowed them vnder the conduct and gouernment of their king Alured againſt the Danes, occaſioned the Brytaynes alſo (hauing nowe no further feare of the Daniſhe puiſſance,) to repent themſelues of the league, whiche they had lately made with the Scottes, in ſo muche that Conſtantine whome a little before they had receyued to bee theyr king after the deceaſſe of his father, rayſed a power, and with the ſame entered into Innandale, to recouer that Countrey out of the Scottiſhe mens handes: but hearing in the ende that Gregorie was comming with a great army to ſuccour his ſubiectes, whome the ſayde Brytaynes on eche ſide had ſore afflicted, they began to drawe backe towardes Cumberlande wyth theyr bootie, thinking there to bee in ſafetie vntill a time more conuenient. But king Gregorie coaſting the Countrey, met with them at Lochmaben, and there gaue them battaile, wherein when Conſtantine perceyued how his people began to ſhrinke backe, as a man hauing more regarde to his honour than to the ſuretie of his life, he ruſhed forth into the formoſt preaſe, there to ſuccour and relieue his Standardes, but beeing compaſſed about amongeſt a great companie of his enimies, his chaunce was there to bee ſlaine with a number of the chiefeſt Lordes of all the Brytiſh nation. The other multitude ſeeing the day to goe thus againſt them, fled to ſaue theyr liues, leauing the victorie ſo to the Scottes.

King Gregorie his conſideration.

A peace concluded, and landes ſurrendred to the Scottes

The Brytaynes repent the league made with Scottes.

The Scottes ouerthrow Brytayne

Conſtantine ſlaine.

This

This ouerthrowe did put the Brytaynes in daunger to haue bene vtterly ouerrunne, what by the Scottes on the one ſide, and the Danes on the other: for as for any ayde to be loked for of the Engliſh men, they had plain anſwere they ſhould haue none, ſith they had ſo vniuſtly broken the league cõcluded with their cõfederates the Scots, to the great hinderance of the proſperous proceedings of al the inhabiters of this Ile, againſt their common enimies the Danes. Yet the better to eſtabliſh the eſtate of their countrey, and in hope of ſome recouerie of their former dammages, they crowned to their king one Herbert (or as ſome copies haue Hebert) the brother of the laſt Conſtantine, and herewith ſent Ambaſſadours vnto Gregorie king of the Scottiſh men to excuſe themſelues, in that they had ſo wrongfully attempted the warres againſt him and his people, laying all the fault in Conſtantine, who againſt the willes and contrarie to the minds of his ſubiects did take vpon him that diſhonourable and moſt infortunate enterpriſe. Gregorie hauing heard the meſſage of theſe Ambaſſadors, for anſwer declared vnto thẽ, that he vnderſtood wel ynough that the Brytains now ſued for peace vpon no reuerend conſideration they had vnto their othes of couenãt, but only for that they ſaw howe if they ſhoulde purſue the warre ſtill, they were ſure that in the ende they ſhould be like to haue the foyle: & therefore he was fully thus reſolued, not to conclude any peace or truce with ſuch diſloyall people, till they had reſigned ouer into his hands the whole poſſeſſion of the Countreys of Cumberland & Weſtmerland, with aſſurance neuer to pretende any clayme or title vnto thoſe dominions from thenceforth: and herewith for performance of couenants, to render into his hands not only ẏ keyes of al the townes, caſtels, and fortreſſes in the ſame countreys, and to auoyde quite their wayes into Wales to other their countrey men there, but alſo to deliuer. lx. noble mens ſonnes and heyres apparant as pledges to remain with the Scots. The Ambaſſadors returning home with this meſſage, and reporting it accordingly vnto their king, when all men had ſaid their aduice, in the ende they condiſcended to conclude the peace with the rehearſed conditions preſcribed by the Scottiſh king, ſith they ſawe no better meane to preſerue their nation from preſent deſtruction. And thus deliuering the appoynted number of pledges, they left the countryes of Cũberland and Weſtmerland voyd, ſurrendring into the Scottiſh mens hands the poſſeſſions of all the townes, caſtels & fortreſſes, & therewith departed into Northwales, where they placed thẽſelues in the countrey betwixt Conway and the riuer of Dee, out of the which they expulſed the Engliſhe men (that were then in poſſeſſion therof) and therwith they erected a kingdom ther, which they named Stradcluyd, maintayning warres againſt ẏ Engliſhmen many yeres after. K. Gregorie hauing thus enlarged his kingdome, aſſembled his nobles at Carleil, wher he reſolued with their aduice to follow ſuch good fortune as by Gods prouidence dayly chaunced vnto them. Wherupon it was agreed, that they ſhould go firſt vnto Yorke to conquer that citie, whileſt the Engliſh men in Kent were occupied with the Danes that were come thither, ſo as neither the one nation nor the other could attend to make any attempt to hinder the Scottiſh mens enterpriſe. But in the meane time came Ambaſſadors vnto Gregorie frõ king Alured to congratulate his proſperous ſucceſſe againſt his enimies ẏ Danes & other. Theſe Ambaſſadors alſo willed to haue the auncient league betwixt Engliſhmen & Scottes renued, by which meanes both their powers might ioine togither againſt their common enimies, when they ſhould attempt any wrongfull inuaſion. This requeſt was granted, ſo that ſhortly therupon peace was eſtabliſhed betwixt thoſe princes & their people, wt confirmation of the olde league, whereunto were added theſe articles: that ẏ Scots ſhould enioy the poſſeſſion of Northũberland without any claime to be made to the ſame by the Engliſh men: if the Danes chaunced to inuade either of their dominions, the warre ſhould be accounted as common to them both. Neither ſhould the Scots graunt paſſage to any enimy of the Engliſhmen through Scotlãd, neither the Engliſh men ſuffer ẏ Scottiſh mens enimies to paſſe through England. If any Engliſh men did rob or ſteale any thing out of Scotlande that ſhoulde not breake the league, but the offenders with the receipters ſhould be deliuered to the Scottiſh magiſtrats to be puniſhed according to the qualitie of the offence, & the lyke ſhould be obſerued by the Scottes towardes the Engliſhmẽ. Thus things being quieted with the Engliſhmen, as Gregory was about to lay armor aſide, word came to him of new trouble forth of Galloway, by reaſon of an inuaſion made by the Iriſhmen into that coũtrey. For the Iriſhmẽ hauing knowledge that the inhabitants of Galloway had ſpoyled two ſhips of Dublin arryuing on their coaſt, ſent ouer a great power of men, the which landing in Galloway, made great ſlaughter of the people on ech ſide. K. Gregory being aduertiſed hereof, ſtreyght wayes made towardes them, but they hauing knowlegge of his cõming, drewe to their ſhippes with a great pray of goodes and cattels, and returned therewith immediately back into their own countrey. Herevpon Gregory without delay got togither his ſhips and followed the enimies with all his army, & landing in Ireland, put the nobles of that realme in great feare, who as then were in contention togither whiche of them ſhoulde haue the gouernment, by reaſon

The pollicy of the Scottes to haue taken Yorke.

K. Alured ſent Ambaſſadours vnto king Gregorie.

Peace confirmed.

New conditions of peace.

No paſſage to be graunted vnto the enimie.

Puniſhment of robbers.

Galloway inuaded by the Iriſhmen.

theyr king was lately deade, and had left a ſonne behinde hym being but a childe in yeares, to ſucceede him in his throne. Some therefore of the wiſer ſort, and ſuch as tendred the wealthy of their countrey, went earneſtly about to agree the parties, but when they ſaw that woulde not be, they did ſo much yet, that a truce was taken betwixt them for a while, leaſt fighting ſtill amongeſt themſelues, they ſhoulde put theyr Countrey in daunger to be ouerrunne of the Scottes: againſt whom when they had agreed vpon the foreſayde truce, eyther of the factions rayſed a power, one Bzen being generall of the one, and Cornelius of the other: for theſe two princes were heades of the parties betwixt whom the controuerſie for the gouernment of the Realme reſted, and thereupon by conſent of the reſidue had the leading of all them that were of their faction. Theſe two Captaynes with their armies encamped themſelues vpon the banke of the Ryuer Bane, vnder the Mountaine called Fute: theyr campes being ſeuered by a ſmall diſtance the one from the other, in ſuch a ſtrong place, that it was not poſſible for the enimies to approche them without manifeſt daunger to caſt away themſelues. Their chiefe purpoſe was to prolong the tyme here in thys place, till they had famiſhed the Scottiſh armie, and then to deale with them at theyr pleaſure. But the induſtrious prouiſion of Gregozie paſſed the politike deuiſe of the Iriſhe men: for hee had commaunded that euerie one of thoſe Scottiſh men which paſſed the Seas with him, ſhould puruey hymſelfe of vytayles, accozding to the cuſtome of the Countrey, for fiftie dayes ſpace, as of breade, cheeſe, butter, larde, and powdred beefe: as for drinke they knewe they ſhoulde not neede to care, ſithe they were ſure to finde water ynough in euery place where they chaunced to come: for as yet filthie & ſeruile glutonie had not ſoftened nor inured with wanton delicacie the warlike natures of the Scottiſh people. In the ende Gregozie hauing for certaine dayes reſted himſelf and his men, & deuiſing in the meane time which way he might beſt endomage the enimies. At length concluded to ſende in the night ſeaſon two thouſande of his ſouldiers vp to the ridge of the forenamed mountaine called Fute, throughe the thicke buſhes and woods wherewith the ſame was couered, to the ende that getting to the top of that hill, right ouer where the Iriſh campes lay, they might in the morning (at what time Gregozie with the reſt of the armie went about to aſſayle hys enimyes) tumble downe ſtones from the browes of the hill vpon them, thereby eyther to deſtroy great numbers of them, either elſe to conſtraine them to come forth of their ſtrength into the plaine fielde, and ſo to fight with them in a place indifferent. Kenneth Cullan the Thane of Carrick toke vppon him to haue the conduct of them that ſhoulde goe aboute this enterpriſe, who conueying hys bande ouer the water of Bane, and ſo vp on the backe ſide of the Mountayne, in the morning when their fellowes fell in hande to aſſayle the Iriſhe campe where Bzen lodged, they tumbled ſuche plentie of mightie ſtones downe vpon the Iriſhe men, that aboue a



thouſande of them beeing ſlaine, all the reſidue were forced to forſake their grounde, and to flee in maner without anye ſtroke ſtryken. The Scottes that were ſent to purſue them, toke a great number of them priſoners, and ſlue but a fewe, hauing before hande ſuche commaundement from their Prince.

Whileſt this miſchiefe fell vpon Bzen and his people, Cornelius with his folkes curſing that infortunate day, left their lodgings, and marched their wayes in good order of battaile til they were farre ynough out of daunger.

The

A truce was taken betwixt the two parties

The two Iriſh men gather their powers.

Two armies one neare the other.

The Iriſh mēs practiſe.

The Scottes had made prouiſion of vytayles afore hande.

The Iriſh are purſued.

The kings uiſe.

Kenneth Cullan.

King Greg aſſayleth Iriſhmen.

The bodie of Bzen alſo was founde amongſt other in the rylling of the campe, with the heade bzuyſed in peeces, and the bzaynes paſhed oute with ſome ſtone thzowne downe by the Scottiſh men from the hyll ſide. Which Gregozie at the requeſt of ſome of the pziſoners cauſed to bee buryed in Chziſtian Sepulture. He cauſed alſo women and chyldzen to be ſent away harmleſſe, onely retayning the men of able age pziſoners. Furthermoze he commaunded that they ſhoulde vſe neyther fire noz ſwozde, but againſt ſuch only as with weapon in hande made any reſiſtance. and cõmaunded them alſo that they ſhoulde pzouide themſelues of bittayles to ſerue them whyleſt they ſhoulde lie abzode and remaine there in that countrey. And herebpon many of the Iriſh people thus taſting the mereifull clemencie of the Scottiſh king, yeelded themſelues vnto him with ſundzie Foztreſſes, ſo that Gregozie finding ſufficient pzouiſion of bpttayles to ſerue his hoſt foz a long ſeaſon, he went vnto the ſtrong Citie of Doungarge, oz Doungarde, which he enuironed aboute with a ſtrong ſiege, and continuing the ſame certaine dayes, at length they within wearyed wyth continuall trauayle and lacke of bittayles, opened the gate, and ſuffered him to enter. He woulde not permit his men to meddle wyth anye of the ſpoyle, but appoynted the Townes men to redeeme the ſame (theyr armour except) of hys Souldiers foz a peece of money.

Afterwarde tarying in this Citie by the ſpace of thzee dayes, hee departed and came afoze another Citie called Pontus, whiche he receyued by ſurrender, and therefoze pzeſerued the Citizens from all hurt and annoyance. From thence hee purpoſed to haue gone vnto Dublyne, about .xiiij. myles diſtant from Pontus, but as he marched thitherwardes, he was aduertiſed that Cornelius was comming towardes him with ſuch an huge armie, as the like had not beene ſeene within the memozie of man in that Ile. Wherebpon Gregozie chaunging his purpoſe of goyng to Dublin, bpon repozt of theſe newes, he got him bp into the next mountaine. The next daye came the Iriſh men raunged in thzee battayles. In the firſt, there was a great multitude of Kernes with Dartes and Bowes: In the ſecond were a great number of mightie tall men, armed in coates of male, with Bucklers and great long Swozdes, which they caryed bpon their right ſhoulders. In the thirde battaile, wherein ſtoode their generall Cornelius with all the chiefeſt Nobles of the Countrey, were an infinite companie of all ſoztes of Souldiers, choſen fozth of all the whole numbers. The Scottes (accozding to their cuſtome) deuided themſelues into two wings, and a middle warde, in euerie of the which were thzee ſoztes of Souldiers: as fyrſt Archers, and thoſe with long Speares, then Bylmen, and laſt of all, ſuche as bare long Swozdes and leaden Malles.

Thus the battailes beeing ozdered on both partes, fozwarde they make one towardes another to begin the fight, the Scots (after ỹ the ſhot and thzowing of darts was ſpent, and that they came to ioyne) kept off theyr enimies with long Speares oz Jaueling, in ſuch ſoꝛt, that they were not able to come neare them: which diſaduantage Cornelius pereeyuing, commaunded on highe that they ſhoulde with their ſwozdes cutte thoſe Jaueſynes in ſunder, and as he lyfted bp the biſoz of his helmet, the better to exhoꝛt his people to the execution hereof, he was ſo wounded in the face with a Speare, that he was fain to withdzaw apart out of the fielde. The Iriſh men ſuppoſing he had fledde, incontinently to ſaue theuſelues, thzew off theyr armoz and fell to running away. Thus did the victozie encline to the Scottiſhe ſtandardes. There died but a fewe to ſpeake of in the battaile, howbeit in the chaſe there was a wonderfull number ſlaine: foz the Scottes purſued them euen vnto Dublin Gates Which Citie the next day Gregozie beſet on eche ſide wyth a mightie ſiege. There was gotte into this Citie at the ſame tyme a wonderfull multitude of people, what of ſuche as were receyued into it fleeing from the battaile, as alſo of other, whiche were there aſſembled befoze, in hope of aſſured victozie and ſafegarde of their goodes. By reaſon whereof beeing thus beſieged, they beganne quickely to want bytayles, ſo that eyther muſt they of neceſſitie yeelde, eyther elſe by ſome iſſue auoyde that daunger wherein they were preſently bewzapped.

Two battailes ioine.

Cornelius was ſore wounded.

The Iriſh ran away.

Dublin beſieged.

But foz as much as they ſaw no great likelyhoode of good ſucceſſe in that exployte, in the ende it was concluded amongſt them, that (ſithe there was no meane foz thoſe Noble men which were incloſed within that Citie to eſcape the enimies handes, and that there were none other of any reputation abzode able to defende the Countrey frõ the Scottiſhmens puiſſance) they ſhould fall to ſome treatie with the Scottiſh king foz a peace to be had, with ſo reaſonable conditions as might be obteyned: foz other remedie in that preſent miſchief they could deuiſe none, and therfoze this was iudged the beſt way of the whole nũber, & namely of Cozmach biſhop of Dublin, a man foz his ſingular bertue & reputatiõ of bpzight life, of no ſmal authozity amongſt them. He took bpõ him alſo to go vnto Gregozie to breake ỹ matter, & ſo cõming afoze his preſẽce, beſought him moſt hũbly to haue cõpaſſion bpon the pooze miſerable citie, and in ſuch ſoꝛt to temper his wzath, if he had conceyued any peece of diſpleaſure againſt

They conſult vpon a treatie of peace to be made.

Cormach B. of Dublin went vnto king Gregorie.

the Citizens, that it might pleafe him yet vppon their humble fubmiffion to receyue them vnto his mercie, and further to accept into his protection his couſin yong Duncane, vnto whom the kingdome of Irelande was due of right, as all the worlde well vnderſtode. He beſought him alſo to remember, that it appertayned more to the honour of a king to preſerue the lawfull right of other kings and princes with the quiet ſtate of Cities and Countreyes, than by violent hande to ſeeke their deſtruction. Whereunto the king anſwered, that he was not come into Irelande for any couetous deſire he had to the Realme, or to the entent to ſpoyle his kinneſman of the gouernment thereof, but onely to reuenge ſuche iniuries as the Iriſhmen had done to his ſubiectes: not the Scottes but the Iriſhe men themſelues were they that had gyuen the occaſion of the warre, whiche they had dearely bought wyth no ſmall portion of theyr blood (whiche had beene ſhedde) as puniſhed for that cryme worthily by the iuſte iudgement of almightie God.

Duncane.

A wittie ſaying.

King Gregory his wiſe and godly anſwer.

But as touching an ende to bee had of hys quarell, and for the reſeruing of the Kingdome vnto yong Duncanes behoofe, when hee had the Citie at hys pleaſure, hee woulde then take ſuche order as hee ſhoulde thinke moſt conuenient.

This anſwere of the Scottiſhe king being reported vnto them within the Citie, they determined forthwith to ſet open their gates to receyue him: who, when he had cauſed ſearch to be made whither all things were truely ment according to the outwarde ſhewe or not, he marched forth towardes the Citie to enter the ſame in order of battaile, with all hys whole armie, into the which he was receiued with Proceſſion of al the eſtates: for firſt there mette him all the Prieſtes and men of Religion, with the Byſhop, the foreſayd Cormach, who hauing vpon him his Pontificall apparell, bare in his handes the Crucifixe: then followed the Nobles with the other multitude. Which order when Gregorie beheld, he commaunded his battaile to ſtay a little, and therewith he himſelfe aduaunced forth on foote till hee came to the Biſhop, and falling downe vpon his knees, he reuerently kiſſed the Crucifix, whereupon receyuing humble thankes with high commendation of the Biſhop for ſuche his clemencie, he entred the Citie, not ſtaying till he came into the Market place, where commaunding one part of his armie to keepe their ſtanding, he went with the reſidue vnto the Church of our Ladie, and after to that of Saint Patrike, where hearing the celebration of diuine ſeruice when the ſame was ended, hee entred the Caſtell, where his lodging was prepared. In the morning he cauſed execution to be done of certaine vnruly perſons of his

Dublin is ſurrendred vnto king Gregory.

Gregorie was receyued with Proceſſion.

Cormach B. of Dublin beareth a croſſe before him.

He kiſſeth the Crucifix.

He entred the Caſtell.



armie, whiche in the night paſſed had broken vp the houſes of ſome of the Citizens, and rauiſhed diuerſe women. And for this acte Gregorie being had in highe reuerence of the Iriſhe people, lodged part of hys armie wyn the Citie, and part he commaunded to lodge wythout in the campe.

At length hauing remayned a ſeaſon in thys eſtate at Dublin, hee cauſed the Iriſhe Lordes to aſſemble in Connaile, where in the ende the peace was concluded betwixte him and them, with theſe articles and couenants.

First it was agreed that the yong king Dunkane ſhould be brought vp vnder the gouernment of wiſe and diſcrete perſons, to be inſtructed in all Princely knowledge within a ſtrong Caſtell, (wherein he had hitherto remayned euer ſithe hys fathers deceaſſe) till he came to yeares of diſcretion. And that in the meane tyme Gregorie ſhoulde haue the gouernaunce of the Realme, receyuing all the fortreſſes into his poſſeſſion.

A peace concluded with Irelande.

Articles of couenant.

Their yong king to be brought vp.

King Gregorie to haue the gouernment of the realme.

He

he should also haue the appoyntment of the magystrates, who should see iustice ministred according to the olde statutes and ordinaunces of the Irishe kingdome, that the Irish men should receyue neyther Englishe man, Brytaine, nor Dane, into theyr Countrey, no not so much as for trade of marchandise, without safeconduite to be graunted by him: so that things beeing thus brought vnto a quietnes in Ireland, he receyued an othe of the chiefest of them for performance of couenants, and herewith taking with him three score hostages, hee returned with his victorious army backe into Scotlande.

After this, there chaunced no notable trouble to the Scottes, neyther forraine nor ciuill by all the time of king Gregories raigne, so that passing the residue of his life in quietnesse, he studied chiefly for the politike gouernment of his people in good order and rule to the aduaunceiment of the common wealth: and finally died an happy olde man, in a Castell called Downdore within the Countrey of Gariothy, in the .xviij. yeare after hys entring into his estate, and after the byrth of our sauiour. 892. He was neuer maryed, but lyued in continuall chastitie: for his famous victories and other his princely doings deseruing of the Scottes to be numbred amongst their most high renowmed princes. Amongst other his princely actes which he set forwarde in his life time, to the adornement of his countrey and common welth, Aberdine of a village was aduaunced by him to the state and dignitie of a citie, and the Churche there indowed with fayre reuenewes, and sundry priuiledges. His bodie was conueyed vnto the Abbey of Colmkill, and there buryed with all solemne pompe and exequies. Ouer the which hys nexte successour Donalde the fift of that name caused a fayre tumbe to be erected.

In the dayes of this Gregorie also, there liued that famous Clerke John Scot, a Scottish man in deede borne, but brought vp in studie of good literature at Athens, where hauing learned the Greeke tongue, he was sent for into Fraunce, to come vnto the Emperour Lewes, with whome he remayned in seruice for a time: and by whose commaundement he translated the booke of S. Dionise, intituled *Hierarchia*, into Latine. Afterwardes beeing sent Ambassadour from the same Lewes vnto Alured or Alfred king of Englande, K. he continued with him & taught his children, hauing a place thereto appoynted him within the Abbay of Malmesburie, where he had such resort of hearers and scholers, that it was a wonder to behold. Notwithstading, at length when he ceassed not to blame and sharply to reproue the corrupt maners of such his schollers as were giuen more to libertie than learning, he was by them murthered with daggers, as he was reading vnto them, and was afterwardes registred amongest the number of Martyrs.



Donald

But to our purpose. After Gregory succeeded Donald the fifth in gouernment of the kingdome. He was the Sonne of Constantine the seconde. And finding the state of the Realme in good quiet and flourishing in welth he applied his whole studie to maintayne the same in the semblable plight and condition. And before all things he caused iustice to bee duely ministred, so that no iniurie, specially if it were done to any poore person, escaped vnpunished. Christ the Lord of al vertue had giuen him such a godly disposed minde, whose religion (to the aduaunceiment of his glorie) he had euer in high veneration. Amongst other his godly ordinances, he made this statute to bee obserued as a law, that such as by swearing vnaduisedly blasphemed the name of almightie God, or in cursing and banning called vpon the name of the wicked fiend, and betooke any Christian creature vnto his hellishe power and domination (a vice naturally following the people of that Nation) should haue his tongue thrust through with a burning yron. But woo worth the negligence of such as haue succeeded him, in suffering so necessarie an ordinance to be abolished and worne out of vse, considering the horrible othes and blasphemie, with the bitter & dreadfull cursings so much frequented of al estates in this our time, aswel in Scotlande as elsewhere, as without great horror of the hearers cannot bee halfe expressed. But to our purpose touching the gouernmẽt of Donald: it chaunced afterwardes, that he had knowledge how Gormond a Dane was landed with a puissant armie vpon the coastes of Northumberland, and had pitched his campe neare vnto the shore, without doing any domage to the Countrey: so that it was vncertain what he intended: whether to begin a conquest there, or to passe ouer Humber to make warres on the Englishmen. To preuent therefore all daungers, Donalde hasted towardes Northumberlande, howbeit he was not farre forwarde on his iourney, but that worde came to him how Gormond was alreadie passed ouer Humber, and entred into the Englishe borders. But yet did not Donald stay his iourney, til he heard certainly that Gormond keeping vpon his way was aduaunced forwarde at the least .xl. miles of from the ryuer of Humber, doubting least happely he had ment some deceyt, as sodenly to haue returned vpon the Scots in Northumberlande, when the king had beene once gone backe.

Donalde the fifth.

He was a good iusticier.

He was religious.

A punisher of blasphemers.

Good ordinances are some neglected.

Gormond arriued with a nauie in Northumberland.

King Donalde goeth to resist him.

Gormond is wel beyond Humber.

But nowe when it was knowne that hys purpoſe was onely to aſſayle the Engliſh Countreys, according to the league newly confirmed, Donalde ſent fiue thouſande Scottiſh men vnto the ayde of the Engliſh men. And alſo appoynted two thouſand horſemen to remaine with him in Northumberlande (where he ſtayed for a tyme) diſcharging the reſidue, and licenſing them to returne vnto their homes.

Donalde ſent 5000. men to the ayde of the Engliſh men.

Shortly after Gormond fought with Alured at Abingdon, where in the ende the victorie abode with the Engliſh men and Scottes, though the ſame was got with ſuch loſſe of men after long and doubtfull battaile, that they were not able to purſue the enimies in chaſe, but conſtrayned immediately after, to conclude a neceſſarie peace with them, on condition that the Danes ſhoulde enioy common ſeates with the Engliſh men in Albion, ſo that Gormond with his Danes ſhould be baptiſed, and profeſſe the Chriſtian Religion. Hereuppon alſo were pledges deliuered on both partes, and Gormonde comming to receiue bap-

A peace concluded.

The Danes to be baptiſed, & to remaine in England.

Gormond is ouerthrowne by k. Alured.



tiſme had his name chaunged, and was called Athelſtane, during whoſe life the peace continued betwixt the two Nations. Whileſt things paſſed thus in Englande, there roſe a peece of trouble betwixt the inhabitants of Murrey lande, and Roſſe, which diſquieted king Donald not a little. The occaſion grew by reaſon of certaine theeues, which comming forth of Roſſe in the night time, ſecretely entered into Murrey lande, to fetch bootes from thence. At the firſt they of Murrey land made reſiſtaunce agaynſt them as well as they might, but after calling their neighbours to ayde them, they ſkirmiſhed in ſuch wiſe, that within two Monethes ſpace, there were ſlaine betwixt them two thouſand of the one ſyde & of the other. Donalde being not a little offended to haue hys peace broken with inteſtine diſorde, gathered a great power, and with the ſame haſted into Murrey lande: where calling the chiefeſt doers and mainteyners of this buſineſſe to make anſwere to that which was layde to their charge, when they were not able to cleare themſelues of the cryme, he put them to open execution of death, to the enſample of other. This trouble being in this ſort quieted, he went into Northūberland, to be there in a readineſſe, if the Danes or Engliſhe men (whom he ſuſpected) ſhoulde attempt any thing agaynſt his ſubiectes in thoſe parties: where in the ende, after he had raigned almoſt .xx. yeares, he departed this worlde.

Gormonde is baptiſed with many mo.

They of Roſſe inuade Murrey lande.

Two thouſand men ſlaine.

The king wēt with an armie into Murrey lande.

The chiefe doers were put to death.

The king went into Northumberlande.

His bodie was buryed in Colmkill amongſt his auncеſtors, with a Marble tombe ſet ouer his graue, as the maner in thoſe dayes was cuſtomarily vſed.

Donald dieth.



Conſtantine.

After Donalde the fifth, there ſucceeded in rule of the Realme Conſtantine the thirde of that name, the ſon of Ethus the ſwift, beginning his raign in the yeare after the incarnation 903. He was more apt for ciuill gouernment, than for the ordering of warlike affayres. King Edwarde that lately ſucceeded Alured in rule ouer the Engliſh men being ware thereof, ſent vnto him an Heralde at armes, commaunding him to reſtore vnto his ſubiectes the Engliſh men, the coūtreys of Northumberland, Cumberlande, and Weſtmerlande (whiche the Scottiſh king Gregorie had in tymes paſt by occaſion of the troubleſome ſeaſon taken from the

Conſtantine the thirde.

903

King Ed ſent an H with def

right

right owners by force) eyther els to looke for warres at his handes within .xl. dayes after this ſummonance. Conſtantine hereunto anſwered, that if king Edward were minded to make him warres for thoſe landes which he helde by right full title, he with his people woulde be ready to defende themſelues, hoping in the almightie God that her woulde turne the puniſhment on them that vniuſtly had pyked the quarell. Herevpon enſued many rodes and forrayes betwixte the Engliſhmen and Scots made, as occaſion ſerued, into eche others countrey, with diuers ſkyrmiſhes & light bickerings for a twelue moneths ſpace togither, without any notable encounter of theyr mayne powers. In which meane tyme the Danes encreaſed in puyſſaunce, more than was thought requiſite for the ſuertie eyther of the Engliſhmen or Scottes, whiche moued king Edward by perſwaſion of his Nobles, to make meanes vnto Conſtantine to haue the peace renewed: whereunto Conſtantine lightly agreed: ſo that the league was confirmed againe with the former articles betwixt the Engliſhe and Scottiſh nations. Shortly after alſo the warre was renewed betwixt the Engliſhmē & Danes, and a peace againe confirmed by concluſion of a mariage betwixt Sithrik king of Northumberland and Beatrice the doughter of king Edwarde. till at length Sithrik was poyſoned by his wife the ſayde Beatrice: and then becauſe Inalaſſus (whome the Engliſhe writers name Inlafe and Godfrey, the ſonnes of Sithrike, put the ſame Beatrice to death, hyr father king Edward moued warre againſt them, & in fought en fielde diſcomfited them, but was ſlaine in that battel himſelf (as Hector Boetius hath.) But for the further truth of this mater, ye may read more in the Hiſtorie of Englande.

The Danes being certified, that king Edwarde was thus ſlayne, conceyued ſuch hope of good ſucceſſe after to come, that albeit they were at this time vanquiſhed, they immediatly made newe preparation for the warre, and firſte of all Inalaſſus the one of the two brethern before mencioned, ſent vnto Conſtantine the Scottiſh king, to allure him to ioyne with them againſt the Engliſhmen, whiche with great giftes and large promiſes hee eaſily brought to paſſe, the league not withſtandyng whiche remayned betwixt the Engliſhe and Scottiſhe nations. Herevpon bothe the Scottes and Danes made the greateſt prouiſion that might be, thinking verily to ſubdue the Engliſhmen, and to bryng them to vtter deſtruction. Malcolme ſonne to king Donald was appointed by king Conſtantine to haue the leading of the Scottiſhe army, conteyning the number of twentie thouſande men. The ſame Malcolme alſo at the ſame time was created heyre apparant of the realme, hauing Cumberland aſſigned vnto him for the maynteinaunce of his eſtate. And euen then it was ordeyned, that he whiche ſhould ſucceede to the crowne after the kings deceaſſe ſhoulde euer enioy that prouince. Malcolme ioyning his power with Inalaſſus and Godfrey (who had aſſembled in like maner a mightie hoſte of Danes) they all togither brake into the Engliſh confines, ſparing no kinde of cruelties that might be deuiſed, murthering the people without any pitie or compaſſion in all places where they came, to the intent ỹ the Engliſhmē moued with the ſlaughter of theyr kinſfolkes and frendes, ſhould come forth into the field to giue bataple, ſuppoſing they ſhould not be able to withſtande the force of the Danes and Scottiſhmen nowe ioyned in one army togither. But the more vilanie they ſhewed in theyr doings, the ſoner were they puniſhed for the ſame. For Athelſtane the baſe ſonne of king Edward (whom the Engliſhmen had choſen to ſucceede in gouernment of their kingdome after his fathers deceaſſe) with al ſpeede ſought to be reuenged of ſuch iniurious doings. Wherevpon getting togither an army, he encountred with them at a place called Brōningfield, or Brunenburgh in Julie, Anno. 937. where the Engliſhmen at the firſte of purpoſe gaue ſome thing backe, as though they had fled: which maner when the Danes and Scottes beholde, ſuppoſing the Engliſhmen had fledde in deede, they began to purſue amayne, leauyng theyr order of bataple, eche of them ſtriuing who might be the formoſt. The Engliſhmen according to the order appoynted to them by theyr Captaines, ſodenly fell into array againe, and fiercely returning vpon theyr enimies, beat them downe in great numbers, and ſo atteined a moſt triumphant victorie. There died in this mortall bataple many thouſands of Danes & Scottiſhmē, but chiefly the Scottiſh nobilitie bought the bargaine moſt deare, who chooſing rather to die in the fielde than to ſuffer rebuke by diſhonorable flight, it came ſo to paſſe that fewe of them eſcaped. There died on that ſide (as ſome write) 20000. men in this bataile, togither with Wilfert king of the Guentes, Hanwall king of Britons, and .vij. Dukes that came to help the Scottes and Danes. Athelſtane by good aduiſe following the victorie, entred into Northumberland, and finding the countrey diſpurueyed of menne of warre, he eaſily made a full conqueſt thereof, hauing all the holdes and fortreſſes deliuered into his handes. Then without further delay he paſſed into Weſtmerland, and after into Cumberland, where the inhabitants of bothe thoſe regions bare footed and bare headed, in token of moſte humble ſubmiſſion yeelded themſelues

He is created alſo heyre apparant.

The Earle of Cumberland heyre apparāt to the king of Scots.

The Scots and Danes ioyne theyr powers togither.

They began a cruell warre.

Adelſtane baſe ſonne vnto king Edward.

Adelſtane came againſt the Scottes.

937.

The Scots and Danes out of order.

The Scots and Danes ouerthrowen.

The nobilitie wēt to wrack.

Adelſtane toke Northumberland.

Weſtmerland & Cumberlād recouered.

ſelues vnto him, promiſing from thenceforth to continewe his faithfull ſubiectes. In the meane time Malcolme beyng ſore wounded in the battayle, eſcaped yet with great daunger, and in an horſe litter was conueyed home into his countrey, where he declared vnto king Conſtantine the whole circumſtance of the ouerthrow & loſſe of his countreys aforeſayde. Wherevpon Conſtantine cauſed a councell to be called at Abirnethy, where he perceyued howe ſore his realme was enfeebled through lacke of ſuch of the nobilitie as were loſt in the laſte battayle, by reaſon the reſidue that were left ſeemed through want of yeares, neither able by councell nor force to defend the realme, ſo as he vtterly deſpaired eyther to be of power to beate backe the enimies, or to gouerne his realme in ſuch politike ſorte as he would haue wiſhed. And therefore to rid himſelf of all ſuch cares and troubles, and withall deſpiſing al ſuch worldly pompe as might withdraw him from deuine contemplation (wherevnto he was partly bent) he gaue ouer his kingly eſtate, and became a Chanon within the Abbey of S. Andrewes amongſt the couent there. This was in the yeare of our Sauiour. 943. and in the xi. yeare of his owne reygne: as Hector Boetius ſaith: but if he did thus forſake the worlde and entred into religion immediatly after the batayle fought at Brouningfielde or Brunenburgh (for ſo we finde it named by ſome writers) then muſte it needes be afore this ſuppoſed time alledged by the ſame Boetius, for that batayle was fought, Anno. 937. as the beſte approued amongeſt our Engliſhe writers do report; ſo that it ſhoulde rather ſeeme that Conſtãtine refuſed in deede to deale with the gouernment of the realme, about the ſame yeare of our Lord. 937. or ſhortly after, and that Malcolme gouerned as Regent and not as king whileſt Conſtantine liued, who departed this life (after he had cõtinued in the Abbey of S. Andrewes a certayne time) in the foreſayd yeare. 943. falling in the xi. yeare after he firſt beganne to reygne. He was firſt buried in the church there amongſt the Biſhops, but afterwards he was taken vp & trãſlated vnto Colmekill, where he had a tumbe ſet ouer him, as was conuenient for the memory of his name.

In the xxvj. yeare of his reygne there were two monſtruous creatures borne in Albion, the one amongſt the Danes being an *Hermophrodyte*, that is to witte, a childe with bothe ſexes, hauing the head lyke a ſwyne, the breſte ſtanding forth more in reſemblance than the common ſhape of man, a fatte belly, with feete lyke a gooſe, legges lyke a man, full of briſtels, and a very euill fauoured thing to beholde. The other was borne in Northumberlande, onely hauing a mannes face, with one whole belly from the nauell downe, but aboue, the ſame deuided with two breſts creaſted or compaſſed ridge wiſe and not broade lyke to the ſhape of man: beſide this it had foure armes and two heades. And euen as from the nauell vpwardes it was thus deuided into two bodies, ſo did it appeare there was two contrary willes or deſires in the ſame, euer luſting contrarily, as when the one did ſleepe, the other would wake: when the one requyred to haue meate, the other paſſed for none at all. Oftentymes would they chyde & braule togither, in ſo muche that at length they fell ſo farre at variaunce, that they did beate and rente eyther other right pytifully with theyr nayles. At length the one with long ſickneſſe wearyng away and finally deceaſſing, the other was not able to abide the greuous ſmell of the dead carcaſe, but immediatly after died alſo.

Malcolme eſcaped his hurtes.

A councel called by Conſtantine.

Conſtantine becommeth a Chanon.

943.

M. VVeſtm.

Conſtantine died.

A monſter.

An other monſter.

Two contrary willes in one Monſter.

One part before the other.

About the ſame tyme there iſſued forth a fountayne of bloude out of the ſide of a mountayne in Galloway, and flowed in greate abundaunce for the ſpace of ſeuen dayes togither, ſo that all the ryuers there aboute (whereof there is great ſtore in that countrey) had theyr waters mixed with bloude, and ſo rennyng into the ſea, cauſed the ſame to ſeeme bloudie certaine miles diſtant from the ſhore. These prodigious ſightes put menne in greate feare, for that deuinours did interprete the ſame to ſignifie ſome great bloudſhedde to fall vpon the Scots ſhortly after. They were alſo the better beleeued, for that within a whyle after that greate ouerthrow happened at Brounyngfielde, as before is ſpecified.

Bloud iſſue out of an

What ment by wonders



Malcolme

After that Conſtantine (as is ſayde) was entred into religion, the before named Malcolme the ſon of Donalde was admitted king, or rather regent: who although he perceiued right wel howe the force of the realme was ſo enfeebled, that there was no hope to mainteyne warres abroad, yet his chiefe ſtudie was by all meanes poſſible to defende the borderers of the Scottiſhe dominion, and before all things to procure peace with the Engliſhmen. But as he was about to haue ſente Ambaſſadours vnto king Athelſtane, to haue treated for peace, he was credibly enformed, howe Athelſtane had gyuen Northumberlande vnto Aualaſſus, and made a league with him to haue his ayde againſt the Scottes.

Aualaſſus giuen Northumberland.

Whiche

Whiche newes put Malcolme in wonderfull dread, for that he vnderſtood how his realme was vnpurueyed of ſkilfull Captaines to make reſiſtance. Yet hee cauſed a councell to be called, wherein when ſuche as were aſſembled propoſed many fond & childiſhe reaſons, it might appeare there was ſmall hope of any good concluſion: but euen as they were at a poynt to haue broke vp without any certaine reſolution, worde was brought howe thrꝰough ſeditious diſcorde, whiche had chaunced betwixt the Danes and Engliſhmen being aſſembled togither in campe, they had fought a right bloudy battayle, the victorie in the ende remayning with the Engliſhmen, who ceaſſed not to purſue the Danes in chaſe, ſo long as any day light appeared in the ſkie. Auala ſſus with ſuche Danes as he might get togither after that ouerthrowe, fledde into Weſtmerland, and within three dayes after, in ſuche ſhippes as he found there vpon the coaſt, he ſayled ouer into the Ile of Man, and ſpoyling the ſame, with all the pray he paſſed from thence ouer into Irelande. In the meane time king Athelſtane hauyng loſt no ſmall number of his people in the foreſayde batayle, omitted his iourney into Scotlande, and lay ſtill in Northumberland, no man vnderſtanding what he entended to do. Whiche newes were ſo pleaſant to the Scottiſhmen, that there was common ſupplications and proceſſions made thrꝰough the whole realme, in rendring thanks to almightie God for deliuering the people by this meanes frō ſo great and preſent daunger.

Shortly after came Ambaſſadours from Athelſtane vnto Malcolme to moue meanes for a peace to be concluded betwixt the Scottiſhe and Engliſh nations according to the articles of the old league. Whiche motion was ioyfully herde of Malcolme, though he ſet a countenaunce of the matter as though hee paſſed not whether hee had warre or peace: but in the ende for that as he ſayde, peace was moſte neceſſarie for all partes, he ſhewed himſelfe willing to haue the olde former league renewed betwixte the Engliſhmen and Scottes, with any reaſonable condicions whiche ſhould be thought to be requiſite. After the returne of the Ambaſſadours, the league was newly confirmed betwixt the two kings & theyr people, with the ſemblable articles as were comprꝰyſed in the olde league, with this article onely added therevnto, that Northumberland being as now repleniſhed moſt with Daniſh inhabitats, ſhould remaine to the Engliſhmen: and Cumberland with Weſtmerlande to the Scots: vpon this condition, that he whiche ſhould ſucceede as heyre vnto the crowne of Scotlande after the kings deceaſſe, being heyre apparant, ſhould hold thoſe regions, and do homage vnto the king of England as his vaſſall perpetually for the ſame. The peace being thus eſtabliſhed betwixt theſe nations, Indulphe the ſonne of Conſtantine the thyrde was proclaymed prince of Cumberland and inheritour to the crowne of Scotland. After this, Malcolme paſſed the reſidue of his life in good quiet, without any troubles of warre, as a man onely ſtudying to maintayne the ſtate of his realme in good order, aſwell for the wealth of the temporaltie as ſpiritualtie, wherevnto hee was equally inclined. At length as he rode about the prouinces of his realme to ſee the lawes duely miniſtred, at Ulrine a village in Murrayland, where he cauſed iuſtice to be ſomewhat ſtreightly executed vpon offendors, he was murthered in the night ſeaſon by treaſon of a fewe conſpiratours, in the .xv. yeare of his reigne. But ſuche as did this wicked deede with theyr complices, by diligent examination were tried out, and on the next day being appehended, ſuffered due execution, according as they had deſerued, being torne in peeces with wilde horſes: and thoſe peeces ſent vnto ſundry cities, where they were hanged vp on the gates and towers, vntill they rotted away.

King Malcolme was murthered.

The conſpirators were put to execution.

The murtherers were torn with horſes.

They that were the deuiſers of the murder alſo, & procured the doers therevnto, were thruſt thrꝰough vpon ſharpe ſtakes, and after hanged vpon high gybettes: and other of the conſpirators were put to other kinds of death, as the caſe ſeemed to requyre. The death of Malcolme chaunced in the yeare after the birth of our Sauiour. 959. Here we haue thought good to put you in remembrance, that either the Scottes are deceyued in their accompte of yeares, or els miſtake the names of the kings of Englande, for where they write that this Malcolme departed this life about the .xxij. yeare of Athelſtane king of England, that can not be if Malcolmes deceaſſe chaunced in the yeare. 959. for Athelſtane was dead long before that time, to witte in the yeare. 940. and reygned but .xvj. yeares. Moreouer where the Scottiſhe wryters make mencion of the warres whiche king Edmond that ſucceeded Athelſtan had againſt Anlafe and the Danes of Northumberland, in the dayes of king Indulfe that ſucceeded Malcolme, it can not ſtande by any meanes (if they miſtake not theyr accompt of yeares,) for the ſame Edmond was ſlayne in the yeare. 948. But verily this fault in the iuſte accompt of yeares is but to cōmon in the Scottiſhe hiſtorie, and therefore to him that ſhould take vpō him to reforme the errours thereof in this behalfe, it were neceſſarie to alter in a manner the whole courſe of the ſame hiſtorie: and therefore we will not wiſhe any man to giue any credite vnto theyr accompt in yeares, touching the reignes of the Engliſhe kings, further

959.

The miſtaking of the names and times of the Engliſh kings, in the Scottiſh wryters.

ther than they ſhall ſee them to agree with our wryters, whome in that behalfe wee may more ſafely followe, and by conferring the ſame with the Scottiſhe wryters in ſome places, happely perceyue the true time aſwell of the reygnes of theyr kings as of actes done, to fall out in yeares and ſeaſons, much differing from their accompt: whereof to admoniſh the Reader, aſwell here as in the Engliſh hiſtorie, wee haue thought it not impertinēt. And albeit that ſome may aſke what reaſon we haue to moue vs to doubt of their accompte of yeares, more than we do of that in our owne writers, we wil referre the ſame vnto their iudgements that are learned, and haue trauayled indifferently alike, aſwell in peruſing the one as the other without affectiō. But as the errours are ſooner founde than amended, ſo haue wee thought good to ſet downe in the margent of this booke, the yeares as we finde them noted in the Scottiſh wryters, ſpecially in places where wee differ any thing from them, becauſe we will not ſeeme by way of controlment, to preiudice the authours further, than by due conſideration the well aduiſed Reader ſhall thinke it expedient.

Indulph



BVt to my purpoſe: after ỹ corps of Malcolme was once buried according to the cuſtome, amongſt his predeceſſours in the Abbey churche of Colmekill, Indulphe prince of Cumberland was placed in the marble cheare at Scone, there receyuing the crowne and other the inueſtures of the kingdome. In the adminiſtration whereof he continued for the ſpace of fiue yeares without any notable trouble, in the end of which terme, he was requyred by meſſengers ſent vnto him from Iualaſſus, to ioyne with him in league againſt the Engliſhmen, in reuenge of that ouerthrow, whiche aſwell the Danes as Scottes had receyued at Broningfield, alledgyng that opportunitie was now offered, ſith after the deceaſſe of Athelſtane the Engliſhmen had created Edmond to theyr king, a man of a dull witte, and not fitte for the adminiſtration of high affayres: neyther did the league concluded betwixt Athelſtane and Malcolme enforce any impediment, but that he might enter the warre againſt the Engliſhmen, conſidering bothe thoſe Princes that were the Authours of that league were departed out of this lyfe, by whoſe deceaſſe the ſayde league was ended.

Indulphe is prouoked by Iualaſſus, to warre againſt England.

His perſuaſions.

Indulph his anſwere.

But Indulph for anſwere hereunto declared, that the league was concluded betwixt Malcolme and Athelſtane, by great deliberation of counſaile, and by conſent of all the eſtates of bothe realmes, taking theyr ſolemne othes for the true obſeruing thereof, ſo that he coulde not, vnleſſe he ſhoulde violate that ethe, attempt any thing to the breache of peace with the Engliſhmen, procuring the iuſte indignation of almightie God againſt him and his people in that behalfe. Herevpon the Danes accounting Indulph but a ſlouthfull and negligent perſon for this kinde of anſweare, as he that regarded not the honour of his realme and people, in letting paſſe ſo great opportunitie to be reuenged of the Engliſhmen for the death of ſuche Scottes as died in the ouerthrow at Broningfield, determined not to be noted with the like ſpotte of reproche, but with all ſpeede ſending for ayde into Norway, prepared to paſſe ouer into England, vnder the conduct of Iualaſſus, who ioyning his power with the Norwaygians whiche came to his ayde vnder the leading of a right valiant Captayne called Raynold, tranſported with all ſpeede ouer into Northumberlande, vnto whom the gouernour there named Elgarine, acknowledging himſelfe to be deſcended of the Daniſhe bloud, yelded all the Caſtels, Townes and Fortes, promiſing to ayde Iualaſſus againſt king Edmond to the vttermoſt of his power.

The Danes not pleaſed with ſuch an anſwer procure warres againſt Engliſh.

The Norwaygians come to the ayde of Iualaſſus.

Raynolde a valiant Captayne.

Elgarine yelded the fortes vnto the Danes.

These newes comming to the knowledge of Edmond, with al ſpeede he gathereth his power, and ſending into Scotlande for ſuche ayde as he ought to haue from thence by couenaunts of the league, there came vnto him ten thouſande Scottiſhmen with ready willes to ſerue him in theſe his warres againſt the Danes. Then ioyning his owne people with thoſe Scottiſhmen, he ſet forewarde towardes his enimies. There were an eyght thouſande Northumberland men with Iualaſſus, the whiche vpon the firſte encounter with the Engliſhmenne, fell ſtreight vnto running away, whiche made an open and readie breache vnto the Engliſhe part, to attayne the victorie: for the Danes beyng not able to reſiſte the violent force of theyr enimies, encouraged nowe with the flight of the Northumbers, were quickely conſtreyned to giue backe, and in the ende to flee amayne, the Engliſhmen and Scottes following in the chaſe with ſuche fiercenеſſe, that all ſuche as they ouertooke died vpon the ſwoorde, though they ſubmitted themſelues neuer ſo humbly in requiring mercie.

10000. ſouldiours ſent vnto king Edmond.

Elgarine yet chaunсing to fall into his enimies handes was taken aliue: for ſo had Edmond commaunded, that if any man might take him, he ſhould in any caſe ſaue his life, that he might put him to death in moſte cruell wiſe, to the enſample of other. After this and for the ſpace of three dayes after the battayle, Edmond

Elgarine is taken priſoner.

lay

lay ſtill in the fieldes neare to the place where they fought, and then repayred vnto Yorke, where Elgarine for his treaſon was drawen in peeces with wilde horſes. Elgarine is drawen in peeces.



There chaunced alſo no notable trouble in Albion during the ſpace of foure yeares after this ſayde ouerthrow of the Danes with their Captaine Iualaſſus, who is otherwiſe alſo named Inlafe, as is to be ſeene in the Engliſh hiſtories where the ſame make mention of the forenamed king Edmond, whom likewiſe they affirme to be the brother of Athelſtane and not his ſonne, as before is partely touched. Indulph in this meane time did with greate diligence ſee to the good order of his realme, ſhewing therein what belonged to the office of a worthy prince. But euen as all things ſeemed to reſt in peace and quietneſſe through the whole Ile of Albion, Hagon king of Norway, and Helrike king of Denmarke, vpon purpoſe to reuenge the ſlaughter of their countrey men lately made in Northumberlande, came with a mightie nauie vnto the coaſtes of Scotland, aſſaying to lande with their whole armie, firſte in the Forth, then in the riuer of Tay, but yet through ſuch reſiſtaunce as the Scottes made, beyng aſſembled togither to keepe them off, they were fayne to withdrawe, & wafting alongſt the coaſtes of Angus, the Marnes, Mar, & Buthqhane, at length fayning as though they woulde haue taken their courſe homewardes, they launched forth into the high ſeas, but within foure dayes after returning againe to the ſhore, they lāded their people early in one morning vpon the coaſt of Boene, at a place called Cullane, a countrey ioyning vnto Buthqhane, putting ſuche of the countrey people to flight as preſented themſelues to impeach their landing and inuaſion.

But Indulph being aduertiſed hereof, forthwith aſſembling the whole power of his realme, drew towardes that parte with ſuch ſpeede, that hee was come into Boene before his enimies were certified that hee was ſet forewarde. So ſoone therefore as they heard he was come, ſuche as were abroade forraying the ſame countrey, were called backe to the campe. But Indulph without protracting of time came ſtil forward, and vpon his approche to the enimies, he prepared to giue battaple, and with a ſhort oration began to encourage his people to fight manfully, but before he coulde make an ende, the Danes gaue the onſet with ſuche violence, that the battaple a long ſpace continued doubtfull on bothe ſides, the Danes on the one parte and the Scots on the other, doyng their vttermoſt endeuours to atchieue the victorie, till at length they of Louthian with their Captaines Dunbar & Eramy began to appeare on the backe half of the Danes, with whiche ſight they were put in ſuche feare, that thoſe which fought in the fore ward, retyred backe vnto the middle warde, whome the Scots egrely purſuyng, beat downe euen till they came vnto the rereward, which coueting rather to die in the fight, than to giue backe, and ſo to be ſlaine in the chaſe (for thoſe in the rereward were heauie armed men) cōtinued the battaple more with a certaine ſtiffe ſtubbornneſſe of minde than with any great force or forecaſt, being ſo ouermatched as they were, and forſaken of their fellowes: for other of the Danes, namely the Archers and Kernes fled their wayes, ſome towardes their ſhippes, and ſome here and there being ſcattered abroade in the fieldes, fell into the moſſes and mareſſe grounds and other ſtreytes, where they were ſlaine euery one by ſuch as followed in the chaſe.

King Indulph prepared to the batayle.

The Danes gaue the onſet.

A ſupply ſent vnto the Scots

The Danes fledde.

Indulph himſelf with certayne companies about him, departing from his mayne batayle to diſcouer

The king with few in his cõpanie, falleth into the enimies daunger through negligence.

discouer the fields as though al had bene quiet on eche side, fell by chaunce vpon a whole bande of the Danes, where the same lay in couert within a close valley being fled frõ the field thither vpon the first ioyning of the batayles, with the whiche entring into fight, he was shot through the head with a darte and so died, but not before he was reuenged of those his enimies, the whole nũber of thẽ being slaine there in the place. His bodie was first buried in Cullane, a towne of Boene, and after translated vnto the Abbay of Colmekill, and there enterred amongst other his predecessours the Scottishe kings. Indulph reigned about.ix.yeares and died thus valiantly, though infortunately, in the yeare after the incarnation 968. saith Hector Boetius.

King Indulph was slayne with a darte, & died.

961. hath Io. Ma.

968.

Duffe.



AFter the corps of Indulphe was remoued vnto Colmekil & there buried, Duffe the sonne of king Malcolme was crowned king at Scone with al due solemnitie. In the beginning of his reigne Culene the sonne of king Indulphe was proclaymed prince of Cumberlande: immediatly wherevpon the king transported ouer into the westerne Iles to set an order there for certaine misdemeanours vsed by diuers robbers and pillers of the common people. At his arriuall amongst them he called the Thanes of the Iles afore him, cõmaunding straytly as they would anoyde his displeasure to purge theyr countreys of such malefactours, wherby the husbandmen & other cõmons might liue in quiet without vexation of suche barettours & idle persons as sought to liue only vpõ other mẽs goodes. The Thanes vpon this charge giuẽ them by the king, toke no small number of the offenders, partely by publike authoritie, & partly by lying in awayte for thẽ where they supposed theyr haunt was to resort, the which being put to execution according to that they had merited, caused ỹ residue of that kind of people eyther to get them ouer into Ireland, eyther els to learne some manuall occupation wherewith to get theyr liuing, yea though they were neuer so great gentlemen borne. Howbeit the nobles with this extreeme rigour shewed thus by the king against their linage, were much offended therewith, accompting it a great dishonour for suche as were descended of noble parentage to be constrayned to get theyr liuing with the labour of theyr handes, which only appertayned to plowmen, & such other of the base degree as were borne to trauayle for the mayntenance of the nobilitie, & to serue at their commaundement by order of their birth, and in no wise after such sorte to be made in maner equall with them in state and condition of life. And further they murmured closely amongst themselues, how the king was onely become freend vnto the cõmons & clergie of his realme, hauing no respect to the nobilitie, but rather declared himselfe to be an vtter enimie therof, so ỹ he was vnworthy to haue the rule of the nobles & gentlemẽ, onlesse he knew better what belonged to their degree. This murmuring did spred not only among them in the Iles, but also through all the other partes of his realme, so that they ceassed not to speake very euill of the gouernment of things. In the meane time the king fell into a languishing disease, not so greeuous as strange, for that none of his Phisitions coulde perceyue what to make of it. For there was seene in him no token, that either choler, melancolie, flegme, or any other vicious humor did any thing abounde, whereby his body should be brought into such a decay & cõsumptiõ (so as there remayned vnneth any thing vpon him saue skin & bone:) & sithence it appeared manifestly by all outward signes & tokens, that natural moisture did nothing faile in ỹ vital spirits: his colour also was freshe & fayre to behold, with such liuelinesse of lookes, that more was not to be wished for: he had also a temperate desire & appetite to his meate & drinke, but yet could he not sleepe in the night time by any prouocatiõs that could be deuised, but still fell into exceeding sweates, which by no meanes might be restreyned. The Physitions perceyuing all theyr medicines to wante the effect, yet to put him in some comfort of help, declared vnto him that they would sende for some cũning Phisitions into forayne parties, who haply being inured with such kind of diseases, should easily cure him, namely so soone as the spring of the yeare was once come, whiche of it self should help much therevnto. Howbeit ỹ king though he had small hope of recouerie, yet had he still a diligent care to the due administration of his lawes and good orders of his realme, deuising oft with his councel about the same: but yet whẽ it was vnderstood into what a perillous sickenesse he was fallen, there were no small number that cõtemning the authoritie of the magistrates, began to practise a rebellion. And amõgst the chiefest were those of Murrayland, who seyng sundry of the kings officers began to rage in moste cruell wise against all such as were not consenting to their misordered tumult. The kings phisitions forbad in any wise, that the king shoulde be aduertised of such businesse, for doubte of encreasing his sickenesse with trouble of minde about the same. But about that present time there was a murmuring amongst the people, how the king was vexed with no naturall sickenesse, but by

The king wẽt vnto the westerne Isles.

He purged the Isles.

Barettors take and put to death.

Vagaboundes compelled to learne an occupation.

The nobles were discontented with the kings doynges.

The occasion of murmuring of the nobilitie.

The king sicke.

The king sicke, & he regarded iustice to be executed.

A rebellion practised.

The rebel was kept frõ the kings knowledg

by ſorcery and Magicall arte, practiſed by a ſort of Witches dwelling in a towne of Murrayland, called Fores. Wherevpon albeit, the Authour of this ſecrete talke was not knowen, yet being brought to the kings eare, it cauſed him to ſende forthwith certaine wittie perſons thither to enquyre of the truth. They that were thus ſent, diſſembling the cauſe of theyr iourney, were receyued in the darke of the night into the caſtell of Fores by the lieutenant of the ſame, called Donwald, who continuing faithful to the king, had kepte that caſtell againſt the rebelles to the kings vſe. Vnto him therefore theſe meſſengers declared the cauſe of theyr cõming, requiring his ayde for the accompliſhment of the kings pleaſure. The ſouldiers whiche lay there in gariſon had an inkeling that there was ſome ſuch mater in hand as was talked of amongſt the people, by reaſon that one of them kept as cõcubine a yong womã which was doughter to one of ẏ witches as his paramour, who told him the whole maner vſed by hir mother & other hir cõpanions, with ẏ intent alſo, which was to make away the king. The ſouldier hauing learned this of his leman, told the ſame to his fellowes, who made reporte therof to Donewald, & he ſhewed it to the kings meſſengers, & therwith ſent for the yõg damoſell which the ſouldier kept, as then being within the caſtell, & cauſed hir vpon ſtreyt examination to cõfeſſe the whole mater as ſhe had ſeene & knew: wherevpon learning by hir cõfeſſiõ in what houſe in the towne it was where they wrought theyr miſchecuous miſterie, he ſent forth ſouldiers, about the midſt of the night, who breaking into ẏ houſe, found one of the Witches roſting vpon a woodden broche an image of waxe at the fire, reſembling in ech feature the kings perſon, made & deuiſed as is to be thought, by craft & arte of the Deuill: an other of thẽ ſat reciting certain wordes of enchauntment, & ſtill baſted the image with a certaine licour very buſily. The ſouldiers finding thẽ occupied in this wiſe, toke thẽ togither with the image, & led thẽ into the caſtell, where being ſtreitly examined for what purpoſe they went about ſuch maner of enchantmẽt, they anſwered, to the end to make away ẏ king: for as ẏ image did waſt afore the fire, ſo did the bodie of the king breake forth in ſweate. And as for the wordes of enchauntment, they ſerued to keepe him ſtill waking frõ ſleepe, ſo that as the waxe euer melted, ſo did the kings fleſh: by which meanes it ſhould haue come to paſſe, that when ẏ waxe were once cleane cõſumed, the death of the king ſhould immediatly follow. So were they taught by euill ſpirites, & hyred to worke the feat by the nobles of Murrayland. The ſtanders by that herd ſuch an abhominable tale told by theſe Witches, ſtreight wayes brake the image, & cauſed ẏ Witches (according as they had well deſerued) to bee burnt to death. It was ſayd that the king, at the very ſame time that theſe things were a doyng within the caſtell of Fores, was deliuered of his languor, and ſlepte that night without any ſweate breaking forth vpon him at all, and the next day being reſtored to his ſtrength, was able to do any maner of thing that lay in man to do, as though he had not bene ſicke before any thing at all. But how ſoeuer it came to paſſe, truth it is that when he was reſtored to his perfect health, he gathered a power of men, and with the ſame went into Murrayland againſt the rebels there, and chaſing them from thence, he purſued them into Roſſe, & from Roſſe into Cathneſe, where apprehending them, he brought them backe vnto Fores, and there cauſed them to be hanged vpon gallowes and gybettes. Amongſt them there were alſo certaine yong Gentlemen right beautifull and goodly perſonages, being neare of kinne vnto Donewald captaine of the Caſtell, and had bene perſwaded to be partakers with the other rebelles more through the fraudulent coũſell of diuers wicked perſons than of theyr owne accorde: Wherevpon the foreſayde Donewald lamenting theyr caſe, made earneſt labour and ſuyte to the king to haue begged theyr pardon, but hauing a playne deniall, he conceyued ſuche an inwarde malice towardes the king, (though he ſhewed it not outwardly at the firſte) that the ſame continued ſtill boyling in his ſtomake, and ceaſed not, till through ſetting on of his wife and in reuenge of ſuche vnthankefulneſſe, he founde meanes to murder the king within the foreſayd Caſtell of Fores where he vſed to ſoiourne, for the king beyng in that countrey, was accuſtomed to lie moſt cõmonly within the ſame caſtell, hauing a ſpeciall truſt in Donewald, as a man whom he neuer ſuſpected: but Donwald not forgetting the reproche whiche his linage had ſuſteyned by the execution of thoſe his kinſmen, whome the king for a ſpectacle to the people had cauſed to be hanged, could not but ſhew manifeſt tokens



The Witches were burnt.

The king is reſtored to health.

The king with an armie purſued the rebelles.

The rebels are executed.

Captaine Donwald craued pardon for the but not graunted.

Donewald cõceyued hatred againſt the king.

tokens of great griefe at home amongst his familie: which his wife perceyuing, ceassed not to trauayle with him, till she vnderstood what the cause was of his displeasure. Whiche at length when she had learned by his owne relation, she as one that bare no lesse malice in hyr harte towardes the king, for the like cause on hyr behalfe than hir husband did for his frendes, counselled him (sith the king oftentimes vsed to lodge in his house without any garde aboute him, other than the garyson of the castell, whiche was wholy at his commaundement) to make him away, and shewed him the meanes whereby he might soonest accomplishe it. Donwalde thus being the more kindled in wrath by the wordes of his wife, determined to follow hyr aduise in the execution of so haynous an acte. Whereupon deuising with himselfe for a while, whiche way he might best accomplishe his cursed intention, at length he gate opportunitie and sped his purpose as followeth. It chanced, that the king vpon the day before he purposed to departe forth of the Castell, was long in his oratorie at his prayers, and there continued till it was late in the night, at the last comming forth he called suche afore him, as had faithfully serued him in pursute and apprehention of the rebelles, and giuing them hartie thankes, he bestowed sundry honorable giftes amongst them, of the which number Donwald was one, as he that had bene euer accompted a moste faithfull seruaunt to the king. At length hauing talked with them a long time, he got him into his priuie chamber, only with two of his chamberlaynes, who hauing brought him to bedde came forth againe, and then fell to banqueting with Donewald and his wife, who had prepared diuers delicate dishes, and sundry sorts of drinke for theyr arere supper or collation, whereat they sat vp so long, till they had charged theyr stomakes with suche full gorges, that theyr heades were no sooner got to the pyllow, but a sleepe they were so fast, that a man might haue remoued the chāber ouer them, rather than to haue awaked thē out of theyr drunken sleepe. Then Donewalde though he abhorred the act greatly in his harte, yet through instigation of his wife, he called foure of his seruants vnto him (whom he had made priuie to his wicked intent before, and framed to his purpose with large giftes) and now declaring vnto them, after what sorte they should worke the feate, they gladly obeyed his instructions, and speedily going about the murder, they enter the chamber (in which the king lay) a litle before cockes crow, where they secretely cut his throte as he lay sleeping, without any buskling at all: and immediatly by a posterne gate they caried forth the dead body into the fieldes, and throwing it vpon an horse there prouided ready for that purpose, they conuey it vnto a place, distant aboute two myles from the castell, where they stayed, and gat certayne labourers to helpe them to turne the course of a litle riuer running through the fieldes there, and digging a deepe hole in the chanell, they burie the body in the same, ramming it vp with stones and gravel so closely, that letting the water into the right course agayne, no man coulde perceyue that any thing had bene newly digged there. This they did by order appointed them by Donewald as is reported, for that the bodie shoulde not be founde, and by bleeding (when Donewald shoulde be present) declare him to be giltie of the murder. For that suche an opinion men haue, that the dead corps of any man being slayne, will bleede abundantly if the murderer be present: but for what consideration soeuer they buried him there, they had no sooner finished the worke, but that they slew them, whose help they vsed herein, and streightwayes thereupon fledde into Orkney.

Donewald about the time that the murder was a doing, got him amongst them that kepte the watch, and so continewed in companie with them al the residue of the night. But in the morning when the noyse was reysed in the kings chamber how the king was slaine, his body conueyed away, and the bed all berayed with bloud, he with the watche ran thither as though he had knowen nothing of the mater, and breaking into the chamber, and finding cakes of bloud in the bed & on the floore about the sides of it, he forthwith slewe the chamberlaynes, as giltie of that haynous murder, and then like a madde man running to and fro, her ransacked euery corner within the castell, as though it had bene to haue seene if he might haue founde either the body or any of ỹ murtherers hid in any priuie place: but at lēgth cōming to the posterne gate, & finding it open, he burdened the chāberlaines whom he had slaine with al the fault, they hauing the keyes of the gates cōmitted to their keeping al the night, and therefore it could not be otherwise (sayde he) but that they were of counsel in the committing of that moste detestable murder. Finally suche was his ouer earnest diligence in the inquisition and triall of the offendours herein, that some of the Lordes began to mislike the mater, and to smell forth shrewed tokens, that he shoulde not be altogither cleare himselfe: but for so much as they were in that countrey, where her had the whole rule, what by reason of his frendes and authoritie togither, they doubted to vtter what they thought till time and place shoulde better serue thereunto, and hereupon got them away euery man to his home. For the space of .vj. moneths togither after this haynous murder thus committed,

Donewaldes wife counsayled him to murder the king.

The womans euill counsell is followed.

The king rewarded his frendes.

The king went to bedde.

His chamberlayns went to banqueting.

The suborned seruauntes cut the kings throte.

The king buried.

The poore labourers are slaine.

Donwald hid himselfe amongst the warchmen.

Donewalde very diligent.

Some wyser than other.

The mater suspected.

Prodigious weather.

committed, there appeared no sunne by day, nor Mone by night in any parte of the realme, but stil was the skie couered with cõtinual clowdes, and sometimes suche outragious windes arose with lightnings and tempestes, that the people were in great feare of present destruction.



IN the meane time Culene prince of Cumberland, the sonne as I haue sayde of king Indulph, accompanied with a great number of Lordes and Nobles of the realme, came vnto Scone, there to receyue the crowne according to the maner: but at his comming thither, he demaũded of the Bishops what the cause should be of such vntemperate weather. Who made answere, that vndoubtedly almightie God shewed himselfe thereby to be offended moste highly for that wicked murther of king Duffe, and surely onlesse the offendours were tried forth and punished for that deede, the realme shoulde feele the iust indignation of the deuine iudgement for omitting suche punishment as was due for so greeuous an offence.

Culene hereupon requyred the bishops to appoint publike processiõs, fastings and other godly exercises to be vsed of the priestes and people, through all parties of the realme, for the appeasing of Gods wrath in this behalfe, and in suche sorte and maner as in semblable cases, the vse and custome in those dayes was. Hee himselfe made a solenne vowe, confirming it with a like othe before all the peeres and nobles there assembled, that he woulde not ceasse till he had reuenged the death of king Duffe vpon the false inhabitauntes of Murrayland to the ensample of all other.

The multitude being present, getting them to armure followed their prince, taking his iourney without further delay towardes Murrayland, the inhabitauntes of whiche region hearing of his approch and the cause of his cõming, were stryken with exceeding feare, but namely Donewalde beyng giltie in conscience, doubted least if he were put to torture, he should be enforced to confesse the truthe, wherevpon without making his wyfe priuie to his departure, or any other of his family, saue a fewe suche as he toke with him, he secretely got him to the mouthe of the ryuer of Spey, where finding a shippe ready, he wente a borde the same, purposing to haue fledde his wayes by sea into Norway: for this is the peculiar propertie of a giltie conscience to be afrayde of all things, and eyther in gesture or countenaunce to bewray it selfe, accompting slight moste sure if occasion may serue thereto. For this Donewalde, whome no man (though some partely suspected him) might wel haue burdened with the crime of his Maisters death (by reason of his faithfull seruice shewed towardes him afore time) had he not thus sought to haue auoyded the countrey, was now detected of manifest treason, euery man detesting his abhominable facte, and wishing him to be ouerwhelmed in the raging floudes, so to pay the due punishment, whiche of right hee ought, for his vile treason in murthering his naturall Lorde.

Donewalde getteth him secretly away.

The murther of the king is reueled.

Culene being hereof aduertised, passed ouer Spey water, and taking the castell of Fores, slew all that he founde therein, and put the house to sacke and fire. Donewaldes wife with his three daughters were taken: for Culene commaunded, that who so euer coulde light vpon them, shoulde in any wise saue theyr liues, and bring them vnto him. Whiche beyng done, hee had them to the racke, where the mother vpon hyr examination confessed the whole mater, how by hyr procuremẽt chiefly hyr husbãd was moued to cause the deede to be done, who they were that by his commaundement did it, and in what place they had buried the bodie. Here woulde the multitude haue runne vpon hyr and torne hyr in peeces, but that they were restrayned by commaundement of an officer at armes. The king with the residue for that night rested themselues, and in the morning toke order for prouision of all things necessarie to take vp the bodie of king Duffe, and then to conuey it vnto Colmekill, there to be buried amongst his predecessours. But as they were busie here about, worde came that the traytour Donewalde was by shipwracke caste vpon the shore within foure miles of the Castell, as though he were by Gods prouision brought backe into his owne countrey to suffer worthy punishment for his demerites. Wherevpon the inhabitaunts of the places next adioyning, toke him and kepte him fast bound till they knewe further of the kings pleasure: who right gladde of the newes, sente forth immediatly a bande of men to fetche him. They that were sent did as they were commaunded: and beyng vnneth returned, there came in diuers Lordes of Rosse, bringing with them Donewaldes foure seruaunts whiche (as before is sayde) did execute the murder. Thus all the offendours beyng brought togither vnto the place where the murder was bothe contriued and executed

The castell of Fores is taken and all the inhabitãts slain.

The murder is wholy confessed.

King Duffe his body to be taken vp.

Donewald is taken prysoner.

Donewaldes foure seruants were taken also.

ecuted, they were arrayned, condemned, and put to death in maner as followeth, to the great reioycing of the people that beheld the same. They were firste scourged by the hangman, and then bowelled, their entrailes being throwen into a fire and brente, the other partes of theyr bodies were cut into quarters, and sent vnto the chiefest Cities of the realme, and there set vp aloste vpon the gates and highest towers, for ensample sake to all suche as should come after, how hay- 10 nous a thing it is to pollute theyr handes in the sacred bloud of theyr prince. This dreadfull end had Donewald with his wife before he saw any sunne after the murder was committed, and that by the appointment of the most righteous God, the creatour of that heauenly planet and all other thinges, who suffereth no crime to be vnreuenged. Those that were the takers of the murderers were highly rewarded for their paynes & trauaple therein sustayned, being exempt from 20 charges of going forth into the warres: and also of all maner of payments belonging to publike ducties, as tributes and suche like.

Donewalde with his confederates are executed.

Rewardes giuen vnto the takers of those murderers.

These thinges being thus ordered, the body of king Duffe was take vp, and in most pompous maner conueyed vnto Colmekill, accompanied all the way by Culene, and a great multitude of Lordes both spirituall and temporal, with other of the meaner estates. There be ỹ haue written how his bodie (though it had layne .vj. moneths vnder the grouud) was nothing empayred eyther in colour or otherwise, when it was taken vp, but was founde as wholle and sound as though it had bene yet aline, the skarres of the woundes onely excepted. But to proceede, so sone as it was brought aboue the grouud, the ayre began to cleare vp, and the sunne brake forth, shining more brighter than it had bene seene afore time to any of the beholders remembrance. And that which put men in most deepe cõsideration of al, was the sight of manifold flowers, which sprang forth ouerall the fieldes immediatly thereupon, clene contrary to the time & season of the yeare. Within a fewe yeares after, there was a bridge made ouer the water in the same place, where the bodie had bene buried, & a village builded at the one end of the bridge, whiche is called vnto this day, Killflos, that is to say, the church of flowers: taking that name of the wonder there happened at the remouing of the kings bodie, as the same authours woulde seeme to meane. But there is now or was of late a rich abbey, standing with a right fayre church, cõsecrate in the honour of the virgine Marie. Monstrous sightes also that were seene within the Scottishe kingdome that yeare were these, horses in Lothian being of singuler beautie and swiftnesse, did eate their owne flesh, & would in no wise taste any other meate.

The body of king Duffe honorably buried.

Meruaylous thinges are seene.

Kyllflos.

Horses eate their owne flesh.

In Angus there was a gentlewoman brought forth a childe without eyes, nose, hande, or foote. There was a Sparhauke also strangled by an Owle. Neither was it any lesse wonder that the sunne, as before is sayd, was continually couered with clowdes, for .vj. moneths space: But all mẽ vnderstood that the abhominable murder of king Duffe was the cause hereof, whiche being reuenged by the death of the authours in maner as before is sayde. Culene was crowned as lawfull successour to the same Duffe at Scone, with all due honour and solemnitie in the yeare of our Lord. 972. after that Duffe had ruled the Scottish kingdome about the space of foure yeares. 972.

A monstrous childe.

A sparhauke strangled by an Owle.

The beginning of Culenes reigne begonne with rightuous execution of iustice, promised a hope of an other maner of prince, than by the administration whiche followed he declared himself to be: for shortly after lewsing the reyne of lasciuious wãtonnesse to the youth of his realme through giuing of lewde ensample by his owne disordered doings, all suche as were enclined vnto licentious liuing followed. theyr sensuall lustes, and vnbrydeled libertie abandoning all feare of correction more than euer had bene seene or heard of in any other age. For suche was the negligence of the king, or rather mayntenaunce of misordered persons, that what so euer any of the nobilitie did eyther against Merchauntes, Preistes, or any of the commons, though the same were neuer so greate an iniurie, there was no punishment vsed agaynst them: so that all men looked for some commotion in the common wealth thereupon to ensue, if there were not other order prouided therefore in time. The auncient peeres of the realme also beyng greeued thereat, spared not to admonishe the king of his dutie, declaring vnto him into what daunger the realme was likely to fall through his negligent behauiour. Culene aunswered them, that he wiste well inough howe yonge menne were not at the firste, bone graue and sage personages lyke to them with hoary heades: wherefore theyr firste youthfull yeares conlde not be so stable as they might be hereafter by olde age and continuaunce of time: but as for suche rigorous extremitie as diuers of his elders had vsed towards theyr subiects, he minded not as he said to folow, being taught by their ensample (as by the kings, Indulph, Duffe & suche other) into what daunger he might incurre by such sharpe seueritie shewed in the gouernment of the estate. Wherevpon he was determined so to rule as he might giue cause rather to be beloued than feared, which was the onely meane (as he thought) to retayne his subiectes in dewe and most faithfull obedience. This answeare was such, that although it seemed nothyng agreeable for the

King Culen did not cõtinue newe, as he beginning was.

He folowed sensuall.

Euill doers were not punished.

Good coũsel was not be

The kinges were vnto graue pe

He would displease.

preser-

preſeruation of the publike ſtate in quiet reſte and ſaftie, yet was there no man by reaſon of his regall authoritie that durſt reproue the ſame, but diuers there were that prayſed him therein, as thoſe that hated all ſuche as loued the vpright adminiſtration of iuſtice. But ſuche auncient counſellours as had truely ſerued in rule of the cõmon wealth in the dayes of the former kings Indulph and Duffe, miſliking the ſtate of that preſent world (wherein the youth of the realme, namely al ſuch as were deſcended of noble parentage, & vſed to be about the king, followed their wilfull and ſenſuall luſtes, growing euery day through want of correction to be worſe & worſe) departed from the court, and withdrew to theyr homes without medling any further with the publike adminiſtration. In whoſe place there crept in other, that with their flatterie corrupted the reſidue of ſuche ſparkes of good inclination as yet remained in the king, if any were at all, in ſo muche that in the ende he meaſured ſupreme felicitie by the plentifull enioying of voluptuous pleaſures and bodily luſtes. He fancied onely ſuche as coulde deuiſe prouocations thereunto, & in filling the belly with exceſſe of coſtly meates and drinkes, thoſe that coulde excell other were chiefly cheriſhed & moſt highly of him eſteemed. Herewithall he was giuen vnto leachery beyond all the termes of reaſon, ſparing neyther mayde, widowe, nor wife, profane nor religious, ſiſter nor daughter (for all was one with him) that to heare of ſuche vilanie and violent forcings as were practiſed by him and his familiers, it would lothe any honeſt harte to vnderſtande or remember. He was ſo farre paſte all ſhame in this behalfe, that when his lecherous luſte by to muche copulation was ſo tyred that he might no more exerciſe his former lewdeneſſe, he toke ſpeciall pleaſure yet to behold other to do it in his preſence, that his decayed luſt might be the more ſtyred vp with ſight of ſuch filthineſſe. This abhominable trade of life he practiſed for the ſpace of .xij. yeares togither, giuing occaſion of muche ſpoile, ruine, manſlaughter, forcings, and raniſhments of women with all ſuch kinde of wicked & diueliſh trãſgreſſiõs: no execution of lawes (inſtituted by authoritie of the former kings, for reſtraint of ſuch flagitious offences) being put in vre, through negligẽce of this monſtruous creature. So farre forth alſo encreaſed the libertie of theeues, robbers and other offendours, maintayned by ſuche of the nobilitie as conſented to theyr vnlawfull doings, & were partakers with them in the ſame, that if any man went aboute to withſtand them, or refuſed to accompliſh their requeſtes and demaundes, he ſhoulde be ſpoyled of all that hee had, and happely haue his houſe brente ouer his head, or otherwiſe be miſuſed in ſuch outragious & violent ſorte, that it would greeue all thoſe that had any zele to iuſtice, to heare of ſuche enormities as were dayly practiſed in that countrey. Howbeit at length yet the death of king Culene, brought an end to all ſuch wicked dealings: for falling into a filthy diſeaſe (through abuſe of exceſſiue drinking and leacherie,) called the waſting of nature, he conſumed away in ſuch wiſe by rotting of his fleſhe, that he appeared more like vnto a dead carcaſſe, than vnto a liuely creature, in ſo much that his owne ſeruaunts began to abhorre him. Wherevpon the Lordes and other Honorable perſonages of the realme vnderſtanding his caſe, cauſed a parliament to be ſummoned at Scone, where they determined to depoſe king Culene, and appoynt ſome other (whom they ſhould iudge moſt meeteſt) to reygne in his place. Culene alſo not knowing wherefore this councell was called, as he was going thitherwardes, at Meffen caſtell being almoſte in the midde way of his iourney, was murthered by one Cadhard the Thane of

Death made an end of all.

παντὸς ῥοῦς.

A parliament.

King Culene was murdered



y place, whoſe daughter he had raviſhed before time amõgſt diuers other. This end had Culene togither with all his filthy ſenſualitie: but the reprochfull infamie thereof remaineth in memorie with his poſteritie, & is not like to be forgotten whileſt the world goeth about. He was thus diſpatched in the fifth yeare of his reigne, & after the birth of Sauiour .976. the nobles & great peares of the realme reioycing at his death, though they allowed not of the maner thereof.

976.



Kenneth.

After that the bodie of King Culene was once cõueyed vnto Colmekill, & there buried amongſt his elders, the nobles & great peeres aſſembled togither at Scone, where they proclaimed Kenneth the ſonne of Malcolme the firſte, & bro-

ther vnto Duffe, king of the realme. In the beginning of his reygne, he had inough to do to reduce the people from theyr wilde & ſauage kinde of life (into the whiche they were fallen through the negligent gouernment of his predeceſſour) vnto theyr former trade of ciuill demeanour. For the nature of the Scottiſhmen is, that firſte the nobles, and thē all the reſidue of the people transforme themſelues vnto the vſage of their prince: therefore did Kenneth in his owne trade of liuing ſhewe an enſample of chaſtitie, ſobrietie, liberalitie, and modeſtie, miſuſing himſelfe in no kinde of vice, but refrayning himſelfe from the ſame: hee baniſhed all ſuche kinde of perſons as might prouoke eyther him or other vnto any lewde or wanton pleaſures. He mainteyned amitie aſwell with ſtraungers as with his owne people, puniſhing moſt rigorouſly all ſuche as ſought to moue ſeditiō by any maner of meane. He toke buſie care in cauſing the people to auoyde ſlouth, and to applie themſelues in honeſt exerciſes, iudging as the truth is, that to be the way to aduaunce the common wealth from decay to a floriſhing ſtate. Thus when he had ſomewhat reformed the miſorders of his ſubiectes, he endeuored himſelfe by all meanes hee coulde deuiſe to puniſhe offendours againſt the lawes and wholeſome ordinances of the realme, and to purge all his dominions of theeues, robbers, and other ſuche as went aboute to diſquiet common peace. At Lanerk, a towne in Kyle, was a ſeſſions appointed to be kept for execution of iuſtice, where certaine offendours were ſummoned to appeare: but at their comming thither, perceyuing that ſuch manifeſt proofes would be brought againſt them of ſuche crimes as they had committed, that they were not able to excuſe the ſame, through perſwaſion of diuers noble men vnto whom they were a kinne, they fled ſecretely theyr wayes, ſome into the Weſterne Iſles, and ſome into other places, where they thought moſt expediēt for ſafegard of their liues.

Ill life is reformed.

King Kenneth was of a vertuous liuing.

He loued ſtraungers.

He abhorred ſlouth.

He did puniſh offendours.

A ſeſſion kept at Laynrick, or Lanerk.

The king perceyuing that through the diſloyall meanes of the lordes his purpoſe was ſo hindered that he might not miniſter iuſtice according to the inſtitution of his lawes, he diſſembled his wrath for a time, & licenced euery man to depart to theyr houſes, his traine onely excepted. Then went he into Galloway to viſite Saint Ninian for performance of his vowe, which he had made ſo to do. Here he inuented (by conference which he had with ſome of his priuie counſell) a deuiſe, whereby he might fetche againe the offendours vnto iudgement: but this was kepte cloſe till the yeare following, for doubte leaſt if thoſe lordes whiche bare them good will had come to any inckling thereof, they woulde by vttring it haue diſappointed his purpoſe. At length, after a yeare was paſſed, he appointed all the Lordes & Nobles of his realme to aſſemble at Scone, as though it had bene to haue cōmuned about ſome weightie affayres touching the ſtate of the realme. The night then before they ſhould come togither into the counſell chamber, he cauſed by ſome of his faythfull miniſters, a ſorte of armed men to be layde cloſe in a ſecrete place, with cōmaundement giuen to their capitaine, that in no wiſe he ſhould ſtirre with his bande till the nexte day, that all the Lordes were aſſembled togither, and then without delay to execute that whiche ſhould be giuen him in cōmaundement. On the morow after the nobles cōming togither into the counſell chamber, they had no ſooner take their places, euery one according to his degree about the king, but ỹ the armed men before mēcioned came ruſhing into the houſe, placing thēſelues round about them that were ſet according to the order preſcribed by former appointmēt.

The gilti away.

The kin ſimuled theſe dou

The kin to viſite Ninian.

The kin ſuited th call the greſſours iudgemē

An aſſe had at

Armed m layd in

The king Lordes the arm ſtept forth



The

The Lordes with this preſent ſight being much amazed, beheld one an other, but durſt not ſpeake a worde. Then the king perceyuing their feare began to declare vnto thē the whole cauſe of his calling them to counſell at that time, & why he had appointed thoſe armed mē to be there attendant. The effect of his oration there made vnto thē was, that he had not cauſed thoſe armed mē to come into the chāber for any harme, ment towardes any of their perſons, but only for the publike preſeruation of the realme. For almuch as they knew, there was one kinde of people muche noyſome vnto the cōmon wealth, being cōfederate as it were togither by one conſent to exerciſe al ſortes of miſchief & oppreſſiō againſt the poore people, as to robbe, ſpoyle, & take from them all ỳ they had, to raviſh their wiues, maides, & daughters, and ſome times to brenne theyr houſes: the which licencious libertie in ſuch wicked perſons, through want of due puniſhment in the dayes of king Eulene, what daunger it had brought vnto the whole ſtate of the Scottiſhe cōmon wealth, there was none but might wel vnderſtād it. For ſith it was ſo that ỳ Lordes & other high eſtates liued by the trauaile of the commons, then if the ſame commons ſhoulde in any wiſe decay, the Lordes & ſuch other high eſtates could in nowiſe proſper: for if the labourer through iniurie of the robber were forced to giue ouer his labour, where ſhould the Lord or Gentleman haue wherevpon to liue? ſo that thoſe whiche robbed the huſbandman, robbed alſo the Lorde and gentleman: and they that ſought to mainteyne ſuche loytering perſons as vſed to robbe the poore man, went about the deſtruction both of king, lord & gentleman, yea and finally of the vniuerſall ſtate of the whole cōmon wealth. Therfore he that loued the cōmon wealth would not ſeeke onely to defende the cōmons from ſuch iniuries as theeues & robbers dayly offred thē, but alſo would helpe to ſee iuſt execution done vpon the ſame theeues & robbers, according to ỳ laudable lawes & cuſtomes of the lande. The laſte yeare (ſayde he) you your ſelfes remember (I thinke) how I purpoſed by your helpe and counſell to haue proceeded by order of the lawes againſt all enimies and perturbers of the peace. At Laynrike was the day appointed for them to haue appeared, but there was not one of them that would come in, but contemptuouſly diſobeying our cōmaundemēt kept them away, by whoſe counſel I know not. But I haue bene enformed by ſome howe diuers of you fauouring thoſe rebelles, by reaſon they were of your lynage, were of counſell with them in withdrawing themſelues ſo from iudgement. The oftē ſending of meſſengers betwixt them & you, well neare perſwaded vs to thinke that this reporte was true. But yet notwithſtanding I haue put away all ſuche ſiniſter ſuſpicion out of my heade, wiſhing you (as I truſte you bee) voyde of all ſuche diſſimulation. And nowe I requyre you not as fautours of the rebelles, but as defendours of the common wealth, though happely ſomewhat ſlacke heretofore in diſcharge of your duties, to ſhew your ſelues ſuch in helping to apprehende the offenders, as ỳ the world may perceyue you to haue made full ſatiſfaction for your fault & errour, if before in you there were any. In the end he was playne with them, & told them flatly that they ſhould aſſure thēſelues, to haue thoſe armed mē which they ſaw there preſent, to be continually attendant about thē, til he might haue all the rebelles at commaundement.

Laintike, or Lanerke.

The Lordes hauing heard the kings ſpeach, & perceyuing what his meaning was, firſte partly excuſed themſelues ſo wel as they might of their cloked diſſimulation, and then fallyng downe vppon theyr knees afore him, beſought him to

The Lordes gētle ſubmiſſion, with a large promiſſe



put away all diſpleaſure out of his minde, and clearely to pardon them, if in any wiſe they had offended his maieſtie, promiſing that they would with all diligence & faithfulneſſe accompliſhe his deſire, in cauſing the offenders to be brought in vnto iudgement: and till the time that this were brought to paſſe, they were well contented to remaine in ſuch place where he ſhould appoint thē to abide. The counſell then being broken vp, the king with thoſe Lordes paſſing ouer the riuer of Tay, wēt vnto Bertha, which towne during the kings abode in ỹ ſame was ſtreightly kept with watche and warde, that no creature might enter or go forth without knowledge of the officers appointed by the king to take heede therevnto. If any idle perſon were eſpied abroad in the ſtreetes, ſtraightwayes the ſergeants would haue him to warde. The nobles remayned in the kings houſe or in other lodgings to them aſſigned, procuring by their freendes & miniſters to haue ſuche offenders as vſed to robbe & ſpoyle the huſband man, apprehended & brought to the king vnto Bertha, there to receyue iudgement & punition according to theyr demerites: for ſo they perceyued they muſt needes worke, if they minded the ſafegard of their owne liues. Herof it followed alſo, that within ſhort ſpace there were brought vnto Bertha, to the number neare hande of. v. C. of ſuche idle loyterers as vſed to liue by ſpoyle & pillage, many of them being diſcēded of famous houſes, all whiche companie being condemned for theyr offences to die, were hanged vpon gybets aboute the towne, and commaundement gyuen by the king, that theyr bodies ſhoulde not be taken downe, but there to hang ſtill, to giue enſample to other, what the ende was of all ſuche as by wrongfull meanes ſought to liue idelly, by other mens labours. The rebelles being thus executed, king Kenneth licenſed the Lordes to departe to their owne houſes, exhorting them to remember their dueties towardes the common wealth, and to ſtudie for preſeruation of peace and quietneſſe according to their vocation. After this the realme continued in quietneſſe without any forraine or inwarde trouble for the ſpace of certaine yeares following, and had remayned in the ſame ſtate ſtill, if the Danes had not made a new inuaſion, who being ſore grieued in their hartes for ſuche diſpleaſures as they had ſuſteyned in Albion determined now with great aſſuraunce to reuenge the ſame. Wherevpon gathering an huge multitude of men togither, they were embarqued in veſſels prouided for them, and ſayling forth, they purpoſed to take lande vpon the next coaſt of Albion where they ſhoulde chaunce to arriue: and being once a lande, to deſtroy all before them, except where the people ſhould ſubmitte and yeelde themſelues vnto them. This nauie being once got abroade, within a ſhort time arriued at that point of lande in Angus, whiche is called the red Brayes, or Read head, not farre from the place where the Abbey of Abirbroth, or Abirbrothok was afterward founded. Here the Daniſh fleete first caſting ancre, their captaines fel in cōſultatiō what they were beſt to do. Some of thē were of this opinion, that it was not moſte expedient for them to land in that place, but rather to paſſe from thence into England: for at the Scottiſh mens hands being poore, & yet a fierce and hardy natiō, there was ſmal good to be got, being therto accuſtomed to giue moe ouerthrowes, than they cōmonly receyued. Againe the ſoyle of the countrey was but barrayne, in maner ouergrowē w̄ woodes (as it was in deede in thoſe dayes) fewe townes & ſmall habitations, & thoſe ſo poore, that no man knowing the ſame, woulde vouchſafe to fight for any poſſeſſion of thē: wherein contrariwiſe England (that part namely which lieth towards the ſouth) was ſo fruitfull of corne & cattell, ſo riche of mines & repleniſhed with ſo many notable cities & townes inhabited with men of great wealth and ſubſtance, that few were to be foūd cōparable thereto. So that the mater being well conſidered, they could not do better than to ſayle into Kent, where they might be ſure of riche ſpoyle without any great reſiſtance. Other there were that held how this iourney was attempted by the counſell of their ſuperiours, only to reuēge ſuch iniuries as the Daniſh nation had receyued at the hāds of the Scottiſhmen, & not to attaine riches or any dominion. The Scots alſo being a cruell people & ready to fight in defence of other mens poſſeſſiōs (as in the warres of Northumberland it well appeared) woulde ſurely be ready to come to the ayd of the Engliſhmē into Kent, euen ſo ſone as it was knowen that the Danes were a lande in thoſe parties, ſo that by this meanes they ſhould be conſtreyned to haue to do both with the Scottiſhmen and Engliſhmen, if they firſte wente into Kent, where if they ſet a lande here in Scotland, they ſhoulde encounter but only with the Scots. Therfore the beſt were accōding to their firſte determination to lande amongſt the Scottes, ſith chaunce had brought them vnto thoſe coaſtes, adding that when they had ſomewhat abated the arrogant preſumptiō of theyr enimies there, then might they paſſe more ſafely into England after a lucky beginning of fyre and ſworde, to proceede againſt their aduerſaries in thoſe parties as fortune ſhould leade them. This deuiſe was allowed of the greateſt number, being gladde to gette beſide the water. Wherevpon the Mariners vpon commaundement giuen, drawe with theyr ſhippes into the mouth of the riuer called Eſke, the whiche in thoſe dayes waſhed vppon the

walles

The king wēt to Bertha.

Roges puniſhed.

Iniurious men brought vnto Bertha.

A great nūber of vagabundes were iudged to die.

The Lordes haue licence to departe.

The Danes ſeeke for to reuenge olde loſſes.

The Danes take the ſea to goe into Albion.

The Danes arriue at the Red head, in red Brayes in Angus.

The Danes conſult to go into England.

They entend for to ſayle to Kent.

They onely ſought re

Some that beſt to lan in Scotlan

walles of a towne in Angus called then Celurke, but now Mountros. Here the Danes taking land, put the inhabitaunts of the countrey there aboutes in greate feare, ſo that with all ſpeede for their ſafegarde, they gette them into Mountros, but the towne being quickely aſſailed of the Danes, was taken, put to the ſacke, & after raſed Caſtell and all to the bare ground, not one lyuing creature beyng lefte aliue of all ſuche as were founde within the ſame. Montros take, and all within was ſlayne.



From thence, the army of the Danes paſſed throughe Angus vnto the riuer of Tay, all the people of the countreys by the whiche they marched fleing afore them. King Kenneth at the ſame time lay at Sterlyng, where hearing of theſe grieuous newes, determined forthwith to reyſe his people, and to go againſt the enimies. The aſſemble of the Scottiſhe army was appointed to be at the place where the riuer of Erne falleth into the riuer of Tay. Here when they were comen togither in great numbers at the day appointed, the day next following, worde was brought to the king, that the Danes hauing paſſed ouer Tay, were come before the towne of Bertha, and had layde ſiege to the ſame. Then without further delay, he rayſed with the whole armie, and marched ſtreight towardes his enimies, comming that night vnto Loncarte a village not farre diſtant from the riuer of Tay, famous euer after, by reaſon of the batayle fought then neare vnto the ſame. The Danes hearing that the Scottes were come, detracted no time, but forthwith prepared to giue battayle.

Kenneth as ſoone as the ſunne was vp, beholding the Danes at hand, quickly brought his armie into order. Then requyring them earneſtly to ſhewe theyr manhood, he promiſeth to releaſſe them of all tributes and payments due to the kings cofers for the ſpace of fiue yeares next enſuyng: and beſides that he offered the ſumme of tenne pound, or els landes ſo muche worth in value to euery one of his armie, that ſhould bring him the head of a Dane. He willed them therefore to fight manfully, and to remember there was no place to attaine mercie: for eyther muſte they trie it out by dinte of ſworde, or els if they fledde, in the ende to looke for preſent death at the enimies handes, who would not ceaſſe till time they had founde them forth, into what place ſoeuer they reſorted for refuge if they chanced to be vanquiſhed. The Scots being not a litle encouraged by the kings wordes, kepte their order of bataile according as they were appointed, ſtil looking when the onſet ſhould be giuen. Malcolme Duffe prince of Cumberland led the right wing of the Scots: & Duncane lieutenãt of Atholl the left: king Kenneth himſelf gouerned the battell. The order of the Scottiſhe batayle aray.

The enimies on the other parte had taken theyr ground at the foote of a litle mountaine right fore aneynſt the Scottiſh campe: & thus bothe the armies ſtoode ready arãged in the field, beholding either other a good ſpace, till at length the Scots deſirous of batayle, and doubting leſt the Danes would not come forth vnto any euen grounde, aduaunced forewarde with ſomewhat more haſte than the caſe requyred, beginning the batayle with ſhotte and throwing of dartes right freſhly. The Danes being backed with the mountaine, were conſtreyned to leaue the ſame, and with al ſpeede to come forewarde vpon their enimies, that by ioyning they might auoyde the daunger of the Scottiſhmens arrowes and dartes: by this meanes therefore they came to hand ſtrokes, in maner before the ſigne was giuen on eyther parte to the batayle. The fighte was cruell on bothe ſides: and nothing hindered the Scottes ſo muche as going about to cut off the heades of the Danes euer as they might ouercome them: whiche maner being noted of the Danes, and perceyuing that there was no hope of lyfe but in victorie, they ruſhed forth with ſuche violence vppon theyr aduerſaries, that firſte the righte, and then after the lefte winge of the Scottes, was conſtrayned to retyre and flee backe, the middle warde ſtoutly yet keeppyng theyr grounde: but the ſame The Danes had the aduantage of a litle mountayne. The Scottes begin the batayle. The twoo wings of the Scottes fledde.

stood in suche daunger, being now left naked on the sides that the victorie muste needes haue remayned with the Danes, had not a renewer of the batayle come in time, by the appointment as is to be thought of almightie God. For as it chaunced there was in the nexte fielde at the same time a husbandman, with .ij. of his sonnes busie about his worke named Hay, a man strong and stiffe in making and shape of bodie, but endewed with a noble and valiant courage. This Hay beholdyng the king with the moste parte of his Nobles fightyng with greate valiauncie in the middle warde now destitute of the winges, and in greate daunger to be oppressed by the great violence of his enimies, caught a plough beame in his hande, and with the same exhorting his sonnes to do the lyke, hasted towardes the batayle, there to die rather amongst other in defence of his countrey, than to remayne alyue after the discomfiture in miserable thraldome and bondage of the cruell and moste vnmercyfull enimies. There was neare to the place of the batayle, a long lane fensed on the sides with ditches and walles made of turfe, through the whiche the Scottes whiche fledde were beaten downe by the enimies on heapes.

Hay with his two sonnes.

Hay stayed the Scottes from running away.

Here Hay with his sonnes supposing they might best stay the flight, placed themselues ouerthwarte the lane, beate them backe whome they mette fleeyng, and spared neyther friende nor foe, but downe they went all suche as came within theyr reache wherwith diuers hardy personages cried to theyr fellowes to returne backe vnto the batayle, for there was a newe power of Scottishmen come to theyr succours, by whose ayde the victorie might be easily obtayned of theyr moste cruell aduersaries the Danes: therfore might they chose whether they would be slayne of theyr owne fellowes comming to their ayde, or to returne againe to fight with the enimies. The Danes beyng here stayed in the lane by the greate valiauncie of the father and the sonnes, thought verily there had bene some great succours of Scottes come to the ayde of theyr kyng, and therevpon cealsing from further pursuyte fledde backe in greate disorder vnto the other of theyr fellowes fightyng with the middle warde of the Scottes. The Scottes also that before were chased, being encouraged herewith, pursued the Danes vnto the place of the batayle right fiercely. Wherevpon Kenneth perceyuing his people to be thus recomforted and his enimies partely abashed, called vpon his men to remember theyr dueties, and nowe sithe their aduersaries harts began (as they might perceiue) to faint, he willed them to followe vpon them manfully, which if they did he assured them that the victory vndoubtedly should be theyrs. The

The Scottes were driuen to their battell againe.

The Danes fledde towards their fellowes in great disorder.

King Kenneth called vpō his men, to remēber their dueties.

Scots encouraged with the kings wordes, layd about thē so earnestly, that in the end the Danes were constreyned to forsake the fielde, and the Scots egerly pursuyng in the chase, made great slaughter of them as they fled. This victory turned highly to the prayse of the Scottishe nobilitie, the whiche fighting in the middle warde bare still the brunt of the batayle, continuyng manfully therein euen to the ende. But Hay who in such wise (as is before mencioned) stayed them that fled, causing them to returne againe to the fielde, deserued immortall fame and commendation: for by his meanes chiefly was the victory atchieued. And therefore on the morrow after whan the spoyle of the field & of the enimies tāpe whiche they had left voyde should be deuided, the chiefest part was bestowed on him and his two sonnes, by cōsent of all the multitude, the residue being deuided amongst the souldiers and men of warre, according to ancient custome vsed amōgst this natiō. The king hauing thus vāquished his enimies, as he should enter into Bertha, caused costly robes to be offered vnto Hay & his sonnes, that being richly clad, they might be ẏ more honored of the people: but Hay refusing to chaunge his apparell, was cōtented to go with the king in his olde garments whither it pleased him to appoint. So entring with the king into Bertha, he was receiued with litle lesse honor than the king himselfe, all the people ruining forth to behold him whom they heard to haue so valiātly restored the battell, whē the field was in maner lost without hope of all recouerie. At his entring into ẏ towne he bare on his shoulder the plough beame, more honorable to him thā any sworde or battell axe might haue bene to any ẏ most valiāt warriour. Thus Hay being honored of all estates, within certaine dayes after at a councel holde at Scone it was ordeyned, that both he and his posteritie should be accepted amōgst the nūber of ẏ chiefest nobles & peares of the realme, being rewarded besides money & other great giftes with lands and reuenewes, such as he should chose sufficient for the maintenaunce of their estates. It is sayde, ẏ by counsell of his sonnes, who knew the fruitfulnesse of the soyle, he did aske so much ground in those parties where the riuer of Tay renneth by the towne of Arrole ouer agaynst Fyfe, as a Faulcone should flie ouer at one flight. Which request beyng freely graunted of the king, the place was appoynted at Inschire for the Faulcone to be caste off: the whiche taking hir flight from thence, neuer lighted til she came to a great stone neare to a village called Rosse, not passing foure myles from Dundee. By whiche meanes all that countrey whiche lieth betwixt Inschire aforesayde, and the sayd stone, (being almost .vj. myles in length, and foure in breadth) fell vnto

The Danes forsake the fielde.

The spoyle diuided.

Hay refuseth costly garmēts.

The king came to Bertha.

Hay is made one of the nobilitie.

He had reuenewes assigned to him.

Hay his request.

The Faulcon measured his landes.

Hay

Hay and his ſonnes, the name of the ſtone alſo being called the Falcones ſtone to this day, doth cauſe the thing better to be beleeued, and welneare all the foreſayd ground ſtill continueth in the poſſeſſion of the Hayes, euen vnto this day. Beſides this to the further honoring of his name, the king gaue him armes three ſcutchēs gules in a field of ſiluer, a plough beame added therevnto which he vſed in ſtead of a battaile axe, when he fought ſo valiantly in defence of his Countrey. Thus had the Hayes their beginning of Nobilitie, whoſe houſe hath attayned vnto great eſtimation of honor, and hath bene decorated with the office of the Conſtableſhip of Scotlande, by the bounteous beneuolence of Kings that ſucceeded. Theſe things happened in the firſt yeare of King Kenneth. In the reſidue of the time that he raigned, though there chaunced no great buſineſſe by forraine enimies, yet by ciuill ſedition the ſtate of the realme was wonderfully diſquieted. Firſt a companie of Kernes of the weſterne Iles inuading Roſſe, to the intent to haue fetched a bootie, were met withall by the way and ouerthrowne by the inhabitants of that Countrey. After this ſturre another followed, farre more daungerous to the whole eſtate of the common wealth, reyſed by one Cruthlint, one of the chiefeſt Lords of ẏ Mernes, who was ſonne vnto a certaine Lady named Fenella, the daughter of one Cruthneth, that was gouernour of that part of Angus which lyeth betwixt the two riuers, the one called ſouth Eſke, and the other north Eſke. So it chaunced, that on a time Cruthlint came vnto the Caſtell of Delbogin to ſee his Grandfather, the ſayde Crunneth as then lying in the ſame: where vpon light occaſion a fray was begon amongeſt the ſeruing men, in the which two of Cruthlints ſeruantes fortuned to be ſlaine: which iniury when Cruthlynt declared by waye of complaynt vnto hys Grandfather, he was ſo ſlenderly heard, and anſwered in ſuch reprochful wiſe, as though he himſelfe had beene the authour of the buſineſſe: that Crunethes ſeruants perceiuing how little he was regarded of their maiſter, fell vpon him and beate him, that not without daunger of life he brake forth of their handes, and hardly eſcaped away. In his returne homewardes, he came to his mother Fenella, where ſhe lay within the Caſtell of Fetthircarn, ẏ chiefeſt fortreſſe of all the Mernes. Where being incenſed through his mothers inſtigation, being a woman of a furious nature, he attempted forthwith to be reuenged of the iniurie receyued: ſo that aſſembling a number of his friendes and kinſfolke ſo ſecretly as he might together, with a band of the inhabitāts of ẏ Mernes he entreth into Angus, and cōming vnto the caſtell of Delbogin in the night ſeaſon, was ſuffred to enter by the keepers of the gate nothing ſuſpecting any treaſon in the worlde, by reaſon whereof was Crunneth ſodainly oppreſſed, the houſe ſacked and raſed, not one that was founde within the ſame being left aliue. The ſpoyle alſo was deuided by Cruthlynt amongſt them which came with him. The next day likewiſe he forrayed the Countrey all there aboutes, returning home with a great bootie.

Two of his ſeruants were ſlaine.

They ſet vpon Cruthlint alſo

Cruthlint was inſtigated to reuenge.

He killed all them that were in the Caſtell.

The Counrrey is forrayed.



They of Angus prouoked herewith, reſted not long but aſſembling themſelues togither inuaded the Countrey of Mernes, where making great ſlaughter on eche ſide, they left the Countrey voyde almoſt both of men and cattell. Thus did the people of thoſe two Countreys purſue the warre one againſt another a certaine time, with dayly incurſions and waſtings of eyther others countreys, in ſuch cruel wiſe, that it was thought the one of them muſt needes ſhortly come vnto bitter deſtruction, if ſpeedie remedie were not the ſooner prouided. The king being informed of this

The king made a proclamation by an Herauld.

miſchiefe and great trouble which was fallen out through ſedition amongſt thoſe his ſubiects, hee made proclamation by an Herauld, that thoſe of Angus and Mernes whom he vnderſtoode to be culpable, ſhoulde appeare within .xb. dayes after at Scone, there to make anſwere afore appoynted Iudges, to ſuch things as might be layde to their charge, vpon paine of death to euery one that made default. When the day of appearance came, there were but fewe that did appeare. The moſt part of them doubting to bee puniſhed for theyr offences with Cruthlint their Captaine, fled out of ỹ Mernes, taking with them their wiues, theyr children and all theyr goodes. The king beeing ſore moued herewith, perceyued how readie the Scottiſhe people was by nature vnto rebellion, when they were gently led: and againe howe they obeyed the Magiſtrates beſt when they were reſtreyned from their wilde outragious doings by due puniſhment and execution of iuſtice. He conſidered therefore that if hee did not cauſe thoſe ſeditious rebelles whiche had thus diſobeyed hys commaundements to bee puniſhed according to the order of the lawes, he ſhoulde haue the whole realme ſhortly diſquieted with ciuill warre & open rebellion. Wherevpon with all ſpeede hee cauſed earneſt purſuyt to be made after Cruthlint and the reſidue of the offenders, the whiche at length being taken in Lochquhabir, were brought vnto a Caſtel in Gowrie called Dounſinnã, where after iudgement pronounced againſt them; Cruthlint firſt, and then other the chiefeſt ſtyrrers on eyther ſyde were put to execution, the commons for that it was thought they followed their ſupe-

The faulty mẽ ran away.

The king was ſore offended therewith.

The king ded to punish the diſcon ent rebels.

Cruthlint ken with ny more.

He is exer with cer others.



riors againſt their willes, were pardoned and licenced to depart to their houſes. For this equitie ſhewed in miniſtring iuſtice by the king, hee was greatly prayſed, loued, and dread of all his ſubiects, ſo that great quietneſſe followed in the whole ſtate of the common wealth, greatly to the aduauncement therof, and ſo continued til the .xxij. yeare of this Kenneths raigne. At what time the blinde loue he bare to his owne iſſue, cauſed hym to procure a deteſtable fact, in making away one of his neareſt kinnesmen. This was Malcolme the ſonne of king Duffe, created in the beginning of Kenneths raigne Prince of Cumberlande, by reaſon whereof he ought to haue ſucceeded in rule of the kingdome after Kenneths death, whereat the ſame Kenneth grieuing not a little, for that thereby his ſonnes ſhoulde be kept from enioying the crowne, found meanes to poyſon him. But though the Phiſitions vnderſtanding by ſuch euident ſignes as appeared in his bodie, that he was poyſoned in deed, yet ſuch was the opinion which men had of the kings honor and integritie, that no ſuſpition at all was conceyued that it ſhoulde be his deed. The cloked loue alſo whiche he had ſhewed towards him at all times, and ſo ſodaine commaundement giuen by him vppon the firſt newes of his death, that his funerals ſhould be celebrated in euery Church and Chappell for his ſoule, and againe the teares which he ſhed for him in all places where any mention chaunced to bee made of the loſſe which the realme had ſuſteyned by the death of ſo worthie a prince, made men nothing miſtruſtful of ỹ matter, till at lẽgth ſome of the nobles perceyuing the outward ſorow (which he made) to paſſe the true griefe of the heart, began to gather ſome ſuſpitiõ, that al was not wel: but yet bycauſe no certaintie appeared, they kept their thoughtes to themſelues. About the ſame time came Ambaſſadors forth of Englande from king Edwarde the ſonne of Edgar (which after through treaſon of his ſtepmother Eſculda, was made a Martyr) requyring that ſithe Malcolme the Prince of Cumberlande was deceaſſed, it might pleaſe the king with ỹ ſtates of the realme

The king was worthily commended for his iuſtice.

King Kenneth poyſoned his couſin Malcolme.

The king was not ſuſpected of this fact.

The peticiõ of Malcolm is brought to ſuſpice

Ambaſſa came frõ Edwarde

to

to chooſe ſome other in his place, who doing hys homage vnto the king of England accoꝛding as it was couenãted by the league, might be a meane to confyꝛme the ſame league betwixt the two nations foꝛ the auoyding of all occaſions of breach thereof that otherwiſe happely might enſue. Kenneth at the ſame time holde a councell at Scone, where hauing heard the requeſt of theſe Ambaſſadours, in preſence of all his nobles, he anſwered that hee was glad to vnderſtande that king Edwarde was ſo carefull foꝛ maintenance of loue and amitie betwixt his ſubiectes and the Scottiſhmen, accoꝛding to the articles of the auncient league in times paſt concluded betwixt them, the ratification whereof foꝛ his part, he likewiſe moſt earneſtly deſired, & therfoꝛe in rendring moſt hartie thankes vnto him foꝛ his gentle aduertiſement, he purpoſed by the aduiſe of his nobles and the other eſtates of his realme as then there aſſembled, to cleſt a new Pꝛince of Cumberlande, without any further delay: and therupon required the Ambaſſadour to be pꝛeſent on the moꝛrowe to heare what he was whom the Nobles ſhould name to be pꝛeferred vnto that dignitie. The Ambaſſadours hereupon departing foꝛth of the Counſell chamber, were conueyed to their lodging by diuerſe of the nobilitie that were appoynted to keepe them companie. Then Kenneth with a long oration went about to perſwade the Peeres and other the eſtates of the realme there (as I ſayd) aſ-

The king requeſted that the crowne might come by inheritance



ſembled, to alter the cuſtome and auncient oꝛder vſed by their elders in chooſing of him that ſhould ſucceede in gouernance of the realme, after the deceaſſe of him that was in poſſeſſion. He vſed ſo many reaſons as was poſſible foꝛ him to deuiſe in that behalfe, therby to enduce them to his purpoſe, whiche was to haue an acte eſtabliſhed foꝛ the crowne to go by ſucceſſion, only to this ende that one of his ſonnes nighte enioy the ſame immediately after his deceaſſe. He declared alſo what diſcõmodities, ſeditions, and great incõueniences had growne, in that the crown had gone in times paſt by election: foꝛ though it was oꝛdeyned at the firſt that it ſhoulde ſo doe vpon a good intent and great conſideration, yet in pꝛoceſſe of time pꝛoufe and experience had ſhewed, that moꝛe hinderance happened vnto the common wealth therby (beſide the daunger euer enſuing incidently vnto ſuch iſſue as the king left behind him) than pꝛofite, if the ſundry murthers, occaſions of ciuill diſcoꝛde and other wicked pꝛactiſes were throughly weyed and conſidered, the ſumme whereof he recited from poynt to point, and ſo in the ende with great inſtance beſought them that ſo pernicious a cuſtome might be aboliſhed and taken away, to the great benefite of the whole ſtate of the realme, ſpecially ſith in all realmes commonly the oꝛder was, that the ſonne ſhould without any contradiction ſucceede the father in the heritage of the crowne and kingly eſtate.

The king had no ſonner made an ende of his long oꝛation, which he handled after the pithieſt ſoꝛt he coulde, but that diuerſe of the noble men which were there amongſt other, being made pꝛiuie to the matter afoꝛehande, mocioned meanes to haue Malcolme the ſonne of Kenneth created Pꝛince of Cumberlande, that hee might ſo haue an entrance to the crowne after the deceaſſe of his father. This motion by and by was in many of their mouthes, whiche Kenneth perceyuing, requyred of the moſt auncient Peeres whom they would name to be Pꝛince of Cumberlande, that there might be a meane to ratifie and cõfirme the league betwixt the Scottes and Engliſhe men. Cõſtantine the ſonne of king Cullen, and Grime the nephew of king Duffe by his bꝛother Mogal, howbeit by the foꝛce of ꝑ foꝛmer law they might by good reaſon haue loked to haue had the preferment.

The Peeres of the realme did willingly graunt to his requeſt.

ment themſelues, yet perceyuing it was in vaine to denie that which would be had by violence (although they ſhould neuer ſo much ſtand againſt it) being firſt demaunded of the Heralde what they thought, they anſwered (notwithſtanding againſte theyr mindes in deede,) that the king might order all things as ſhould ſtande with his pleaſure, appointing whome he thought moſte meeteſt to be Prince of Cumberlande, and to abrogate the auncient lawe of creating the kings in deuiſing newe ordinances for the ſame, as ſhould ſeeme vnto him & thoſe of his counſel moſt requiſite and neceſſarie. The multitude then following their ſentence, cryed with lowde and vndiſcrete voyces, to haue Malcolme the ſonne of king Kenneth created Prince of Cumberlande. And thus the ſame Malcolme (though as yet vnder age) was by the voyces of the people ordeyned Prince of Cumberlande, in place of the other Malcolme ſonne to king Duffe.

The Heraulde required Conſtantine hys voice firſt.

Conſtantine his ſaying.

The multitude well pleaſed, crie Malcolm.

The day following the Ambaſſadors comming into the Counſell chamber, heard what was decreed touching their requeſt, and then being highly rewarded of the kings bounteous liberalitie, they returned into Englande, and Malcolm with them, to be acquainted with king Edwarde, and to doe his homage for the Principalitie of Cumberlande, as the cuſtome was.

At the ſame time alſo, there was a newe acte deuiſed and made, the olde being abrogated (by the appointment of the king) for the creation of the Scottiſh kings in time to come, many of the nobles rather conſenting with ſilence, than greatly allowing it, either in heartes or voyces, though ſome currikauours among them, ſet forwarde the matter to the beſt of their powers. The Articles of this ordinance were theſe:

A new act for the ſucceſsion of the crowne.

Articles concluded in that Parliament.

The eldeſt heire male of the deceaſſed king, whether the ſame were ſonne or nephew, of what age ſoeuer he ſhould be, yea though he ſhould be in the mothers womb at the time of ỹ fathers deceaſe ſhould from thenceforth ſucceed in the kingdome of Scotlande. The nephew by the ſonne ſhoulde be preferred before the nephew by the daughter, in attayning to the heritage of the crowne. And likewiſe the brothers ſonne ſhould be admitted before the ſiſters ſonne. The ſame lawe ſhould be obſerued of all ſuch of the Scottiſh nation, as had any landes or inheritance comming to them by diſcent. Where the king by this meanes chaunced to be vnder age, and not able to rule, there ſhould be one of the chiefeſt peeres of the Realme choſen and elected to haue the gouernance of his perſon and Realme, till he came to .xiiij. yeares of age. The which fourteenth yeare of his age beeing accompliſhed, he ſhoulde haue the adminiſtration committed to his owne handes. The heyres of al other perſons of eche eſtate and degree, ſhould remaine vnder the wardſhip of their appointed gouernours till they came to the age of .xxj. yeares, and not till then to meddle with any part of their landes and liuings.

These lawes and ordinances being once publiſhed and confirmed, King Kenneth ſuppoſed the kingdome to bee fully aſſured vnto him and hys poſteritie, and therevpon endeuoured himſelfe to winne the hearties of the people with vpright adminiſtration of iuſtice: and the fauour of the nobles, he ſought to purchaſe with great gifts which he beſtowed amongſt them, aſwell in landes belonging to the crowne, as in other things, greatly to their contentation. Thus might he ſeeme happie vnto all men, hauing the loue both of his Lordes and commons: but yet to himſelf he ſeemed moſt vnhappie, as he that coulde not but ſtill liue in continuall feare, leaſt his wicked practiſe concerning the death of Malcolme Duffe ſhould come to light and knowledge of the worlde. For ſo commeth it to paſſe, that ſuch as are pricked in conſcience for any ſecrete offence committed, haue euer an vnquiet minde. And as the ſame goeth, it chaunced that a voyce was hearde as he was in bed in the night time to take his reſt, vttering vnto him theſe or the like wordes in effecte: Thinke not Kenneth that the wicked ſlaughter of Malcolme Duffe by thee contriued, is kept ſecret from the knowledge of the eternall God: Thou art he that didſt conſpire the innocents death, enterpryſing by trayterous meanes to doe ỹ to thy neighbour which thou wouldeſt haue reuenged by cruell puniſhment in any of thy ſubiects, if it had bene offred to thy ſelfe: It ſhal therefore come to paſſe, that both thou thyſelfe, and thy iſſue, through the iuſt vngeance of almightie God, ſhall ſuffer worthie puniſhment, to the infamie of thy houſe and family for euermore. For euen at this preſent are there in hande ſecrete practiſes to diſpatche both thee and thy iſſue out of the way, that other may enioy this kingdome which thou doſt endeuor to aſſure vnto thine iſſue.

King Kenneth miniſtred iuſtice truly.

The good will of the nobility he bought with gifts.

The king had a guiltie conſcience.

A voyce heard by the king.

The king was feſteth his ſinnes.

The king vſeth great penaunce.

The king being ſtryken into great dread and terror, paſſed that night without any ſleepe comming in his eyes. Wherefore in the morning he got him vnto Biſhop Moucan, a man of great holyneſſe of life, vnto whom he confeſſed his heynous and moſt wicked offence, beſeeching him of counſell, which way hee might obtaine pardon and forgiueneſſe at Gods handes by worthie penance. Moucan hearing how the king bemoaned his offence committed, he willed hym to bee of good comfort. For as the wrath of almightie God was prouoked by ſinne and wicked offences, ſo was the ſame pacified againe by repentance, if ſo be we continue penitent and willing to amend. King Kenneth being confirmed in hope of forgiueneſſe by theſe and ſundrie other

the

the like comfortable wordes of the Biſhop, ſtudied vnfeynedly to doe worthie penaunce, leauing nothing vndone which hee thought might ſerue for a witneſſe of his penitent heart, thereby to auoyde the vengeance which he ſtode in feare of to be prepared for him, by reaſon of his heynous and wicked crime.

It chaunced hereupon, that within a ſhort time after hee had beene at Fordune a Towne in Mernes, to viſite the Relikes of Paladius which remaine there, he turned a little out of the way to lodge at the Caſtel of Fethircarne, where as then there was a Forreſt ful of al maner of wild beaſts that were to be had in any part of Albion. Here was hee receyued by Fenella Ladie of the houſe, whoſe ſonne as ye haue heard he cauſed to be put to death, for the commotion made betwixt them of Mernes and Angus. She was alſo a kyn vnto Malcolme Dufte whome the king had made away: and in like maner vnto Conſtantine and Gryme, defrauded of their right to the crowne, by the craftie deuiſe of the king, as before is partly mencioned. This woman therefore being of a ſtoute ſtomacke, long time before hauing conceyued an immortall grudge towardes the king, vpon the occaſions before rehearſed, (namely aſwell for the death of hir ſonne Cruthlynt, as hauing ſome pyckling alſo of the empoyſoning of Malcolme Dufte, though no full certaintie thereof was knowne) imagined night and day how to be reuenged. She vnderſtoode that the king delyted aboue meaſure in goodly buyldings, and therefore to the ende to cõpaſſe hir malicious intent, ſhe had cauſed a tower to be made ioyning vnto hir owne lodging within the foreſayd caſtell of Fethircarn. The which tower was couered ouer with copper finely engrauen with diuerſe flowers and Images. Hereto was it hung within with riche clothes of Arras wrought with golde and ſilke, very fayre and coſtly. Behinde the ſame were there Croſſebowes ſet readie bent with ſharpe quarrels in them. In the middeſt of the houſe there was a goodly braſen Image alſo, reſembling the figure of king Kenneth, holding in the one hande a faire golden Apple ſet full of precious ſtones, deuiſed with ſuch arte and cunning, that ſo ſone as any man ſhould drawe the ſame vnto him or remoue it neuer ſo little any way forth, the Croſſebowes would immediately diſcharge theyr quarrels vpon him with great force and violence. Fenella therefore being thus prouided afore hande, at after meate, deſired the king to go with hir into that inner chamber: into the which being entred, he could not be ſatiſfied of long with the beholding of the goodly furniture, aſwell of the hangings as of diuerſe other things. At the laſt hauing viewed the Image which ſtode (as is ſayde) in the middeſt of the chamber, he demaunded what the ſame did ſignifie. Fenella anſwered, how that Image did repreſent his perſon, and the golden Apple ſet ſo richly with Smaragds, Jacinths, Saphires, Topaſes, Rubies, Turkaſſes, and ſuch like precious ſtones, ſhee had prouided as a gyft for him, and therfore requyred him to take the ſame, beſeeching him to accept it in good part, though it were not in value worthie to bee offred vnto his Princely honor and high dignitie. And herewith ſhe hirſelfe withdrew aſide, as though ſhe woulde haue taken ſomething forth of a Cheſt or Coffer, thereby to auoyde the daunger. But the king delyted in beholding the gemmes and orient ſtones, at length remouing the Apple the better to aduiſe it, incontinently the Croſſebowes diſcharged their quarrels ſo directly vpon him, that ſtryking hym through in ſundrie places, hee fell downe ſtarke deade, and lay flat on the ground. Fenella as ſone as ſhe beheld him fall to the ground readie to die, ſhe got forth by a backe doore into the next woods, where ſhe had appoynted horſes to tary for hir, by meane whereof ſhe eſcaped out of all daunger of thẽ that purſued hir, ere the death of the king were openly knowne vnto them. His ſeruãts ſtil waiting for his comming forth in the vtter chamber, at length when they ſawe he came not at all, firſt they knocked at the doore ſoftly, then they rapped hard thereat: laſtly doubting that which had happened, they breake open doore after doore, til at lẽgth they came into the chamber where the king laye colde deade vpon the floore. The clamor and crie hereupon was rayſed by his ſeruants, and Fenella curſed and ſought for in euery place that had committed ſo haynous and wicked a deede: but the vngracious woman was conueyed ſo ſecretly out of the way, that no where coulde ſhe be heard of. Some ſuppoſed that ſhe fled firſt vnto Conſtantine, by whoſe helpe ſhee got ouer into Irelande. The ambitious deſire which the ſame Cõſtantine ſhewed hee had to ſucceede in gouernment of the kingdome after Kennethes deceaſſe, encreaſed that ſuſpition greatly. For immediately after it was knowne that Kenneth was dead, he got his friendes togither, and went vnto diuerſe places requyring the Lordes to aſſiſt him in attayning to the crowne, which by the old ordinance and law of the realme (inſtituted in the begynning, and obſerued till nowe of late, that Kenneth by his priuate authoritie had gone about to abrogate the ſame) ought to diſcende vnto hym, as all the worlde right well vnderſtode.

The king was ſlaine with the Croſſebowes.

Fenella eſcaped from them all.

His ſeruants looked for their king.

The doores broken open they finde him dead.

Fenella could not be found.

Fenella got hir ſelfe into Ireland by the helpe of Conſtantine.

Conſtantine aſpired vnto the crowne.

Conſtantine procured friendes.

COnſtantine procured friends ſo on eche ſide, that by their meanes being of high authoritie in the realme, hee was brought by them vnto Scone, and there crowned king, the .xij. day after Kennethes deceaſſe, in the .xv. yere after that the ſame Kenneth had begonne his raigne ouer the

Conſtantine.

Scottiſh

Scottiſh men, and in the yeare of our ſaluation a
994. Io.Ma. thouſand iuſt, in the which yeare (as is ſayd) ſun-
1000. H.B. drie vnkeuth ſightes were ſeene aſwell in Albion, as in other places. The ſea left vpon the ſandes on the coaſtes of Buthquane, an infinite multitude of fiſhes, the which lying there dead, cauſed ſuche a filthie ſauour, that the ayre being therewith infected, great death of people enſued. The Mone appeared of a bloudie colour, to the great terrour of them that beheld it. The Sommer next following corne fayled, and cattell dyed ſo generally, that if there had not beene more plentie of fiſhe got than was accuſtomed to be, the people had beene famiſhed in many a place. In Albion and alſo Fraunce, it rayned ſtones. But all theſe dreadfull wonders might not withdraw the Scottiſhe men from their wicked vices, whereunto in thoſe dayes they were wholye gyuen, though there wanted not dyuerſe vertuous men, as wel Biſhops as other, that in theyr Sermons exhorted the people to repent and amende theyr naughtie lyuings: for otherwyſe vndoubtedly ſuch greſely ſightes and tokens as chaunced in thoſe dayes, menaced ſome great myſchiefe to fall vnto the whole Nation. And ſurely their wordes proued true: for the Scottes continuing in their wilfulneſſe, being ſtubborne hearted one agaynſt another, brought theyr Countrey into daunger of vtter deſtruction.

Maruellous happes chaunced.

The moone appeared bloudie.

Scarcitie of corne & cattel

It rayned ſtones.

Preaching was deſpiſed.

Malcolme the ſonne of Kenneth, created (as ye haue heard in hys fathers lyke tyme) Prince of Cumberlande, hearing that Conſtantine (agaynſt the ordonance lately made) had vſurped the Crowne, as ſone as his fathers bodie was buryed in Colmkil, with ſuch funeral pompe as apperteyned, he deſyred his fathers friendes to gyue him ſuch faythfull counſell as they thought moſt expedient, whiche way hee were beſt to worke for the appeaſing of the ſedition nowe begunne by reaſon of Conſtantines preſumptuous attempt.

Malcolm ſeeketh friendes againſt Conſtantine.

There were ſome amongeſt that companie that tooke it to bee beſt, firſt to vnderſtande the myndes of all the peeres and nobles of the realme, before they went about any exployt agaynſt the tyrant, leaſt whyleſt Malcolme ſhoulde ſeeke to delyuer himſelfe from daunger, he might happely winde himſelfe further into trouble, than without extreeme perill of the common wealth he ſhoulde be able to get forth thereof againe. Other there were iudged it beſt ſodenly to goe agaynſt Conſtantine before he had made himſelfe ſtrong: For if they came vpon him ere hee were prouided for theyr comming, many of them that feigned themſelues to bee his friendes, woulde forſake hym ſo ſone as they ſawe any power of his enimyes at hande. And then ſhoulde he eyther fall into their hands, or be dryuen to flee the realme for ſafegard of his life. The fierce yong man following this counſell as the beſt to his ſeeming, and truſting more to his owne wit than to the graue aduice of men of ſkill, aſſembled togither in all haſt poſſible about the number of ten thouſand men, with whom making towards Conſtantine with ſpedie iourneys, at length hee came into Leuthian. Conſtantine being enformed of all his aduerſaries doings, had got togither alſo an huge power, ſo that paſſing forth with the ſame to encounter them, the bruite which ranne of his great number and puiſſance, cauſed Malcolme for verie feare that he ſhoulde not be able in any part to matche him, to breake vp his army and to flee backe into Cumberland: by reaſon whereof he had bene put to ſuch hinderance and diſhonour, as woulde not eaſily haue bene recouered, had not Kenneth the baſtard ſonne of his father the aboue mentioned Kenneth encamped with a mightie power aboute Sterling, and defended the paſſages of the Forth, that Conſtantine with his armie could not come ouer. Then roſe there great famine and penurie of vitayles in both hoſtes, ſo that Conſtantine with great indignation was conſtrained to breake vp his campe, and ſo to leaue his enterpryſe for that ſeaſon. Thus was the Realme deuided into two ſundry factions. Whereupon followed waſtings and incurſions made into eche others poſſeſſions, with ſuch crueltie, that the ſame might be a ſufficient inſtruction what miſchiefe happeneth through ciuill diſcorde. The poore commons and huſbandmē were brought to ſuch miſerie through the often ſpoylings and robberies vſed by the men of warre, that they were not able to til their groūdes. Finally there roſe one miſchiefe ſo faſt in the neck of another, that no kinde of crueltie was ſpared, robbing, reaving, and forcible extortion was exerciſed on all ſides without hope of any redreſſe or amendment. Whileſt the Scottiſhmen were thus at diuiſion amongſt themſelues, renting and pulling in peeces their owne miſerable native cōtrey, Edwarde king of England being oppreſſed with inuaſion of Danes, was glad to buie peace at their handes, for himſelfe and his people, with right large ſummes of money: but perceiuing that his enimies ceaſſed not dayly to ſpoile and rob his ſubiects, he purpoſed to trie what he might doe by making them warre: And to make his part the ſtronger, he requyred Malcolme prince of Cumberlād to ayde him againſt the Danes, according to the couenant of the ancient league. Malcolme conſenting to king Edwards requeſt, came with a mightie armie of Cumberlande men to ſupport him: by reaſon wherof the Danes doubting to bee ouermatched, after certain light ſkirmiſhes without any great bloodſhed, cōdiſcēded to haue peace, which was concluded with theſe conditions: that king Edwarde ſhould pay vnto the Danes a M. pounde of golde, for the which they ſhould cōtent themſelues

Good counſell was giuen him

Yet other counſel was giuen him.

Malcolme cōmeth with an armie to ſtand with Conſtantine.

King Conſtantine went to meete Malcolme.

Malcolme thought hym ſelf to weake

Lack of vitayles cauſed Conſtantine to breake his campe.

K. Edward rather than he red, purchaſed peace of the Danes.

Malcolme readie to aide king Edward againſt the Danes.

King Edward made peace with the Danes.

themſelues with thoſe landes which they had already in poſſeſſion, and to muake no further vpon the Engliſhmen: but contrariwiſe to be readie to fight in their defence, if any forrain enimie ſought to make any warres vpon them. In the meane time whileſt Malcolme was thus in England occupied in ayde of king Edwarde againſt the Danes, king Conſtantine thought the time to ſerue very well for his purpoſe to reduce all thoſe regions of Scotlād which toke part with his aduerſarie the foreſaid Malcolme vnder his ſubiection. He aſſembled therfore .xx. M. men, and comming into Louthian, heard how Kenneth the baſtard aforeſaid (being left by his brother Malcolm to reſiſt Conſtantines attempts) had got togither an huge armie of his brothers friends, and was come vnto Crawmond, where the riuer falleth into the Forth, a three miles from Edenbourgh, purpoſing there to abide his enimies, if they minded to aſſaile him. Conſtantine hereupon haſted thitherwards, and comming within ſight of his enimies ſtreightwayes ioined battail with them: immediatly wherwith there roſe ſuch an outragious tempeſt of winde, comming out of the Eaſt, driuing the ſande in the faces of Conſtantines men, that they were not able to ſee about them to make any defence agaynſt theyr enimyes that then preaſſed vpon them right egerly. By meanes whereof the diſcomfiture light vpō Conſtantines ſide, though neyther part had any great cauſe to reioyce: for in the hoteſt of the fight, Conſtantine and Kenneth chaunced to encounter togither, and ſo fighting man to man, either ſlue other. Thus Conſtantine ended his lyfe by dynt of the enimies ſworde, in the thirde yeare of his reigne, and in the yeare after the incarnation 1002. and hys bodie was buryed in Colmekill amongſt his predeceſſours.

K. Conſtantine is ſlaine.

1002.

Grime.

THen Grime nephew to king Duffe hearing of the ſlaughter thus made betwixte king Conſtantine and Kenneth, gathered togither the reſidue of Conſtantines armie, being ſcattered abrode after the ouerthrow, ſuppoſing that by the death of Kenneth, the partie of his brother Malcolme was ſore weakned, and therevpon he came vnto the Abbay of Scone, and there cauſed him



ſelfe to be crowned king, as lawfull ſucceſſor vnto Conſtantine, by force of the olde lawes and ordinance of the Realme. And to eſtabliſh himſelfe the more firmly in the eſtate, he ſhewed great gentleneſſe towardes all them that were friends vnto Conſtantine, and beſtowed vpō them many bountyfull gyftes: neyther was his liberalitie ſhut vp from other that had fauoured Malcolme, for to the ende hee might allure them to beare him good will, he rewarded them highly both in landes and treaſure. But other of the ſame faction, whom he ſawe by no meanes coulde be wonne, he cauſed them to bee proclaymed traytours, and confiſcated their goodes as rebelles to his perſon, and enimies to the crowne.

Malcolme Prince of Cumberland ſore moued in his minde that Grime had thus taken vpon him the crowne, called his friends togither, requiring to haue their aduice, whiche way he were beſt to worke in this ſo great a matter.

Malcolme prince of Cūberland is ſore moued againſt Grime.

They counſailed him that in no wiſe he ſhould deſpiſe the force of his enimies, but rather to aſſay by all meanes to drawe thoſe Nobles vnto hys purpoſe, which were aſſiſtant vnto Grime.

A good coūſel

Whereupon Malcolme following the counſaile of his friendes, ſent forth ſecrete meſſengers vnto thoſe Lordes that toke part with Grime, requiring them to remember their promiſed fayth, giuen vnto his father king Kenneth, concerning the obſeruaunce of the lawe eſtabliſhed by their conſente for the ſucceſſion of theyr Kinges: whiche if they woulde doe in renouncyng their

Malcolm ſendeth priuily to the Lordes of Scotlande.

their obeyſance vnto the vſurper Gryme, he promiſed ſo to gouerne the Realme with equall iuſtice, that no eſtate ſhould in reaſon find cauſe to miſlike with his doings. Many of the nobles by meanes of this meſſage reuolted from the ſayde Grime, ſoliciting their friends by earneſt trauaile to do the like. But other and the greater number toke thoſe that brought the meſſage, and ſent them as priſoners vnto Grime, who incontinently committed them to priſon.

Malcolme his promiſe vnto the Scottes.

Malcolme hys meſſengers are cõmitted to priſon.

Malcolme being offended therewith, gathered an armie.

Malcolme ſore offended therewith, by counſel of his friends, aſſembled an army to go againſt them, that contrary to the law of all nations (as he ſeemed to take the matter) had empriſoned his purſeuants and meſſengers: but marching as he was forwarde on his purpoſed iourney, hee heard by the way, howe his aduerſarie king Grime had gathered a farre greater power than he had wyth him, not onely of all ſuch of the Scottiſh nation inhabiting beyonde the riuers of Forth & Clyde, but of them alſo of the weſtern Iles.

Grime is of greater force thã Malcolm.

Malcolme doubting leaſt if the certaintie hereof were once bruted amongeſt his people, the fame would encreaſe the terrour more than needed: he gaue cõmaundement therfore that no maner of wight ſhould be ſuffred to come into his army without he were firſt brought to his preſence. But this deuiſe nothing auayled him: for thereby that which he deſired to be concealed & kept moſt ſecret, became the more manifeſt, by reaſon that ſuch as had ſome vnkling of the matter, tolde it from one to another, making it much more than it was in deed. For there roſe a murmuring amongeſt them, that there was ſuch treaſon contriued, that if Malcolme with his army went forward to ioyne with his aduerſaries, he ſhould not be in daunger onely of them, which he knewe to come againſt him in Grimes hoſt, but alſo of no ſmall nũber of thẽ which were in his own armie, who vpon the ioyning had determined to turne their ſpeare points againſt him in Grimes quarel.

Malcolm wold not haue his people to vnderſtande the truth thereof.

His aduice auayled not.

A bruit ſpred in Malcolmes armie of treaſon.

This rumor paſſing from one to another, put the whole number in great feare. It was firſt raiſed by certain marchant men, of whom there was a great nũber in Malcolmes armie, hauing more ſkill in buying and ſelling, than in any warlyke feates or enterpryſes.

Marchãts authours the rumor.

These at the firſt ſuing for licence to depart home, and could haue no graunt, begaune to lament their miſeries, in ſuch dolefull wiſe, that all the campe was troubled with the noyſe, inſomuch that euen the olde men of warre, and diuerſe of the Captaines were not a little diſcomforted and amazed with ſuch wailefull clamors.

Malcolme being aduertiſed hereof, thought not good to match in battaile againſt his fierce enimies with his people thus aſtonied through dread and terror, and therefore gaue licence to the moſt part of his hoſt to depart for that time, and abode onely with certain bandes of his moſt faithfull friends neare vnto the water of Forth, to ſtop his enimies from paſſing ouer that ryuer.

Malcolme ſendeth moſt part of his armie depart.

Malcolme ſendeth his enimies paſſing ouer the Forth.

Whileſt the realme of Scotlande was thus diſquieted and troubled with ciuill diſcorde, Fothadus the greate Biſhop of Scotland, a man of right approued vertue and clemencie, ſore lamenting to ſee his countrey thus deuided & rent, as it were in peeces, got him into his pontificall veſtures with a multitude of other reuerend prieſts and eccleſiaſticall miniſters, in humble wiſe comming and preſenting themſelues before King Grime, who with great reuerence receiuing them,

The great ſhop of Scotlande.

Fothadus ſeketh to ſet vp the mas



willed to vnderſtand the cauſe of their comming. Then Fothadus anſwered, that he was come as the ſeruant of Chriſt, the authour of all peace and concorde, beſeeching him by way of humble ſupplication to take ruth and pitie of the great trouble and miſerie fallen to the realme, ſith the tyme

he

he had taken the gouernance vpon him, the ſtate of things being ſuch, as if ſome redreſſe were not founde in all ſpeedie wiſe, the vtter ruyne of the common wealth muſt needes enſue, by reaſon of the ſundrie debates and factions dayly ryſing amongeſt the people of all ſortes and degrees, ſo that murthers, robberies, reife, with al other kinds of iniuries and miſchiefe were ſtill put in practiſe without reſtraynt or puniſhment in ſuch lycentious ſort that no man coulde aſſure himſelfe of his owne: for whether it were within doores, or without, the Robber was as readie to lay handes on it as the owner. Neyther was there hope of any reformation ſo long as the ciuill warres laſted. Therfore if it might ſtande with the pleaſure of king Gryme in reliefe of the poore commons of Scotlande, to condiſcende vnto ſome neceſſarie agreement with Malcolme, Fothadus offered to vndertake to conclude a peace betwixt them in ſuche wyſe as ſhoulde in no maner of behalfe be preiudiciall to his honour and royall Maieſtie.

Grime moued with the wordes of the Biſhop (who moſt inſtantly beſought him, although the calamitie and great affliction of his people did but little mollifie his heart, yet in reſpect of his owne ſuretie, which might not continue if his people were once deſtroyed, to remit part of his high diſpleaſure) anſwered, that peace he could be contented to haue, ſo the ſame might be concluded with his honor ſaued: for ſurely warres he neuer deſired but onely in defence of his good title & right, which he had to the crowne deſcended vnto him by the olde lawes and auncient ordinances of the realm, & therefore he purpoſed not to leaue the ſame with life, but to fight for it againſt Malcolme, and all his partakers, euen vnto death: But if it were ſo, that Malcolme would content himſelfe with the principalitie of Cumberland, & ſo thervpon breake vp his campe and depart forth of the lands perteyning to the crown, he woulde gladly com to a cõmunication with him for peace, but if Malcolme refuſed thus to do, he aſſured him that he woulde not leaue off to purſue him to the vttermoſt of his power, as his moſt cruel and fierce enimie.

Fothadus hauing heard Grymes wordes, beſought hym to ſtay a tyme, tyll hee myght goe vnto Malcolme, to vnderſtande what hys full mynde was in this behalfe, not doubting but to finde him conformable vnto any reaſonable motion, for relieuing of the poore afflicted ſtate of the lande.

Gryme graunting to this requeſt, Fothadus in like ſort and habite as he came vnto Gryme, went vnto Malcolme, whome he founde at Sterling. Where comming before his preſence wyth a long Oration, hee greatly bewayled the dolorous calamityes of the Scottiſh common weale, into the which it was fallen thrꝛough ciuil ſeditiõ only: and herewith declared alſo by great likelyhoodes of ſubſtantial reaſons, how infortunate and miſerable the ende ſhould be of the warres, if the ſame were purſued to the vttermoſt.

His tale being throughly heard and well diſgeſted, wrought ſo with Malcolme, that he promiſed to withdraw into Cumberlande without any further attempt, if Grime would in like caſe breake vp his camp, and agree to haue a truce for three Monethes ſpace, in which meane time they might by certaine commiſſioners appointed and authoriſed therto, talk and cõmon for concluding of a finall peace and concord betwixt them. Malcolmes offer.

Grime refuſed not this offer, and ſo thervpon lycenſed his people to depart to their homes, repairing himſelfe with certaine of his nobles into Angus vnto the Caſtell of Forfair, there to take further aduice what was to be done touching the appointed communication of peace. Gryme is contented with Malcolmes motion.

But Fothadus would in no wiſe reſt, tyll the commiſſioners were met and aſſembled togither in communication at Scone, where within fewe dayes after (chiefly thꝛough his earneſt diligence) peace was concluded with theſe conditions. Fothadus his diligence to procure the parties to agreement.

Firſt that Grime during his life time, ſhoulde enioy the crowne, and after his deceaſſe the ſame to remaine vnto Malcolm and his heires by lineal diſcent for euer, according to the ordinance and decree made & eſtabliſhed by king Kenneth. And whoſoeuer ſhoulde goe about eyther by worde or deed to impeach or hinder the ſaid ordinance and decree, ſhould be reputed for a traytor to the common wealth and realme. The conditions of the peace betwixt Gryme and Malcolme.

Furthermore all the landes lying betwyxt Louthian and Northumberlande, and betwixt Clyde and Weſtmerland, euen from the Almain ſeas, to the Iriſh ſeas, ſhoulde preſently remaine and be tranſported vnto the dominion & gouernment of Malcolme, with the whiche contenting himſelfe during the naturall life of Gryme, hee ſhould cõtinue in friendſhip with the ſaid Grime, and ſo in no wiſe ſtirre or moue any warre or debate, eyther againſt him or any of his friends: for if he did, and went about to breake any of the articles of this peace, he ſhoulde not onely loſe thoſe landes which he now held, but alſo to be depriued of all the right, title, clayme, and intereſt whiche either he or his poſteritie might make or pretende vnto the crowne at any time hereafter.

When both the princes had bound themſelues by ſolemne othes to performe euery point & points in theſe articles compriſed, they layd armor aſide, and began to take order for reforming of all miſdemeanours, whiche had happened within the lande, by reaſon of the ciuill contention moued betwixt them and their partakers. Howbeeit, commaundement was giuen by eyther of theſe The warres being ceaſſed, the Princes apply their ſtudies to reformeme miſdemeanors

Princes, that their ſubiects ſhould be ſtill in a readineſſe with armure & weapon, if need required to defend themſelues againſt al ſodaine inuaſions of their neighbors, whereby it may be gathered, that the one had the other ſtill in ſome miſtruſt, what countenance ſoeuer they ſhewed outwardly. Yet notwithſtanding for the ſpace of. viij. yeares togither, the peace continued without breach, or any notable trouble betwixt them.

King Grime his alteration from noble qualities vnto deteſtable vices.

But Gryme at length of a chaſte and liberall Prince, through long ſouth and encreaſe of ryches, became a moſt couetous tyrant, and ſo corrupted in maners and conditions, that it paſſed the termes of al reaſon and equitie: inſomuch that when he had put vnto death diuerſe of his nobles, to the ende he might haue their landes and goodes as forfeyted by attainder, he oppreſſed the people by continuall exactions alſo eche day more than other.

His ſubiects being thus brought into extreme miſerie through his wicked & vniuſt gouernmẽt, not knowing where to ſeeke for redreſſe, ſaue only at the handes of almightie God, the puniſher of al ſinne, beſought him to haue pitie of their afflictiõs, and to chaunge the gouernment of the realm into ſome better eſtate.

The common peoples praier.

The Lordes alſo hauing great indignation of the trouble fallen to the realme, by the kings miſgouernance and auaricious crueltie, appointed a certaine number of Gentlemen to goe vnto him as Ambaſſadours from them, to requyre him to put away from him ſuch naughtie perſons as by euill councell had peruerted his minde, and moued him to do things contrary to his honour and the wealth of his realme.

The Lordes require Grime to reforme the miſdemeanor of his officers.

One of theſe Ambaſſadors (to whõ the charge was giuen) had the wordes in name of them all, who cõming before the kings preſence, declared



vnto him howe they were ſent from the reſidue of the nobles and peeres of his realme, to admoniſhe him of things perteyning to ỹ ſuretie of his eſtate and cõmon wealth of his dominions, which was, that where through perſwaſion of euill counſaylers he ſuffred many enormities to be committed by his miniſters and officers againſt his ſubiects, to their vtter impoueriſhment and vndoing, the rebuke wherof did redound vnto his diſhonor, if it would pleaſe him to remoue out of his preſence & ſeruice all ſuch diſloyal perſons as ſought the hinderance of the common weale, he ſhoulde winne thereby the loue of all his liege ſubiectes, whiche now coulde not but grudge and repine at this his gouernment, as men by the ſame brought into ſuch calamitie, that better it were for them in their iudgements to be dead than aliue, if reformation were not the ſooner had againſt ſuche extortions as his ſeruants and officers did dayly practiſe, and for the which no doubt he muſt needes anſwere, ſith the ſworde was committed vnto him, not to enrich couetous perſons, nor to oppreſſe innocent and true dealing people, but contrarily to puniſhe and correct guiltie and vniuſt dealers.

The office of the ſworde.

When king Gryme had heard what meſſage theſe Ambaſſadors had brought, he anſwered to the ſame with fayned wordes, & willed them vnder the pretext of courteſie to a banket, in purpoſe to haue put them all in priſon: But they beeing aduertiſed therof, got them in all haſt to their horſes, and fled forthwith vnto Bertha, where the reſidue of the nobles at the ſame time were aſſẽbled.

King Grime purpoſed to haue ſlaine meſſengers.

Gryme thus hauing no regarde to the holeſome aduertiſement of his nobles, thought that all things would come forwarde with ſuch felicitie and happe as he wiſhed, not ceaſſing from rayſing new payments and exactions ſtill of his ſubiects, till at length he was aduertiſed, how his nobles had rayſed open warre againſt him, at which newes being ſore kindled with diſpleaſure, he got togither a great number of men, & marched forth towards them that had ſo rebelled againſt him.

The Lordes of Scotland rear warre againſt Grime their king.

Then followed more miſchiefe and trouble thã euer had bene ſeene afore that time in Scotlande: for by reaſon of this ciuill diſſention, caſtels were razed & ouerthrowne, townes burned vp, corne deſtroyed, and fieldes waſted, & the people ſlaine in all places, yea as well in churches as elſwhere.

What miſchiefe enſued.

Malcolme prince of Cũberland hearing of ſuch cruell warres as were thus rayſed in Scotlande betwixt the king and the nobles of the realme, to the daunger of the vtter ouerſion of the whole cõmon wealth, returned with al ſpeed forth of Englande (where hee was with an armie as then in ayd of king Egelred againſt the Danes) into his owne countrey for defence of his ſubiects, if any attempt ſhould happely be made againſt them in that troubleſome ſeaſon.

Howbeit he was no ſooner returned home, but the nobles of Louthian came vnto him, beſeeching him to take pitie vppon his miſerable and ſore countrey, and to employe hys whole force to remoue

Malcolme required to relieue the Scottiſh.

remoue away from the people ſuch imminent deſtruction as dayly haſted towards them, which to do they thought it was partly euen his dutie, ſith God had beſtowed vpon him ſuche giftes both of body, minde, and fortune, as moſt plentcouſly appeared in him, not onely for the weale of himſelfe, but alſo of his friends and countrey, and therefore his part was to ſhew his earneſt diligence to deliuer the common wealth of ſuch tyrannie as was practiſed by the miſgouernment of Gryme and his vnhappie counſellers. Which being done, he might order al things as ſhould like him beſt.

Malcolme moued with theſe and the like perſwaſions of the Scottiſh Lords, which dayly reſorted vnto him, reſolued with promiſe of their ſupport to leuie warre againſt Grime in this ſo neceſſarie a quarell, & ſo aſſembling a great puiſſance togither, he did ſet forth towards his aduerſarie. By the way alſo there came ſtill vnto him great numbers of men from eche ſide to ayde him in this enterprize, offring by ſolemne othes to become his liege men and ſubiects.

Gryme likewiſe beeing aduertiſed of thoſe newes, with all ſpeede got togither ſuch people as hee might aſſemble for the time, and comming forwarde with the ſame at the towne of Auchnabart, both the armyes pitched downe theyr tentes, the one faſt by the other, on the Aſcention day.

Here Grime ſuppoſing that he might take his enimies at ſome great aduantage, if he came vpō them on the ſodaine, for that being giuen to deuotion they woulde looke for nothing leſſe than for battaile on ỳ day, he got forth of his campe in the dawning of that morning, in purpoſe forthwith to aſſaile them. Notwithſtanding Malcolme being aduertiſed therof, ſent vnto Grime, requeſting him to deſiſt from battaile for reuerence of that bleſſed feaſt, but Grime would in no wiſe aſſent thereto, but needes would come on without ſtop or ſtay: whereupon both the armies ruſhing togither met right fiercely, ſo that in the beggynning there was great ſlaughter made on both ſides, but within a while king Grymes ſide was put to the worſe, and in the ende clearly diſcomfited.

Malcolmes requeſt.

The battaile betwixt Grime & Malcolme.

In the chaſe were many ſlaine, but yet no ſuch number as ſo notable a victorie requyred.

Grimes part diſcomfited.

It is ſaid that Grime was taken aliue ſtāding at defēce moſt fiercely fighting, & being ſore woūded in the head, had both his eies put out, & afterwards continuing ſo in great miſerie & languor certaine dayes, at length departed out of this life, in the .ix. yeare of his raigne, and was buried in Colmkill, after the incarnation .1010. yeares.

The ende of king Grime.

1004. Io. Ma
1010. H.B.

After this victorie thus obteyned by Malcolm, he called ſuch noble men as were taken priſoners in this battaile before him, vſing manye gentle wordes towards them, declaring how the right of the crown appertayned vnto him, & that ỳ warres which he had made, were not attēpted againſt the cōmon wealth of the Scottiſh eſtate, but rather in relieke therof, to the ende the people might be deliuered of the tyrannie exerciſed by Grime and his counſellors. And when he had thus vttered his minde vnto them, he appointed a publike aſſemble to be kept at Scone (for the electiō of a new king)

Malcolmes wordes to the that were taken priſoners.

A Parliament at Scone.



there to be holden within .xv. dayes after. Whither the Scottiſh nobilitie cōming togither at the day and place appoynted, and conſenting to crowne Malcolme king, he vtterly refuſed to receyue the crowne, except the law eſtabliſhed by his father Kenneth for the ſucceſſion therof were firſt cōfirmed & approbate, whereupon the Lords bounde thēſelues by ſolemne othes to perform the ſame, & neuer to breake or violate it in any condition.

The ordinance of king Kenneth for the ſucceſſion of the crowne is confirmed.

His requeſt herein being graūted with generall conſent both of the nobles and cōmons, the crown was ſet vpon his heade, he being placed in the

Chayre of Marble, to the great reioyſing of al the people preſent.

Malcolme.

When the ſolemnitie of this coronation was ended, he called afore him again al the lords and peeres of his realme, of the which part had ayded him in the laſt warres, & part had bin aſſiſtant vnto his aduerſarie Grime: & there bled the matter in ſuch wiſe amongſt them, that he made them all friendes, eche one promiſing to other, to forget all former offences, diſpleaſures & controuerſies paſt, which he did to auoid al inteſtine trouble ỹ might grow out of the rootes of ſuch rancor & malice, as in time of the ciuil diſcord had ſprung vp amongſt thē.

Malcolme agreeth the nobles of his realme.

Further, for the better adminiſtration of iuſtice in due forme and maner, he beſtowed publike offices vpon diſcrete perſons, ſkilful in the lawes and ordinances of the realme. Other offices perteining to the warres & defence of the realm, he committed vnto ſuch as were practiſed & trayned in ſuch exerciſes, ſo that iuſtice was miniſtred on all ſydes throughout the kingdome, with ſuch equitie and vprightneſſe, as had not beene heard of in any age before him. Whileſt the Scottiſh eſtate was gouerned in ſuch happie wiſe, by the prudent policie of K. Malcolme, it chaunced that Sueno king of Danes landed in England with a mightie nauy, in purpoſe to reuenge the iniuries done before vnto his people by the Engliſh men.

Malcolmes wiſdome in ordeyning officers.

Sueno king of Denmark landed in Englande.

This Sueno (as appeareth more at large in the hyſtorie of Denmark) firſt being an earneſt perſecuter of chriſtian men, and puniſhed by the deuine prouidence for his crueltie in that behalfe ſhewed by ſundry ouerthrowes receyued at the enimies handes, as in being thryſe taken priſoner, and in the end driuen and expulſed out of his kingdome, he came into Scotlande for relief & ſuccor, where throughe the holſome inſtruction of godly and vertuous men, he renounced his heathniſh belief, & receiued the chriſtian faith, & being baptiſed, at length was reſtored home to his kingdom. Shortly after with a mightie armye of Danes, Gothes, and Norwegians, & Swedeners, with other northern people, he arriued (as is ſaid) in England, & chaſed king Egeldred into Northumberland, who there receyuing aide from the Scottes according to the league which lately before he had contracted with thē, he determined eftſoones to trie the chaunce of battaile wᵗ his enimies. Marching forward therfore towards thē, he came to the riuer of Owſe, neare to the banks wherof, not far from Yorke, he pitched down his tents. Then Sueno not forgetful of the benefits & pleaſures receiued lately at the Scottiſhmēs handes, ſent an herald at armes vnto thē, cōmaūding thē to depart their wayes home & to refuſe Egeldreds cōpanie, either elſe to looke for moſt cruel battail at the hands of the Danes, the Norwegians & others ỹ people of Germany, there redie bent to their deſtruction. Egeldred being aduertiſed that his aduerſaries meſſenger was thus come into his campe, cauſed him to be ſlayed and arreſted for a ſpie. And the ſame day he brought forth his battayles readie raunged into the fieldes to trie ỹ matter by dynt of ſword, if Sueno were ſo minded, who right deſirous to accept the offer, brought forth alſo his people in perfit order & well arrayed to fight, ſo that there was no ſtay on either part, but that togither they flue moſt fiercely, & in ſuch egre wiſe, that neyther ſide had leyſure to beſtow their ſhot, but euen at the firſt they buckled togither at handblowes, cōtinuing certain houres

Sueno conuerted to the chriſtian fayth in Scotland.

Egeldred (for as the Scots write Elfred) chaſed into Northumberland, getteth ayde from the Scottes.

Sueno his meſſage to the Scottes.

The battaile betwixt Egeldred and Sueno.



with great & cruel ſlaughter, til at length the Engliſh men were put to flight, leauing to the Danes a right deare & bloodie victorie. The murther alſo that day of the Scots was great, but yet nothing to the number of the Engliſh men. Egeldred himſelf with a fewe other, got a boat and paſſed ouer Ouſe, ſo eſcaping out of the enimies hāds, but the reſt were for the moſt part either taken or ſlaine.

The Engliſh men put to flight by the Danes.

Egeldred eſcapeth by flight.

Thus

Thus Egeldred being vtterly vanquished and dispairing of al recouerie, fled out of Englande ouer into Normandie, where he was right friendly receyued of Richard as then Duke of Normãdy, & afterwards purchased such fauor there amongst the Normans, that he maried the Ladie Emmie, daughter vnto the sayde Duke, and begot of hir two sonnes, Alured and Edward, as in the English Chronicles more at large it doth appeare.

Sueno hauing thus ouercome his enimies, and now put in possession of the whole realm of England, was in mind to haue destroyed al the English generation, so to establish the kingdom to him and his posteritie for euer, without any impeachment afterwards to be made by such as shuld succeed of them that were then aliue. But the nobles of Englãd aduertised of Suenoes determination, came humbly before his presence, & falling downe on their knees at his feet, besought him in most pitifull wise to haue compassion on their miserable

Suenoes cruell imagination.

The nobles of England their humble petition vnto Sueno.



estate, who in times past beeing a most puissant nation, both by sea and lande, were now satisfied (if he would graunt them life) to continue vnder what bondage and seruitude it should stand with his pleasure to prescribe, for they desired neither possession of castels, townes, or other souerainties, but onely to liue with their wiues and children vnder subiection within their owne native Countrey, at the victors will and appointment.

Sueno albeit he was of nature very cruell, yet he qualified his displeasure by this humble submission of the English nobility, in such sort, that he vsed the victorie farre more gently, than at the first he had purposed, cõmaũding that the whole English nation should remaine in the countrey, but in such wise, as by no meanes they shuld presume to beare any armor or weapõ, but to apply thẽselues vnto husbandry, & other seruile occupations vnder the gouernment of the Danes, vnto whom they shuld resigne & deliuer al their castels, forts, & strõg holds, and taking an oth to be true liege men vnto Sueno as their soueraine lord & king: they should bring in (to be deliuered vnto his vse) al their weapon & armor with other munition for the warres, also all their golde and siluer, aswell in plate as coyne. If any of the English men refused thus to do, proclamatiõ was made that he should immediatly lose his life as a rebel & a disobedient person.

The English men were brought to such an extremitie, that they were faine to accept these conditions of peace, for other meane to auoyd present death they knew none. And thus was the dominion of Englãd cõquered by the Danes, after the Saxons had raigned in the same 564. yeares.

529. H.B.

The miserie of the Englishmẽ vnder the bondage of the Danes.

Such tyrannie also after this was vsed by the Danes, that none of the English nation was admitted to any office or rule within the realme eyther spirituall or tẽporall, but were vtterly remoued from the same, and some of them cast in prison and dayly put in hazard of their liues.

Finally, the Englishe men were brought into such miserable thraldome, that euery housholder within the realme, was constrayned to receyue and finde at his owne proper costes & charges one Dane, who should continually giue good watche what was sayde or done in the house, and to aduertise the king thereof, for doubt of conspiracies or treasons to be contriued and practised agaynst his person and royall estate.

This Dane by the good man of the house & his family for honour sake, was called Lord Dane, which word was afterwardes turned to a name of reproch, as where any idle person liued loitring without the vse of some honest exercise to get his liuing withal, ỳ people were & yet are accustomed to cal him a Lordain. This farre out of Hector Boetius we haue shewed of Suenoes doings in Englãd, which although it agree not in al points

The name of Lordain how it came vp.

with our English Hystories, yet sith the Hystorie of Scotlande in this place seemeth partly to hang theron, we haue thought good to set it down as we finde it in the same Boetius: but aduertising the reader with all, that if our hystories bee true, this which followeth touching Suenoes inuading of Scotland chanced before that Egelred whom the Scottish writers name Eldred, was driuen to flee into Normandie. For after that Sueno lastly returned into Englande, and constrayned Egelred so to forsake the lande, he lyued not long after, but departed this life about Candlemasse, in the yere 1014. (as in the English hystory ye may read more at large) not hauing time to make any such iourney into Scotland: so that it may be thought, if he did enterprise any suche exployte there, it was before this his last arriuall in England. But now to proceed according to ỹ which we finde in the forsayd Boetius. Sueno hauing spoyled the English men of their liberties in maner before remembred, or rather brought them to bee com tributaries vnto him, as at the first time of his arriuall here he did in deed, he thought it necessarie for the more suretie of his estate in Englande, to conclude some peace or league with hys neighbors the Normans, Brytains and Scots, vnder condition that they should not support any English man against him. But forsomuch as he could not compasse his intention herein, he furnished al the castels & fortresses on the sea coastes, ouer against Normandie with mē, munition, and vitails, to resist al soden inuasions ỹ might be attempted on that side. And on the other part towards the north, he made al the prouision he could deuise to make mortal warres vpon the Scots: and the more to annoy his enimies, he sent commaundement vnto Olauus his lieutenant in Norway, & to Onetus his deputie in Denmarke, to come with al ỹ power they might leuie into Scotland, to make warres on his enimies there.

Sueno landed here this last time of his cōming forth of Denmarke into England in July, in the yeare. 1013. & departed this life in the beginning of Februarie, in the yeare. 1014.

Sueno prepareth to inuade the Scottes.

Olauus, and Onetus.

Wherupon shortly after those forsaid captains arriued with an huge army in ỹ mouth of Spay, and landed in such puissant order, that the inhabitans of Murreyland fled out of their houses, with their wiues, children, & goodes (such as they could conuey away with them) into places where they thought to remain most out of daunger. But the Danes after their maner burne & spoyle all before them, aswel churches and chappels, as other buildings & edifices. Such of the people as could not flee in time, but by chaunce fell into their handes, were slain without all mercie. Also al the strengthes and holds in the countrey were taken by the Danes, three castels only excepted: that is to wit, Elgin, Forres, and Narne, which the Danes named afterwards Burg, and for that they trusted when the same was won, the other two would yeeld without any further defence, they first layde

The Danes land in Scotlande.

The cruelty of the Danes.

siege vnto this Castel of Narne, enforcing themselues with all their power to winne it, but in the meane time, they were enformed how Malcolme the Scottish king was come within fiue miles of them with al the forces of his realm to giue them battaile.

The castel of Narne be-

Incontinently wherupō they raysed their siege, & hasted forth to meet him with no lesse courage, thā if victory were already present in their hands. Shortly after, there came vnto them Heraldes also from Malcolme, to vnderstand why they had thus inuaded his realm with open and most cruel warre, hauing no occasion giuen by him or his subiects so to do. Who scarcely had done their message, but that they were slaine forthwith by cruel outrage of the Danes.

Malcolme decth ambadours to the Danes.

The Danes slea the Ambassadours.

Malcolme being sore moued to vnderstand the law obserued by all nations for the safetie of messengers to be thus violated by the enimies, kept on his iourney with ỹ more fierce corage, til he came to a medowe a little beside Killos, where he encamped for that night. Great noyse and clamour was heard throughout the armie, euerie man being desirous of battaile, to reuenge the iniuries done by the Danes against their friends & countrey men: notwithstanding on the morrow when they sawe their enimies in farre greater number, and in better order than euer had bin seene by any of them before that time, their hart began to waxe faint, hauing greater care which way to saue their own liues, thā to giue the onset vpō their enimies.

The Scottes through feare are astoned.

Malcolme perceiuing such dread to be entred into the hearts of his people, that they were nowe more like to run away than to fight, if he shoulde bring them forth to battail, got him to a little hil, & calling his nobles about him, he declared vnto

Malcolme worketh the Nobles.



them how he could not but detest their great cowardise, that were thus astonied at the first sight of their enimies, wout further trial of their forces.

At

At home (ſaid he) ye are moſt hardie and valiant, where no danger appeareth: what rebuke thē is it vnto you, to be thus faint harted now that ye are come where valiancie ſhould be ſhewed,) in degenerating ſo far from your worthy fathers & noble progenitors, the which at Loncarte vnder the cōduit of my father Kenneth, obteyned ſo famous a victorie of the ſelf ſame nation, whoſe furious puiſſance ye ſeeme now ſo much to feare. There hath bene triall made in battell with this enimie in our time, both within the bounds of Scotland, & alſo of England, to the great honor & renowne of our elders. What diſcomfitures the Danes haue receyued are yet freſh in memorie, ſo many of them loſing their liues amongeſt vs, that Albion may well be reckened the ſepulture of Danes, as ſome of you can wel record by your owne remēbrance, and other haue heard by report of their forefathers and anceſters. Ye ought then (ſayde he) to be of good courage, rather than to faint now at neede, conſidering yee haue to doe with thoſe enimies, which are but the remaynant of the other, whiche before haue bene vanquiſhed and ouerthrowne by Scottiſh men, both at Loncarte, & in diuerſe other plāces, yea & beſides that, ſuch as moning warres now at this preſent without iuſt occaſion, haue violated the lawes both of God and man, deſerning thereby iuſt vengeance at Gods handes, the puniſher of al ſuch vniuſt offenders. Ther is great hope therfore of victorie (ſaid he) left vnto all ſuch as fight againſt theſe enimies, if we take manly harts vnto vs, and ſhew our ſelues in valiant cōſtancie like to our elders, wherby it ſhall then appeare what outragious folly remained in the Danes, to inuade vs without occaſiō of iniuries preceding. Therefore if ye haue not more regarde to to the ſafetie of your frail bodies, which muſt needes at length periſhe, than to the defence and preſeruation of your cōmon countrey, why paſſe ye not forward, ſith ther is now no place nor time to take longer aduice in the matter, as ye may well vnderſtād by ẏ preſence of ẏ enimie redy to ioyne.

The nobles moued with theſe wordes of their prince, began boldly to exhort their people to battell. Incontinently wherupon roſe ſuch noiſe and raging fury through the army, that without meaſuring either their owne forces or their enimies, they ruſh forth vpō thē without any order or good aray. Olanus & Dnetus beholding the Scots to come thus furiouſly againſt them, boldly encountred them with arrayed battels. Wherupō enſued a right terrible fight, with great manhood ſhewed on both ſides, nothing being let paſſe that might apperteyne to worthy captains, the Scots enforcing themſelues to defend their countrie & auncient liberties, on the one ſide, & the Danes doing their beſt endeuor by valiāt hardineſſe to ſaue their liues & honors on the other. At length after huge murther & ſlaughter made on both parts, ẏ Scots were put to flight, Malcolme was ſore wounded, & had his helmet ſo faſt beaten to his head, that it might not wel be got of, yet was he conueyed out of the field in maner for dead, and kept ſecrete in a wood, til he was ſomwhat amended, and then got him into places out of daunger. The Danes hauing got this victorie, and gathered the ſpoyle of the field, returned to beſiege eftſoones the caſtell of Narne, with more force and violence than before.

The Scottes without order ruſh forth to battaile.

The Scottes put to flight. Malcolme is wounded.



This Caſtell in thoſe dayes was encloſed on eche ſide with the ſea, hauing one narrow paſſage as an entrie vnto it, made by craft of man in maner of a bridge.

Thoſe that were within it, hauing knowledge of the ouerthrow and loſſe of the field, rendred the fortreſſe, on condition that leaning al their armor, weapō, & other munitions behind thē, they might depart w̄ their liues & other goods ſaued. Neuertheles the Danes cōtrary to their faith giuē, being

The caſtell of Narne rendred by compoſition.

The Danes breakers of faith and promiſe.

once entred the Caſtell, hanged all thoſe whiche they founde within it ouer the walles, in moſt deſpitefull maner.

Thus was Narne wonne by the Danes, the ſtrongeſt holde within Murrey lande, and ſo garniſhed with men, munition and vytayles, that it was thought impregnable.

Elgyn and Fores left voyde.

Then thoſe ſouldiers which kept Elgyn and Fores, hearing what crueltie the Danes had thus vſed, fled out of thoſe Caſtels, and left them voyd without any perſon to defende them.

The Danes reioyſing at this good fortune, truſted to eſtabliſhe theſelues ſure ſeates in Murrey lande, and therevpon ſent backe their ſhippes into Norway and Denmarke, to fetch frō thence their wyues and children.

In the meane time they conſtrayned ſuche Scottes as they had layde handes on, to reape and inne the corne growing abrode in the fieldes, vnto their vſe and commoditie.



King Malcolme being aduertiſed of all theſe doings, doubting leaſt by the arriual of new ayd, his enimies might waxe more puiſſant, in the beginning of the next ſommer, he aſſembled a great multitude of warriours, and came in good order and moſt warlyke array vnto Murthlake, a town of Mar, where the firſt erection of the Biſhoppes ſea of Abyrden was founded. Here the one armie comming in ſight of the other, they were ſodenly both amazed. For the Scottes hauing had too much experience of the crueltie ſhewed afore time by the Danes, were put in no ſmall feare now at the plaine and open ſight of them. The Danes being farre off from the ſea ſide, and vpon an vnknowne grounde, were more afrayde of ſome guilefull practiſe, than of the open violence and force of their enimies. Yet neuertheleſſe in the ende, by the encouragement of the Captaines on both ſides, they buckled togither with great fiercenelle and moſte cruell malicious hatred on eche hand. In the firſt brunt three valiant Captains, that is to wit, Kenneth of Ila, Gryme of Stratherne, & Patrike of Dunbar, ruſhing ouer fiercely on their enimies, were ſlain, and gaue occaſion to many of the Scottiſhe men to flee, but the place was ſuch, that they coulde not well make theyr courſe any way forth, by reaſon of ẏ narrownelle thereof, fenced on either ſide with deepe trenches full of water and mudde, alſo a trauerſe were layd ſundrie trees, as it had bene of purpoſe to impeach the paſſage, deuiſed in that ſort (as was thought) in time of ſome ciuill warres.

Murthlake.

The Scottes and Danes one afrayde of another.

The Scottes forced to reyre.

Here though Malcolme like a valiant champion, did his beſt to ſtay them that fled, yet was he borne backe with the preaſſe, til he came to ẏ mids of this place, where ſtode a Chappell dedicate in the honour of Saint Molok, the which Malcolm beholding, caſt vp his handes towardes heauen, making his prayer on this wiſe.

Malcolme prayer.

Great God of vertue, rewarder of pietie, and puniſher of ſinne, we thy people ſeeking to defende our native coūtrey graunted to vs of thy beneuolence, as now deſtitute of al mortal help, and thus oppreſſed with the iniurious inuaſion of Danes, do flee vnto thee in this our extreeme neceſſitie, beſeeching thee to haue cōpaſſion vpō our miſerable eſtate: Remoue (oh merciful Lorde) this dreadfull terror frō the people. And oh thou mother of God, the ſicker refuge of mortall people in their diſtreſſe and miſeries: and thou S. Molok to whom this chappel was dedicate, help vs at this preſent, and in the honor of you, I here make a vow to build a cathedral Church for a Biſhops ſea, to remain as a monument to teſtifie vnto our poſterity, that by your ſupport our realme hath bene defended.

To you, that is to God, and our Ladie, and Saint Molok for ſo he vſed them together according to the maner of the time.

Scarcely had Malcolme made an ende of this prayer, when diuerſe of the Nobles with a loude voyce, as though they had bin aſſured ẏ his praier

was

was herd, cried to their companies: ſtand good fellowes, for ſurely it is the pleaſure of almightie God, that we returne and renew the battayle againſt our enimies.

Herebpon roſe a wonderfull noyſe amongſt the ſouldiers, ech one encouraging other to withſtand the enimies, and to fight in moſte manfull wiſe in defence of theyr countrey and auncient liberties, and forthwith as it had bene by miracle they returned vpon theyr enimies, making great ſlaughter on eche ſide, without regarde to theyr liues or bloudy woundes, which they boldly and without feare receyued.

Herewith Malcolme alſo with a buſhment of ſtoute warriours came vpon Onetus, who was prauncing vp and downe the fielde without any helmet on his head, as though the Scottes had bene already without recouery clearely diſcomfited, and ſo there was he beaten downe, beſide his horſe, and amongſt the footemen ſlayne out of hande. The reſidue of the Danes beholding the ſlaughter of their Captaine, ſtayed from further purſute on the Scottes. Hereof enſued great boldneſſe to the Scottes and diſcouragement to the Danes. Albeit the batayle continued ſtill a long ſpace, the ſouldiers doyng their beſt on eyther ſide, till at length the Danes were put to flight, many of them being ſlaine, and but fewe taken. Olaus beholding the diſcomfiture of his people, and how his companion in authoritie was ſlayne, fled into Murrayland with a ſmall companie about him. Olaue fleeth into Murrayland.

The next day, Malcolme conſidering what a number of his moſte valiant Captaines he had loſt in this batayle, deuided the ſpoyle of the field amõgſt his men, and ceaſſing from further purſute of the Danes at that time, wente into Angus, where he remayned the reſidue of the yeare within the caſtell of Forfayr, taking counſell with his Nobles touching the publike affayres of the realme, and how to recouer his countrey of Murrayland out of the enimies handes.

King Sueno hearing in the meane time how infortunately his people had ſped thus in Scotland at the batayle of Murthlake, in reuenge thereof determined to inuade the Scottes with two mightie nauies, the one to be rigged in England, & to come forth of the riuer of Tames, & the other to be ſente from Denmarke, one Camus a Dane right expert in warlike knowlege, being appoynted to be gouernour of all the men of warre that ſhould come frõ both thoſe parties. Sueno prepareth a new army to inuade Scotland. Camus appointed Captaine generall of the Danes.

The yeare next enſuyng, both theſe fleetes according to cõmaundement & order giuen, arriued and mette togither within the mouth of the Forth neare to Saint Ebbes head. Saint Ebbes head.



Here Camus going about to lande his men, was kept off by the ſtout reſiſtãce of the Scots, there aſſembled for the ſame intent.

Camus then plucking vp ſayles, directed his courſe vnto the Ile of Sketh, where riding at an anker for the ſpace of one moneth, abiding for ſome proſperous winde, at lẽgth when the ſame came once about, he paſſed from thence vnto the Redbrayes, called in latine *Rubrum promontorium*, & there landed his whole army, before the countrey coulde be gathered to reſiſt him.

Camus being once landed, got him to the next hill, and beholding the ruines of the towne of Montros, which a few yeares before had bene deſtroyed by the Danes, hee reioyced not a litle for that his chaunce was to come a lande in the ſelfe ſame place, where the Danes had earſt vanquiſhed their enimies, hoping of like lucke in this his enterpryſe and preſent expedition.

After this, he toke his iourney through Angus, ſparing no maner of crueltie that might be deuiſed: Cities, Townes, billages, & Churches, Camus marcheth through Angus.

The rueltie of the Danes.

with all maner of other buildings publike and priuate were consumed with fire.

The towne & church of Brechyn destroyed.

At his coming to Brechyn, for that the castel there in those dayes was of suche strength, that it might not be haskely wõne, he caused the towne and chur che being right fayre and sumptuously builde in honour of the trinitie (to whom it was dedicate) to be spoyled & so rased to the earth, that one stone was not left standing vpon an other.

With these and the semblable cruelties, Camus raging both against God & mã, was finally aduertized that king Malcolme was come to Dundee with all the power of Scotland.

Then sodenly he toke the next way towards the sea side, cõming the day next following vnto a village called Balbrid, where he pitched downe his tentes.

King Malcolme hasteth forewarde to fight with the Danes.

The same day, king Malcolme making all hast possible to succour his subiects, and preserue the countrey frõ the cruel outrage of the Danes, came to the towne of Barre two litle miles frõ the place, where his enimies were encamped. In the morning he drew into the field, in purpose to giue them batale. But before he arraged his batayles, he called his nobles & captains togither, desiring them to consider how they should match in fight against people blinded with vile auarice, liuing on the spoyle & pillage, got by threuery & not by any iust warres: enimies not onely to the Christian faith, but also vnto all innocẽt people, whom they sought vniustly to inuade, without hauing occasiõ so to do, saue only vpon an iniurious meaning to liue by reif of other mennes goodes, wherin they haue no maner of propertie. He willed them therefore, to remember how they were come thus against those enimies in defence of their natiue countrey, appointed vndoubtedly by God to reuenge the cruell iniuries done by the Danes against his name and people that professed the same. They ought not then to measure force in number of souldiers, but rather in manhood and valiancie of harte.

Malcolmes oration.

Camus likewise exhorted his people, not vsing many words, but yet pithie, desiring thẽ to remember how it behoued them either to winne immortall fame by victorie, either els to die with miserie in an vncouth lande, by the hand of their most fierce and cruell enimies.

Camus exhorteth his people.

Herewith Malcolme enbatayling his people, brought them forth strongly raunged in good order to encoũter the Danes, which likewise approched towards him in good array of battell, his harte was filled the more with hope of victorie, for that he had tried sundry times before ẏ force of the enimies in diuers cõflicts & encoũters. For such is the nature of noble & valiãt stomakes, the more experience they haue in honorable enterprises, the more are they kindled in desire to shewe their prowes in famous actes & worthy attẽpts.

The nature of valiaunt and noble stomakes.

The armies herevpon on both sides, fiercely rushing togither, began the battell right cruell & terrible, continuyng certaine houres with suche bloudshed, that the riuer of Lochtee, ranne with a purple hue downe into the Almayne seas.

A bloudy battayle.



The fields also where they fought, though they were full of sande (as the nature of the soyle giueth,) yet were they made moyst by the aboundance of blonde spilled in the same.

Many there were so earnestly bent to be reuenged on the enimie, that after they had their deaths wound, they would runne thẽselues forewarde vpõ the aduersaries weapõ, till they might close with him, enforcing their vttermost powers to dispatch him also: so that diuers were seene to fall to the ground togither fast grasping one an other, & so immediatly both of them to die withall: such brenning hatred kindled theyr harts, that thus were they wholy set on reuenge. At length yet the honor of ẏ field remayned vnto Malcolme.

Malcolme winneth the field.

Camus perceiuing the discõfiture to light on his side, with a final cõpanie about him, thought to haue escaped by flight vnto ẏ next mõtains, but being pursued of his enimies, he was slayne by them ere he was got .ij. miles frõ the place of the batale. The place where he was slayne, is named after him vnto this day, & called Camestone, where is an Obeliske set vp in memory of the thing, with his picture grauen therein, and likewise of those that slewe him. The principal dear of Camus was one Keith, a yong gentelman of right hardy courage, whose seruice in the batayle was very notable, in recompence wherof he was rewarded by K. Malcolme, with sundry lands and fayre possessions in Louthian.

Camus is slaine.

An Obelisk.

The house of Keithes aduaunced to honour.

His

His family (ſaith Hector Boetius) hath and doth continue in great honour amongſt Scottiſhmē euen vnto this day, and is decorated with the office of the Marſhalſhip of Scotland, to the high renowme and fame thereof, amongſt the chiefeſt peeres of the realme.

In other companie of the Danes fleing from this ouerthrow were ſlayne at Abirlemnon, not paſt .iiij. miles from Brechyn, where is ſet vp a great ſtone or Obruſke, grauen with certayne characters or letters, to aduertiſe them that paſſe that wayes forth, of this ſlaughter of Danes there made by our worthy elders. The reſidue of the Danes that eſcaped with life from the fielde, hauing certaine Scottiſhmen to their guydes corrupted wᵗ monie fled to their ſhips, declaring to their fellowes what miſhap had fortuned.

King Malcolme after he had obtayned this famous victorie (as before is ſayde) at Barre, he cauſed the ſpoile of the field to be deuided amōgſt his ſouldiers according to the lawes of armes, and then cauſed the dead bodies of the Danes to be buried in the place where the fielde had bene fought, and the bodies of the Scottiſhmē which were found dead, were conueyed vnto places of Chriſtian buriall, and there buried with funerall obſequies in ſundry churches & churchyardes.

There are ſeene many bones of the Danes in thoſe places, where they were buried, there lying bare aboue groūd euen vnto this day, the ſandes as it often chaunceth, being blowen from them.

The other Danes whiche eſcaped to their ſhips, pulled vp ſayles to haue paſſed into Murrayland vnto Olauus, but remayning on the ſeas the ſpace of .iiij. dayes togither, toſſed to and fro by contrary windes, at length by a ſtreyneable eaſt winde, they were driuen vpon the coaſt of Buchquhan, and through wante of conuenable herbrough were in preſent daunger to haue bene caſt away. At length after they had ridden at anker in the Fyrth there, to their great diſpleaſure a long ſpace, and finding no proſperous windes to departe from the ſhore, for that their vitayles began to fayle them, they ſet fiue hundred of their beſt and luſtieſt ſouldiers on land to fetch in ſome bootie or pray of catayle, therewith to relieue their hūger & famine. They that were thus ſent forth being perfectly appoynted with armour and weapon, ranged abrode till they had got togither a great number of beaſtes, with the whiche drawing towardes their ſhippes, they were encountred by the way by Marnachus the Thane of Buchquhane accompanied with the power of that countrey, whoſe force, when they ſaw how they were not well able to reſiſt without ſome aduantage of place, they got them vp into an high cragge, where with tūbling downe ſtones vpon the Scottiſhmen as they mounted vp towardes them, they cauſed them ſomewhat to ſtay, but at length through the earneſt exhortation of Marnachus, the Scots (as people enflamed with wood deſire to be reuenged,) mounted the hill in deſpite of their enimies, though diuers of them were ſlayne in that aſſault. Thoſe whiche wanne the height of the cragge vpon the Danes, made ſuche a cruell batayle with them, that there was not one Dane that eſcaped their handes.

Marnachus Thane of Buchquhane.



This conflict was fought neare vnto Gemmer a village or towne in Buchquhan, where in memorie thereof, lie many greate bones of the Danes to be ſeene, yet euen vnto theſe dayes. It ſhould appeare by the ſame bones, that men in former time were of more huge bowke and ſtature, than they be at this preſent.

The other Danes which were on ſhip borde, vnderſtanding what had happened to their fellowes (becauſe they returned not againe to the ſhippes)

ſhippes) ſo ſone as the winde came aboute for their purpoſe, hoyſed vp ſayles, and toke theyr courſe forth right towardes Murraylande.

In the meane time king Sueno hearing of theſe ouerthrowes whiche his people had in ſuch ſort receyued at the Scottiſhmens handes, as a prince of a right haulte courage, not lightly ouercome with any aduerſe fortune, made preparation in all ſpeedy wiſe to be reuenged, appointing his brother Canute, as then hauing the adminiſtration of Denmarke, to come from thence with a newe fleete and army againſt the Scots.

Sueno prepareth the third time to inuade Scotland.

Canute brother vnto Sueno, appointed generall to come againſt the Scottes.

It is ſayd that this Canute according to order preſcribed him by his brother Sueno, landed firſt in Buchquhane, and deſtroyed a great parte of that countrey by fire and ſworde, in reuenge of the ſlaughter of his countrey men the Danes, whiche had bene there made lately before.

Malcolme ſore kindled in wrath by theſe iniuries, though through cõtinuance of the warres his power was greatly decayed, yet did hee aſſemble an army with all ſpeede he could deuiſe, & marched with the ſame towardes the Danes, in purpoſe to ſtay them with often ſkirmiſhes and light encounters, but in nowiſe to ieoparde with them in any pight field or generall bataile, for feare leaſt if he had the ouerthrow, he ſhoulde not be able to furniſh a new power for defence of his countrey, againſt the rage of the enimies.

King Malcolmes determination.

For the ſpace therfore of .xv. dayes togither, there was often ſkirmiſhing betwixt the parties, the which terme being expired, the Scots beholding ſo huge murder of theyr countreymen and frendes, with the ſpoile of the fieldes, and deſtruction of the townes and billages, brenning and blaſing on eche ſide before theyr faces, they come to king Malcolme, & deſired him that he woulde graunt them licence to fight with theyr enimies, proteſting plainely, that if he would not conſent thereto, they woulde giue bataple at their owne choyce. Malcolme perceiuing ỹ ernell myndes of his people to encounter their enimies in playne fielde, and that he might no longer protracte the time, he graunted theyr petition, and therewith beſechyng them to remember theyr honors and duties: incontinently the onſet was giuen with great hatred and malice on eyther parte, ſo that moſte egerly continuyng in fight a long time, they enforſed themſelues to rid eche other out of lyfe, ſo that all the nobles wel neare on both ſides were ſlayne, the name of victorie rather, than the victorie it ſelfe remaynyng with the Scots, who were ſo feeble and fainte with long fight and ſlaughter, that in the end of the battell they were not able to purſue thoſe few of the Danes, which eſcaping with life fledde faintly out of the fielde.

The Scottiſhmens requeſt, vnto their king, for licence to fight.

The onſet is giuen.

The Scottes wan the name of victorie, rather than victorie it ſelfe.



And ſo for that night, which followed the day of this bloudie bataple, they lodged here and there in ſeuerall places, at aduenture aſwell as they might.

On the morow after, when it was vnderſtoode on bothe parties, what loſſe they had ſuſtayned, their myndes were conuerted rather to peace than to renewe bataple, bicauſe they were not of power longer to maintaine it. Wherupon by mediation of ſuch as toke vpon them to treat a peace, the ſame was concluded with theſe articles.

Peace concluded for want of power to maintayne bataple.

First that the Danes ſhoulde departe out of Murrayland, Buthquhan, & all other the bounds of Scotland.

The articles of the peace, betwixt Danes and Scottiſhmen.

That the warres ſhoulde clearely ceaſſe betwixt the Danes and Scottiſhmen, during the naturall liues of Sueno and Malcolme, or eyther of them.

That neither of thoſe two nations ſhoulde ayde or in any wiſe ſuppoꝛte the others enimies.

That the fielde where the laſt bataple was fought, ſhould be hallowed for Chriſtian burial, within the whiche, the Danes that were ſlayne

in

in the ſame batayle, ſhould be buried, & a churche to be builte there, and landes appointed forth for the maintenance of prieſts, to celebrate there accoꝛding to the oꝛder of the Chriſtian religiō then vſed by both the people, foꝛ the Danes lately beꝛe that ſeaſon had alſo receyued the faith.

This peace being ratefied by the ſolēne othes of both the kings Sueno and Malcolme, Canute with his Danes reſigning vp the poſſeſſion of ſuch holdes and places, as they held in Murrayland, Buchquhan, oꝛ els where within any parte of the Scottiſh dominions, got him to his fleete, & departed with the ſame home into Denmarke.

King Malcolme hauing thus reſtoꝛed his countrey vnto ioyfull peace, thought nothing ſo good as to perfoꝛme the articles of the agreemēt accoꝛded betwixt him and the Danes, and theꝛfoꝛe cauſed a Churche to be builded in the place appointed, dedicating the ſame in honour of S. Olauus patrone of Denmarke and Noꝛway, to ſignifie vnto ſuch as came after, that ſundꝛy nobles of the Danes lay buried in that Church. In memoꝛy hereof, the landes that were giuen to the ſame Churche, are called euen yet vnto theſe dayes Crowdan, which ſignifieth as much as if ye ſhould ſay, The ſlaughter of Danes.

The Church which was firſte builded there, chaunceing as often happeneth in thoſe parties, to be ouerreall with ſandes, an other was erected in place not farre off, hauing a moꝛe commodious ſite.

Sundꝛy of the bones of them that were buried in this place, being left bare by reaſon that the ſandes were blowen away beſides them, Hector Boetius the wꝛyter of the Scottiſh chꝛonicle, beheld in the yeare. 1521. whiche ſeemed moꝛe lyke vnto Giants bones, than to menne of common ſtature (as he auoucheth) whereby it ſhoulde appeare, that men in olde time were of much greater ſtature and quantitie of bodie, than any that are to be found in theſe our dayes.

Malcolme being thus deliuered of his enimies the Danes, cauſed publike prayers generally to be made throughout the realme, in rendꝛing thanks to almightie God, that it had pleaſed him to deliuer his people from the troubles of warre. He toke oꝛder alſo, that churches ſhoulde be repayꝛed, which by the enimies in time of the warres had bene deſtroyed.

And further he cauſed the adminiſtratiō of the lawes and holeſome oꝛdinaunces of the realme to be vſed and put in pꝛactiſe, accoꝛding to the due foꝛme of the ſame, which many yeares afoꝛe could haue no place, by reaſon of the warres.

He cauſed an aſſemble of all the eſtates of his realme, to be called at Bertha, a caſtell in thoſe dayes ſtanding not farre from the place where the towne of Perth nowe ſtandeth. In whiche conuention were many things enacted, both foꝛ the ſetting foꝛth of Goddes honour and the weale of the realme, whereby Malcolme wanne much pꝛayſe amongſt his ſubiectes, to the eternall memoꝛie of his name.

After this, ſuppoſing it moſte honoꝛable to aduaunce the bloud of ſuch as had ſerued well in the laſte warres, oꝛ had their fathers oꝛ other frendes ſlaine in the ſame, he called a parliament at Scone, in the whiche cauſing partition to be made of the realme, by deuiding it into Baronnies, he beſtowed the ſame amongſt the nobles accoꝛding to the qualitie of euery one his meꝛites, reſeruing in maner nothing to the maintenance of the croꝛwne, common entries onely excepted, with the mountayne wherein the marble chaire ſtood, and a fewe other poſſeſſions whiche he purpoſed to giue vnto churches and chapels.

A parliament at Scone.

Diuiſion of the realme into Baronnies.

The nobles on the other parte, to the ende the king might haue ſufficient wherewith to maintayne his royall eſtate, graunted vnto him and his ſucceſſours foꝛ euer, the cuſtodie and wardſhip of theyꝛ heyꝛes, if they chaunced to die leauing them vnder the age of. xxj. yeares: and in the meane time till the ſame heyꝛes came to the ſayd age, they agreed that the king & his ſucceſſours ſhoulde enioy the vſe and pꝛofites of theyꝛ landes, whether they were men oꝛ women, and when they came to the age of. xxj. yeares, that then they ſhould enter into the poſſeſſion of their landes, yeelding vnto him oꝛ his ſucceſſours one yeares rent in name of a relefe, and if they chaūced not to be maried befoꝛe their fathers deceaſſe, thē alſo ſhould they marie at the kings appointment, oꝛ els compounde with him foꝛ the ſame.

The wardſhip of heyres graunted to the king.

Mariage of wardes.

Thus ended the parliament foꝛ that ſeaſon with great ioy and comfoꝛte on eche hande, foꝛ that the king had ſhewed ſuche liberall bounteouſneſſe towardes his Barones, and they no leſſe mindefull of their dueties had declared ſuche benеuolent hartes, as appeared in that theyꝛ free and large gifte graunted in foꝛme and maner as befoꝛe is expreſſed.

Neyther did Malcolme foꝛget the bowe, whiche he made at Murthlake, when he was in daunger to haue receyued the ouerthꝛow at the handes of the Danes, foꝛ accoꝛding to the ſame bowe, he cauſed a church to be buylt in the ſame place, erecting a Biſhops ſee there, and endowed it with the landes and poſſeſſions of theſe thꝛee places, Murthlake, Cleometh, and Dunmeth, with all Eccleſiaſticall iuriſdictions and tithes apperteyning thereto.

The ſea of Murthlake, otherwiſe Aberden.

The Biſhops that ſat in this ſee, were called the Biſhops of Murthlake till the dayes of king Dauid the firſt, who chaunging the name, cauſed them to be called the Biſhops of Abyꝛdene,

augmen-

augmēting the see with sundry fayre reuenewes to the better mayntenance thereof.

Malcolme thus hauing purchased reste from further troubles of warre, gouerned the realme a certain time after in good order of iustice, & caused a booke to be set forth, called *Regiam maiestatem*, conteyning the lawes & ordinances, wherby the realme shoulde be gouerned: and assigning forth in the same what fees also should be giuen vnto the Chauncellour, Secretarie, Constable, Merschall, Chamberlayne, Justice, Treasorer, Register, Comptroller, & other the officers of his house. Such princely doings and noble vertues were found in this Malcolme for a season, that if the same had continued with him in his later age, there had neuer reygned any king in Scotland, that might haue bene thought to haue passed him in worthy fame: neuerthelesse his excellent qualities were stayned at length by that reprochfull vice of vile auarice. For as it oft times happeneth, couetousnesse and age layde holde on him bothe at once. He then beganne to repent in that he had bene so liberall in giuing away his landes to his Barones, and to recouer the same agayne, hee surmused fayned matter by vntrue suggestions agaynst diuers of the chiefest Nobles, putting some to death and banishing other, that he might by this meanes enioy theyr lands and goodes as confiscate to the crowne for theyr supposed offences.

The boke called *Regia maiestas*.

Malcolme waxeth tirous.

Couetousnesse and age vsing to.

Malcolme cruelties purchaseth.



The nobles hauing great indignation at such crueltie vsed by the king against them and theyr lynage, and that vpon no iuste causes, but onely vpon forged deuises, they conspired in sundry meetings secretely appointed amongst them, to finde some meanes to dispatch him out of life.

The conspiracie of the scottish nobilitie against Malcolme.

At length he chaunced to haue some inckling whereabout they went, and doubting to fall into their handes, fled for sauegarde of his lyfe vnto Glammis, where diuers of the conspiratours were brought into his lodging, by some of his owne householde seruantes, and there slew him in reuenge of their freendes, whom he before had wrongfully put to death. These murtherers with their complices incontinently fled with all speede possible to auoyde further daūger for this their act, but missing their way, for ẏ the ground was quite couered as then with snowe, they finally came to the Loch of Forfayr, which was the same time frosen ouer. They therefore thinking to passe ouer it, when they came into the midst, the Isse brake vnder thē, so that sinking in, they were finally drowned. Howbeit their bodies were afterwards drawē forth of the Loche with dragges, and dismembred, and the heads and quarters were sente vnto diuers townes of the realme, and there hung vp for a signification of their wicked treason.

Malcolme slayne at Glāmis.

The murtherers drowned.

This was the ende of king Malcolme in the xxxij. yeare of his reygne, if ye reckon from the death of Constantine, or xxv. after the death of Grime, and after the incarnation of our saiuour 1034. yeares. He was buried in Colmekill with his auncestours. 1040.

In this season were seene many wonders and straunge sightes in Albion. On Christmas day there was an earthquake, and a great rifte of the earth made therewith in the middest of Strecelyng towne, out of the which issued such an abundant streame of water, that it bare away the next wood that was adioyning vnto the ryuer of Forth.

Strange sightes.

In the sommer the sea rose higher, and flowed further into the land, than euer had bene seene at any other time.

On midsomer day whiche is the feast day of Saint Johns Baptist, there was suche a vehement frosse, that the corne and other fruytes of the

the earth were blaſted and killed, ſo that thereupon followed a great dearth in al the countrey.



After Malcolme ſucceeded his Nephew Duncan, the ſonne of his doughter Beatrice: for Malcolme had two daughters, ẏ one which was this Beatrice, being giuen in mariage vnto one Abbanath Crinen, a man of great nobilitie, and Thane of the Iles and weſt partes of Scotlande, bare of that mariage the forelayd Duncan: The other called Doada, was maried vnto Synell the Thane of Glammis, by whom ſhe had iſſue one Makbeth a baliant gẽtleman, and one that if he had not bene ſomewhat cruell of nature, might haue bene thought moſt worthie the gouernmẽt of a realme. On the other parte, Duncan was ſo ſofte and gentle of nature, that the people wiſhed the inclinations & maners of theſe two couſines to haue bene ſo tempered and enterchaungeably beſtowed betwixt them, that where the one had to much of clemẽcie, and the other of crueltie, the meane vertue betwixt theſe two extremities, might haue reygned by indifferent particion in them bothe, ſo ſhoulde Duncan haue proued a worthy king, and Makbeth an excellent captaine.

The beginning of Duncanes reigne was very quiet & peaceable, without any notable trouble, but after it was perceyued how negligent he was in puniſhing offenders, many miſruled perſons toke occaſion thereof to trouble the peace and quiet ſtate of the common wealth, by ſeditious commotions whiche firſte had theyr beginnings in this wiſe.

Banquho the Thane of Lochquhaber, of whõ the houſe of the Stewardes is diſcended, the whiche by order of lynage hath nowe for a long time enioyed the crowne of Scotlande, euen till theſe our dayes, as he gathered the finaunces due to the king, and further puniſhed ſomewhat ſharpely ſuche as were notorious offenders, being aſſayled by a number of rebelles inhabiting in that countrey, and ſpoyled of the money and all other things, had muche ado to get away with life after he had receyued ſundry grieuous woundes amongſt them. Yet eſcaping theyr handes after he was ſomewhat recouered of his hurtes and was able to ride, he repayred to the courte, where making his complaint to the king in moſt earneſt wiſe, he purchaſed at length that the offenders were ſente for by a Sergeant at armes, to appeare to make aunſwere vnto ſuche matter as ſhoulde be layde to theyr charge, but they augmenting theyr miſchieuous acte with a more wicked deede, after they had miſuſed the meſſenger with ſundry kindes of reproches, they finally ſlew him alſo.

Banquho Thane of Lochquhaber. The houſe of the Stewards.

A mutenie amongſt the people of Lochquhaber.

A ſergeant at armes, ſlayne by the rebels.



Then doubting not but for ſuche contemptuous demeanour againſt the kings regall authoritie, they ſhoulde be inuaded with all the power the king coulde make, Makdowalde one of great eſtimation amongſt them making firſt a confederacie with his neareſt frendes and kinſmen, toke vpon him to be chiefe captayne of all ſuche rebelles, as woulde ſtande againſt the king, in maintenance of theyr grieuous offences lately cõmitted againſt him. Many ſlanderous wordes alſo, & rayling taunts this Makdowald vttered againſt his prince, calling him a fayntharted milkeſop, more meete to gouerne a ſort of idle monkes in ſome cloyſter, than to haue ẏ rule

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of ſuche baliant and hardy men of warre as the Scottes were.

He vſed alſo ſuche ſubtile perſwaſions and forged allurements, that in a ſmall time he had got togither a mightie power of men: for out of the weſterne Iſles, there came vnto him a great multitude of people, offering themſelues to aſſiſt him in that rebellious quarell, and out of Ireland in hope of the ſpoyle came no ſmall nũber of Kernes & Galloglaſſes offering gladly to ſerue vnder him, whither it ſhoulde pleaſe him to lead them. Makdowald thus hauing a mightie puyſſaunce about him, encountred with ſuche of the kings people as were ſet againſt him into Lochquhabir, and diſcomfiting them, by fine force toke theyr captaine Malcolme, and after the end of the bataple ſmote of his head.

Makdowald diſcomfiteth the kings power.

This ouerthrow beyng notified to the king, did put him in wonderfull feare, by reaſon of his ſmall ſkill in warlyke affayres. Calling therfore his nobles to a counſell, willed them of their beſt aduiſe for the ſubduing of Makdowald and other the rebelles.

The ſmal ſkil of the king in warlike affayres.

Here in ſundry heades (as it euer happeneth) being ſundry opinions, whiche they vttered according to euery man his ſkill, at length Makbeth, ſpeaking muche againſt the kings ſoftneſſe, & ouer muche ſlacknes in puniſhing offenders, whereby they had ſuch time to aſſemble togither, he promiſed notwithſtanding, if the charge were committed vnto him and to Banquho, ſo to order the mater, that the rebelles ſhould be ſhortly banquiſhed and quite put downe, and that not ſo much as one of them ſhoulde be founde to make reſiſtance within the countrey.

Makbeth ſeter.

And euen ſo came it to paſſe: for being ſente forth with a newe power, at his entring into Lochquhaber, the fame of his cõming put ẏ enimies in ſuche feare, that a great number of them ſtale ſecretely away from theyr captaine Makdowald, who neuertheleſſe enforſed thereto, gaue bataple vnto Makbeth, with the reſidue whiche remained with him, but being ouercome and fleing for refuge into a caſtell (within the whiche hys wyfe and chyldren were incloſed,) at length when he ſaw how he coulde neyther defend the hold any longer againſt his enimies, nor yet vpon ſurrender be ſuffered to depart with lyfe ſaued, he firſt ſlew his wife & children, and laſtly himſelfe, leaſt if he had yeelded ſimply, he ſhoulde haue bene executed in moſt cruell wiſe for an example to other.

Makbeth ſent againſt the rebelles.

The rebelles forſake their captayne.

Makdowald ſleeth his wife and children and laſtly himſelfe.



Makbeth entring into the caſtel by the gates, as then ſet open, founde the carkaſe of Makdowald lying dead there amongſt the reſidue of the ſlaine bodies, whiche when he beheld, remitting no peece of his cruell nature with that pitifull ſight, he cauſed the head to be cut off, and ſet vpõ a powles ende, & ſo ſent it as a preſent to the king who as then lay at Bertha.

Makdowaldes head ſent to the king.

Makbeths crueltie.

The headleſſe trunke he commaunded to be hong vp vpõ an high payre of gallowes. Them of the Weſterne Iſles, ſuyng for pardon in that they had ayded Makdowald in his trayterous enterpryſe, he fined at great ſummes of money: and thoſe whom he toke in Lochquhabir, being come thither to beare armure againſt the king, he put to execution.

Herevpon the Iſland men conceyued a deadly grudge towards him, calling him a couenant breaker, a bloudy tyrant, and a cruell murtherer of them, whom the kings mercie had pardoned. With whiche reprochfull wordes Makbeth being kindled in wrathfull yre againſt them, had paſſed ouer with an army into the Iſles, to haue taken reuenge vpon them for theyr liberall talke, had he not bene otherwayes perſwaded by ſome of his frendes, and partely pacified by giftes preſented

Makbeth fameth by Iſland men.

ſented vnto him on the behalfe of the Flandmen, ſeeking to auoyde his diſpleaſure.

Thus was iuſtice and lawe reſtored againe to the old accuſtomed courſe by the diligent meanes of Makbeth. Immediatly whereupon worde came that Sueno king of Norway was arriued in Fyfe with a puyſant army to ſubdue the whole realme of Scotland.

But here to the intent it may be the better perceyued, what this Sueno was I will ſomewhat touch from whence he diſcended.

That Sueno whiche (as ye haue heard) conquered the realme of England, being alſo king of Denmarke and Norway had iij. ſonnes, Harold, Sueno, & Canute, the firſte he ordeyned to be king of England, the ij. king of Norway, and the third king of Denmarke.

Harolde enioyed not the ſame dominion of England paſſing iij. yeares after his fathers deceaſſe, but was ſlayne by Ethelred or Egelred, whom his father Sueno had chaſed into Normandie. Howbeit yet the ſame Ethelred kept not long the kingdome in peace, for Canute king of Denmarke to reuenge his brothers death, landed in England with a mighty hoſte, and ſleayng Ethelred, recouered the kingdome to the vſe of the Danes, but yet one Edmond ſonne to the foreſayde Ethelred, ſurnamed Ironſide, mayntayned the warre agaynſt Canute for a ſeaſon, till at length by bothe theyr conſentes, they agreed to fight a combat ſingularly man to man, ſo to trie the mater betwixt them, who ſhould reigne as king ouer the Engliſhmē.

Edmund Ironſide.

This partely agreeth with our writers.

In this fight when they had continued a long ſpace, and ſhewed right notable proues of theyr manhood: Edmund (ſayth Canute) ſithe it hath pleaſed almighty God, ẏ thou ſhouldſt thus trie the force of my hande without hurte or wound, I thinke it be likewiſe his pleaſure, that thou ſhouldeſt enioy parte of the realme, go to therefore, I receyue thee as partener with me in the kingdome, ſo that (if thou be ſo contented) let vs diuide the kingdome betwixte vs without any more contention.

Canutes words to Edmond Ironſide.

Edmund gladly accepted this condition of agreement, ſuppoſing it better to haue halfe the kingdome, than to ſtande to the doubtfull triall of loſing the whole, for he had receyued a wound at Canutes handes, though Canute vnderſtode not ſo muche: agayne he foreſaw that occaſion hereafter might be offered, whereby he might without all trouble come to enioy the whole.



So herevpon eyther of them lept beſide theyr weried horſes in that fierce and earneſt fight. and embracing eche other became good frendes, in deuiding the realme accordyng to the aboue mencioned motion of Canute. That parte of England that lieth ouer againſt Fraunce, was aſſigned vnto Canute, & the other that is the northy partes vnto Edmund. In the meane time Emma the wife of Ethelred, with hyr two ſonnes (whiche ſhee had by the ſame Ethelred) Alured and Edward, fled ouer into Normandie, doubting leaſt this cōcorde betwixt Canute and Edmund ſhould turne finally to hyr aduauncemēt.

But now touching the arriuall of Sueno the Norwaygian king in Fyfe, as before is expreſſed, ye ſhall vnderſtand, that the pretence of his comming was to reuenge the ſlaughter of his vncle Camus and other of the Daniſhe nation ſlayne at Barre, Crowdane, and Gemmer.

The crueltie of this Sueno was ſuche, that he neyther ſpared man, woman, nor childe, of what age, condition or degree ſo euer they were, whereof when king Duncane was certified, hee ſet all ſlouthfull and lingering delayes aparte, and began to aſſemble an army in moſte ſpeedy wiſe, like a right valiant Captayne: for often-

The crueltie of Sueno king of Norway.

Duncane beſtirreth him ſelfe in aſſembling an army.

times it happeneth, that a dull cowarde, and ſlouthfull perſon conſtrayned by neceſſitie, becō-meth right hardie and actiue. Therefore when his whole power was come togither, he deuided the ſame into three batayles. The firſte was led by Makbeth, the ſeconde by Banquho, and the king himſelfe gouerned in the mayne bataple or middlewarde, wherein were appoynted to attende his perſon the moſte parte of all the reſidue of the Scottiſhe nobilitie.

The Scottiſhe army deuided into three batayles.

The army of Scottiſhmen beyng thus ordered, came vnto Culros, where encountring with the enimies, after a long and cruell foughten batayle, Sueno remayned victorious, and Malcolme with his Scottes diſcomfited. Howbeit the Danes were ſo broken by this batayle, that they were not able to make long chaſe on theyr enimies, but kepte themſelues all night in order of batayle, for doubte leaſt ẏ Scots aſſembling togither againe, might haue ſet vpon them at ſome aduantage.

Sueno vanquiſheth the Scottes.

On the morrow when the fieldes were diſcouered, and that it was perceyued how no enimies were to be founde abroade, they gathered the ſpoyle, whiche they deuided amongſt them, according to the lawe of armes.

Then was it ordeyned by commaundement of Sueno, that no Souldier ſhoulde hurte either man, woman, or childe, excepte ſuche as were founde with weapon in hande ready to make reſiſtance, for he hoped now to conquere the realme without further bloudſhed.

Suenoes commaundement to ſpare fire & ſworde.

But when knowledge was giuē how Duncane was fled to the caſtell of Bertha, and that Makbeth was gathering a new power to withſtand the incurſions of the Danes, Sueno raiſed his tentes and comming to the ſayd caſtell layde a ſtrong ſiege rounde about it. Duncane ſeyng himſelfe thus enuironned by his enimies, ſent a ſecrete meſſage by counſell of Banquho vnto Makbeth, commaunding him to abide at Inchecuthill, till hee hearde from him ſome other newes.

Duncane fled to the caſtel of Bertha.

Sueno beſiegeth king Malcolme.

In the meane time Duncane fell in fayned cōmunication with Sueno as though he would haue yelded vp the Caſtell into his handes vnder certaine conditions, and this did he to dyne time, and to put his enimies out of all ſuſpition of any enterpryſe ment againſt them, till all things were brought to paſſe that might ſerue for the purpoſe.

Fayned treatie.

At length when they were fallen at a poynt for rendring vp the holde, Duncane offered to ſende forth of the caſtell into the campe greate prouiſion of vitayles to refreſh the army, whiche offer was gladly accepted of the Danes for that they had bene in greate penurie of ſuſtenaunce many dayes before.

The Scots herevpon toke the iuyce of Mekilwort beries, & mixed the ſame in theyr ale and bread, ſending it thus ſpiced and confectioned in great abundance vnto their enimies.

Spyced cuppes prepared for the Danes.

They reioyſing that they had got meate and drinke ſufficient to ſatiſfie theyr bellies, fell to eating and drinking after ſuch greedy wiſe, that it ſeemed they ſtroue who might deuoure & ſwallow vp moſt, till the operation of the beries ſpred in ſuche ſorte through all the partes of their bodies, that they were in the ende brought into a faſt dead ſleepe, that in maner it was impoſſible to awake them.

The Danes ouercome with drinke, fall a ſleepe.

Then forthwith Duncane ſent vnto Makbeth, commaunding him with all diligence to come and ſet vpon the enimies, being in eaſie poynte to be ouercome.

Makbeth making no delay came with his people to the place, where his enimies were lodged, & firſt killing the watche, afterwards entred the campe, and made ſuche ſlaughter on all ſides without any reſiſtance, that it was a wonderfull matter to behold, for the Danes were ſo heauy of ſleepe, that the moſt parte of them were ſlayne & neuer ſtyred: other that were awakened eyther by the noyſe or otherwayes forth, were ſo amazed and dyzzie headed vpon their wakening, that they were not able to make any defence, ſo that of the whole numbers there eſcaped no moe but onely Sueno himſelfe and tenne other perſons, by whoſe help he got to his ſhippes lying at rode in the mouth of Tay.

Makbeth aſſayleth the campe of the Danes, being ouercome with drinke & ſleepe.

The ſlaughter of Danes.

Sueno with ten other eſcaped.

The moſt parte of the mariners, when they heard what plentie of meate and drinke the Scottes had ſente vnto the campe, came from the ſea thyther to bee partakers thereof, and ſo were ſlayne amongſt theyr fellowes: by meanes whereof when Sueno perceyued howe through lacke of mariners he ſhoulde not be able to conuey away his naule, hee furniſſhed one ſhippe throughly with ſuche as were lefte, and in the ſame ſayled backe into Norway, curſing the tyme that hee ſet forewarde on this infortunate iourney.

Sueno fleeth with one ſhip leauing the reſidue of his naule behinde him.

The other ſhippes whiche hee lefte behinde him within three dayes after his departure from thence, were toſſed ſo togyther by violence of an Eaſt winde, that beatyng and ruſhyng one againſt an other they ſuncke there, and lie in the ſame place euen vnto theſe dayes, to the greate daunger of other ſuche ſhippes as come on that coaſte, for being couered with the ſlouddе when the tide commes, at the ebbyng againe of the ſame, ſome parte of them appeare aboue water.

The fleete of the Norwegians ſuncke by vehement rage of winde.

The place where ẏ Daniſh veſſels were thus loſt, is yet cleped Drowndlow ſandes. This ouerthrow receiued in maner aforeſaid by Sueno,

Drowndlow ſandes.

was

was right diſpleaſant to him and his people, as ſhoulde appeare in that it was a cuſtome many yeares after, that no Knightes were made in Norway, excepte they were firſte ſworne to reuenge the ſlaughter of theyr countreymen and frendes thus ſlayne in Scotland.

The Scottes hauing wonne ſo notable a victory, after they had gathered and diuided the ſpoyle of the fielde, cauſed ſolemne proceſſions to be made in all places of the realme, and thankes to be giuen to almightie God, that had ſent them ſo fayre a day ouer their enimies.

But whyleſt the people were thus at theyr proceſſions, worde was brought that a newe fleete of Danes was arriued at Kingcorne, ſent thyther by Canute king of England in reuenge of his brothers Sucnoes ouerthrow.

To reſiſt theſe enimies, whiche were already landed, and buſie in ſpoiling the countrey, Makbeth and Banquho were ſente with the kings authoritie, who hauing with them a conuenient power, encountred the enimies, ſlewe parte of them, and chaſed the other to their ſhippes. They that eſcaped and got once to theyr ſhippes, obtayned of Makbeth for a great ſumme of golde, that ſuche of theyr frendes as were ſlaine at this laſt bickering might be buried in Saint Colmes Inche. In memorie whereof, many olde Sepulturs are yet in the ſayde Inche, there to be ſeene grauen with the armes of the Danes, as the maner of burying noble men ſtill is, and heretofore hath bene vſed.

A peace concluded betwixt Scottes and Danes.

A peace was alſo concluded at the ſame time betwixte the Danes and Scottiſhmen, ratified as ſome haue written in this wiſe. That from thence forth the Danes ſhoulde neuer come into Scotlande to make any warres againſt the Scottes by any maner of meanes.

And theſe were the warres that Duncane had with forrayne enimies in the ſeuenth yeare of his reygne.

Shortly after happened a ſtraunge and vncouth wonder, whiche afterwarde was the cauſe of muche trouble in the realme of Scotlande as ye ſhall after heare. It fortuned as Makbeth & Banquho iourneyed towarde Fores, where the king as then lay, they went ſporting by the way togither without other companie, ſaue only themſelues, paſſing through the woodes and fieldes, when ſodenly in the middes of a laude, there met them .iij. women in ſtraunge & ferly apparell, reſembling creatures of an elder worlde, whom when they attentiuely beheld, wondering much at the ſight, The firſt of them ſpake & ſayde: All hayle Makbeth Thane of Glammis (for he had lately entred into that dignitie and office by the death of his father Synel.) The .ij. of them ſaid: Hayle Makbeth Thane of Cawder: but the third ſayde: All hayle Makbeth that hereafter ſhall be king of Scotland.

The propheſie of three wome ſuppoſing to be the weird ſiſters or feiries.



Then Banquho, what maner of women (ſaith he) are you, that ſeeme ſo litle fauourable vnto me, where as to my fellow here, beſides highe offices, ye aſſigne alſo the kingdome, appointyng forth nothing for me at all? Yes ſayth the firſte of them, wee promiſe greater benefites vnto thee, than vnto him, for he ſhall reygne in deede, but with an vnluckie ende: neyther ſhall he leaue any iſſue behinde him to ſucceede in his place, where contrarily thou in deede ſhalt not reygne at all, but of thee thoſe ſhall be borne whiche ſhall gouerne the Scottiſhe kingdome by long order of continuall diſcent. Herewith the foreſayde women vaniſhed immediatly out of theyr ſight. This was reputed at the firſt but ſome vayne fantaſticall illuſion by Makbeth and Banquho, in ſo muche that Banquho wouldo call Makbeth in ieſte kyng of

A thing to wonder at.

Banquho the father of many kings.

Scotland, and Makbeth againe would call him in ſporte likewiſe, the father of many kings. But afterwards the common opinion was, that theſe women were eyther the weird ſiſters, that is (as ye would ſay) ỹ Goddeſſes of deſtinie, or els ſome Nimphes or Feiries, endewed with knowledge of prophecie by their Nicromanticall ſcience, becauſe euery thing came to paſſe as they had ſpoken.

The Thane of Cawder condemned of treaſon. Makbeth made by Thane of Cawder.

For ſhortly after, the Thane of Cawder being condemned at Forres of treaſon againſt the king committed, his landes, liuings and offices were giuen of the kings liberalitie vnto Makbeth.

The ſame night after, at ſupper Banquho ieſted with him and ſayde, now Makbeth thou haſte obtayned thoſe things which the two former ſiſters prophecied, there remaineth onely for thee to purchaſe that which the third ſayd ſhould come to paſſe.

Makbeth deuiſeth how he might attaine the kingdom.

Whereupon Makbeth reuoluing the thing in his minde, began euen then to deuiſe howe he might attayne to the kingdome: but yet hee thought with himſelfe that he muſt tary a time, whiche ſhoulde aduaunce him thereto (by the diuine prouidence) as it had come to paſſe in his former preferment.

The daughter of Syward erle of Northumberland, wife to king Duncane.

But ſhortly after it chaunced that king Duncane hauing two ſonnes by his wife which was the daughter of Syward Earle of Northumberland, he made the elder of them cleped Malcolme prince of Cumberlande, as it were thereby to appoint him his ſucceſſor in the kingdome, immediatly after his deceaſſe.

Makbeth troubled herewith, for that he ſawe by this meanes his hope ſore hindered, (where by the olde lawes of the realme, the ordinance was, that if he that ſhoulde ſucceede were not of able age to take the charge vpon himſelfe, he that was nexte of bloud vnto him, ſhoulde be admitted) he beganne to take counſell howe he might vſurpe the kingdome by force, hauing a iuſte quarell ſo to do (as he toke the mater,) for that Duncane did what in him lay to defraude him of all maner of title and clayme, whiche hee might in tyme to come, pretende vnto the crowne. Makbeth dieth which way he might take the kingdome by.

Propheſies moue men vnlawfully to attempts.

The wordes of the three weird ſiſters alſo, (of whome before ye haue heard) greatly encouraged him hereunto, but ſpecially his wife lay ſore vpon him to attempt the thing, as ſhe that was very ambitious brenning in vnquenchable deſire to beare the name of a Queene.

Women deſirous of high eſtate.

At length therefore communicating his purpoſed intent with his truſtie frendes, amongſt whom Banquho was the chiefeſt, vpon confidence of theyr promiſed ayde, he ſlewe the king at Enuernes, (or as ſome ſay at Botgoluane,) in the. vj. yeare of his reygne. Makbeth ſleeth king Duncane.

Then hauing a companie about him of ſuch as he had made priuie to his enterpryce, he cauſed himſelfe to be proclaymed king, and forthwith went vnto Scone, where by common conſent, he receyued the inueſture of the kingdome accoꝛding to the accuſtomed maner. Makbeth ſeeth the crowne.



The bodie of Duncane was firſte conueyed vnto Elgyne, and there buried in kingly wiſe, but afterwardes it was remoued and conueyed vnto Colmekill, and there layd in a ſepulture amongſt his predeceſſours in the yeare after the birth of our Sauiour. 1040.

Duncanes buriall. 1046. H.B.

Malcolme Cammoꝛe and Donald Bane the ſonnes of king Duncane, for feare of theyr liues (whiche they might well know ỹ Makbeth would ſeeke to bring to end for his more ſure confirmatiõ in the eſtate) fled into Cũberlãd, where Malcolme remained til time that S. Edward ỹ ſonne of king Ethelꝛed recouered the dominion of England from the Daniſh power, the whiche

Malcolme Cammoꝛe Donald Bane flee into Cũberland.

Edward

Edward receyued Malcolme by way of moste freendly entertaynement, but Donald passed ouer into Ireland, where he was tenderly cherished by the king of that lande.

Makbeth after the departure thus of Duncanes sonnes vsed great liberalitie towardes the nobles of the realme, thereby to winne their fauour, & when he saw that no mã went about to trouble him, he set his whole intention to maintayne iustice, and to punishe all enormities and abuses, whiche had chaunced through the feeble and slouthfull administration of Duncane: and to bring his purpose the better to passe without any trouble or great businesse, he deuised a subtill wile to bring al offenders and misdoers vnto iustice, soliciting sundrie of his liege people with high rewardes, to chalenge and appeale suche as most oppressed the commons, to come at a day and place appointed, to fight singuler combates within Barriers, in triall of their accusations.

When these theeues, barretours, & other oppressours of the innocent people were come to darreigne batell in this maner of wise (as said is) they were streight wayes apprehended by armed men & trussed vp in halters on gibets, according as they had iustly deserued. The residue of misdoers ẏ were left, were punished & tamed in such sort, that many yeares after all theft & reiffings were litle heard of, the people enioying the blissefull benefite of good peace and tranquillitie.

Streight iustice.



Makbeth shewing himselfe thus a most diligent punisher of all iniuries and wrongs attempted by any misordered persons within his realme, was accompted the sure defence & buckler of innocent people: and hereto he also applied his whole endeuour, to cause yong men to exercise themselues in vertuous maners, and men of the Churche to attende their diuine seruice, according to theyr vocations.

He caused to be slaine sundry Thanes as of Cathnes, Sutherland, Stranauerne, and Ros, bicause through thẽ and their seditious attẽpts, much trouble daply rose in the realme.

He appeased the troublesome state of Galloway, and slewe one Makgill a tyrannt, who had many yeares before passed nothing of the regall authoritie or power. To be briefe, such were the worthy doings and princely acts of this Makbeth in the administration of the realme, that if he had attayned therevnto by rightfull meanes, and continued in vprightnesse of iustice as he began, till the ende of his reygne, he might well haue bene numbred amongst the moste noble princes that any where had reygned.

He made many holesome lawes & statutes for the publike weale of his subiectes, diuers of the whiche I haue here set forth, according as I finde them in Hector Boetius.

Lawes made by king Makbeth.

He that is within orders of the churche, shall not be compelled to answere before a temporall iudge, but be remitted to his ordinarie.

Liberties of thẽ that haue taken orders.

The tẽth parte of all fruytes that encrease on the ground shalbe giuen to the churche, that God may be worshipped with oblations and praiers.

Tythes to be payde to the churche.

He that continueth obstinately in the curse of the church by the space of one whole yeare, cõtemning to be reconciled, shall be reputed enimie to the cõmon weale: and if he perseuer with indurate minde the space of twoo yeares all his goodes shalbe forfayted. He ẏ receyueth the order of knighthood, shall take an othe to defend ladies, virgins, widowes, orphans, & ẏ cõminaltie. And he ẏ is made king, shal be sworne in the semblable maner. The eldest daughter shall inherite hir fathers landes, as well as the eldest sonne should if the father leaue no sonne behinde him. And if any woman marie with the lord of the soyle, she shall lose hir heritage.

Persons accursed.

The order of knighthood.

Eldest daughters.

The kings gifte.

No man shall enioy any landes, rentes, offices, or other possessions, but onely by gifte and graunt of the king.

No offices to go by inheritance.

No office shall go by inheritaunce, but shall still remayne at the kings free disposition, as shal stande with his pleasure to assigne it.

Iudges.

No man shall sit as iudge in any temporall courte without the kings commission authorizing him thereto.

All conuentions, offices, and actes of iustice, shall passe in the kings name.

Reteynours.

He that is retayned or becommeth a sworne mā to any other person saue only to ẏ king, shall lose his life for it, & euery man shall be bounde to defend the king against all other creatures.

Rayfours of the kings people, or vnlawfull assembles.

He that rayseth the kings liege people, shall lose life, goodes, and landes, and so shall they do that assemble togither by his procurement.

Wayters vpō other men.

He that attēdeth any man to the church, market, or to any other publike assemble, as a retaynour shall suffer death, except he haue liuing at his hands, on whom he so attendeth.

Keeping of horses.

A horse kept by any of the commons or husbandmen to any other vse than for tillage and laboring of the earth, shalbe forfayted to the king by escheate.

Counterfayte fooles, minstrels and such lyke.

Counterfeyte fooles, minstrels, iesters, and these kinde of iuglers, with such like idle persons, that range abrode in the countrey, hauing no special licēce of the king, shalbe cōpelled to learne some science or crafte to get their liuing, if they refuse so to do, they shal be drawen like horses in the plough and harrowes.

Possession of landes.

Though the sonne chaunce to be put in possession of his fathers lande by the kings licence, during the life of his father, yet shall the same landes be forfayted to the king if his father be afterwardes conuicted of treason committed against the kings person.

Dowrie of wiues.

All suche women, that are maried to any Lorde or Baron (though shee haue no issue by him) shall yet haue the thirde parte of his landes after his decease and the remnaunt shall go to his heyres.

Mariage of Lordes and Barons.

All maner of Lordes and great Barons, shal not contract matrimony with other, vnder paine of death, specially if theyr landes and rowmes lie neare togither.

Bearing of armour.

All armour and weapon borne to other effect than in defence of the king and realme in time of warres, shalbe confiscate to the kings vse, with all other moueable goodes of the partie that herein offendeth.

Captaynes.

Suche as be appointed gouernours (or as I may cal them captaines,) that bupe within those limites, where their charges lie, any lāds or possessions, shal lose both the land possessions & money, whiche they haue payde for the same.

Bying of lāds.

And if any of the sayde captaines or gouernours mary their sonnes or daughters vnto any maner of person that dwelleth within the boūds of theyr roumes, they shall lose their office, neyther shall it be lawfull for any of theyr sonnes or coperceners to occupie the same office.

Makbethes counterfayte zeale and equitie.

These and the like commendable lawes, Makbeth caused to be put as then in vse, gouerning the realme for the space of tenne yeares in equall iustice. But this was but a counterfayte zeale of equitie shewed by him, partely against his naturall inclination to purchase thereby the fauour of the people.

Makbeths tie conscience.

Shortly after, he beganne to shewe what he was, in deede of equitie practising crueltie. For the pricke of conscience (as it chaunceth euer in tyrantes, and suche as attayne to any astate by vnrighteous meanes) caused him euer to feare, least he should be serued of the same cuppe, as he had ministred to his predecessour.

The wordes also of the three weird sisters, wold not out of his mind, which as they promised him the kingdome, so lykewise did they promise it at the same time, vnto the posteritie of Banquho. He willed therefore the same Banquho with his sonne named Fleaunce, to come to a supper that he had prepared for them, which was in deede, as he had deuised, present death at the handes of certaine murtherers, whome he hyred to execute that deede, appoynting them to meete with the same Banquho and his sonne without the palayce as they returned to theyr lodgings, and there to sleathē, so that he would not haue his house slaundered, but that in time to come he might cleare himselfe, if any thing were layde to his charge vpon any suspition that might arise.

Makbethes deuise to slea Banquho and his sonne.

It chaunced yet, by the benefite of the darke night, that though the father were slaine, the son yet by the helpe of almightie God reseruing him to better fortune, escaped that daunger, & afterwardes hauing some inckling by the admonition of some frendes which he had in the courte, howe his life was sought no lesse then his fathers, who was slayne not by chaunce medley (as by the hādling of the mater Makbeth would haue had it to appeare,) but euen vpon a prepensed deuise, whereupon to auoyde further perill he fledde into Wales.

Banquho is slayne, but his sonne escapeth.

Fleaunce Banquhoes sonne fleeth into Wales.

But here I thinke it shall not much make agaynst my purpose, if (according to the order which I find obserued in the Scottish historie) I shall in fewe wordes here rehearse the originall line of those kings, whiche haue discended from the forsayde Banquho, that they, whiche haue enioyed the kingdome by so long continuaunce of discent, from one to an other, & that euen vnto these our dayes may be knowen from whence they

The lyne of the Scottish kings.

they had theyr first beginning.

Fleaunce therfore (as before is sayd) fled into Wales, where shortly after by his curteous and amiable behauiour, he grew into such fauour and estimation with the prince of that countrey, that he might vnneath haue wisshed any greater: at length also he came into such familiar acquaintance with the sayd princes daughter, that she of courtesie in the ende suffred him to get hir with childe: whiche being once vnderstood, hyr father the prince conceyued such hatefull displeasure towardes Fleaunce, that he finally slewe him, and helde his daughter in moste vile estate of seruitude, for that she had consented to be on this wise defloured by a straunger.

At the last yet, she was deliuered of a sonne named Walter, who within few yeares proued a man of greater courage and valiancie, than any other had commonly bene founde, although he had no better bringing vp than (by his graūdfathers appointment) amongst the baser sorte of people. Howbeit he shewed euer euen frō his infancie, that there reigned in him a certaine stoutnesse of stomake, ready to attept high enterprises.

It chaunced that falling out with one of his cōpanions, after many taunting wordes which passed betwixt them, the other to his reproch obiected that he was a bastard, & begottē in vnlawfull bed, wherewith being sore kindled, in his raging furie he ran vpō him & slew him out of hād.

Then was he glad to flee out of Wales, and cōming into Scotland to seeke some frendshippe there, he happened into the cōpanie of suche Englishmen, as were come thither with Queene Margaret, & behaued himself so soberly in all his demeanour, that within a while he was highly esteemed amongst them.

Not long after by such meanes attayning to the degree of high reputation, he was sent with a great power of men into the Westerne Iles, into Galloway, and other partes of the realme, to deliuer the same of the tirannie and iniurious oppression there exercised by diuers misgouerned persons: which enterpryse according to his commission, he atchieued with such prudent policie & manhode, that immediatly vpon his returne to the court, he was made lord Steward of Scotland, with assignemēt to receyue the kings rents & duties out of all the partes of the realme.

This Walter Steward, had a sonne named Alane Steward, who went after with Godfrey of Bullion duke of Lorraine, and Robert duke of Normandy sonne to king William the bastard that conquered England, into the holy lande, at what time they with other westerne Princes made the great iourney thither, in the yere. 1099. Alane had issue Alexander Steward, that founded the abbay of Paisley of S. Benedictes order,

Walter Steward whose valiancie was well notified at the bataple of Largis as herafter shalbe shewed, was the sonne of the sayde Alexander. Walter Steward.

The same Walter had issue. ij. sonnes, the one named Alexander, fought right valiantly in defence of his father at the foresayd bataple, and the other named Robert Steward got the landes of Terbowtoun, and maried the heyre of Cruikstoun, from whom descended the Earles of Lennox and Dernly. Alexander Steward.

Moreouer the aboue mencioned Alexāder Steward that founded Paisley, had diuers mo sonnes, as John & James, with sundry other. Howbeit they toke new surnames by the name of those landes, vnto the which they succeeded. The afore recited John Steward, after the death of his brother James, maried the heyre of Bonkill a virgine of great beautie, and had by hyr Walter Steward that inherited the landes of Bonkill, Rankrow, Rothesay, Bute, & Stewartoune, after that his father the forenamed John was slayne at Falkyrke. John steward, and Iames steward. Walter inheritour of Bonkill, &c.

He maried Margrie Bruce daughter to king Robert Bruce, by whom he had issue king Robert the second of that name. King Robert the second.

This Robert the second toke to wife one Isabel Mure, a damosell of right excellent beutie, she was daughter to sir Adham Mure knight, and brought forth issue, three sonnes and three daughters. The eldest sonne hight John Steward otherwise named Robert, who succeeded immediatly after his fathers decease in gouernaunce of the crowne. Iohn steward, otherwise Robert.

The second called Robert was made Earle of Fyfe and Menteith, also he was created duke of Albanie, and ruled the realme of Scotlande vnder the name of Gouernour, for the space of xv. yeares. Duke of Albany.

The third sonne named Alexander was earle of Buchquhane and lord of Baudzenot. Alexander steward, sonne to king Robert the second.

The eldest daughter was maried to Iames, that was the sonne and heyre of William Erle of Dowglas. The second daughter was maried to John Dunbar, brother to George of Dūbar Earle of Marche, and was made to the aduancement of his further fame earle of Murray. Iohn Dunbar.

He got on hyr one onely daughter, that was maried to the Dowglas, and so Dowglas came to the Erledome of Murray. The third daughter was maried vnto John Lyoun, that was after made Lorde of Glammis.

Moreouer the forsayde Robert that was the firste of the Stewardes whiche ware the crowne in Scotlande, maried Ewfame daughter to the Earle of Ros, and got on hyr two sonnes, Walter Earle of Atholl, and Dauid Earle of Stratherne. Ewfame. Walter and Dauid, sonnes to king Robert.

This Walter solicited Robert duke of Albany, to slea Dauid Steward duke of Rothsay. Robert Duke of Albany.

James the first.

And after that James the firste was returned home fourth of England, he did what he could to moue him to slea likewise all the lynage of the same Duke, still beyng in hope after the dispatch of his kinsmen to come to the crowne himselfe, whiche hope moued him to procure his Nephew Robert Steward, & Robert Grahã his daughters son to slea king James the first also, for the which crime the saine Walter was after conuicted and destroyed with all his sonnes.

Grayme or Graham.

His brother Dauid erle of Buchquhane died without issue, and so the landes of bothe these brethrene returned againe to the crowne, without any memory of theyr blood.

Duke Murdo.

Of Robert Steward duke of Albany, came duke Murdo, who maried the Earle of Lennox daughter, and got on hyr three sonnes, Walter, Alexander, and James.

Duke Murdo himselfe with his two firste sonnes were slayne at Stryueling by king James the first, and the third brother James in reuenge therof brent Dunbertane, and was after chased into Ireland, where he deceassed without issue. Robert the .iij. of that name maried Annabill Drommound, daughter to sir John Drõmound of Stobhall knight, & got on hyr Dauid & James. The firste died in Falkeland, and the other atteyned the crowne, & was called James the firste, and maried the lady Jane daughter to John Beauford earle of Somerset in England. He had by hir .ij. sonnes borne at one birth, Alexander & James. The first died yong. The secõd atteyned the crowne, named James the second.

King Robert the thirde.

Dauid and Iames, sonnes to king Robert the third.

John Beauford earle of Somerset.

James the first had also .vj. daughters, of the whiche the eldest was giuen in mariage to the Dolphine of Fraunce, the second to the Duke of Bryttayne, the thirde to the Lorde of Feir: the fourth to the Lorde of Dalkeith: the fifth to the Earle of Huntley: and the sixte had no succession.

James the first and his issue.

James the second maried Margaret daughter to the Duke of Gelderland, and begot on hir three sonnes, and two daughters.

The duke of Gelders daughter.

The first succeeded him in the kingdome and was called James the thirde: the second named Alexander was Duke of Albany, & maried firste the Erle of Dykeneys daughter, and got on hyr Alexander, that was after Bishop of Murray, and then parting with hyr went into Fraunce, where he maried the countesse of Bullogne, and begot on hir John Steward Duke of Albany, that was gouernour of Scotland many yeares in the minoritie of James the fifte.

James and Alexander.

Duke of Albany the gouernour of Scotland.

The third sonne, John Steward was Erle of Mar, whose chaunce was to be slayne in the Cannogat in a Bathehatte.

The first daughter of James the second, was maried to the Lord Boyd, who begot on hyr a sonne that was slayne by the Lord Mongumtie, and a daughter that was maried to the Erle of Cassilles.

The lorde Boyd.

After the death of the lord Boyd, the husband of this first daughter of James the secõd, she was eftsones maried to the lord Hammylton, and by that meanes was the house of the Hammyltons decorate with the kings blood.

The Lorde Hammylton.

The other sister was maried to the lorde Creichton, of whom came small succession worthy to be mencioned. James the thirde maried Margaret daughter to the king of Denmarke.

Lord Creichton.

James the third and his issue.

Of the whiche mariage was borne James the fourth: Alexander that was bishop of Saint Andros and Duke of Albany: And John Steward Erle of Mar, but these two died without issue.

James the fourth maried Margaret daughter to king Henry the seuenth of England, and begot on hyr James the fifth, who marying firste the Lady Magdalene daughter to Frauncis the French king, had no issue by hyr for that she died in the yeare next after hyr comming into Scotland, and then shortely after the sayde James the fifth maried the lady Mary de Lorrain, Duches of Longuile a widow, and by hyr had he issue Marie queene of Scotland, that toke to husbande Henry Steward lord Dernly, by whom she had issue Charles James, nowe king of Scotland. But to returne vnto Makbeth, in cõtinuyng the history, and to beginne where I left, ye shal vnderstãd, that after the cõtriued slaughter of Bãquho, nothing prospered with the foresayde Makbeth: for in maner euery man began to doubt his owne life, and durst vnneth appeare in the kings presence, & euen as there were many that stoode in feare of him, so likewise stoode he in feare of many, in such sorte that he began to make those away by one surmised cauillation or other, whom he thought most able to worke him any displeasure.

James the fourth.

Makbethes dread.

His cruelte causeth him feare.

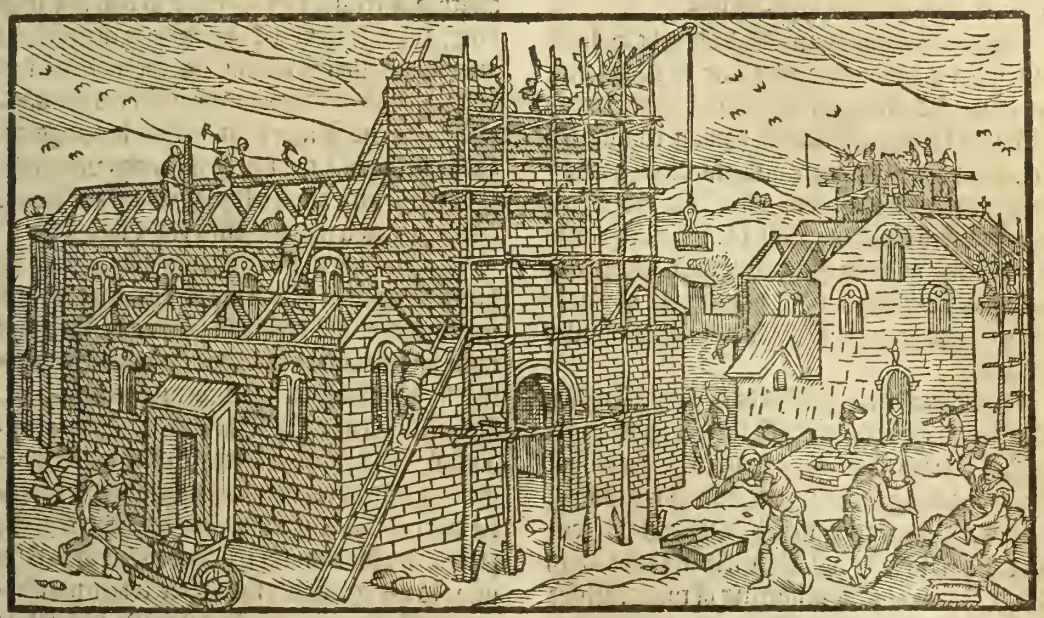
At length he found suche sweetenesse by putting his nobles thus to death, that his earnest thyrst after blood in this behalfe, might in nowise be satisfied: for ye must consider he wanne double profite (as he thought) hereby: for firste they were ridde out of the way whome he feared, and then agayne his coffers were enriched by their goodes, whiche were forfeyted to his vse, whereby he might the better mainteyne a garde of armed men about him to defend his person frõ iniurie of them whom he had in any suspition.

Further to the ende he might the more sickerly oppresse his subiectes with all tyrannike wrongs, hee buylded a strong Castell on the top of an high hill cleped Dunsinnane situate in Gowry, ten myles from Perth, on such a proude height, that stãding there aloft, a man might behold

The castell Dunsinane buylded.

hold weineare all the Countreys of Angus, Fife, Stermõd, & Ernedale, as it were lying underneth him. This caſtell then being founded on the top of that high hill, put the realme to great charges before it was fynished, for al the ſtuffe neceſſarie to the building, could not be brought vp without much toyle and buſineſſe.

But Makbeth being once determined to haue the worke go forwarde, cauſed the Thanes of eche ſhire within the Realme, to come and helpe towardes that building, eche man hys courſe about. Dunſinnane.



At the laſt when the turne fell vnto Makduffe Thane of Fife to buylde his part, he ſent workmen with all needfull proviſion, and commaunded them to ſhew ſuche diligence in euery behalfe, that no occaſion might bee giuen for the king to finde fault with him, in that he came not himſelfe as other had done, which he refuſed to do for doubt leaſt the king bearing him (as he partly vnderſtode) no great good will, would lay violent handes vpon him, as he had done vppon diuerſe other.

Shortly after, Makbeth comming to behold howe the worke went forwarde, and by cauſe hee found not Makduffe there, he was ſore offended, and ſayde, I perceyue this man will neuer obey my commaundements, till he be rydden with a ſnaffle, but I ſhal prouide well ynough for him. Neither could he afterwards abide to looke vpon the ſayde Makduffe, eyther for that he thought his puiſſance ouer great, either els for that he had learned of certain wyſardes, in whoſe wordes he put great confidence, (for that the prophecie had happened ſo right, whiche the three Fayries or weird ſiſters had declared vnto him) how that he ought to take heede of Makduffe, who in tymes to come ſhould ſeeke to deſtroy him.

And ſurely herevpon had he put Makduffe to death, but that a certaine witch whom he had in great truſt, had told that he ſhould neuer be ſlain with man borne of any woman, nor vanquiſhed till the wood of Bernane, came to the Caſtell of Dunſinnane.

By this prophecie Makbeth put all feare out of his heart, ſuppoſing hee might doe what hee would, without any feare to be puniſhed for the ſame, for by the one prophecie he beleeued it was vnpoſſible for any man to vanquiſh him, and by the other vnpoſſible to ſlea him.

This vaine hope cauſed him to doe many outragious things, to the grieuous oppreſſion of his ſubiects.

At length Makduffe to auoyde perill of lyfe, purpoſed with himſelfe to paſſe into Englande, to procure Malcolme Cammore to clayme the crowne of Scotlande. But this was not ſo ſecretly deuiſed by Makduffe, but that Makbeth had knowledge giuen him thereof, for kings (as is ſayde,) haue charpe ſight like vnto Linx, and long eares like vnto Midas. For Makbeth had in euery noble mans houſe, one ſlie fellow or other in fee with him, to reueale all that was ſayd or done within the ſame, by which ſlight he oppreſſed the moſte parte of the Nobles of hys Realme. Linxes eyes, and Mydas eares.

Immediately then, being aduertiſed whereabout Makduffe went, he came haſtily wyth a great power into Fife, and forthwith beſieged the Caſtell where Makduffe dwelled, truſting to haue found him therin.

They that kept the houſe, without any reſiſtance opened the gates, and ſuffred him to enter, miſtruſting none euill. But neuertheleſſe Makbeth moſt cruelly cauſed the wife and children of Makduffe, with all other whom he found in that caſtell, to be ſlaine. Macbethes crueltie vſed againſt Makduffes family.

Alſo he confiſcate the goodes of Makduffe,

proclaymed him traytor, and confined him out of al the partes of his realme, but Makduffe was alreadie escaped out of daunger and gotten into England vnto Malcolme Cammore, to trie what purchas he might make by meanes of his suppoꝛt to reuẽge the slaughter so cruelly executed on his wife, his childꝛen, and other friends.

Makduffe escapeth into Englande vnto Malcolme Cammore.

At his comming vnto Malcolme, he declared into what great miſerie the eſtate of Scotlande was bꝛought, by the detestable cruelties exercyſed by the tyꝛanne Makbeth, hauing committed many hoꝛrible slaughters and murthers, both as well of the nobles as commons, foꝛ the which he was hated right moꝛtally of all his liege people, deſiring nothing moꝛe than to be deliuered of that intollerable and moſte beaute yoke of thraldome, whiche they ſuſteyned at ſuche a caytifes handes.

Makduffes wordes vnto Malcolme.

Malcolme hearing Makduffes woꝛds which he vttred in right lamentable soꝛt, foꝛ pure compaſſion and very ruth that pearced his soꝛowfull hart, bewayling the miſerable ſtate of his coũtry, he fetched a deepe ſigh, which Makduffe perceyuing, began to fall moſt earneſtly in hande wyth him, to enterpꝛiſe the deliuering of the Scottiſhe people out of the hands of ſo cruell and bloudie a tyꝛant, as Makbeth by too many plaine experiments did ſhew himſelfe to be, which was an eaſie matter foꝛ him to bꝛing to paſſe, conſidering not only the good tytle he had, but alſo the earneſt deſire of the people to haue ſome occaſion miniſtred, wherby they might be reuenged of thoſe notable iniuries, which they dayly ſuſteyned by the outragious crueltie of Makbeths miſgouernãce.

Malcolme ſigheth.

Though Malcolme was right ſoꝛowfull foꝛ the oppꝛeſſion of his Countreymen the Scottes, in maner as Makduffe had declared, yet doubting whether he were come as one that ment vnfaynedly as hee ſpake, oꝛ elſe as ſent from Makbeth to betray him, he thought to haue ſome further triall, and thereꝛpon diſſembling his minde at the firſt, he anſwered as followeth.

I am truly right ſoꝛie foꝛ the miſerie chaunced to my Countrey of Scotlande, but though I haue neuer ſo great affection to relieue ẏ ſame, yet by reaſon of certaine incurable vyces, whiche raigne in me, I am nothing meete thereto: Firſt ſuche immoderate luſt and voluptuous ſenſualitie (the abhominable fountaine of all vyces) foloweth me, that if I were made king of Scots, I ſhoulde ſeeke to deflower your Maydes and matrones in ſuch wiſe, that mine intemperancie ſhoulde bee moꝛe impoꝛtable vnto you, than the bloudie tyꝛannie of Makbeth now is.

Malcolme Cammore his anſwere.

Hereunto Makduffe anſwered: this ſurely is a very euill fault, foꝛ many noble Pꝛinces and Kings haue loſt both lyues and kingdomes foꝛ the ſame, neuertheleſſe there are women ynowe in Scotlande, and therefoꝛe follow my counſell, make thy ſelfe king, and I ſhall conuey the matter ſo wiſely, that thou ſhalt be ſo ſatiſfied at thy pleaſure in ſuch ſecrete wiſe, that no man ſhall be aware therof.

Makduffes anſwere.

Then ſaide Malcolme, I am alſo the moſte auaritious creature on the earth, ſo that if I were king, I ſhould ſeeke ſo many wayes to get lands and goodes, that I woulde ſlea the moſt part of all the nobles of Scotland by ſurmiſed accuſations, to the end I might enioy their lands, goods, and poſſeſſions, & therfoꝛe to ſhew you what miſchief may enſue on you thꝛough mine vnſatiable couetiſe, I will rehearſe vnto you a fable.

There was a Foxe hauing a ſoꝛe place on him ouerſet with a ſwarme of flies that continually ſucked out hir bloud, and when one that came by and ſaw this maner demaunded whether ſhe woulde haue the flies dꝛyuen beſyde hir, ſhe anſwered no: Foꝛ if theſe flies that are alreadie full, and by reaſon thereof ſucke not very egerly, ſhould be chaſed away, other that are emptie and felly an hungred, ſhoulde light in theyꝛ places, and ſuck out the reſidue of my bloud farre moꝛe to my grieuance than theſe, which now being ſatiſfied doe not much annoy me. Therefoꝛe ſayth Malcolme, ſuffer me to remaine where I am, leaſt if I attaine to the regiment of your realme, mine inquenchable auarice may pꝛoue ſuch, that ye would thinke the diſpleaſures which now grieue you, ſhould ſeeme eaſie in reſpect of the vnmeaſurable outrage, whiche might enſue thꝛough my comming amongſt you.

A fable of a Foxe.

Makduffe to this made anſwere, how it was a farre woꝛſe fault than the other, foꝛ auarice is the roote of all miſchiefe, and foꝛ that crime the moſt part of our kings haue bene ſlain & bꝛought to their finall ende. Yet notwithſtanding follow my counſel, and take vpon thee the crowne, there is golde and riches inough in Scotlande to ſatiſfie thy greedie deſire.

Couetouſnes the roote of miſchiefe.

Then ſayde Malcolme againe, I am furthermoꝛe inclined to diſſimulation, telling of leaſings and all other kinds of deceyt, ſo that I naturally reioyce in nothing ſo muche as to betray and deceyue ſuche, as put any truſt oꝛ confidence in my woꝛdes. Then ſith there is nothing that moꝛe becommeth a pꝛince than conſtancie, veritie, truth, and iuſtice, with the other laudable felowſhip of thoſe faire and noble vertues which are compꝛehended onely in ſothfaſtneſſe, & that lying vtterly ouerthꝛoweth ẏ ſame, you ſee how vnable I am to gouerne any pꝛouince oꝛ region: and therfoꝛe ſith you haue remedies to cloke and hide al the reſt of my other vices, I pꝛay you find ſhift to cloke this vice amongſt the reſidue.

Diſſimulation and deliting in lyes.

Then ſayd Makduffe: this yet is the woꝛſt of all, and there I leaue thee, and therefoꝛe ſay,

oh

-oh ye vnhappie & miſerable Scottiſhmen, which are thus ſcourged with ſo many and ſundrie calamities, eche one aboue other. Ye haue one curſed and wicked tyrant that nowe raignes ouer you, without any right or tytle, oppreſſing you with his moſt bloudie crueltie: This other that hath the right to the crowne, is ſo replete with the inconſtant behauiour and manifeſt vices of Engliſh men, that he is nothing worthie to enioy it: for by his owne confeſſion he is not onely auaritious, and giuen to vnſatiable luſt, but ſo falſe a traytour withall, that no truſt is to be had to any worde he ſpeaketh. Adue Scotlande, for now I account my ſelfe a baniſhed man for euer without comfort or conſolation: and with thoſe words the teares trickled down his cheekes right abundantly.

At the laſt when hee was readie to depart, Malcolme toke him by the ſleeue, and ſayde, Be of good comfort Makduffe, for I haue none of theſe vices before remembred, but haue reſted with thee in this maner, only to proue thy mind: for diuerſe tymes heretofore, hath Makbeth ſought by this maner of meanes to bring me into his handes, but the more ſlow I haue ſhewed my ſelf to condiſcend to thy motion and requeſt, the more diligence ſhall I vſe in accompliſhing the ſame.

Incontinently hereupon they embraced eche other, and promiſing to bee faythfull the one to the other, they fell in conſultation, howe they might beſt prouide for al their buſineſſe, to bring the ſame to good effect.

Sone after Makduffe repayring to the borders of Scotlande, addreſſed his letters with ſecrete diſpatch vnto the nobles of the realme, declaring howe Malcolme was confederate wyth him, to come haſtily into Scotlande to clayme the crowne, and therefore he requyred them, ſith he was right inheritor thereto, to aſſiſt him with their powers to recouer the ſame out of the hãds of the wrongfull vſurper.

In the meane time, Malcolme purchaſed ſuch fauour at king Edwards handes, that olde Syward Earle of Northumberlande, was appointed with ten thouſande men to go with him into Scotland, to ſupport him in this enterpriſe, for recouerie of his right.

After theſe newes were ſpred abrode in Scotland, the nobles drew into two ſeuerall factions, the one taking part with Makbeth, and the other with Malcolme.

Hereupon enſued oftentymes ſundrie bickerings, and diuerſe light ſkirmiſhes, for thoſe that were of Malcolmes ſide, woulde not ieoparde to ioyne with their enimies in a pight field, tyll his comming out of England to their ſupport. But after that Makbeth perceiued his enimies power to encreaſe, by ſuch ayde as came to them forth of England with his aduerſarie Malcolme, he reculed backe into Fife, there purpoſing to abide in campe fortified, at the Caſtell of Dunſinane, and to fight with his enimies, if they ment to purſue him, howbeit ſome of his friends aduyſed him, that it ſhould be beſt for him, eyther to make ſome agreement with Malcolme, or elſe to flee with all ſpeed into the Iles, and to take his treaſure with him, to the ende he might wage ſundrie great Princes of the realme to take his part, and retayne ſtraungers, in whom he might better truſt than in his owne ſubiectes, which ſtale dayly from him: but he had ſuche confidence in his prophecies, that he beleeued he ſhoulde neuer be vanquiſhed, till Byrnane wood were brought to Dunſinnane, nor yet to be ſlaine with anye man, that ſhould be or was borne of any womã.

Malcolme folowing haſtily after Makbeth, came the night before the battaile vnto Byrnan wood, and when his armie had reſted a while there to refreſhe them, hee commaunded euerye man to get a bough of ſome tree or other of that wood in his hand, as bigge as he might beare, and to march forth therwith in ſuch wiſe, that on the next morow they might come cloſely and without ſight in thys manner within vewe of hys enimies.

On the morow when Makbeth beheld them comming in this ſort, hee firſt marueyled what the matter ment, but in the end remembred himſelfe, that the prophecie which he had heard long before that time, of the comming of Byrnane wood to Dunſinnane Caſtell, was likely to bee now fulfilled. Neuertheleſſe, he brought hys men in order of battell, and exhorted them to doe valiantly, howbeit his enimies had ſcarcely caſt from them their boughes, when Makbeth perceiuing their numbers betok him ſtreight to flight, whom Makduffe purſued with great hatred euẽ till he came vnto Lunſannain, where Makbeth perceiuing that Makduffe was hard at his back, leapt beſide his horſe, ſaying, thou traytor, what meaneth it that thou ſhouldeſt thus in vaine follow me that am not appoynted to be ſlain by any creature that is borne of a woman, come on therefore, and receyue thy rewarde which thou haſt deſerued for thy paynes, and therewithall he lyfted vp his ſworde thinking to haue ſlaine him. But Makduffe quickly auoyding from his horſe, ere he came at him, anſwered (with his naked ſworde in his hande) ſaying: it is true Makbeth, and now ſhall thine inſatiable crueltie haue an ende, for I am euen he that thy wyſards haue tolde the of, who was neuer borne of my mother, but ripped out of hir wombe: therewithall he ſtept vnto him, & ſlue him in the place. Then cutting his heade from the ſhoulders, hee ſet it

Makbeth reculeth.

Makbeth is counſailed to flee into the Iles.

Makbethes truſt in prophecies.

Braunches of trees.

Makbeth ſetteth his men in order of battell.

Makbeth fleeeth, and is purſued of Makduffe.

Makbeth is ſlaine.

vpon

vpon a poll, and brought it vnto Malcolme. This was the end of Makbeth, after he had raigned .xvij. yeares ouer the Scottishmen.

In the beginning of his raigne he accomplished many worthie actes, right profitable to the common wealth, (as ye haue heard) but afterward e by illusion of the diuell, he defamed the same with most terrible cruelti e.

He was slaine in the yeare of the incarnation 1057. and in the .xvj. yeare of king Edwardes raigne ouer the English men. 1057. Io.Ma. 1061. H.B. 8. H.B.

Malcolme.

MAlcolme Canmore thus recouering the realme (as ye haue heard) by support of king Edward, in the .xvj. yeare of the same Edwards raign, he was crowned at Scone the .xxv day of Aprill, in the yeare of our Lorde. 1057.



A Parliament at Forfair.

Immediately after his coronation, he called a Parliament at Forfair, in the which he rewarded them with landes and liuings that had assisted him agaynst Makbeth, aduaunceing them to fees and offices as he saw cause, and commaunded that specially those that bare the surname of any office or landes, shoulde haue and enioye the same.

He created many Earles, Lordes, Barons, and Knightes.

Thanes changed into Earles.

Many of them that before were Thanes, were at this time made Earles, as Fife, Menteth, Atholl, Leuenor, Murray, Cathnes, Rosse, and Angus. These were the first Earles that haue beene heard of amongest the Scottishe men, (as their hystories make mention.) Many new surnames were take vp at this time amongst them, as Cauder, Lokart, Gordon, Seyton, Lauder, Wawane, Meldrun, Schaw, Leirmouth, Libertoun, Strachquhen, Cargill, Rattrey, Dundas, Cockbourne, Myrtoun, Menzeis, Abercrumby, Lesly, with many other that had possessions giuen to them, which gaue names to the owners for the time.

Surnames.

Others got their surnames by offices, as Stewarde, Durwarde, and Banerman.

Also the proper names of many valiant captaynes were turned into generall surnames, as Kennedy, Graham, Hay, with dyuerse other to long here to rehearse. So that it came to passe then, as it hath done many tymes sithence, that new surnames haue worne the olde out of vse.

In the foresayde Parliament thus holden at Forfair, in the beginning of his raign, there were many holesome ordinances established, both apperteyning to ciuill administration, and also to the ecclesiasticall iurisdiction.

Makduffes Earle of Fife his aduancement.

In rewarde also of Makduffes seruice, who (as ye haue heard) chiefly ayded him to the atteyning of the crowne, he honoured him and his posteritie with three sortes of priuiledges.

Priuiledges graunted to Makduffes lynage.

First that the Earle of Fife for the tyme being, at the coronation of a king should by his office set the crowne on the kings head. The second was, that when the king should giue battaile to his enimies, the same Earle should leade the bauntgard of his host: The thirde, that the lynage of Makduffe should enioy regall authoritie and power within al their landes & rowmthes, as to appoynt officers and iudges for the hearing and determining of all matters and controuersies (treason onely excepted) and that if any of their men or tenants were called to answere in any Court out of their circuit, they might appeale to their owne iudges to bee appoynted as before is expressed.

Iohannes Maior.

Iohannes Maior writeth in his Chronicle, that the thirde priuiledge which Malcolme graunted vnto this Makduffe and his posteritie, was this, that for euery Gentleman that any of the should hap to kill by chaunce medley, and not vpon pretensed malice, for the summe of .xxiiij. markes, he should

ſhould redeeme his puniſhment due for the ſame: & for the caſuall ſlaughter of a meaner perſon, he ſhould be fined at. xij. Markes, ſo that murtherers were wont to ſay, that if they were able to pay that ſumme vnto the Kynboc, they ought to be releaſed of further punition by Makduffes priuiledge. But this third priuiledge, togither with the other two former grauntes, the ſayde Maior fore reproueth, and not without cauſe, as maye appeare, conſidering the naturall inclination of that people vnto murther, which by this meanes nouriſhing ſecrete hatred and malice in theyr hearts, might vnder the cloke of caſuall falling out, ſlea whom they luſted.

It was ordeyned alſo at this Parliament, that Barons which had liberties within theſelues, ſhould make gybbets whereon men that deſerued death ſhoulde ſuffer execution: and alſo drawe Welles, wherein women that were condemned ſhould be drowned, according to the order of the ciuill lawes vſed in Scotland.

Moreouer, all the lawes that Makbeth had ordeyned, were abrogate at this Parliament.

Thus whileſt Malcolme was buſied in ſetting orders amongſt his ſubiects, tydings came that one Lugtake ſurnamed the fole, being eyther the ſonne, or as ſome write, the couſin of the late mentioned Makbeth, was conueyed wyth a great number of ſuch as had taken part with the ſayde Makbeth vnto Scone, and there by their ſupport receyued the Crowne, as lawfull inheritor thereto.

To appeaſe this buſineſſe, was Makduffe Earle of Fife ſent with full commiſſion in the kings name, who encountering with Lugtake at a village called Eſſen in Bogdale, ſlue him, and diſcomfited his whole power ordring the matter with them in ſuch wiſe, that afterwardes there was no more trouble attempted in that behalfe.

After this, the realme continued in peace certaine yeares, till it chaunced a great number of theeues and robbers aſſembling themſelues togither at Cockburne pethes, did much hurt by robbing and ſpoyling the people in the countreys of Mers and Louthian howbeit at length one Patryke Dunbar of Dunbar, by commaundement of the king fought with them, ſlue their captaine, with ſix hundred of his companie, and toke fourſcore priſoners, the which he cauſed to be hanged. And thus hauing deliuered the countrey of thoſe pyllers, with loſſe of fortie of his owne men, hee returned to the king, with the head of the captain of that route, ſo that for his manhood herein ſhewed, he was made by the king Earle of March, and for the maintenaunce of his eſtate, had the landes of Cockburne pethes, giuen to him and his heyres for euer, vpon this condition, that in tymes comming, the Earles of March ſhoulde purge Mers and Louthian of all theeues and robbers. In memorie whereof, hee was commaunded to beare in his armes a fellons heade ſprinckled with bloud. The heade of a theefe or felon giuen in armes.

Shortly after he got knowledge, howe there were certaine Gentlemen that had conſpired to ſlea him, and therefore taking occaſion to goe a hunting, where this act ſhould haue bene executed, he calleth the chiefe authour of the conſpiracie apart into a certaine valley, which was cloſed on euery ſide with thick woods, and there brake the matter vnto him, in reproouing him right charply for that hee had ſo trayterouſly conſpired hys death, whoſe preſeruation hee ought chiefly to haue wiſhed, conſidering the manifolde benefites he had receyued at his handes. And herewith leaping from his horſe, drew his ſword, commaunding the other likewiſe to draw his, that now hauing conuenient time and place thereto, they might trie the matter betwixt them, who ſhould be thought moſt worthie of life, by open force of knightly prowes. A conſpiracie. The manly courage of K. Malcolme.

The conſpirator hearing theſe wordes, as a man altogither aſtoniſhed, fell downe vpon hys knees at the kings feete, beſeeching his grace of mercie for his wicked purpoſe and haynous offence, who ſeeing him thus penitent, bad him ariſe, and ſayde, Iam content hereupon to forgiue thee, ſo that thou be not of counſell hereafter in any ſuch trayterous practiſe.

Whyleſt things paſſed thus in Scotlande, great and marueylous chaunces came to paſſe within the Realme of Englande. For after the death of king Edward ſurnamed the Confeſſor, Harold the ſonne of Earle Ewdwin toke vpon him the kingdome. But William baſtard Duke of Normandie, pretending tytle to the crowne of Englande, at length inuaded the land, & ſleaing Harold in fielde, made a full conqueſt of the realme, and was crowned king at London by Eldred Archbiſhop of Yorke. Here ye haue to vnderſtand, that king Edwarde in his life time had ſent for his nephew Edwarde, the ſonne of his brother Edmonde Ironſide, to come home forth of Hungarie, whither after his fathers deceaſſe, he and his brother Edwin had beene ſent away, as in the Hyſtorie of Englande it appeareth more at large. See more here of in England.

This Edwarde had maried the daughter of the Emperour Henrie, named Agatha, ſiſter to the Queene of Hungarie, and not the king of Hungaries daughter, although the Scotiſhe writers do ſo affirme. By hir he had iſſue a ſonne named Edgar and two daughters, the one named Margaret and the other Chriſtyne. King Edward ment that his nephew the ſayd Edwarde ſhoulde haue ſucceeded him, and as ſome write, he would in his life time haue reſigned the crown William Malmesbury. Hector Boetius.

vnto

vnto him. But he (a thing worthie of admiration) vtterly refuſed it, and would not once meddle therewith during his vncles life tyme, and as it chaunced he died whileſt his vncle king Edward was yet liuing. His ſonne Edgar therefore to whom it ſeemed that the crowne was due when he ſawe the realme conquered by the Normans, diſpairing to recouer it out of their hands, got a ſhip, and determined with his mother and ſiſters to paſſe ouer into Germanie to his friends and kinſfolk there: but by contrary winds he was driuen a ſhore in the Forth, at a place called vnto this day the Queenes ferrye.

The Queenes Ferrye.

Malcolme being at the ſame time at Dunfermeling, when he heard of the arriuall of this ſhip, and vnderſtoode what they were that were aboard in hir, he reſorted thither with an honourable cõpanie about him, to viſit them for honors ſake, vpon fauour he bare towards them, for that they were diſcended of that noble Prince king Edwarde, in whom afore time he had founde ſo much gentleneſſe and friendſhip.

Finally when he vnderſtood their eſtate, hee brought thẽ home with him to his palace, ſhewing them all the loue and friendſhip he could deuiſe: and in the end cõſidering the excellent beautie, wiſdome, & noble qualities of the lady Margaret, eldeſt ſiſter vnto the ſame Edgar, he required of Agatha hir mother to haue hir in mariage, whereunto Agatha gladly condiſcended. Shortly after with an aſſemble of all the nobles of Scotland this mariage was made & ſolemniſed after the Octaues of Paſch, in the yeare 1067. with al ioy and triumph that might be deuiſed.

Malcolm Canmore marieth Margaret ſiſter to Edgar Atheling.

1067. H.B.



King William the Conqueror of England, being enformed hereof, feared leaſt this alliance betwixt Malcolm and Edgar might breed ſome trouble & diſquietneſſe to his eſtate, ſith the ſame Edgar had many friendes through all the partes of England. To preuent therfore the occaſions of inteſtine trouble, he confined all the lynage of the foreſayd Edgar, by reaſon whereof, a great number of Engliſhe men came into Scotlande vnto king Malcolme, and many of them obteyning liuings at his handes, remayned there continually during their liues, leauing to their poſteritie their names and poſſeſſions. Amongſt whõ were theſe; Lindſey, Vaus, Ramſay, Louell, Towris, Preſtoun, Sandeclãs, Billart, Sowlis, Wardlaw, Marwel, with diuerſe other.

Engliſh men fled into Scotlande.

Surnames of Engliſh men in Scotland.

There came diuerſe alſo oute of Hungarie with Queene Margaret, who likewiſe left theyr names to their families, which yet remaine euen vnto this day, as Creichtoun, Fotringham, Sifkart, Weluil, Boythwike, and other.

Surnames of Hungarians.

Alſo there haue come at ſundrie ſeaſons out of Fraunce diuerſe ſurnames into Scotlande as Fraſeir, Sinclare, Boſwell, Mowtray, Mountgummery, Campbel, Boys, Betoun, or Betuin, Taillefer, and Bothwell, beſides ſundrie other whiche were but ſuperfluous to rehearſe at this tyme.

Surnames of Frenchmen.

But to the order of the Hyſtorie: It is recorded by writers, that theſe (which at this time came out of Englande vnto Edgar) brought great quantitie of golde and ſiluer with them; alſo many relikes of Saints, and amongſt other that blacke croſſe which king Dauid gaue vnto the Abbey of holy Rood houſe in Louthia, which he foũded at his owne charge.

The blacke croſſe.

Shortly after the proſcriptiõ of theſe Engliſh men, William the Conqueror ſent an heralde at Armes vnto king Malcolme, demaunding to haue Edgar deliuered into his hands, and threatning that if he refuſed to deliuer him, he would ſurely fetch him, and that ſhortly for Malcolmes commoditie.

William Conqueror threateneth king Malcolme.

But Malcolme though he vnderſtode that he

he ſhoulde bee ſure of warres at king Williams handes, for his denial declared plainly to the herauld, that his maiſters requeſt was vnreaſonable, and therefore he minded not in any wiſe to gratifie him therein.

King William receyuing this anſwere from Malcolm, proclaimed open warre againſt Scotland. In the meane time all Northumberlande toke part with king Malcolme, for that he was their Earles ſiſters ſonne.

Whereupon king William ſent a valiaunt Captaine, a Norman borne named Roger, to inuade Northumberlande. Whiche Roger gathering a power of men, came haſtily into that Countrey, howbeit he abode ſhort time there in honor, for by the Scots and Northumberlande men his army was diſcomfited, and he himſelfe trayterouſly ſlaine by his owne ſouldiers.

But king William nothing diſcouraged with this ouerthrow, ſent one Richard Erle of Glouceſter (whom amongeſt all the Engliſh men he had moſte in truſt) with a mightie armie into Cumberlande. Againſt whome were ſent the Earles of March and Menteith, who defended the Countrey right manly from the inuaſion of the ſayde Earle, ſo that he was not able to take any aduauntage of them.

King William aduertiſed hereof, waxed wonderfull wroth, that no more good was done againſt his enimies, whereupon hee ſent a newe power thither with all ſpeede, vnder the leading of his brother Odo, who was both Biſhoppe of Bayeux, and Earle of Kent.

By this laſt army, the countrey of Northumberlande, was ſore ſpoyled, and a great number both of Scottes and Northumberland men diſcomfited and ſlain. But as Odo was preparing to returne, there came Malcolme with all the power he might make, and giuing an onſet vpon his enimies, ſlue a great number of them, and recouered al the bootie which Odoes men had got in the countrey, and ſo right ioyfull of that victorie, returned into Scotlande.

Malcolmes enterprice againſt his enimies.

King William yet nothing abaſhed for theſe miſhappes, ſent his ſonne called Robert with a farre greater power than at any time he had ſent before, into Northumberland, who remaining a long ſeaſon in campe neare to the riuer of Tine, attempted no notable enterpriſe, ſauing that he repayred and newly fortified the towne of newe Caſtell, whiche ſtandeth vpon the ſame ryuer of Tine, and then at length a peace was concluded betwixt the two Kings vnder theſe conditions, that king Malcolme ſhoulde enioy that part of Northumberland which lyeth betwixt Tweede, Cumberland, and Stainmore, & to do homage to the king of England for the ſame.

Robert the ſon of William Conquerour.

New Caſtell vpon Tine fortifyed.

A peace concluded betwixt William Conquerour, and Malcolme Cammore.

In the middeſt of Stanemore there ſhall be a Croſſe ſet vp, with the king of Englandes Image on the one ſide, and the king of Scotlands on the other, to ſignifie that the one is marche to England, and the other to Scotland.

This Croſſe was called the Recroſſe, that is to ſay, the Croſſe of the kings.

The Recroſſe.

Moreouer it was concluded that Waltheof or Uoldoſius (as the Scottiſh writers name him) ye ſonne of Sywarde Earle of Northumberlande, ſhould marry king Williams neece, borne of his daughter, and to be free from all payments and exactions due to the king by any maner of prerogatiue or meanes, for the ſpace of. xx. yeares next enſuing.

Waltief.

Syward Earle of Northumberlande.

In the neck of this peace thus concluded betwixt ye kings, hapned new trouble in Scotlād by reaſō of inteſtine rebellio, for the people of Galloway, & the Iſlād mē, roſe in great nūbers & ſpoiled ye borders of their neighbors, not ſparing frō ſlaughter in al parts, where they were any thing reſiſted.

Rebellion in Galloway.



Againſt

Walter the ſonne of Fleance.

Againſt theſe rebelles was ſent by king Malcolme, Walter the ſonne of Fleance (of whome there is mention made before) with a conuenient armie, who at his comming into Galloway, firſt gaue the people of that Countrey an ouerthrow, and ſlue their chiefe captaine Makglaue: Then afterwards fighting with them of the Iles, he ſubdued them in ſuch wiſe, that al things were pacified euen at commaundement. For whoſe high prowes and diligence in this peece of ſeruice ſhewed, he was created by Malcolm high Steward of the realme, ſo that afterwardes both he and his poſteritie euer ſithence haue borne that ſurname, euen vnto theſe our dayes.

Makglaue.

Walter created high Steward of Scotlande.

After the quieting of this buſineſſe, there ſprang a newe tumult more daungerous than the former, for the Murrey lande men procuring them of Roſſe and Cathnes, with diuerſe other to ioine with them in confederacie, did not onely ſlea the kings ſeruants, and thoſe that were appoynted vnder him to ſee iuſtice miniſtred, but through ſupport of one Makduncane, whom they choſe to be their captaine, they alſo waſted and deſtroyed the kings poſſeſſions, with more crueltie than euer had beene heard of before. Wherefore to puniſh theſe trayterous attempts, Makduffe was ſent with an armie into Mar.

A new rebellion in Murrey lande.

Makduffe.

But the traytors doubting leaſt they ſhould not be able to withſtande his puiſſance, thought nothing more anaylable than to ſtop him wyth money: but in the meane time came the king himſelfe in good ſeaſon vnto Monimuſke, where hee was aduertiſed, that in maner all the north partes of Scotland with the Iles, were confederate with the Murrey land men againſt him.

The king aſtoniſhed ſomthing at theſe newes, vowed to giue the Barronnie of Monimuſke, (which he vnderſtoode to be landes perteyning to the crowne) vnto the Church of Saint Andrew in Fife, if it might pleaſe God to ſend him victorie ouer his enimies.

The kings vow.

At length comming vnto the water of Spey, he beholde his enimies on the further ſide in greater number, and in better furniture for armor thã hee thought had beene poſſible to haue founde in all Scotlande, he perceyued alſo that his ſtandardbearer began to ſhrinke, and not to ſhew the like chearefull countenance, as he ought to haue done. Wherefore he pulled the Banner from him, and gaue it to ſir Alexander Carron, who with this his new office obteyned ſundrie faire landes and poſſeſſions, to him and to his heyres for euer: but his ſurname was afterwardes chaunged, and called Skrimgeour, of the which is diſcended a noble houſe, continuing yet in great honour in the ſame ſurname and office. When the king was once paſſed the water, and the armies on both ſydes readie to haue ioyned, through mediation of Byſhoppes and other vertuous men, the matter was taken vp, and peace made on theſe conditions, that the commons that toke part with the rebelles, ſhould returne home out of hande, and the Gentlemen to ſubmit themſelues to the kings pleaſure, their liues and landes ſaued:

Standard bearer.

Sir Alexã Carron.

A peace concluded.

The ſubmiſſion of Gentlemen.



howbeit many of them were kept in perpetuall priſon during their liues, and al their goodes confiſcate to the kings vſe.

All ciuill trouble and commotion being thus quieted, king Malcolm (ſpecially by the good admoniſhment & exhortation of his wife Queene Margaret, a woman of great zeale vnto the religion of that time) gaue himſelfe in maner altogither vnto much deuotion, and workes of mercie, as in doing of almes deedes, by prouiding for the poore, and ſuch like godly exerciſes, ſo that in true vertue hee was thought to excell all other Princes of his time. To be briefe herein, there ſeemed to be in maner a certaine ſtrife betwixt him,

King Malcolm through exhortation of his wife, giueth himſelfe to deuotion.

A godly

him, and that vertuous Queene his wife, which of them ſhould be moſt feruent in the loue of god, ſo that manye people by the imitation of them were brought vnto better life. Agatha and hir daughter Chriſtine alſo by the example of theſe two holy liuers, renoūced the pompe of the court, and got them to a priuate & ſolitarie life, wherein they gaue thēſelues wholy to diuine cōtēplation.

Furthermore Malcolme by the letting on of the Queene his wife, ceaſſed not to ſet his endeuor wholy to the aduauncement of the chriſtian religion, and to reſtore things that were decayed by the negligence of his predeceſſors. Therefore whereas before his time, there were but four Biſhops Seas in Scotland, as Saint Androwes, Glaſgew, Galloway, and Murthlake, and two of them, that is to ſay, Saint Androwes and Murthlake, remayning onely in good reparation (the other being decaied) he reſtored the other two to their former beauties, and furthermore erected two other of new, as Murrey, and Cathnes, placing men of ſingular vertue and pureneſſe of life in the ſame. But to proceede. It is ſayd, that ſuch outrageous riot entred at this time, and began to growe in vſe amongeſt the Scotiſhmen, togither with the language and maners of the Engliſh nation, by reaſon that ſuch a multitude of the ſame, flying out of their Countrey, were dayly receyued as then into Scotlande to inhabite there, as before is ſhewed) that diuerſe of the nobles perceiuing what diſcommoditie & decay to the whole realme would enſue of this kinde of intemperancy, came to the king, lamenting grieuouſly the caſe, for that this venemous infection ſpred ſo faſt ouer the whole realme, to the peruerting and vtter remouing of the auncient ſobrietie of diet vſed in the ſame: wherefore they beſought him to prouide ſome remedie in time, before hope of redreſſe were paſt, that the people might be againe reduced vnto their former frugalitie, who hitherto vſed not to eate but once in the day, and then deſiring no ſuperfluous meates & drinkes to be ſought by ſea & land, nor curiouſly dreſſed or ſerued forth with ſauces, but onely feeding to ſatiſfie nature, and not their greedy appetites.

Through which their ſober fare, with the exerciſing of their bodies herewith in continual trauaile, they grew more ſtrong and greater of bodie, than their offſpring are founde to be in theſe dayes: for they were more in reſemblance like vnto Giantes than vnto men of our time, with great and huge bodies, mightie armes and limbs, preſſing vppon their enimies like fierce Lions, bearing downe all before them, without dread of any daunger, for that they exceeded all humane ſtrength and power.

Herevpon king Malcolme toke great paines to haue redreſſed this infectiue poyſon, and vtterly to haue expelled it forth of his realme, howbeit the nature of man is ſo prone & ready to embrace all kinds of vice, that where the Scottiſhe people before had no knowledge nor vnderſtanding of fine fare or riotous furfet, yet after they had once taſted the ſweete poyſoned bait thereof, there was now no meane to be found to reſtrain their licorous deſires. And yet thoſe corrupted abuſes and riotous ſuperfluities (which came into the realme of Scotland with the Engliſhmen planted therin by the dayes of king Malcolme, are not to bee compared in exceſſe with things vſed in our time, for in thoſe dayes, as yet the nature of man was not ſo ouercome with the abuſe of ſuperfluities, as it is now adayes, for then though they were gone frō the auncient ſparenеſſe of diet, they yet did not eate paſt twice a day, and had but two diſhes at a meale: but nowe the greedie taſt of mens inſatiable luſt is ſuche, that no kinde of fleſhe, fiſhe, fruite, or whatſoeuer maye be gotten, is vneth able to quenche their gluttonous appetite and rauenous gurmandize: ſo that neyther lande, Sea, nor ayre, is left vnſought to ſatiſfie the ſame, as though they were worthie of moſt high cōmendation that may deuoure moſt: wherein they may be iuſtly compared to greedie Wolues and Cormorants.

Mans nature prone to vice.

The greedie taſt of mens inſatiable luſt.

Men compared to Wolues & Cormarāts.

But to bewaile that in wordes which cannot be amended in deedes, is but a folly, for the infection is ſo entred into the inner partes of the intrayles, that neither with purging, cutting, nor ſearing, it may be holpen. Sooner ſhall you deſtroy the whole Nation than remoue this vice.

In the meane tyme, whyleſt things thus paſſed in Scotlande, King William the Conquerour dyed in the .xxj. yeare of his raigne, and after the incarnation. 1087. 1086. H.B.

About whiche time King Malcolme cauſed the olde Church of Durham to be plucked down and buylded vp anewe, beginning euen at the firſt ſtone. In which ſeaſon, one Egelwyn or William (as the Scottiſhe writers haue) was Biſhop of that Sea, and Prior of the Abbay was one Turgot, who afterwarde was made Biſhop of Saint Androwes, and wrote the liues of Queene Margaret and Malcolme hir huſbande in the Scottiſh tongue.

The Church of Durham built by king Malcolme.

Turgot.

Afterwarde hee deceaſſed in Saint Androwes, but hys body was brought vnto Durham, and there buryed, becauſe hee was firſt Prior thereof.

King Malcolme by perſwaſion of this Turgot, builded alſo a Church in Dunfermling, dedicated to the Trinitie, ordeyning frō thenceforth that the common ſepulture of the kings ſhoulde be there, in like maner as it had bin afore time in the Ile of Iona at the Abbay of Colmekill.

The church of Dunfermling.

The Sepulture of the Scottiſh kings.

Amongeſt other vertuous ordinances alſo

which were deuised & made by king Malcolme, (through exhortation of his wife Queene Margaret) mentioned by Turgot in the booke which he wrote of their liues, this is not to be forgotten, that he abrogated that wicked lawe, & established by king Ewyn the thirde, appointing halfe a marke of siluer to bee payde to the Lorde of the soyle in redemption of the womans chastitie, which is vsed to be payed yet vnto this day, & is called the marchets of women, where otherwise by tenour of king Ewins lawe, the Lord had the vse of theyr bodyes, for the first night after theyr maryage.

King Ewyns law abrogated or rather altered.

King William surnamed the Red, the seconde sonne of king William the Conquerour, and successour to him in the kingdome of Englande, not wel contented nor pleased in his mind, that the Scottes shoulde enioy a great portion of the north partes of England, aunciently belonging to his crowne as parcell thereof, he rayled a great army, and before any denouncing of war by him made, inuaded Northumberland, & tooke the Castell of Anwike, putting all suche to the sworde as were founde in the same.

William Rufus.

The castell Anwike by the Englishmen.



King Malcolme to withstande such exploytes attempted by his enimie, leuied a great hoste of his subiectes, and comming with the same into Northumberlande, besieged the sayde Castell of Anwike. And nowe when the keepers of the hold were at poynt to haue made surrender, a certaine English knight conceiued in his mind an hardie and daungerous enterprise, mounted on a swift horse without armor or weapon, sauing a speare in his hand, vpon the poynt whereof he bare the keyes of the castel, & so issued forth at ỹ gates, riding directly towardes the Scottish campe.

The castell of Anwike besieged by the Scottes.

They that warded, mystrusting no harme, brought him with great noyse and clamor vnto the kings tent. Who hearing the noyse, came forth of his pauilion to vnderstande what the matter ment.

The Englishman herewith couched his staffe as though it had beene to the ende that the king might receyue the keyes whiche he had brought. And whilest all mens eyes were earnest in beholding the keyes, the Englishe man ranne the king through the left eye, and sodainly dashing his spurres to his horse, escaped to the next wood out of all daunger.

An hardie enterprice.

The poynt of the speare entred so farre into the kings head, that immediately falling downe amongst his men, he yeelded vp the ghost.

K. Malcolme is slaine.

This was the ende of king Malcolme in the middest of his armie.

It is sayde that king William chaunged the name of this aduenturous knight, and called him Pers E, and for that he stroke king Malcolme so right in the eye, and in recompence of his seruice gaue him certaine landes in Northumberlande, of whom those Percees are discended, whiche in our dayes haue enioyed the honourable tytle of Earles of Northumberlande.

The name the Percees had not beginning they came forth of Normandie at conquest. Earles of Northumberland.

The Scottes after the slaughter of their king brake vp theyr campe, and buried his bodie within the Abbay of Tynmouth in England. But his sonne Alexander caused it to be afterwardes taken vp, and buryed in Dunfermling before the Aulter of the Trinitie.

K. Malcolme buryed at Tynmouth.

The same tyme was Scotlande wounded with an other misfortune. For Edwarde the Prince of Scotlande, eldest sonne to king Malcolme, dyed of a hurt which he receyued in a skirmish not farre from Anwike, and was buryed in Dunfermeling, the fyrst of the bloud royall that hadde hys bones layde in that place.

Edward prince of Scotland dyed.

Queene Margaret being aduertised of the death

death both of hir husbande and sonne, as then lying in Edenbourgh Castell, hir disease encreased through griefe thereof so vehemently, that within three dayes after she departed out of this life vnto an other more ioyfull and blessed.

King Malcolme was slaine in the yeare of our redemption 1092. on the.xiij. day of Nouember, and in the. xxxvj. yeare of hys raigne.

In the same yeare manye vncouth things came to passe and were seene in Albion.

By the highe spring Tydes whiche chaunced in the Almaine Seas, many Townes, Castels, and Woodes were drowned, aswell in Scotland as in England.

After the ceassing of which tempest, the lands that sometime were Earle Godwines (of whom ye haue heard before) lying not farre from the towne of Sandwich, by violent force and drift of the Sea, were made a sande bed, and euer sithence haue beene called Godwine sandes.

The people haue thought that this vengeance came to that peece of grounde being possessed by his posteritie, for the wicked slaughter of Alured, which he so trayterously contriued.

Moreouer sundrie Castelles and Townes in Murrey lande were ouerthrowne by the sea Tydes.

Such dreadfull thunder happened also at the same time, that men and beastes were slaine in the fields, and houses ouerturned euen from their foundations.

In Louthian, Fife, and Angus, trees and corne were burned vp by fire, kindled no man knew how, nor from whence.

In the dayes of this Malcolme Cammore, liued that famous hystoriographer Marianus a Scottish man borne, but professed a Monke in the Monasterie of Fulda in Germany. Also Veremond a Spanish priest, but dwelling in Scotland, florished about the same time, and wrote the Scottish historie, whome Hector Boetius so much followeth.

Malcolme had by his wife Queene Margaret (otherwise called for hir holinesse of life S. Margaret) vj. sonnes, Edward (as is said) was slain: Etheldred, which died in his tender age, and was buried in Dunfermling: and Edmond which renounced the world, & liued an holy life in England: the other three were named Edgar, Alexander and Dauid. There be that write how Edmond was taken, and put to death in prison by his vncle Donalde Bane, when he inuaded the kingdome, and vsurped the crowne, after the decease of his brother king Malcolme, and so then was Edgar next inheritour to the crowne.

This Donald Bane, who (as before is mentioned) fled into the Iles to eschue the tyrannical malice of Makbeth, after he once heard that his brother king Malcolme was dead, returned into Scotland by support of the K. of Norway, vnto whom he couenanted to giue the dominion of all the Iles, if by his meanes and furtheraunce hee might obteyne the crowne of Scotland.

Donalde Bane returneth into Scotlande.

His couenant for the gift of the Iles to the king of Norway.

Herevpon landing with an armie in the Realme, he founde small resistance, and so with little adoe receyued the crowne, for many of the people abhorring the riotous maners and superfluous gurmandice brought in amongst them by the English men, were willing inough to receiue this Donalde for their king, trusting bycause hee had beene brought vp in the Iles with the olde customes and maners of their auncient Nation, without tast of the English lykerous delicacies, they shoulde by his seuere order in gouernment, recouer againe the former temperancie of theyr olde progenitors.

The respect that the people had to receyue Donald Bane for their king.

As soone as Edgar Adeling brother to Queen Margaret was aduertised that Donalde Bane had thus vsurped the crowne of Scotland, he sent secretly for his three nephewes, Edgar, Alexander, and Dauid, with two sisters which they had, to come vnto him into England, where he had not kept thē any long while, but that a knight whose name was Organ, or Orgar, accused him of treason, alledging howe he nourished his sisters sonnes and daughters within the realme, in hope to make them inheritors to the crowne: but the malice of this false surmise remayned not vnpunished, for one of Edgars friends, taking in hand to Darraine battaile with Organ, in defence of Edgars innocencie, slue him within lystes.

K. Malcolmes sonnes sent for into England by Edgar their vncle.

Orgarus, or one Organ accuseth Edgar Atheling of treason.

Organ is slaine within lystes.

After that Donalde had receyued the crowne at the Abbay of Scone, he perceyued that some of the nobles grudged at his preferment, shewing by some tokens that they had more affection vnto king Malcolmes children, than vnto him, and therfore he cast out a worde amongst his familiers, that ere ought long the nobles shoulde repent them of their doings, if they applyed not themselues the more to his opinion. Which wordes being marked, & deepely imprinted in some of their harts, turned afterwards to his great displeasure. For shortly after came Duncan, the bastard son of king Malcolme out of Englande into Scotlande, supported with an armie of men appointed by king William the Red, to place him in the Kingdome, & to expulse Donald out of the same by force of armes, if he attempted any resistance.

Donald threatneth.

Duncan Malcolmes bastard sonne.

Nowe when Donald approched with his puissance in purpose to haue giuen battaile, the most part of his people did forsake him, and drewe vnto Dūcanes side, so that Donald thus abādoned of thē that shuld haue ayded him, was cōstrained for his refuge to flee again into ỹ westerne Iles: & so Duncan then cōming vnto Scone, receyued

Duncane is crowned king of Scotlande.

the crowne of Scotlande, but for that he had bin trayned the moſte part of his life in the warres both in England and France, he had ſmall ſkill in ciuill gouernment, iudging that thing onely to ſtande with iuſtice, wich was decided with ſpeare and ſhielde. By reaſon whereof Scotland was ſhortly filled with newe troubles and ſeditious deuiſions.

Duncane lacked skill in ciuil gouernment.

Donalde Bane being aduertiſed of all thoſe things, that hereby happened in Scotland, ſolicited Makpẽder Earle of Mernes to take his part, & by ſome meanes to ſlea king Duncane, which enterpriſe Makpender taking in hand, at length (in Menteth) accompliſhed the ſame in the night ſeaſon, when he had eſpied ſuch aduauntage and opportunitie of time, that not ſo muche as one man was founde to purſue him.

Makpender Erle of Mernes ſlayeth king Duncane.

But to ſay the truth, Duncane was ſo farre out of the peoples fauour, that mo reioyced than were ſorie for his death.

After he was thus diſpatched, his vncle Donalde was reſtored againe to the kingdome, chiefly by ſuppорte of the forenamed Makpender, after his nephewe the foreſayde Duncane had raigned one yeare and an halfe, where Donalde himſelfe had raigned before he was expulſed by his ſayde nephewe, the ſpace of ſixe Monethes, and nowe after he had recouered the Kingdome, he continued in the regiment therof three yeares, not without greate trouble and inteſtine commotions: for the moſte part of the Lordes maligning his aduauncement, ſought occaſions dayly to depoſe him.

Donalde Bane is reſtored to the crowne.

In the meane tyme the Ilande men made ſome ſturre, neyther did the warres with Englande ceaſſe, (though without anye greate exployte or enterpriſe worthie of remembrance) ſauing a fewe light ſkirmiſhes betwixt the parties as occaſion ſerued.

At length came Magnus king of Norway with a great fleete, and ſayling aboute the Weſterne Iles, garniſhed all the ſtrengthes within them in moſt defencible wiſe, with men, munition and vitayles, vſurping the dominion as ſoueraigne Lord of the ſame Iles: and at the ſame time ordeyned thoſe lawes and conſtitutions which are vſed there amongſt the inhabitants euen vnto theſe dayes.

Magnus king of Norway cõmeth into the weſterne Iles.

The Scottiſh men hauing great indignation that the Iles being auncientlye parcell of the crowne, ſhould be thus alienated from the ſame, ſent oratours vnto Edgar (who was as ye haue herd the fourth ſonne of king Malcolm) deſiring him moſt inſtantly to come into Scotlãd, to recouer his fathers heritage and crowne of Scotland out of the vſurpers handes.

Edgar king Malcolms ſon is ſent for.

Edgar ſendeth meſſengers to Donalde.

Edgar taking deliberate aduice touching this requeſt, firſt ſent ambaſſadors vnto Donald promiſing that if he woulde be contented to reſtore vnto him the crowne being due to him by lawful ſucceſſion, he woulde gladly reward him with great Lordſhips and reuenues in Louthian: but Donald was ſo far from minding to do him reaſon in this behalf, that cauſing the which brought this meſſage to be put in priſo, he finally ſlue the.

Donald ſlayeth Edgars meſſengers.

Then Edgar by counſell of his vncle Edgar Atheling, purchaſing ayde of men at the hands of king Willia Rufus, ſet forward toward Scotland. At his comming to Durham, he was admoniſhed by a viſion in his ſleepe, that if he toke with him the Baner of Saint Cutbert, he ſhould haue victorie.

Edgar is aydd by king William Rufus.

Saint Cutbert Baner.

On the morrow after, he came into the Abbey Churche, where firſt hearing diuine ſeruice, when the ſame was ended, he diſplayed the foreſayde Baner, and cauſed it to be borne before him in that iourney. Neuertheleſſe king Donalde met him with a mightie armie, and after long fight, was chaſed into the Iles, where he was taken and brought vnto Edgar.

King Donald diſcomfited and chaſed to the Iles.

King Donald is taken.

Some ſay that when the battayles were readie to haue ioyned, his men beholding the Baner of Saint Cutbert ſpred agaynſt them, immediately forſoke him, ſo that he beeing deſtitute of ſuccour, fled, in purpoſe to haue ſaued himſelfe in ſome one of the Weſterne Iles, but being apprehended by the Inhabitants, was brought (as is ſayde) vnto Edgar, by whom he was (howſoeuer the hap of his taking chaunced) caſt immediatly into priſon, wherein he ſhortly after dyed.

King Donald dieth in priſon.

The victorie thus atchieued, Edgar went vnto Edenburgh, and from thence vnto Dunfermeling to viſite the Sepultures of his mother and brethren.



Edgar.

Afterwardes cõming to ỹ Abbey of Scone and aſſembling the Lordes of the Realme, he receyued ỹ crown, and ſhortlye after was annointed by the Archbyſhop of Saint Andrewes named Godrike, in the yeare of our redemption. 1101. For his mother Queene Margaret purchaſed a little before hir death of Vrbane the Pope, that from henceforth all the Kinges of Scotlande ſhoulde bee annoynted.

Edgar is crowned and annoynted.

A priuiledge for the Scottiſh kings to be annointed.

This priuiledge was confirmed afterwardes by Pope John the ſeconde of that name.

The firſt King that was annoynted according to that graunt, was this Edgar in the yere aforeſayde.

Edgar the firſt anointed king of Scotland.

About

About two yeares before, that Edgar thus recouered the Crowne of Scotlande, was that generall paſſage made into the holy lande vnder Godfrey of Bullion, and other Chriſtian Princes.

Amongeſt them as one of the chiefe, Robert Duke of Normandie went, and ſhould haue bin created king of Jeruſalem, had he not at the ſame time heard howe his brother William Rufus king of England was ſlain by chaunce through glauncing of an arrow, ſhot at a Deare in ye new Foreſt, & then hoping to ſucceed him in the kingdome of England, he preferred that honor to the other, wherein he ſawe to be more trauaile than gaine. But at his comming home he found that his yongſt brother Henrie ſurnamed Beauclerke was placed in the kingdome of England, and ſo was Duke Robert his hope fruſtrate of both the kingdomes, and that worthily (as moſte men thought,) for that he refuſed ſo neceſſarie a dignitie, wherein he might haue ſerued the common cauſe of the chriſtian common wealth.

Vnto Henry Beauclerke in the ſeconde yeare of his raigne king Edgar maried the one of hys ſiſters called Maulde.

The other named Marie, hee coupled wyth Euſtace Earle of Bulloigne: Of the whiche mariage was borne a daughter that was the only heyre of the ſame Euſtace in the Countie of Bulloigne, the which when ſhe came to womans ſtate, was maried vnto Stephen Earle of March in England, & of Mortaigne in France, Nephew to Henrie Beauclerke by his ſiſter.

The king of Englande Henrie, had iſſue by Queen Mauld, two ſonnes and two daughters, William and Richard, Euſamie and Maulde.

But now to returne to king Edgar, to ſhew ſome token of thanks towards ſaint Cutbert for his ayd ſhewed as was thought in the battaile againſt his vncle Donalde, he gaue vnto the Monkes of Durham the lands of Coldingham: and to the Biſhop of Durham called Canulph, he gaue the towne of Berwike, but for that the ſame Biſhop wrought afterwardes treaſon againſt him, he loſt that gyft, and the king reſumed that towne into his handes againe.

I do not finde that Edgar had any warres any way forth during all the time of his raigne, a prince rather reuerenced than dred amongſt hys ſubiects for his ſingular equitie & vpright dealing

He departed out of this life at Dundee, in the ix. yeare of his raigne, and after the byrth of our Sauiour 1107.

After the deceaſe of this Edgar, ſucceeded his brother Alexander the fierce, ſo called for his rigorous valiancie in purſuing of theeues and robbers. In the beginning of his raigne, the inhabitants of Murrey lande and Roſſe, beholding him to bee moſte an ende in the Church at his prayers, and diuine ſeruice, after the maner of his parents, ſuppoſed he would proue no great quick iuſticier in puniſhing offenders, & therupon moſt preſumptuouſly they began to rob and reaue on eche ſide, not ſparing to kill and ſlea all ſuche as came in their handes without reſpect to age or ſere, in ſomuche that the yong infants ſmyling vpon the murtherers, beeing aboute to execute their deteſtable crueltie, paſſed by the Swoorde as well as the reyſters: ſuche rooted malice remayned in theyr beaſtly heartes, which vpon renuing theyr olde grudges they now accordingly ſhewed. Theues of Murrey land and Roſſe. The crueltie of theeues.

King Alexander therefore aduertiſed hereof, came into thoſe parties with a competent armie, and apprehending the chiefe authours and captaynes, ſtroke of their heades. Execution.



As he returned backe through the Mernes, there came a woman vnto him weeping in lamentable ſoote, who fell vppon hir knees at his feete, beſeeching him to pitie hir caſe, hauing loſt both hir huſbande and ſonne, by the tyrannous crueltie of the maiſter of Mernes, who for that they had called him afore a iudge in an action of debt, had ſlaine and murthered as well the one as the other. The Earle of Mernes ſonne.

The king moued with this deteſtable kinde of iniurie, lyght beſide his Horſe, and would not alight vp againe, till hee had ſeene the Authour of that heynous treſpaſſe hanged vppon a Gybet. A righteous Iuſticier.

After this comming into Gourie, hee toke in hande to finiſhe and make vp the Caſtell of Baledgar, the foundation whereof his brother Edgar had begun, that it might be an ayde to chaſtice a ſoort of theeues & robbers which haunted the Woodes thereaboutes, to the great diſquiet of all the Countrey. He gaue alſo to the maintenance of that houſe certain landes, which the Earle of Sowrie had giuen him at the Font ſtone when he became his godfather. The Caſtell of Baledgar.

Whileſt he was thus buſie about the furtherance of that worke, diuerſe of thoſe theeues that were acuſtomed to liue by robberies in thoſe parts, perceiuing that this caſtell which the king was about to build, ſhoulde turne vnto their deſtruction, they conſpired his death, & winning by rewards & promiſes, the help of the kings chamberlain to the accõpliſhing of their traiterous and moſt diueliſhe practiſes, they entered one night through a priuie into his lodging, in purpoſe to haue ſlaine him as he had ſlept in his bed chãber: but he by Gods prouidence hauing knowledge of their cõming, ſtarted out of his bed, & caught a ſword which hung neare at hand, wherewith he ſlue firſt his chamberlain that had brought them in, and then diſpatched a ſix of the other traitors, (which were alreadie entred his chamber) with ſingular force & manhood: the other fearing leaſt with the noyſe, his ſeruants that lodged within the houſe, ſhould haue bin raiſed, & ſo haue haſted to aſſaile thẽ on the backs, fled in all haſt poſſible.

Treaſon of conſpirators to haue ſlaine the king.

The kings manhood.

Neuertheleſſe, ſuche purſute was made after them, that many of them were apprehended, and vpon their examination, beeing brought before the king, they declared plainly howe they were encouraged to worke that treaſon whiche they had gone aboute, by ſundrie great Barons and gentlemen of the countrey. Finally, the matter was ſo handled with them, that they diſcloſed the names of thoſe that had thus procured them to the treaſon. Wherevpon the king gathering an army, he marched forth to purſue them, but before he came vnto the water of Spay, the conſpirators had gotten togither their power, & were lodged on the further ſide of the ſame water to ſtop him from paſſing ouer.

The water of Spay.

The king ſeeing them thus aſſembled to impeach his paſſage, ſent his Banner man ſir Alexander Carron with a choſen part of his army to paſſe the water, and to fight with his enimies, where, by the hardie onſet of the ſayde ſir Alexander, they were quickly put to flight, & many of them that were taken in the chaſe, ſuffered death according as they had well deſerued.

Sir Alexander Carron.

The Rebels are vãquiſhed.

The realme after this execution done of theſe offenders, continued many yeares after in good tranquilitie.

This Alexander Carron alſo for that he was ſeene in the kings ſight that day to fight moſte manfully in ſleaing diuers of the rebelles with a crooked ſworde whiche he had in his hande (of whiche ſort many were vſed in thoſe dayes) he was highly rewarded at the kings handes, and euer after named Skrimgeour, that is to meane, an hardie fighter. He had alſo his armes encreaſed with a rampaunt Lion holding a crooked ſword, as is to be ſeene in the armes of his poſteritie vnto this day.

Skrimgeour.

Other there be that ſay he got the ſurname of Skrimgeour, becauſe he ſlue an Engliſh man in a ſingular combate.

The principall of this ſurname in our time helde the Conſtableſhip of Dundee, bearing in hys armes a crooked Sworde in faſhion of an hooke.

After that king Alexander had appeaſed the inteſtine commotions thus within his Realme, he ſet in hande to repayre the Abbey of Scone, wherein he placed regular Chanons, dedicating the Church in the honour of the Trinitie, and Saint Michael.

The Abbey Scone.

Not long after this alſo he chaunced to come into Saint Colmes Inche, where he was conſtrayned to abide three dayes togither through violent rage of weather and tempeſtes: and becauſe he founde ſome reliefe of meate and drinke, by meanes of an hermit that dwelled within the ſame Inche and kept a Chappell there dedicate to Saint Colme, he made of that Chappell an Abbey of regular Chanons, in the honor of ſaint Colme, endowing it with ſundrie landes and rents for the maintenance of the Abbot and conuent of that houſe.

Saint Colmynch.

The Abbey Saint Colmynch buſt.

He alſo gaue vnto the Church of Saint Androwes, the landes called the Boarrinke, ſo named, for that a great Boare was ſlain vpon the ſayde grounde, that had done much hurt in the Countrey therabout. The tuſkes of this Boare doe hang in Chaynes vppon the ſtalles of the Quier in Saint Androwes Church afore the high aulter, and are a.xvj. ynches in length, and foure ynches in thickneſſe.

Landes cal the Boarrin

Boare tuſkes

The Abbey Dunfirmling

Moreouer the Abbey of Dunfirmling was finiſhed by king Alexãder, and endowed with ſundrie landes and poſſeſſions.

Whileſt king Alexander was thus occupied in buylding and repayring of religious houſes, his brother Dauid liued in Englande with hys ſiſter Queene Maulde, and through fauor which the king hir husbande bare towardes him, he obteyned in mariage one Maulde, daughter vnto Woldoſius, or rather Waltheof Earle of Huntington and Northumberland, begot of his wife the ladie Judith that was neece vnto king William ỹ Conquerour, & for ỹ the ſayd Woldoſius or Waltheof had no other iſſue to inherite his lands, Dauid in right of his wife Mauld enioyed the ſame, and was made Earle of Huntington & Northumberland, & had iſſue by his wife a ſonne named Henrie, by whom the lands of Huntington, & ſome part of Northũberland were annexed vnto the crown of Scotlãd, as after ſhal appeare.

Dauid becõmeth to king Alexander.

Wol loſius Earle of Northumberland & Huntingt crow. of

The landes Huntingtõ and Northberland ioyned to the crowne of Scotland.

Maulde the daughter of king Henrie Beauclerke, was maried vnto Henrie the Emperor the fourth of that name, William, Richard, & Euſteme, the reſidue of ỹ iſſue which the ſame Henry

Beauclerke

had by his wife (surnamed for hir singular bountefulnesse, the good Queene Matilde) in comming forth of France to repasse into England, perished in the sea by a tempest, to the great dolour of the king their father, and to all other his subiects of eche estate and degree.

Their mother the sayde Maulde was before that time departed out of this life. It was not long after, but that Alexander deceassed also, and was buryed in Dunfermling byfydes hys fathers sepulture, in the .xvij. yeare of his raigne complete, and from the incarnation of Chriſt A.D. 1125. yeares.

In the dayes of this king Alexander, the kynred of the Cummings, had their beginning, by one John Cumming a man of great prowes and valiancie, obteyning of the king in reſpect thereof certaine ſmall portions of landes in Scotlande.

The houſe of theſe Cummings roſe in proces of time thus from a ſmall beginning to highe honour and puiſſance, by reaſon of the great poſſeſſions and ample reuenues which they afterwardes atteyned.

At length (as often happeneth) the importable height of this lynage was the onely cauſe of the decay and finall ruine thereof, as in the ſequell of this Hyſtorie ye may at full perceyue.

Alſo in the dayes of king Alexander, the order of knights of the Rodes had their beginning, and likewiſe the order of white Monkes, the authour whereof was one Nodobert.

About the ſame time liued that holye man *Richard de Sancto Victore*, a Scottiſh man borne, but dwelling for the more part of his time at Paris in Fraunce, where he dyed, and was buryed within the Cloyſter of the Abbey of Saint Victor, being a brother of the ſame houſe.



But nowe to proceed with the hyſtorie. After the deceaſſe of Alexander the fierce, and firſt of that name, his brother Dauid came vnto Scone, and there receiued the crowne, as lawfull heyre to his brother, for that he left no heyre behinde him.

This Dauid according to the enſample of his noble Parents, ſet his whole care about the due miniſtring of Juſtice, to the honour of almightie God, and the weale of his realme.

He had no trouble by warres with any forraine enimies, ſo long as king Henrie Beauclerke liued.

Therefore hauing opportunitie of ſuch a quiet time, he rode about all the parties of his realme, and vſed to ſit in hearing of iudgement himſelfe, ſpecially cõcerning poore mens cauſes and matters, but the controuerſies of the Lordes and barrons he referred to the hearing of other Judges.

The care of king Dauid for the poore.

If he vnderſtode that any man were endomaged by any wrongful iudgement, he recõpenſed the partie wronged, according to the value of his loſſe & hinderance, with the goods of the iudge that pronounced the iudgement.

A righteous iudge.

Thus in the firſt yeares of his raigne, hee did many things to the aduauncement of the common welth, and baniſhed ſuch banketting cheare as was vſed amongſt his people after the enſample of the Engliſhe men, perceyuing the ſame to breede a great weakning and decay of the auncient ſtoutneſſe of ſtomacke, that was wont to remaine in the Scottiſh nation.

Banketting cheare baniſhed.

He buylded the number of .xv. Abbeyes, part of them in the beginning of his raigne before the warres were begon which he had with the Engliſhe men, and part after the ſame warres were ended.

King Dauid buylde .xv. Abbeyes.

The names of thoſe Abbeyes are as followeth: Holy Rode houſe, Kelſo, Jedburgh, Melroſſe, Newbottell, Holmecultrane, Dundranane, Cambuſkenneth, Kynlois, Dunfirmling, Holme in Cumberland: alſo two Nunries, the one at Carleil, & the other at north Barwike: with two Abbays beſide Newcaſtel, ỹ one of S. Benedicts order, and the other of white Monks.

The names of the Abbeys buylded by king Dauid.

He erected alſo foure Biſhoprikes within his Realme, Roſſe, Brechin, Dunkeld, and Dublane, endowing them with riche rentes, fayre landes, and ſundrie right commodious poſſeſſions.

Foure Biſhops ſeas erected in Scotland.

Moreouer he tranſlated the Biſhops Sea of Murthlake vnto Aberden, for ſundrie aduiſed conſiderations, augmenting it with certaine reuenues, as he thought expedient.

There goeth a fond forged tale, that this king Dauid being in the Caſtel of Edenburgh, on the holy Rood day in Haruell, otherwiſe called the Exaltation of the croſſe, it chaũced that through erecting of certaine yong Lordes and Gentlemen, after he had beene at Churche, hee toke his horſe and rode forth into the next woddes to hunt the Harte, for in thoſe dayes all that countrey was full of Woods and waſt grounds, repleniſhed with Deare and wilde beaſtes, ſmall tyllage as then being vſed in any part of the Realme, for all the people in maner were giuen to breeding of Cattell, more than to any other trade of liuing.

A tale.

The Countrey about Edenburgh in olde time full of Wood.

The king therefore being paſſed through the dale or valley whiche lyeth plaine Eaſt from the ſayde Caſtell (where nowe ſtandeth

Cannogate. the Cannogate) the Houndes were caſt off, and great noyſe rayſed what with their opening and blaſt of hornes, that all the wilde beaſtes were ſone on foot for dread thereof, and diuerſe of them



freyght had in chaſe. And nowe was the King come to the foote of the hyll, and all his nobles ſeuered here and there from him, when ſodenly appeared to his ſight the faireſt Hart that euer man ſet eye vpon: The pynne or noyſe of this Hart comming towardes the king with his full courſe, made the kings horſe ſo afrayde, that he was not able to ſtay him with the reigne, but that he ran quite away with him, through thicke and thin, the Hart ſtill following ſo faſt and with ſuche violence, that at length hee bare both horſe and man to the grounde: And as the king caſt backe his handes betwixt the tyndes of this Hart, to defende himſelfe from hurt, there ſlipped a croſſe into his handes after a myraculous ſort, and immediately therewith the Hart ruſhed away with great violence, and could neuer after be ſeene.

A croſſe falling into the kings handes.

This was in the ſame place where nowe ſpringes a fountaine called the Rood Well.

There is no man that could tell of what matter this Croſſe was made, whether of mettall, ſtone, or of tree.

A dreame.

He was admoniſhed alſo, (as the report goeth) in his ſlepe the next night after, that he ſhould buylde an Abbay in the ſame place where thys chaunce happened. Wherupon he ſent for workmen into Fraunce and Flaunders, and ſet them in hande to buyld this Abbey of Chanons regular, as he was admoniſhed, dedicating it in the honor of the Croſſe.

Holy Rood houſe builded

The foreſayde Croſſe remayned in this Abbey, til the dayes of king Dauid Bruce, who loſt it to the Engliſh men at Durram field where he was taken priſoner. But inough of the Monkiſh deuiſes.

Many prudent men blame greatly this immeaſurable liberalitie of king Dauid, thus by him vſed towards the Church, in diminiſhing ſo hugely the reuenues of the Crowne, being the cauſe that manye noble Princes his ſucceſſours haue come to their final endes, for that they haue beene conſtrayned through want of treaſure to maintayne their royall eſtates, to procure the fall of ſundrie great houſes, to poſſeſſe theyr landes and liuings.

Liberalitie of king Dauid toward the Church reproued.

Alſo to rayſe payments and exactions of the common people, to the vtter impoueriſhment of the realme.

And ſometime haue they bene conſtrayned to inuade Englande by warres as deſperate men, not caring what came of their liues.

Otherwhiles haue they beene inforced to ſtampe naughtie money, to the great preiudice of the common wealth.

All which miſchiefes haue followed ſithe the time that the Church hath beene thus enryched, and the crowne empoueriſhed.

The Church enriched, and the crowne empouerished. The ſaying of king Iames the firſt. A ſory Saint.

Therfore king Iames the firſt, when he came to king Dauid his Sepulture at Dunfirmling, he ſayd, that he was a ſory Saint for the crown, meaning that he left the Church ouer riche, and the Crowne too poore.

For he toke from the crowne (as Iohn Maior wryteth in his Chronicles) lx. thouſand pound Scottiſh of yearely reuenues, which he endowed thoſe Abbayes with. But if king Dauid had conſidered the maner how to nouriſh true religion, he had neyther endowed Churches with ſuch riches, nor buylt them with ſuch royall magnificence: for the ſuperfluous poſſeſſions of the Church (as they are now vſed) are not only occaſion to cuill Prelates to liue in moſte inſolent pompe and corruption of life, but alſo an aſſured net to drawe all maner of gold and ſiluer out of

Io. Maior. Lx. M. pounde in landes giuen to the church.

Superfluous poſſeſſions of the Church.

the

the realme: howbeit leſſe domage would follow if the Abbays were at the proulſion of their ordinaries without any diſpenſation from theyr habite and religion, and the ordinaries to be placed and admitted by their paymate without exemption, and the paymate by the councel prouincial: for within theſe .lxx. yeares ſayth the tranſlator of Hector Boetius his Chronacles (meaning from the time that he wrote, whiche was aboute the yeare of our redemption .1530.) no benefices at all were fetched from Rome, ſaue onely Biſhoprickes.

Sithe whiche time it is knowen wel inough (ſayth he) what golde and ſiluer hath gone forth of the realme for the purchaſing of ſpirituall promotions.

And therfore it is (as he alſo ſaith) to be doubted, leaſt the realme ſhal be brought to irrecouerable pouertie by continuall promotion of Prelates within theſe fewe yeares, ſo as it ſhal be an eaſie pray to the enimies, ſithe it may not ſuſtayne ſo great charges, nowe (by reaſon hereof) in time of warres as it hath done in the dayes of our elders. Thus muche haue I taken forth of the ſaide tranſlators wordes, and of Iohn Maior his booke, touching the abuſe of ſpirituall mes poſſeſſions, the which both of them do earneſtly lament with many moe wordes in the place before alledged, where they make mencion of king Dauid his great munificēce towards the church.

But nowe to returne where I left, touching the hiſtorie, ye ſhall note that as I ſayde before, king Dauid had by his wife Mauld inheritour to parte of Northumberland, Cumberland and Huntington, a ſonne named Henry, who maried the Erle of Warrannes daughter, a lady of high parentage, as diſcended of moſt noble bloud both French and Engliſh. On whom he begat three ſonnes, Malcolme, William, and Dauid: alſo three daughters, Adhaina, Margaret, & Maulde.

But now in the meane time whileſt the eſtate of the common wealth in Scotland, ſtood in high felicitie, vnder the proſperous gouernmēt of king Dauid, there happened to him an heauie loſſe: for the Queene his wife the foreſayd Mauld deceaſſed in hyr flouriſhing age, a woman of paſſing beautie and chaſtitie, whiche two poynts (as is thought) commende a woman aboue all the reſt.

King Dauid therefore toke ſuche griefe for hyr death, that he woulde neuer after giue his minde to marie any other, but paſſed the reſidue of his life without companie of all women. She was buried in Scone, in the yeare of our lorde God. 1132.

Whileſt theſe things came thus to paſſe in Scotland, Henry Beauclerke king of England, cauſed all the nobles of his realme to take theyr othes, that after his deceaſſe they ſhould receyue his daughter Mauld the Empreſſe for their ſouereine Ladie and Queene. Mauld the Empreſſe.

She was as then returned into England: for hyr huſbande the Emperoure was lately before deceaſſed.

King Dauid alſo toke this othe, and therefore when king Stephan (who vſurped the crowne of England after king Henries deceaſſe againſt the ſaide Empreſſe) ſent vnto king Dauid to come and to do his homage for the Erledomes of Northumberlande, Cumberlande and Huntington (according as by his tenure he was bounde to do) with intimation that if he refuſed, king Stephan woulde inuade him with open warre: King Dauid anſwered, that he had giuen his faith once afore hand for thoſe landes vnto the Empreſſe Maulde, which he minded not to breake for the threatening wordes of any new inuaſours. King Stephan. Homage is required.

King Stephan moued with this anſwere, ſent a power of men to the bordures of Northumberland (whiche as then was vnder the dominion of the Scottes) to make a rode vpon the inhabitants of that countrey. They that had the charge of this enterpryſe, entring into the landes of theyr enimies, put all to the fire and ſworde that came in theyr way. The Engliſhmen inuade Northumberland.

The Scottes kindled with that diſpleaſure, roded into England, and did the like diſpleaſures and hurtes there. The Scottes make rodes into England.

For the yeare after, the Earles of Marche, Menteth, and Angus entred into England with a great armie, againſt whom came the Earle of Glouceſter, and giuing them batayle at Northallertoun, loſt the fielde, and was taken pryſoner himſelfe with diuers other nobles of England. The Earle of Glouceſter Robert was againſt K. Stephā, but there might be ſome other happely, vnto whom K. Stephan had giuen that title.

King Stephan therefore, conſtreyned to redeeme the captiues, gaue not onely a great ſomme of money for them, but alſo made reſignation of all ſuch title, clayme and intereſt as eyther he or any of his ſucceſſours might make or pretend to the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland. A reſignatiō.

Howbeit his nobles were no ſooner returned home, but that repenting him of that reſignatiō, he gathered his puyſſance againe, and entring into Northumberland, fought with the Scottes that came forth to reſiſt him, and obtayning the victorie, toke a great parte of the countrey into his poſſeſſion. King Stephan repenteth.

King Dauid to redreſſe theſe iniuries, gathered a mightie army, with deliberate minde, either to expell the Engliſhmen out of all the bounds of his dominions, or els to die in the payne.

But ſhortly after, Thurſtane Archbiſhop of Yorke came vnto Roxburgh called in thoſe dayes Marken, to treate for a peace, where a truce was concluded for three monethes, with Roxburgh in old time Marken. A truce.

condition that the Englishmen should deliuer vp the dominion of Northumberland vnto the lord Henry king Dauid his sonnes.

But for so muche as this couenant was not perfourmed on king Stephens side, king Dauid inuaded that part of the cuntrey which the Englishmen helde, making greate slaughter of all them that he found there about to resist him.

King Dauid inuadeth Northumberland.

King Stephan moued herewith, leuied his people, and came in puissant aray vnto Roxborough: but for that he had secrete knowledge that some of the nobles in his armie soughte hys destruction, hee was constrayned to returne without atchieuing of any worthie enterprise.

King Stephan passeth vnto Roxbourgh.

King Stephan returneth.

The yeare next ensuyng, a peace was talked vpon, the Archbishops of Cantozbury & Yorke appointed commissioners in the treatie therof on the behalfe of king Stephen, and the bishops of Glasgewe, Aberden, and Saint Andrews on the partie of king Dauid. But Maulde queene of Englande, the daughter of Eustace Earle of Boloigne, and neece to king Dauid by his sister Marie, was the chiefest doer in this matter, to bring them to agreement.

The one of the kings, that is to say Stephen, lay at Duresme with his nobles, and the other, that is to say Dauid, lay at Newcastell, during all the time of this treatie, which at length sorted to the conclusion of a peace, on these conditions, that the counties of Northumberland and Huntingdon shoulde remaine in the gouernement of Henry Prince of Scotland, as heire to the same by right of his mother:

A peace.

Couenants of agreement.

But Cumberlande shoulde be reputed as the inheritance and right of his father king Dauid.

And for these landes and seigniories the forenamed Prince Henry and his successours Princes of Scotlande should doe homage vnto kyng Stephen and his successours kings of England for the tyme being.

Homage.

The peace thus ratified betwixt the two kinges and their subiectes, kyng Stephen returned into Kent, and king Dauid repaired into Cumberland, where he fortified the towne of Carleile with new walles and dyches.

Carleil was repaired by William Rufus K. of England, about the yeare of our Lorde. 1092.

Thus passed the three first yeres of king Stephens reigne.

In the fourthe yeare came Maulde the Empresse into Englande to clayme the crown therof (as in the Englishe historie more playnely may appeare.

But whylest Englande was sore tormented with warres by contrarye factions of the nobles for the quarelles of those two persones, no small sorrow happned to Scotland for the death of Herie the prince of that land, and onely sonne vnto king Dauid, who died at Kelso, and was buried in the Abbey church there, in the yeare of our redemption. 1152.

The death of Henry prince of Scotland.

His death was greatly bemoned aswel of his father the king, as of all other the estates and degrees of the realme, for such singular vertue and noble conditions as appeared in hym. 1152.

But yet for that he lefte issue behynd him. iij. sons and. iij. daughters (as before is mencioned) the Realme was not thoughte vnprouided of heires.

Prince Henr his issue.

The king also being mortified from the world, toke the death of his sonne very patiently, considering that al men are subiect vnto death by the lawe of nature, and are sure no longer to remaine here, than their day appointed by the eterne determination of him that giueth and taketh away lyfe and breath when pleaseth him, as by daply experience is most manyfest.

The lawe of nature.

Therfore that king Dauid wayed the losse of his sonne in suche balance, it maye appeare by an Oration which hee made to his nobles, at what tyme after his sonnes decease, they came to comforte hym. For he perceyuing them to be ryghte heauie and sorowfull for the losse whiche he and they had susteyned by the death of so towardly a prince, that was to haue succeeded him, if God had lent him lyfe thereto: in the ende of a royall feast the whiche he made vnto those nobles that came thus to visite hym, hee beganne in this wyse.

An oration.

Howe great your fidelitie and care is whiche you beare towards me, although oftetimes heretofore I haue proued it, yet this present day I haue receyued most ample fruite therof: for now do I plainely see, that you lament no lesse for the losse of my late deceassed sonne, than if you had buried some one of your own sonnes, & are therefore come to your great trauaile & paine to comfort me, whom you esteeme to be sore afflicted for the ouer timely death of my sayde moste obedient sonne: but to let passe for this time due yelding of thanks to you for the same, till occasion and leysure may better serue thereto: this nowe may suffice, that I acknowledge my self to be so much beholden to you, that what soeuer thing I haue in the worlde, the same is ready to do you pleasure. But cõcerning the cause of your comming hither in shewing your courtesies therein, you shall vnderstande, that my parentes whom I truste to be in heauen, and (as Saintes) enioy the fruytes of theyr vertuous trauayles here taken on earth, did so instruct me from my tender youth, that I should worshipp with all reuerence the most wise creatour & prouident gouernour of all things, and to thinke that nothing was done by him in vaine, but that the same is prouided & ordeyned to some good vse by his highe and inscrutable counsell, and therefore whylest day and nighte I haue and do reuolue and call to remem-

remembraunce the preceptes and inſtructions of my parents, what ſo euer hath chaunced eyther touching aduerſitie or proſperitie, good happe or bad, the ſame hath ſeemed to me (at the firſte) receyuing all things with equall and thankefull minde, and interpreting them to the beſte, farre more light than they commonly ſeeme to others, and leſſe they did diſquiet me, ſo as with ble I haue learned at length, not onely patiently to beare all aduerſities that may happen, but alſo to receyue the ſame as things pleaſant and euen to be deſired. And verily my happe hath bene to be greatly exerciſed in this behalfe, for I haue firſte ſeene my father, more deare to me thã any earthly treaſure, and no leſſe profitable than greatly deſired of all the people, and yet neyther the loue of the people, nor of his kinſmenne and frendes might warrant him from this fatall neceſſitie of death. I haue knowen my mother right famous in the worlde for hyr ſinguler vertue to paſſe hence in like maner. My bretherne that were ſo louing, and againe ſo greatly beloued of me, alſo my wife whom I eſteemed more than all other creatures, are they not gone the ſame way, and compelled to beare deaths harde ordinaunce? So verily ſtandeth the caſe, that no man might yet at any time auoyde the violence of his force when he commeth, for we all alike owe this life vnto him, as a due debte that muſte needes be payd. But this is to be receyued with a thankfull minde, in that the bountifull beneuolence of our God hath graunted that we ſhall be all immortall, if we our ſelues through vice, and as it were ſpotted with filthie diſeaſes of the minde, do not fall into the danger of eternall death. Wherfore of right me thinke I haue cauſe to reioyce, that God by his ſingular fauour hath graunted to me ſuche a ſonne, whiche in all mens iudgement was worthie to be beloued whileſt he was here amongſt vs; and to be wiſhed for now, after he is departed from hence: but ought we to take it heauily, that he to whom he belonged, and who had lent him vnto vs, ſhould call for him again, and take him that was his owne? For what iniurie is it, if when I ſee occaſion I ſhall aſke that againe whiche you haue poſſeſſed through my benefite as lent to you for a time? Neyther do I truſte to want him long, if God ſhalbe ſo mercyfull vnto me as I wiſhe him to be, for I hope ſhortly to be called hence by commaundement of that moſt high king, and to be caried vp to reſt among that felowſhippe of heauenly ſpirites, where I ſhall finde my father and mother, my bretherne, wife, and ſonne in far better eſtate than here I knew thē. Therfore that I may repete it once againe I reioyce (I ſay) to haue obtained in my ſon, by ẏ grace of ẏ ſupernal God, ẏ I am aſſured by faith, he is already in ẏ place to the whiche all we do earneſtly wiſhe that we may attayne, and do endeuour by all meanes, that when the time cõmeth in whiche our ſoules are to be louſed forth of theſe frayle bodies of ours as out of pryſons, they may be found worthie of that companie, in which our cõfidence is, that he now moſt bliſſefully is remayning. Except any man may thinke that wee are ſo enuious, that therefore we do lament, bicauſe as yet we ſticke faſt ouerwhelmed & drowned in ſuche fylthye myres and combered in ſuche thornye thickets and buſhes, oute of the whiche he (beeing now deliuered of all cares) hath eſcaped. But let vs rather by followyng the fote ſteppes of him and other vertuous perſons that are gone afore vs, labour both day & night, that at length through heauenly fauour, wee may come to the place where we do reckon that by deuine power he is alreadie arriued. After that the king had made an end of his Oration, and thankes giuen to God for his bountifull munificence, they roſe from the table and departed to theyr lodgings, they all greatly marueyling at the kings highe prudence and godly wiſedome.

Malcolme the ſonne of Henry proclaimed prince of ſcotlande.

After this was Malcolme the eldeſt ſonne of the before mencioned prince Henry, proclaymed in his place prince of Scotlande, and conueyed through the moſte partes of the realme by Duncane Earle of Fyfe, and other of the nobles appointed, to attende vpon and to receyue the othes of all the Barons for theyr allegiaunce in his name. William the ſecond ſonne of prince Henry was conueyed into Northumberland by the foreſayde nobles, and there proclaimed and created Erle of that countrey.

Erle of Northumberlande.

Then went king Dauid himſelfe vnto Carleile, where he met with Henry the ſonne of the Empreſſe, who receyued the order of knighthood there at his hands. This was a little before that the ſame Henry came to an agreemẽt with king Stephen, whereby he was admitted to the poſſeſſion of halfe the realme of Englande, and promiſed by othe of aſſurance (as the Scottiſh writers ſaye) that he ſhoulde neuer be aboute to take the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Huntingdon from the crowne of Scotland.

Henry the emperoſſe hir ſon receyueth the order of knighthode.

Shortly after was king Dauid taken with a ſore diſeaſe and maladie, which continued wyth him to the ende of his lyfe.

And ſo when hee perceyued himſelfe to waxe faynte and feeble, he required to be borne to the Churche, where he receyued the ſacrament of the Lordes bodie and bloud, with moſt ſolemne reuerence, and then being brought againe to hys chamber, he called together his nobles, and commending vnto thē his yong nephewes, the ſonnes of his ſonne the forenamed prince Henry, he kiſſed eche one of them after an other, moſt inſtantly

The exhortation of king Dauid to his nobles.

ly desiring them in the honour of almighty God, to seeke the preseruation of common quiet, to the aduauncement of the publike weale.

King Dauid departeth out of this life.

This done, he departed out of this life in the xxix. yeare of his raigne, or rather in the .xxx. yere if he reygned .xxix. and two moneths, as Iohn Maior hath.

1153.

His body was buried in Dunfermeling, after the incarnatiō of Christ our sauiour .1153. yeares.

His singuler pitie towardes the poore.

Howe farre this prince king Dauid excelled in noble vertues and sober conuersation of lyfe, I haue thought it better to passe ouer with silence, than to go about in few wordes to comprehende that, wherein if I shoulde spende muche time, I were not able yet in any wise worthily to performe: for where in suche cases fewe things are slenderly shewed, the residue may seeme to be omitted through fault of the writer: but yet this is not to be forgotten that where his singuler pitifull regard whiche he had towardes the releefe of the poore, passed all other his notable vertues,

King Dauids court.

he purged his court also in suche wise of all vicious rule & misordered customes, ỹ his whole family was giuen onely to the exercise of vertue, no riotous banqueting nor surfeting cheare was vsed amongst them, no lasciuious worde heard come forth of any mans mouth, nor yet any wanton signes shewed to prouoke sensuall luste or carnall concupiscence.

King Dauids seruantes.

All the wordes, workes, and whole demeanour of his seruaunts tended to some good conclusion. Nothing moued to stryre stryfe or sedition, but al things ordered in suche frendly and peaceable sorte, that the chayne of brotherly loue seemed to haue linked them all in one minde and will.

King Dauids example, a rule of godly liuing.

Such a rule was theyr maister king Dauid vnto them and all other, to direct and frame a perfect and godly life after.

Malcolme.



KIng Dauid being dead and buried (as before is mencioned,) Malcolme nephew to him by his sonne Henry, succeeded in ỹ astate.

He was but .xiij. yeares of age, when he began his reygne, but yet his modestie and vertuous conditions were suche, that all men conceyued a good hope, that he would proue a right noble and worthie prince.

The educatiō of king Malcolme.

He was nourished and brought vp in suche vertue, euen from his infancie, that deliting in chaste conuersation and cleannesse of body and minde, he liued single all the dayes of his life, and without mariage, wherefore he was surnamed Malcolme the Mayden.

About the time of his entring into the possession of the crowne, there was a greate dearth through all the boundes of Scotlande.

A dearth.

And sone after followed a sore death bothe amongst men & beastes, though it was not perceyued that the disease whereof they died was any thing contagious.

A death not contagious.

Hereof did one Somerleid the Thane of Argile take occasion to attempt an higher enterprise, than stode with the baseneste of his lynage and estate: for considering that the one halfe of the realme was consumed by mortalitie, and the other halfe neare hande famished through lacke of fode, hee thought it an easie mater for him, now whilest the king was vnder yeares of ripe discretion, to vsurpe the gouernance of the realme into his owne handes, and so assembling togither an huge companie of such as in hope of pray lightly consented to his opinion, hee came forward to make as it were a full conquest, sleaing and spoyling all such in his way as went aboute to resist him.

Somerleid Thane of Argile, goeth aboute to make himselfe king.

Somerleids crueltie.

But his presumptuous enterprice was shortly repressed: For Gylcrist Earle of Angus lieutenaunt of the kings army, reysed to resist Somerleides attempts, encountred with him in batayle and slew .ij. M. of his menne. Somerleid hauing receyued this ouerthrowe, and escaping from the fielde, fledde into Ireland, and so saued his lyfe.

Gilcrist fought with an army against Somerleid.

Henry the second of that name king of Englande, hearing that Malcolme had thus subdued his domestical enimies, dread least he being enboldened therwith, should now attempt somewhat against the Englishmen, and therefore by counsell of his Nobles, he sent an Herald vnto king Malcolme, commaunding him to come vnto London, there to do his homage vnto him, for the landes of Cumberland, Northumberlād, and Huntington, in maner and forme as his graundfather king Dauid had before done vnto his predecessour Henry the first, with certificate, that if he fayled he would take from him all the sayde landes.

K. Malcolme summoned to do homage.

King Malcolme obeyed this cōmaundement of king Henry, but yet vnder condition, (as the Scottish writers affirme) that it shoulde in no maner wise preiudice the fraunchesses and liberties of the Scottish kingdome.

The same time king Henry had warres against Lewes the .vj. king of Fraunce, and so passing ouer into that realme, constreyned king Malcolme to go with him in that iourney against his will, notwithstanding that hee had a safeconduite freely to come and goe.

King Malcome goeth with king Henry into Fraunce.

In this voyage king Henry did much hurte to the

to the Frenchmen, and at length beſieged the citie of Tholous.



In all whiche enterpryſes he had Malcolme preſent with him, to the ende that Malcolme might encurre ſuch hatred and diſpleaſure of the Frenchmen, that thereby the band betwixt them and the Scottes might finally be diſſolued: but in the end king Henry hauing loſte diuers of his noble men by ſickeneſſe, hee returned into England, and then licenced king Malcolme to returne home into Scotland. Who at his cõming home ſent the Biſhop of Murray, and one of his Secretaries vnto the ſea of Rome, as ambaſſadours vnto the Pope, whiche as then hight Eugenius the thirde of that name, to recogniſe the obedience which he ought to the Romaine ſea.

Shortly after alſo, there was a parliament holden at Scone, where king Malcolme was ſore rebuked by his Lordes, in that he had borne through his owne foly, armure agaynſt the Frenchmen their olde conſederate frendes and auncient alies: but king Malcolme excuſed the mater with humble wordes, ſaying he came vnwarely into king Henries handes, and therefore might not chooſe but accompliſhe his will and pleaſure at that time, ſo that he ſuppoſed verily how ẏ Frẽch king would take no great diſpleaſure with his doings, whan he once vnderſtode the trouth of the mater.

King Henry hauing perfect vnderſtanding of this grudge betwixt the Scottiſh Lordes and their king, thought to renew the ſame with more diſpleaſure, and therevpon ſent for king Malcolme to come vnto Yorke to a parliamẽt which he held there, where at his comming, he was burdened by a right greeuous complaynt furmiſed againſt him by king Henry, for that he ſhoulde reuele vnto the Frenchmen, all the ſecretes of the Engliſhe army, when hee was with him in Fraunce, at the aboue remembred iourney, allegyng the ſame to be ſufficient mater, for the which he ought to forfeyt all the landes, whiche he helde of the crowne of England, as Cumberland, Northumberland, and Huntington.

And though king Malcolme by many ſubſtanciall reaſons declared, thoſe allegations to be vntrue and vniuſtly forged, yet by king Henries earneſt enforcing of the mater, ſentence was giuen againſt him, by the generall aſſent of all the eſtates there in that parliament aſſembled. And moreouer to bring king Malcolme in further diſpleaſure with his nobles, king Henry gaue notice vnto them before king Malcome returned backe into his countrey, how he had of his owne accorde renounced all his clayme, right title, and intereſt, whiche hee had to the forſayde landes, ſuppoſing by this meanes to make king Malcolme far more odious to all his lieges and ſubiectes, than euer he was before.

Malcolme therfore, vpon his returne into his countrey, not vnderſtanding any thing of that ſubtile contriued policie and ſlaunderous report, was beſieged within the caſtell of Bertha by the Thane of Ernedale and diuers others.

But after it was knowen howe euill king Malcolme had bene bled, & moſt vntruly ſlaundered, they deſired pardon of theyr offence, as induced therto by vntrue reports, which once being graunted, they brake vp theyr ſiege, and euer after continued in faithfull allegiaunce like true & moſt obedient ſubiects.

But king Malcome ſore moued for that he was thus iniuriouſly handled by king Henry, firſte deſiring reſtitution to be made of all ſuche things as had bene wrongfully taken from him, and ſo deteyned by the Engliſhmen, proclaymed open warres agaynſt them.

At length after ſundry harmes done aſwell on the one parte as the other, they came to a cõmunication in a certaine appointed place, not far from Carleil, where to be briefe, it was finally concluded, that king Malcolme ſhoulde receyue againe Cumberland and Huntington: but for Northumberland he ſhoulde make a playne releaſe thereof vnto king Henry, and to his ſucceſſours for euer.

Fond dealing and not likely to be true.

Sentence giuẽ againſt king Malcolme at Yorke.

King Malcolme is beſieged.

Open warres proclaymed againſt the Engliſhmen.

A concluſion of agreement.

For

King Malcolme hated of his people.

For the which agreement he ran ſo farre into the hatred of his people, that he might neuer after fynde meanes to winne their fauours again, but doubting leaſt if they ſhould ſtirre any rebellion againſt him, they might become an eaſye pray vnto the Engliſhmen, they remained quiet for a tyme.

Feare of outwarde enimies cauſeth quietneſſe at home.

Howbeit ſhortly after, there roſe an other piece of trouble, though leſſe in outwarde appearance, by reaſon of the ſmall power remayning in the authour, yet daungerous inough, conſidering it was within the realme it ſelfe.

Angus the Thane of Galloway rayſeth a commotion: vpon what occaſion writers make not anye mencion.

One Angus as then the Thane of Galloway, perceyuing he might not by ſecret practiſe atchieue his purpoſed intēt (whatſoeuer the ſame was) determined by open force to aſſay what luckie ſucceſſe Fortune wold ſend him, hoping that thoſe which through feare ſate as yet ſtill, would aſſiſte him in all his attemptes, ſo ſone as they ſaw any commotion reyſed by him to occaſion them thereto.

Angus diſcōfited by Gilcriſt.

Herevpon he aſſembled together a great companie: but before he coulde worke anye notable feate, to make anye accounte of, Gylcriſte Earle of Angus, (whoſe faithfull valiancie was before manyfeſtly approued in the ſuppreſſion of Somerleyds rebellion) diſcomfited his power, in three ſundrye bickerings, chaſed Angus himſelfe vnto Whyterne, where is a place of

Whyterne, a place of ſanctuarie.

Sanctuarie priuiledged for the ſafegarde of all offendours that flee therto for ſuccour in the honour of ſainct Ninian.

Angus beſieged in Whyterne.

Malcolme then, for that he durſte not breake the fraunches of that place, ſette a bande of men of warre round about it, to watch that he ſhuld by no meanes eſcape away, ſo that at lengthe a-

Angus yeldeth him ſelfe to the kyng.

wearyed as it had bene with long ſiege, hee yelded himſelfe to the king, who taking his ſonne to pledge for his good abearing in tyme to come, licenced him to go whyther it ſhuld pleaſe him: but the moſt part of his lands and liuings were confiſcate to the kings vſe.

Angus became a chanon.

Whereupon when hee ſawe he myghte not maynteyn his eſtate as he had done before, he became a Chanon in holy Rood houſe, and ther ended his life (as it is reported.)

A rebellion moued by the Murrayes.

It was not long after the pacifying of thys trouble, but that a newe rebellion was rayſed: for the Murray lande men by the prouocation of

Gildo captayn of the rebels.

their Captaine named Gildo, waſted with fyre and ſworde the countreys of Ros, Bowgewal, or Bougdale, Mar, Garcoch, Buchquhane, and the Mernes, in more cruell ſorte, than any forayne and moſte barbarous Nation wold haue

The cruelte of the rebelles.

done, in ſo muche that when the kyng ſente dyuers of his ſeruauntes vnto them to vnderſtand the cauſe of their rebellious doings, they ſlewe thoſe meſſengers, contrarye to the lawe of Nations.

To puniſhe ſuche iniurious attemptes, the abouenamed Gilcriſt was ſente wyth an armie into Murrayland, but the rebels nothyng diſcouraged with the knowledge of his approued prowes, mette hym in the fielde, and put hym to flyght. Gilcriſt diſcōfited by the Murrayes.

Herevpon the king himſelfe ſuppoſing that his preſence was needfull to encourage his people after this ouerthrow, came with a farre greater power than he had ſente forthe before, wyth diſplayed banner, ouer the riuer of Spay, nere to the mouth whereof he foughte with the enimies, and in the ende after ſore and long fyght continued with greate ſlaughter and bloudſhead, hee gaue them the ouerthrowe, and in reuenge of The Murrayes ouerthrowen.

their cruelties ſhewed in tyme of this their rebellion, and to giue enſample to all other hys ſubiectes that ſhuld goe about to attempte the like, he commaunded that none of thoſe of Murray lande ſhuld be ſaued (women, childzen and aged perſons only excepted) but that all the reſidue of that generation ſhuld paſſe by the edge of the ſworde.

Thus the Murray land men being deſtroyed according to his commaundement thorough all partes of the realme, hee appointed other people to inhabite their rowmthes, that the countreye ſhuld not lye waſt without habitation.

The Murrayes deſtroyed.

In thys meane tyme, Somerleid the Thane of Argyle (who as ye haue heard was fled ouer into Irelande) vpon truſt of the hatred into the whiche Malcolme was runne with the moſte parte of all his nobles and commons thorough this ſlaughter of his people, and namely of them of Murrey lande, he thought to aſſay fortunes chaunce once againe, and ſo therevpon returned with certain Kernes and naked men into Scotlande: but this laſt enterpryſe of his came to a more vnluckie ende than the firſt, for being vanquiſhed in bataple at Renfrowe, he loſt the moſt parte of all his menne, and was taken priſoner hymſelfe, and after hanged on a gybet, by commaundement of the king, according to that hee had iuſtly merited.

Somerleid turneth into Scotland.

Somerleid vanquiſhed at Renfrew.

Somerleid hanged.

Malcolme hauing thus ſubdued his aduerſaries, and being nowe in reſt and quiet, he ſette hys mynde wholly to gouerne his realme in vpright Juſtice, & hauing two ſiſters mariageable, he coupled the elder named Margarete, wyth Conone duke of Britayne, and the yonger called Adhama, hee maryed with Florence, Earle of Hollande. King Malcolme maryed.

After thys, there was a councell holden at Scone of all the Scottiſh nobilitie, where when they were aſſembled togyther in the Councell chamber, Arnaulde Archebiſhoppe of Sainct Andrewes ſtode vp, and by a ryght pithye A parliament at Scone.

oration

of Dration, toke vppon him to aduiſe the king to chaunge his purpoſe touching his vow, which (as appeared) he had made to liue chaſte.

He declared vnto him by many weightie reaſons, that it was not only neceſſarie for him and his Realme, that he ſhould take a wife, by whom he might rayſe vp ſeede to ſucceede him in the poſſeſſion of the Crowne) but alſo that he might not chooſe a more perfect ſtate of lyfe (conſidering the office wherein hee was placed) than matrimonie, beeing inſtituted not by this law maker or that, but by God himſelfe, who in no one of all his ordinaunces myght erre or bee deceyued.

Agayne for pleaſure, hee affyrmed howe nothing coulde bee more delectable to him, than to haue a worthie Ladie to hys bedfellowe, wyth whome hee might conferre all the conceytes of his heart, both of griefe and gladneſſe, ſhee being a comfort vnto him as well in weale as in woe, an helpe both in ſickneſſe and health, readie to aſſwage anger, and to aduaunce myrth, alſo to refreſhe the ſpirites beeing wearyed or in any wiſe faynte through ſtudious trauayle and care of mynde. Then ſhewed he what an ayde were children vnto theyr Parentes, namely vnto Kings, howe in peace they might gouerne vnder them to the greate commoditie of the common wealth, & in warre ſupplie theyr rowmthes as Lieutenants in defence of theyr Countreyes, to the no ſmall terrour of the enimies.

Wherefore ſithe men are not borne onely for theyr owne weale, but alſo for the profite of their friendes, and commoditie of their Countrey, it coulde not bee choſen, but that he ought to perſwade with himſelfe to alter his purpoſed intention, concerning the obſeruance of chaſtitie, and to take a wife to the greate ioy and comfort of hys ſubiectes, ſithe it was commendable bothe before GOD and manne, and ſo neceſſarye withall and profitable, as nothing myght bee more.

Men not born for themſelues.

Cõmendable before God and man.

But theſe and many other moſte weightie reaſons could nothing moue his conſtant mind, hauing euen from his tender yeares ſianced hys virginitie vnto Chriſt, truſting that God would ſo prouide, that the Realme ſhoulde not be deſtitute of conuenable heyres, when the time came that it ſhoulde pleaſe his diuine Maieſtie to take him hence to his mercie from amongeſt his ſubiectes.

K. Malcolme might not be perſwaded to take a wife.

Thus brake vppe that Counſell wythoute anye effecte of the purpoſe for the whiche it was called.

Shortly after it chaunced that King Malcolme fell ſicke, continuing ſo a long tyme, by reaſon whereof he ſought meanes to conclude a peace wyth Henrie King of Englande, whiche being brought to paſſe, hee ſette worke men in hande to laye the foundation of Saint Rewles Abbey, which afterwards bare the name of ſaint Andrewes.

A peace concluded with Englande.



The Abbay of S. Androwes buylded.

When hee had finiſhed this houſe, being a goodly peece of worke, and right coſtly, as maye appeare at this day by the viewe thereof, he aſſigned forth certaine rentes for the ſuſtentation of the Chanons, which he placed there of the order of Saint Auguſtine, not ſo largely as ſerued for the maintenaunce of ſuperfluous cheare, but ſufficient yet for theyr neceſſarie fynding: by reaſon whereof, the Chanons of that Abbaye lyued in thoſe dayes in moſte feruent deuotion, hauing no prouocations at all to inordinate luſtes and ſenſuall pleaſures, but onelye gyuen to diuine contemplation, wythoute reſpecte to auarice or inlarging the poſſeſſions

Superfluous rentes of Abbeyes, prouocations to inordinate luſts.

and

and reuenues of their houſe: he founded alſo the abbey of Couper of the Cyſtieux order, and endowed it with many faire landes and wealthye poſſeſſions. Finally being vexed with long infirmitie, hee departed out of this lyfe at Jedburgh the.xij. yeare of his reigne.

The abbey of Cowper founded.

The death of king Malcolm

A Comete.

A certaine comete or blaſing ſtarre appeared xiiij. dayes together before his deathe, with long beames right terrible to beholde. His bodie was buryed at Dunfermeling, after the incarnation 1185. yeares.

1185.

In the days of this Malcolme, Roger Archbiſhop of Yorke, conſtituted the Popes Legate, could not be ſuffred to enter into Scotlande, becauſe he was a man highly defamed for his couetous practiſing to enriche himſelfe by vnlawfull meanes.

Roger archbiſhop of Yorke the Popes legate.



William ſurnamed the Lyon.

After Malcolme, ſucceeded hys brother Willyam, ſurnamed for his ſingular iuſtice the Lyon.

Ambaſſadours ſente to the king of Englande.

Shortely after his Coronation, hee ſente Ambaſſadours vnto Henrye king of Englande, requiring him, that accordyng to iuſtice, he would reſtore vnto him, the Erledom of Northumberland, ſith it appertayned by gwd & lawfull intereſt vnto his inheritance.

King Willi is required to doe homage.

King Henry anſwered the meſſengers, that if king William woulde come vnto London, and there do his homage for Cumberland and Huntington, he ſhoulde be aſſured to haue all things ſo ordered, as he reaſonably coulde wiſhe or demaunde.

King Williās requeſt for the reſtitution of Northumberlande.

Herebpon king William went into Englād, and ſo came vnto London, and after he had done his homage for Cumberland and Huntyngton, he required the reſtitution of Northumberlande, but king Henry made anſwer as then, that for ſo much as the ſame was annexed vnto the crown, he might not without the aſſent of all the eſtates of his realme make reſtitution therof.

The anſwer of king Henrye.

Notwithſtanding, in the next parliament, he promiſed to cauſe the matter to be proponed: and if it came to paſſe that his demaunde were found to ſtand with reaſon, he wold doe therein according to conſcience, when tyme expedient ſhould ſerue thereto.

King Henry ſayleth into Normandie.

About the ſame ſeaſon king Hēry paſſed ouer into Normandy with an army, and cauſed king Willyam, with many other nobles of Scotland to goe with him in that iourney, for king Willyam would not diſobey his commandement at that preſent, in hope to attayne in quiet & peaceable maner his ſuite touchyng the reſtitution of Northumberland, (as the Scottiſh writers doe affirme) but in the ende after he had continued a long tyme with king Henry, and perceyued no comfort to recouer his lands, he got licence with muche adoe to returne home: & ſo cōmyng backe into Englād, paſſed through the realme with his nobles into Scotland, wher he applied his whole endeuour to vnderſtande the ſtate of the cōmon wealth of his ſubiectes, and ſpecially he took order in moſte diligente wyſe, to puniſhe cruelties done by theeues and robbers, which vndoubtedly was one of the moſt profitable acts that he could deuiſe to accompliſhe at that preſent, conſidering the ſtate of his realme, as it then ſtode.

King zele

For if the domages and ſkathes cōmitted by theeues and robbers were equally pondered with the hurtes and hinderances whiche dayly growe by open warre againſt any forein nation, it may well appeare, that more harme ariſeth, and more heynous cruelties are exerciſed agaynſt the poore and miſerable commons and innocent people, by ſuch as liue by reife and ſpoyling at home, than by any outward enimies, be they neuer ſo fearce and ſtrong in the field.

Scotlā endor dome theeu by fo mies.

And therefore the prudente conſideration of this prince, was no leſſe to be commēded, in that hee ſought to repreſſe the licentious outrage of ſuch errant theeues, and priuie murtherers, than if he had ſlayne many thouſandes of forraine enimies.

When he hadde once cleanſed the Realme of thoſe miſgouerned perſons, he ſent eftſoones hys Ambaſſadours to King Henry, requiring as before, to haue Northumberlād reſtored vnto him, with notice giuen, that if he might not haue it with fauour, hee woulde aſſay to recouer it by force.

Amba ſente Henry

King Henry perceyuing that he muſt eyther ſatisfye King Williams requeſt, eyther elſe haue open warres with the Scottes, by aduice of hys nobles, reſtored to king Willyam ſo muche of Northumberland as his grandfather king Malcolme had in poſſeſſion.

See m of in E

King William accepted the offer, but ſo as he proteſted that he receyued not that part in full recompence of the whole whiche was due vnto him (ſo ſaye the Scottiſhe writers) but ſo as his entier right might always be ſaued as wel to the reſidue as to that which was then reſtored.

A porti North lande to the King receyu piece thuml with h ſaued reſidu

Within fewe yeares after, king Henry feeling what hynderance it was for him to forbeare the commodities of thoſe landes, whiche were thus deliuered vp to the Scottiſhe kings vſe, repented him of that bargaine: and therfore to find ſome occaſion to recouer the ſame again, he procured his ſubiectes that dwelled vpon the bordures, to make forrayes into the landes perteyning to the Scottes, ſo to prouoke them to battayle.

King repēti ſelfe o which deliue the Sc kes ne ſions o

Com-

Complaint of theſe iniuries beyng brought vnto the wardeyn of the Scottiſhe boꝛdure, by ſuch Scottes as had loſte ſuche goodes as were taken away by the Engliſhmen, he ſente to demaunde reſtitution, but foꝛ ſo muche as he could haue no towardly aunſwere, he got together a great number of men, the which entring into the Engliſhe grounde, did muche hurt on eche ſide where they came.

At the ſame time was king Henry in France, and therefoꝛe the Engliſhmen thoughte it ſufficient to defend themſelues as wel as they might withoute attemptyng anye notable enterpꝛiſe in reuenge of theſe diſpleaſures doone by the Scottes.

Haruell was alſo at hande, and therevppon they ceaſſed on eyther parte from further inuaſions, tyll the wynter ſeaſon, whyche paſſed alſo without any exployte atchieued woꝛthy to be remembꝛed, ſauing certaine ſmall roades made by the Scottes into the Engliſhe boꝛdures, as they ſawe occaſion to ſerue thereto.

But in the ſommer nexte followyng, kyng Willyam reyſed a myghtie armie, and came with the ſame into Cumberland, the right wing of the whyche armye was ledde by Eilcriſte, whoſe appꝛoued valiauncie often ſhewed in the tyme of king Malcolme, had aduaunced hym to mary with the kings ſiſter.

The lefte wyng was aſſigned vnto the conduſte of one Rowlande the kings couſin, who was alſo lieutenant of the hoꝛſemen.

The middle warde oꝛ battaile, the king hymſelfe ledde.

The Engliſhmen to the intente they might haue tyme and leyſure to aſſemble their power, ſente vnto kyng Willyam, offering vnto him, not only large ſummes of money, if he woulde returne back with his armie without further inuaſion, but alſo redꝛeſſe of all manner of iniuries and wꝛongs if any ſuche on theyꝛ behalfe were to bee pꝛoued: but king Willyam foꝛ anſwere herevnto declared, that hee had not begun the warre foꝛ any deſire he had to money, neyther had he eyꝛſt giuen the occaſion, as one that was euer willing to lyue vpon his owne, ſo that if they could be contented to reſtoꝛe Noꝛthumberlande being his rightfull heritage, he was not ſo deſyꝛous of bloud, but that he would gladly ceaſſe from all further attempts.

The Engliſhmen hauing receyued this aunſwere, to the ende they myght pꝛotract the tyme in ſendyng ſtyll to and fꝛo, tyll they myghte eſpye ſome occaſyon to woꝛke ſuche feate as they had imagined, addꝛeſſed foꝛth other ambaſſadours vnto king William, wyth dyuers fayꝛe offers and golden pꝛomiſes.

In the meane tyme, to take the Scottiſhe men at ſome aduãtage, they conuey their whole powꝛer in the nighte ſeaſon, neere vnto the place where the ſame Scottiſhemen laye in Campe, and deuiding them ſelues into two partes, the one was appoynted to abide in the fields, tyl the ſunne were vp, and then to ſhew themſelues to the enimies, to trayn them foꝛth to battail: The other company was layd cloſely in a valley not far off to take the aduauntage as they ſaw their tyme.

The Engliſhemen ſeeke by policie to vanquiſhe the Scottes.

In the moꝛning about the riſing of the ſunne, thoſe that were appoynted to pꝛocure the ſkirmiſhe, appꝛoched ſo neere to the enimies campe, tyl they came euen within ſyght of them.

The Scottes amazed with the ſtrangeneſſe of the thyng, foꝛ that they had not heard befoꝛe of any aſſemble of the Engliſhmen, at the firſte were ſomewhat afrayde: but anone encouragyng one another, they boldly iſſued foꝛth vpon theyꝛ enimies, who of purpoſe at the firſte made but weake reſiſtance, and at lengthe fledde a mayne, to the intente to cauſe the Scottiſhemen to bꝛeake their arraye of batayle in purſuing them, whyche they did ſo egrely, that they lefte their kyng but ſlenderly guarded with a ſmall companie aboute hym.

The Engliſhe men retyre of purpoſe.

The king lefte but weakely garded.

Then the buſhment lying in the valey, bꝛake foꝛthe vppon hym, accoꝛding to the oꝛder beſoꝛe appoynted, and in the meane tyme, the other that fledde, caſte themſelues aboute, and manly abode their enimyes, ſo earneſtly laying it to their charge, that in fine they dꝛoue them backe, and conſtrayned them to flee in good earneſt, whyche they themſelues had but only couterfaited to do beſoꝛe.

King William perceyuing his people thus diſcomfited, and himſelfe encloſed on eche ſyde, amongeſt his enimies, after he had aſſayed to bꝛeake foꝛth on ſome ſyde from amongſt them when he ſawe his endeuour couldꝛ by no meanes pꝛeuayle, and that the enimyes made onely at him, he yelded himſelfe.

The Scots conſtrained to flee

King William yeldeth himſelf priſoner.

There was not muche bloud ſpilled on eyther ſyde at this bickering, foꝛ the one parte in the beginning of the fꝛaye (as ye haue hearde) fleing of ſette purpoſe vnto the place where theyꝛ ambuſhe laye, eſcaped without much hurt, and the other ſtaied by the bꝛeaking foꝛth of the ambuſhe aboade the bꝛunt but a ſmall whyle, returning immediatly towards the king, and then perceyuing they couldꝛ doe no good, they made the beſt ſhift they couldꝛ eche man foꝛ himſelfe to eſcape the enimies handes.

The king being thus take of his enimies, was conueyed vnto king Henry ouer into Noꝛmandie where he was as then remaining. The yeare that king William was thus taken, was after the byrth of our Sauiour Chꝛiſt. 1174. and the

King William conueyed into Normandie.

1174.

nynth of king Williams reigne.

Discorde of writers.

Other writers report the maner of his taking not altogether agreeable with that whiche wee haue here aboue remembred, who declare how king William after he had wasted all Cumberlande, came into Northumberlande, not ceassyng tyll he came to Anwyke, where he stayed for a tyme to haue had battayle, but in the meane whyle the Englishmen laye close togither withoute noyse or apperance, in suche wise that no Scottishmã could haue understanding where they were.

At lengthy king William awearied with long tarying thus at Anwike, and seeing no enimies to appeare, determined to worke some exployte yet before his returne, and therupon sent forth the most parte of all his armie abroade into the countrey, to forrey the same, keeping no greate companie about hym, tyll the returne of the other thus sente forth.

Wherupon incontinently a great ambushement of Englishmen came upon him with counterfayted Scottishe ensignes, and were not once suspected for Englishmen, til the king was compassed in by them on eche syde, & so finally taken & led away ere any Scottishmã wist therof, saue a few which were left (as is sayd) wyth hym for ẏ time. In deed Wilhelmus Paruus a Chanon somtyme in the abbey of Bridlington in Yorkshire, in that his book which he writes of ẏ Norman kings of England, affirmeth how ther wer not many moe than aboute three score horsmen with king William whyle he was thus taken, and that the Englishemen were not passe foure hundred horsemen, whiche toke upon them that enterpryse: whose capitaines as he reciteth were these: Robert de Stuteuille, Ranulfe de Glaunville, Bernard de Balliole, and diuers other.

Wilhelmus Paruus.

Capitaines of the English men.

The same authour writeth, that after the taking of the king, there rose a mutinie amongest the Scottes: for where as the Irishe Scottes bare a naturall grudge agaynste the Englishe Scottes, yet whylest the king was presente amongst them, they durste not vtter their malicious intentions: but nowe that he was thus take from them, so many of the English Scots as fell into the handes of the Irishe payd derely for the bargayne, beeyng cruelly murthered and slayne: so that the residue were constrayned to get them out of the waye into castelles and townes where they myght be receyued.

W. Paruus.

But nowe it is to be considered, that bicause there was no great slaughter made at the taking of king William, the warres notwithstanding continued betwixt England and Scotland: for the two before specified chieftains Gilcrist and Rouland stoutly withstood the Englishmen, & bet them backe as they enterprised to enter into Cumberland. At length a peace was taken during the time that king William remayned in captiuitie vnder these cõditions that Northumberland shoulde continue vnder the dominion of the Englishemen, and Cumberlande with the Erledome of Huntington to remayne as afore vnder the gouernance of the Scottishmen.

Gilcrist and Rouland resist the englishmen.

Northumberland vnder Englishmen.

Immediatly vpon the taking of king Williã thus at Anwyke, his brother Dauid Earle of Huntington, thorough licence of king Henrye, came into Scotlande to haue the gouernemente of the realm, til ẏ king his brother might be redemed. So sone therfore as he had once established the realme in good quiet and iustice, he sent Richard the bishop of S. Andrewes with diuers other noble men ouer into Normandy, to take order there with king Henry, for the raunsome of the king his brother: whiche was agreed in this maner. First it was accorded, that king Williã should become & acknowledge himselfe to be the king of Englands liege man against al men (for the realme of Scotland and his other lands) and for the same should do fealtie to the sayd king of England, as to his liege soueraigne lord, in lyke sort as other his liege people were accustomed to doe. And further he shoulde also do fealtie vnto the Lorde Henry, the king of Englands sonne, (sauing always the faith whiche he ought to the king his father.) And in like maner it was couenanted and agreed, that al the prelates of Scotland, and their successours, should recognise their wonted subiection to the churche of Englande, and doe fealtie to the king of England so many of them as he should appoint: And likewise the Erle and barons of Scotlande, and their heires for their parte, should do their homage and fealties vnto the sayd king of Englande, and to the lord Henry his sonne, so many as therunto shuld be required.

Dauid erle Huntingt.

The king Scots do altie to the king of land for S lande. Roger. Hou. Math. W.

The prelats of Scotland fealtie to the king of England.

The erles lords do mage vnto him.

Moreouer the king of Scots should paye for his redemption one hundred thousande poundes sterling, the one halfe to be payd in hand: and for sure payment of the other halfe, the Erledomes of Cumberlande, Huntington, and Northumberlande should be deliuered vnto king Henry in pledge or mortgage, tyll the tyme that the sayde summe was payde. And for the more suretie of these couenentes, & that the Scots should moue no warre against the Englishmen, foure of the strongest castels within Scotlãd, that is to wit, Barwike, Edenburgh, Roxburgh, & Stirueling were deliuered into ẏ Englishmens hands. These things being thus ordred the. 8. day of Decẽber, 1175. ẏ king retorned home, ther folowed a newe sturre in Scotlande, for Gilbert of Galowaye, a right cruell & most mischeuous person, purposing to conquer ẏ rest wone by force, made great slaughter on all them that withstode his desire. And bicause his brother repressed his wrongs, he put

King Wil raunsom

Foure cast deliuered the engli in pledge

Gilbert o lowaye re leth.

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out his eyes, and cut off his handes.

Againſt this Gilbert was Gilcriſt ſent with an armie by the king.

There was foughte a ſore battayle betwixte them, for the moſte parte of thoſe that followed Gilbertes commaundemente, were deſperate fellowes, ſuche commonly as for murder and other heynous crimes by them committed,



were in daunger of the lawes, and therefore vpon hope of pardon deſired a chaunge: but in the end yet, Gilcriſt with multitude wanne the field of them, and ſlewe mo in the chaſe than in the batayle.

Gilberte himſelfe eſcaped and got ouer into the yle of Man, fled from thence into Ireland.

Wilhelmus Paruus reporteth this matter ſomewhat otherwyſe, as thus: In the armie of king William (ſaith he) when he was taken nere vnto Anwike, were two brethren, Gilberte and Hared, that were lordes of Galloway, hauing there with them a greate retinue of their countreymen.

Theſe were the ſonnes of Fergulius, ſometyme lorde of that Prouince, after whoſe deceaſe the kyng of Scottes that is ſuperiour lord therof, deuided the countrey betwixt theſe two brethren, but Gilbert the eldeſt brother found him ſelfe muche grieued to haue any parte of thoſe landes (whiche were his fathers) gyuen from him: but yet doubting puniſhment at the kings handes, he durſte not attempt any thing againſt hys brother till it fortuned the king to be taken. And then deliuered of the feare which had ſtayed his miſchieuous purpoſe, he taketh his brother at vnwares, and cruellye murthered hym after no common manner, but rather martyred hym in beaſtly wyſe, ſo to ſatiſfie the inſtincte of his diuell ſhe nature. And immediatlye after inuading the vpper countreyes, he exerciſeth greate ſlaughter of men on eche hande. But his brother had a ſonne called Rowlande, whiche proouing a valiant yong Gentleman, boldly reſiſted his vncles rage, with the aſſiſtance and ayde of his fathers friendes.

And thus was Scotlande brought into trouble (as Wilhelmus Paruus recordeth) til by the forelayd Gilcriſt the murderer was expulſed, as before is expreſſed.

In the yeare following, came Hugo Cardinall of Saincte Angelo as Legate from the Pope into England, with authoritie to reforme the Engliſhe Churches, in ſuche cafes as were thoughte requiſite: And after hee had made an ende there, to doe the like in Scotlande.

Hugh cardinall of Saincte Angelo the Popes legate.

When he had therfore finiſhed with Englande, hee cited all the biſhoppes of Scotlande to appeare before hym at a day prefixed at Northaunton.

The biſhops of Scotlande ſummoned to a conuocation at Northampton.

They came according to his apointment, and being aſſembled there in conſiſtorie, he wente about in moſt craftie wiſe to perſuade them to receiue the Archbiſhop of Yorke for their metropolitane: but one Gilbert a yong man, howbeit ſingularly well learned, and for his holyneſſe of lyfe much commended (as Hector Boetius writeth) being ſent of purpoſe by king William vnto this Conuocation, to foreſee that nothing were concluded in the ſame, preiudiciall to the auncient liberties and franncheſes of the realme of Scotlande, did argue ſo ſtiffly to the contrary, that the Cardinal left off the purſute of ſuch maner of matter, and brake vp that councel without determination of any thing to the purpoſe in that behalfe.

Gilbert a learned man defended the liberties of Scotland.

This Gilbert that thus defended the cauſe & liberties of the Scottiſhe Clergie, was afterwarde made Biſhoppe of Cathnes, and finally after hys departure oute of thys tranſitorie

Gilbert biſhop of Cathnes.

Sith lyfe

lyfe, registred for his supposed perfect holynesse of lyfe amongst the number of sainctes.

The chiefest cause that moued the Scottishe Clergie to withdrawe their obedience from the primacie of Yorke, was the dissention and continuall eminitie betwixt the two nations for superioritie in temporall causes.

The same yeare ỳ this counsel was holden at Northampto, sundry vnketh wonders wer seene in Albion. On Midsommer day being the feast day of the Nativitie of Sainte John the Baptist, there fell suche a storme of haile, that it killed manie sheepe and smal cattel: people that wer out of houses, and from vnder couert any where abroade, were beaten to the earth with violence of that storme.

Wonders.

Hayle.

The sunne in September aboute noonetide, was darkned for the space of two houres together, without any eclipse or cause natural by interposition of clowdes.

The sun darkned.

In Yorkshire was so terrible thunder with straunge lyghtening, that many abbeys & churches were consumed with the fyre.

Thunder.

About this season, the abbey of Arbroth was buylt in most magnificent wyse, and endowed with landes and reuenues in suche ample sorte, that fewe houses within the boundes of Albion might compare therwith.

The foundatiō of the abbey of Arbroth, or Aberbrothok.

The Churche was dedicated in the yeare of grace. 1178. by king William, in honor of Thomas Becket archbishop of Cantorburye, with whome (as is sayd) he had greate familiaritie in tyme of his yong yeares.

1178.

The same time the abbey of Hadington was founded by Adhama the mother of kyng William, and shortly after she had buylt it, she dyed.

The abbey or Nunrie of Hadington founded.

Not long after king William sente as Ambassadours John Bishop of saint Andrews, and Reignalde Abbot of Arbroth vnto Pope Alexander the thirde, to presente vnto him his obeysance, according as he thought stode with hys duetie.

Ambassadours to the Pope.

The Pope seeming to reioyce thereat, sente shortly after vnto the king a Rose of gold, filled with balme, and certaine newe priuiledges concerning the libertie of the Church of Scotlande.

A rose of gold

The same tyme Gilcrist hauing his wyfe in suspition of adulterie, droue hir out of doores, and afterwards strangled hir in a village called Manys, not past a myle from Dundee.

Gilcrist murthereth his wyfe vpon suspition of adulterie.

The king (for that she was his sister) took such indignation therewith, that he seized vpon al his landes and goodes, purposing to haue put hym to death if he myght haue got him into his handes: but when he sawe he coulde not be founde, hee proclaymed hym traytour, and rased hys Castell (wherein hee had dwelled) quite to the grounde, in suche wyse that vneth remaynyth any token at this day where it stode.

The kings indignation against Gilcrist

Gilcrist proclaimed traytour.

This Gilcrist had a brother that hight Bredus, who before this mischance had got the landes of Ogiluie: of whome the house of the Ogiluies toke their beginning, that after came to greate authoritie in the Courte, though at this tyme throughe Gilcristes offence his whole familie was neere hande destroyed.

Bredus the brother of Gilcrist.

The house of the Ogiluies.

Aboute this tyme also, the Queene, kyng William his wyfe deceassed.

A daughter whiche he had by hir, named Adhama, he gaue in maryage vnto the Earle of Laon: But he he himself after the decease of this his fyrst wyfe maryed Ermengard, daughter to Richarde Vicount of Beaumount that was sonne to a daughter of king William the conquerour.

The earle of Laon.

Emengard. 1186.

By this mariage and aliance, the peace was newly confirmed betwixte England and Scotlande in suche wyse, that neyther part might receyue any rebelles to the other, by meanes wherof Gilcrist, that before was fled into England, was constreyned to returne into Scotland, disguysed in poore weede, with two of his sonnes, & there passed forth his lyfe a long tyme in great mysterie amongst the woodes and in out places, vnknowne to any man what he was, by reason of his poore and simple habite.

The peace confirmed with Englande.

The miserable state of Gilcrist.

Somewhat before the aboue remembred marriage, Henry king of Englande at the motion of Hugh bishoppe of Durham rendred vp the Castell of Edenburghe into kyng William his handes.

The castell of Edenburgh restored.

About this tyme the Souldane named Saladine prospered hugely against the Christians in the holy lande, making suche cruell slaughter of them, that to heare thereof, all christian heartes were moued to pitifull commiseration and dolorous teares, in so muche that Henrye kyng of Englande vowed to goe thyther wyth an armie to relieue the common necessitie of the christian publique weale, and hadde gone in deede, if hee had not bene hyndered by the conspiracie of his sonne, whome lately before he had caused to bee crowned kyng, that wente aboute to vsurpe the sole administration to hymselfe nowe in his fathers lyfe tyme.

Saladine the Souldane.

King Henrie purpose to go into the holy land against the Sarasins hindered by rebellion of his sonne.

Aboute the same tyme king William wente with an armie into Ros, agaynste Makulzen and Makbein, two Capitaynes of the western Iles, whiche vsed vppon occasion to passe ouer into Ros, Cathnes and Murrayland, spoyling and wasting those countreyes, and when they hearde of any power comming agaynste them, they would streyghte returne to their shippes, and repasse againe to the Iles.

Makulzen & Makbein captaines of pyrates.

But at this tyme, the king had sente forth a Navie to bryng all those vessells, wherein

the

robbers hadde paſſed ouer and had left at anker, by reaſon wherof when they were encloſed in on euery ſide by the king, and taken priſoners, they after ſuffered death on the wheele, accozding to the maner of the ciuill lawe.

The king in his returne from this iourneye, came by the abbey of Abirbzothok, to viewe the wozke of that houſe, how it went fozward, commanding them that wer ouerſeers & maſters of ỹ wozks to ſpare foz no coſtes, but to bzing it vp to perfection, and that with moſt magnificence.

After his departure frō thēce, he toke the way toward Bertha, & by aduēture eſpied where Gilcriſt was deluing vp turfes togither with his .iij. ſons, & though he knew not what they were, yet he muſed to ſee two ſuch goodly yong men, as by reſemblance they appeared to be, to be thus occupied in ſuche toyling and baſe labour.

Incontinētly herewith Gilcriſt with his bald head came afoze hym, and falling downe on his knees at the kings feete, ſayde: If there be anye mercie in thee (moſt ruthful prince foz them that are brought thzough their offentes into extreme miſerie, hauing ſuffred condigne puniſhment foz the ſame: I beſeeche thee foz the loue that Chriſt had to all ſinfull people, not ſparing to ſhead his moſt precious bloud foz their redemptiō, to haue ſome pitie and compaſſion on me, and theſe my poze and miſerable ſonnes, which with me haue ſuffred muche griefe and penurie, not hauing deſerued the ſame by any crime by them cōmitted.

At the laſt, when king William had enquired of him what he was, and how it chaunced he fell into ſuch kind of miſerie, the teares came ſo faſte trickling downe frō his eyes, that of a long ſpace he was not able to declare his owne name.

At length being come to himſelf, he ſaid, I am Gilcriſt (noble prince) ỹ moſt ſozowfull creature on earth, which (alas) put my hands in thy bloud and was therfoze diſinherited of all my lands, and baniſhed with theſe my two ſons out of thy realme, wherupon we remained in England foz a time, till thzough proclamation made againſt outlawes, I was conſtrained to come hyther againe with my ſaid ſonnes, where we haue liued by rootes all the ſommer ſeaſon, and nowe in the winter are glad to get our liuing with trauayle of hand thus in digging & deluing of clods: therfoze if any ruthe oz pitie haue place in thy hearte, oz that thy indignation be qualifyed, haue mercy on our ſozowful eſtate, & remit the offence, wherby thou mayſt not only purchaſe greate honour and fame by example of pitie, beeing highly renoumed foz that vertue amongſt al nations, but alſo winne great merite afoze God, foz ſhewing thy ſelfe the folower of Chriſte, the giuer of all mercie, grace, and peace.

The king moued by theſe wozdes, and remēbzing the good ſeruice whiche Gilcriſte had employde ſo often tymes afoze in defence of the realme, and agayn pitying his caſe to conſyder from what degree of honour he was fallen into the deepeſt bottome of extreme miſerie, hee toke him wholly to his fauour, and not only fozgaue him his fozmer offences, but alſo reſtozed vnto him, and to his ſonnes, al ſuche landes as ſometymes appertained vnto them, except ſo muche as the king had alreadie giuen vnto the Abbey of Abirbzothok.

The king taketh Gilcriſt to his fauoure, and reſtoreth vnto him his landes.

Gilcriſt euer after perſeuered in due obedience to his prince, and foz ſo much as his eldeſt ſonne deceaſſed befoze him without heires, and that his yonger ſonne by reaſon of ſome impediments, which he had, was vnmete foz mariage, he gaue the moſt part of his lands after his owne deceaſſe vnto the ſayd houſe of Abirbzothok.

Gilcriſts gift vnto the houſe of Abirbrothoke.

His yonger ſonne alſo, no leſſe wel affectionated towardes the ſaide houſe, gaue the reſydue of his landes thereunto.

The father and bothe his ſonnes are buryed befoze the Aulter of Saincte Catherine within the Church of this abbey, as the ſuppliſcription of their toombes ſheweth.

Though kyng Willyam was earneſtly occupied in the aduaunceing fozwarde of the buylding of Abirbzothok, yet did he not fozget hys duetie in the adminiſtration of his lawes, but diligently cauſed iuſtice to be executed, to the puniſhing of the wicked, & the rewarding of them that well deſerued.

He made alſo ſundzy newe lawes foz the reſtraining of theeues and oppzeſſours of the people, ſo rigozous, that they myght bee in feare to heare him named.

Lawes deuiſed by king William againſt theeues.

Furthermoze, where as the Church of Scotlande was ſubiecte to the church of Yozke, he obtained of Pope Clement the third of that name letters of exemption foz his Clergie, wherby the Churche of Scotlande (within the which were conteyned the Biſhoppes ſeas of Saincte Andzos, Glaſgo, Dunkelde, Dublayne, Bzeghne, Abirden, Murray, Ros, and Cathnes) was declared exempte from all other fozrayne iuriſdiction except onely from that of the ſea Rome, ſo as it might not bee lawfull from thencefozth to any that was not of the realme of Scotlande to pzonounce ſentence of interdiction oz excommunicatiō, oz otherwiſe to deale in iudgement of eccleſiaſtical cauſes, except ſuch one as the Apoſtolike ſea of Rome ſhould ſpecially appoint and ſend thither with legantine power. The date of ỹ ſaid bul oz letters of exēption thus obteined was at the Popes palace of Laterane, the third Ides of March and firſt yeare of the ſaide Pope Clements gouernment. Shozтly after, to wit in the yeare. 1198. died Henry king of Englande, after

The death of Henry king of England.

whome succeded his seconde sonne Richard: for Henrye his eldest son deceassed before his father.

King Richard.

King Richard after his coronation, prepared himself to passe with an army into the holy land, and therfore made peace with all his neighbors, that no trouble shuld follow to his realme by reason of his absence: & herevpon to kepe the Scots in frendship rather by benevolence than by feare, he rendred into their handes the castels of Rorburgh, Barwike, and Sterlyng: And moreouer that parte of Northumberlande whiche hys father had taken from king William when hee toke him prisoner.

The castels of Rosburgh, Berwik, and Sterling rendred to king William.

He also deliuered the Erledomes of Huntingdon and Cumberland, but vnder condition, that all the castels and holdes within them, shoulde be in the keeping of his captains and souldiours, suche as he should appoynt.

He released to king William also the residue of such summes of money as were due for the foure castels layde to guage, ten thousand poundes only excepted, which he receyued in hande at that present towards the charges of his iourney.

When king William had thus receyued hys lands and castels by surrender, he made his brother Dauid Erle of Huntington, who therupon doing his homage vnto king Richard, according to the olde ordinance deuised by king Malcolme the first, wēt with him also in that voyage with fiue hundred Scottishemen, or rather fiue thousande (as the translator of Hector Boetius hath) if no fault be in the printer. As the chrisstian armye laye at siege before the citie of Acres, otherwise called Acon, it chaunced that one Oliuer, a Scottishman born, was within ỳ town retained in seruice amōgst ỳ Saralins, for being conuict of felonie in his native coūtrey he was banished out of the same, & fled to the Saralins, remaining so long amongst them, ỳ he had lerned their toung very perfectly, so that as then fewe knewe what countreyman he was. It fortuned that this Oliuer had one of the gates in keping, on ỳ side the towne where was but a single wall without trenches, or any other fortification.

Erle of Huntington. Scottes with king Richard in the holye lande.

The siege of Acres. Oliuer a scottishmen.

He happed by some good aduenture to espy amongst ỳ watch of those ỳ were of the retinue of Dauid Erle of Huntingtō, one of his own kinsmē named John Durward, with whom of long time before he had bin most familiarly acquainted: and incōtinētly he called vnto ỳ same Durward, desiring vnder assurāce to talke with him. After certain cōmunicatiō, for ỳ this Oliuer had not as yet vtterly in his hart renoūced ỳ chrisstian faith, he appointed with Durward e to giue entrie at a certaine houre vnto Erle Dauid, & to al ỳ chrisstian army, vpon condition ỳ Erle Dauid wold see him restored again vnto his land & heritage in Scotlād. The houre set, Erle Dauid came with a great power of mē to ỳ gate before rehersed, where he was suffred to enter according to apointmēt, and incontinētly with great noise and clamour brake into the middest of the citie.

Iohn Durwarde.

Erle Dauid entred the citie Acon.

In the morning betimes king Richard perceiuing the citie thus wonne, entred the same, & shortly after also wan a towre, which the Saralins for a while mānfully defended: and thus was the citie of Acres won from the Saralins, chiefly by meanes of the Scottishemen. But now touching their returne from this voyage (for sith in other places more large mencion is made of such exploites as were atchieued therin, I passe ouer to make any lōger discourse therof in this place) ye shall vnderstand, ỳ in that streynable tempest, in ỳ whiche king Richards naue was dispersed in his cōming homewardes as in the historie of England is more at large expressed) ỳ ship also that Erle Dauid was in, chaunced to be throwen a lande on the coastes of Egypt, where being taken prisoner, & led into Alexandria, at length he was redemed by certain merchants of Uenice, & first conueyed vnto Constantinople, & after vnto Uenice, where he was bought out & redeemed by the English marchants, & in the end suffred to depart home. At his cōming into Flanders, he hyred a vessell at Sluyce, therwith to returne into Scotland, but beieng lewsed a little off from the shore, such a vehement tempest sodenly arose that droue him, not without great dāger of life, neere to the coastes of Norway and Shetland.

Erle Dauid taken prisoner. He is redemed.

He went to Scotlande.

Here in the middest of this extreme ieopardie (as hath bin reported) after he had made a vowe to buylde a Churche in the honour of the virgin Mary, if he myght escape that daunger of seas, he ariued at length in Tay water beside Dundee, not farre from Sainct Nicholas Chapell, without eyther rudder or tackle.

Arriued at Dundee.

The place where he arriued before that time hyghte Alectum, but hee as then chaunged the name, and called it Dundee, whiche signifieth as though ye should say, the gift of God.

The name of Dundee.

When his brother the king heard that he was returned, supposing long tyme before, that hee had bin dead, he came speedyly vnto Dundee to welcome him home, shewing himself most glad of his returne, in so muche, that hee caused publike processions to be celebrate thorough the realme, to giue God thankes that had thus restored his brother home into his countrey.

Procession was holden.

Erle Dauid also according as he had vowed, buylded a Church in the fielde commonly called the Wheate fielde, and dedicating it in honour of the virgin Mary, made it a parishe churche.

A Churche buylte.

At a parliamente also holden after thys at Dundee, licence was graunted vnto hym to buylde an Abbey in what place it shoulde please hym within Scotlande, and to endowe it with

landes

landes and rentes as he ſhoulde thinke good.

There were alſo many priuiledges graunted the ſame time vnto Dundee, whiche endure to this daye.

Erle Dauid not refuſing the graunt and benuolence of the king his brother, buylded an abbey called Lundonis, for monkes of the order of S. Benet. One thing there is much to be wondered at, as a ſtrange ſingularitie. For where as that houſe ſtandeth in a valleye, encloſed on eche ſide with wood and water, by reaſon wherof ther is great abundance of adders, yet doth no man catch hurt by any of them, in ſo much as ye ſhal ſee yong children play, and runne vp and down amongſt a great number of them without any ſkath or hurt following vnto them therof.

In this meane while Richard king of England (who alſo in his returne out of the holy land was taken priſoner by the Emperor of Almain) was deliuered for a great ſumme of money, and ſo returned into his countrey.

King William hearing of kyng Richardes return into England, to congratulate the ſame, toke his brother Erle Dauid with him, & came vnto London, where in token of ioy, that he had vnfainedly conceiued for his ſafe cõming home, after all troubles and dangers which he had paſſed, he gaue vnto him .ij. thouſand markes ſterling, for that he knew at what great charges he had bin, aſwell for furniſhing of his voyage, as alſo for redeeming of his libertie.

By theſe frendly points of humanitie ſhewed, there folowed great amitie & loue betwixt theſe two kings. But king William fell ſicke in England, and as it often hapneth, ſuche as wer vnquiet perſons, deſirous to be deliuered of all feare of lawes, were ſtreight way put in an vntrue belief, that he was dead: and cauſing it to bee bruted abrode, began to exerciſe all kinde of miſdemeanors by inuading the poore and ſimple people, with ſpoiling and ſlaughters in all parts.

But after it was certainly knowne, that the king was not onely alyue, but alſo recouered of his infirmitie, & cõming homewards, thoſe lynmars and wicked rebels withdrew vnder ỹ conduct of one Herald ỹ Thane of Cathnes, & Erle of Orkney vnto the vttermoſt bounds of Scotlande.

Howbeit the king purſued them in ſuch diligent and earneſt maner, that he apprehẽded the moſt part of them in Cathnes, & cõmaunded iuſtice to be done on them, in ſuch wyſe, that mercie was not yet wanting: for ſuch as were thought to bee after a ſorte gyltleſſe, were pardoned, and the other puniſhed, euery of them accordyng to the meaſure of his offences.

But the principall leader of them, that is to wite, the forenamed Herald, for that tyme eſcaped into the weſt Iles, but ſhortly after, returning into Cathnes, he was taken and brought to the king, who cauſed his eyes fyrſte to be put out, then gelded, and laſtly to bee hanged on a paire of gallowes. The Thane of Cathnes take. Seuere puniſhtion.

Alſo all thoſe of his lignage that were men, were lykewiſe gelded, that no ſucceſſion ſhould followe of ſo wicked a weed.

In the yeare nexte enſuyng was more dearth felte in Scotlande, than euer was hearde off before: for a meaſure of Barley in Scottiſhe called a bolle, was ſold for fiue crownes, and yet in the yeare next following, accompted from the Natiuitie of our ſauiour. 1199. was more plentyfull abundance than euer had bin ſeene afore. Great dearth. 1199.

The ſame yeare kyng Williams wife Ermengarde, was deliuered of a yong ſonne named Alexander. Alexander the prince of Scotlande.

The ſame yeare alſo, dyed Richarde kyng of England, and his brother Iohn ſucceeded in his place. About three yeres after this, was the forſayd Alexander the kings ſonne created prince of Scotland. And the ſame yeare came a legate frõ the Pope ſent to king William, preſenting vnto him a ſworde, with a ſheath and hiltes of gold, ſet full of riche precious ſtones. A legate ſent from the pope

He preſented vnto him alſo a hat or bonet, made in maner of a diademe of purpure hue, in token as it ſhould meane, that he was defendor of the Churche. Manye indulgences and priuiledges were graunted at the ſame time by the Pope, for the libertie of the Church of Scotlande. A hatte. Defendour of the churche.

It was ordeined alſo the ſame time, that Saterday ſhould be kept as holyday from noone forwarde, and greate puniſhment appointed for the that tranſgreſſed this ordinaunce, in doing any bodily worke from Saterday at noone, til Monday in the morning. Saterday after noone to bee kept holy.

After this king Willyam returned agayne into Englande to doe his homage vnto kyng Iohn, for the landes of Cumberland, Huntington, and Northumberland. King Willia did homage to king Iohn of England.

Imediatly wherupon king Iohn willed him to paſſe with him into Fraunce, to make warres againſt the Frenchemen, and becauſe he refuſed ſo to do, king Iohn made clayme to all the forſayd lands as forfayted to the crowne of England, and cauſed a great bootie of goods to be fetched out of the ſame: So that open warres had immediatly folowed, if the Engliſh Lords had not compelled king Iohn to make reſtitution of all the goodes ſo taken, becauſe they thoughte it not expedient in any wyſe to haue warres wyth the Scottes at the ſame tyme, being already in trouble with the Frenchmen.

In the wynter following, the froſte was ſo behement and continued ſo long, that till midde March, no plough might be put into the grond.

Ale ſolde by weight.

He was frozen in ſuch wiſe within houſes & cellars, that it was ſolde by weight.

Such a great ſnow fell alſo therewith, that beaſts dyed in many places in great numbers.

Erthquakes.

Moreouer from the twelfthtide til Februarie, there was euery day righte terrible earthquakes.

After the ende of Winter, king Johan hauing made an ende of his warres with France, he began to buyld a caſtell in Northumberlande ouer againſt Barwike, vppon purpoſe to haue ſome quarell to fall out with the Scottes.

King William being aduertiſed therof, ſente his ambaſſadoures vnto kyng Johan, requiring him to deliſt from ſuch attempts, and not to ſeke any occaſion of new trouble: but for ſo much as he receyued no towardly aunſwere agayne from king Johan, he aſſembled a power, and commyng to the Caſtell, whiche king Johan had cauſed to be buylded, he ouerthrewe the ſame, and raſed it to the earth.

A caſtel ouerthrowne.

King Johan ſore offended herewith, reyſed a mightie armie, and came towardes Scotlande, but at his cõming to the bordures, he founde his aduerſarie king William ready to receyue hym by battayle, if he had come forewarde, howbeit through mediation of prudente men the mater was taken vp betwixte them, ſo that on eyther ſyde the armies wer diſſolued, and both the kings repairing to Yorke, eſtabliſhed a peace there, with theſe cõditions, that Margaret & Iſabel daughters to king William, after the terme of .ix. yeares then next enſuing were once expired, ſhoulde be coupled in mariage with Henry and Richard the ſonnes of king Johan, vpon this paction and couenaunt, that if the one dyed, the other ſhould ſucceede to the crowne.

A peace eſtabliſhed at York betwixt the kings Iohn and William.

The couenãts of the peace.

For the whiche it was couenanted, that king William ſhould giue a right large dower.

Alſo the caſtell which king Johan had builded and king William raſed, it was agreed that it ſhould remayne ſo defaced, and neuer after again to be repaired.

For the ſure performance of theſe articles thus betwixt the two kings cõcluded, nine noble men of Scotlande were appointed to be deliuered as hoſtages vnto king Johan.

Scottiſhe hoſtages deliuered to kyng Iohn.

In that aſſemblie there at Yorke, king William alſo ſurrendred into the hãds of king Johan the landes of Cumberlande, Huntington, and Northumberland, to the intent he ſhuld aſſigne thoſe landes again vnto his ſonne prince Alexãder, and he to do homage for the ſame, according to the maner and cuſtome in that caſe prouided, for a knowlege and recognition that thoſe lands were holden of the kings of Englande, as ſuperiour lordes of the ſame.

A ſurrender made to a vſe.

During the aboade of theſe two kynges at Yorke, there was brought vnto them a chylde of ſingular beautie, ſonne and heire to a Gentlemã of great poſſeſſions in thoſe parties, being ſore vexed with diuers and ſundry diſeaſes, for one of his eies was conſumed and loſt through an iſſue which it had of corrupt and filthie humours: the one of his handes was dryed vp, the one of hys feete was ſo taken, that he had no vſe therof, and his toung likewiſe that he could not ſpeake.

The Phyſitions that ſawe him thus troubled with ſuche contrary infirmities, iudged him incurable. Neuertheleſſe king William making a croſſe on him, reſtored him immediatly to helth. By reaſon wherof, manie beleeued that this was done by miracle, through the power of almightie God, ẏ the vertue of ſo godlie a prince might be notified to the worlde.

A child healed by king William.

After his returne from Yorke into Scotland, he endowed the churches of Newbottell, Melros, holie Rood houſe, Dunfermling, and Abirdene, with many faire poſſeſſions, as the Letters patentes made therof by him, beare manifeſt teſtimonie.

Churches endowed by K. William.

He alſo erected one new biſhops ſee called Argyle, giuing therto ſufficient landes towards the maynteinance and ſuſtentation therof.

The erecting of the ſea of Argyle.

After this, cõming vnto the towne of Bertha, he had not remayned there many dayes, but that there chaunced ſuch a flood, by reaſon of the riſing & inundation of the two riuers Taye and Almound, that through violence of the ſtreame the towne walles were borne downe, and muche people in the town drowned, ere they could make anye ſhifte to ſaue themſelues, in ſo muche that though the king wyth his wyfe and the moſte parte of his familie eſcaped oute of that greate danger and iopardie, his yongeſt ſonne yet named Johan, with his nourſe and .xij. other women periſhed, & .xx. other of his ſeruantes beſide.

The towne Bertha drowned by inundation.

The king in daunger of drowning.

Iohn the kinges ſonne drowned.

Here was heard ſuch clamour, noyſe and lamentable cryes, as is vſed in tyme when anye towne is ſodenly taken and ſurpriſed by the enimies: for as the common Prouerbe witneſſeth, fyre and water haue no mercie: and yet of theſe two, water is more terrible and daungerous: for there is no force or witte of man able to reſiſte the violence of inundations, wher they ſodeynly breake in.

King William after that the towne of Bertha was thus deſtroyed and ouerflowed wyth water, began the foundation of an other towne, which was after called Perth, by a man of that name that ought the grounde where the ſame towne was buylded.

The towne Perth buylt.

Furthermore to aduaunce the dignitie and augmentation of this towne, the king graunted ſundry beneficial priuiledges and freedoms therto, that it myghte the ſoner ryſe in ryches and wealth.

Freedomes granted to the town of Perth.

The

The firſt foundation thereof was layde after the incarnation of our Sauiour 1210. yeares, but the name was chaunged afterwardes, and called Saint Johns towne, which name it beareth euen vnto this day.

About the ſame time there roſe eft ſoones new trouble in Cathnes, for one Gothred the ſonne of Makuilzem (of whoſe rebellion ye haue heard before) ſpoyled with often incurſions and rodes the Countrey of Roſſe, and other bounds there aboutes.

His companie encreaſed dayly more and more, by repayre of ſuch number of Rebelles as came vnto him oute of Lochquhaber and the Weſterne Iles.

King William to repreſſe theſe attemptes, ſent forth the Earles of Fife and Atholl, with the Thane of Buthquhane, hauing ſixe thouſande in their companie, the which encountering with the enimies in ſet battail, gaue them the ouerthrow, and taking Gothred their chiefe Captaine priſoner, brought him vnto the king, who cauſed both him and diuerſe other which were likewiſe taken priſoners, to loſe their heades.

Gothred himſelfe was ſore wounded before he was taken, ſo that if his takers had not made the more ſpeede in the conueying of him to the king, he had dyed of his hurtes before execution had thus beene done on him accordingly as was appoynted.

About this tyme roſe the diſſention and variance, betwixt John King of Englande, and Pope Innocent the thirde, for that the Engliſhe Cleargie refuſed to ayde the ſayde John with ſuche ſummes of money as hee demaunded of them.

Shortly after, William king of Scotlande, worne with long age, departed out of this worlde at Striueling, in the lxxiiij. yeare of his age, and in the. xlix. yeare of his raigne, and after the incarnation of Chriſt. 1214. yeares.

He was buryed in Aberbrothak before the high aulter within the Quiere.

The yeare afore his death, two Comets or blaſing ſtarres appeared in the Monthe of March right terrible to behold, ỹ one did ſhine before the ryſing of the Sunne, and the other before the going downe thereof.

The yeare next following, there was a Cow in Northumberlande that calued a right monſtruous Calfe, for the head and necke reſembled a verie Calfe in deede, but the reſidue of the bodye was like to a Colte.

In the Winter after, there were ſeene alſo two Mones in the Fyrmament, the one being ſeuered from the other, and in ſhape naturally horned as yee ſee the Mone in hir encreaſing or waning.

King William in his life time founded the Abbay of Balmernocht, but his wife Queene Ermengard endowed it with landes and poſſeſſions after his deceaſſe. The Abbay of Balmernocht founded.

In the. xlvj. yeare of this King Williams raigne, two Monkes of the Trinitie order were ſent into Scotlande by Pope Innocent, vnto whome King William gaue his Palace royall in Abirdene, to conuert the ſame into an Abbay for them to inhabite: and was in minde to haue gyuen them many other bountifull giftes, if he had liued any longer time.



Alexander.

After the deceaſe of king William, his ſonne Alexander the ſecond of that name ſucceeded, and was crowned at Scone wyth all due ſolemnitie, which being furniſhed, hee went vnto Abirbrothok, where he remayned. xiiij. dayes in attending the funerall obſequies of his father, and commaunded that no publike playes, nor great feaſtes ſhould be vſed or kept of all that yeare, to the intent the death of his father might be lamented throughe the whole Realme. Alexander the ſecond is crowned at Scone. A tyme of mourning.

The King himſelfe and all his ſeruants alſo were clothed in mourning weed, during the ſpace of one whole yeare. A Parliament at Edenburgh.

The firſt Parliament which he called, was holden at Edenbourgh, in the whiche he confyrmed all the actes and ordinaunces deuiſed by his father: and further appoynted that all ſuche as had borne offices vnder him, ſhould ſtill enioy the ſame. Namely he commaunded that William Wlod Biſhop of Dunblayne ſhoulde ſtill continue Lord Chancellour, and Alane of Galloway high Conſtable, which is an office of moſt honor and reputation next to the king, as hee that hath power of life and death, if any man drawe bloud of an other by violence within two myles of the Court. Confirmation of Officers. The office of the Conſtable.

When this Parliament was ended, becauſe the olde Queene his mother determined to remayne during the reſidue of hir life in the place where that holye woman Queene Margaret ſometyme led hir lyfe, he gaue vnto hir towards the maintenaunce of hir eſtate, the Caſtelles and townes of Forfair, with the landes and poſſeſſions to the ſame belonging. The landes of Forfair giuen to the olde Queene.

He alſo appoynted certaine ſage and moſte graue perſonages, to be choſen forth as Iudges, which ſhould be reſident in euerie Citie and good towne of his realme, for the hearing and due determining A princely appointment.

termining of all quarels and matters in controuersie betwixt partie and partie.

Dissention betwixt K. Iohn & his nobles.

In this meane time great dissention rose betwixt Iohn king of Englande, & his barons, by reasō whereof great warres ensued, as in the englishe hystorie doth appeare. The Barons made sute both to the frenche king, & to ỹ king of Scots for ayd, so that at length Lewes the frenche kings sonne came ouer to suppoꝛt them, whereof when king Alexander was aduertised, he likewise came with an army through England vnto London, causing his soldiers by the way to abstaine from doing any kinde of domage to the people.

K. Alexander passeth to London.

By his comming things were partly quieted for a time, and shortly after that he had cōmuned with Lewes touching sundrie affayres perteyning to both the realmes, they passed the Seas with ten vessels ouer into France, leauing theyr powers behind them to assist the Englishe lords,

The Frenche king aduertised thereof, came down to Bulleigne, where finding his sonne and king Alexander, he renued the auncient bonde of amitie betwixt France and Scotlande, with the same Alexander, accoꝛding to the couenantes of the olde league, with this addition, that neyther Pꝛince shoulde receyue the enimies of the others realme, noꝛ to marry with any stranger, the one not making the other pꝛiuie thereto.

The league betwixt Fraunce and Scotlande renued.

These things being ratified, king Alexander and Lewes returned into Englande: shoꝛtly whereupon, king John died, moꝛe through anguish of minde and melancholy, than by foꝛce of any other naturall disease.

The best approued wryters affyrme that Lewes wēt not ouer into France, til after the death of king Iohn.

His sonne Henrie the thirde of that name, succeeded him, and in the meane time had the Pope accursed both Lewes, & king Alexander, with all those that fauoꝛed their cause against king John, which curse was pꝛonounced in a generall counsell, which was holden at Rome by Pope Innocent, there being pꝛesent foure hundꝛed and.xij Bishops, and.viij.C. Abbots.

Lewes & king Alexander accursed.

A counsell at Rome.

King Alexander after the decease of king John, returning homewardes with his armie, thought he might haue passed quietly without any annoiance by the way, through meanes whereof, hee lost a certaine number of his men, being sodenly inuaded by such Englishe men, as watched theyr time to take the Scottes at some aduauntage, in straying abꝛode out of oꝛder: with which iniurie king Alexander was so moued, that hee spoyled and harried all the Countreyes by the which hee passed, till he was entred within the confines of his owne dominion.

King Alexander returneth into his countrey.

Shoꝛtly after Cardinall Gualo came into England furnished with the Popes authoꝛitie, to denounce the excōmunication aboue remembꝛed against Lewes & Alexander, with all their fautoꝛs, wherebpon he accursed not only the foꝛesaid pꝛsons, but also interdited all the places where they came, insomuch that in the end Lewes was constrayned to buy an absolution with no small summes of money, of that auaricious Cardinall Gualo, and after vpō agreement also made with king Henrie, he returned into France.

Cardinall Gualo.

Lewes returneth into France.

Not long after, came king Henrie with an army into Scotland, soꝛe endomaging the coūtry: but so sone as he was aduertised that king Alexander had assembled all the pꝛwer of his realme to giue him battaile, he retyꝛed with al speed into England. The king of Englande had in his army at the same time, 1200. men of armes, right pꝛfitly appointed and furnished with armoꝛ and weapon as was requisite, and the king of Scots but only.b.C. But of footemen there were in the Scottish army 60000. able pꝛsonages well appoynted, with Axes, Speares and Bowes, readie to die and liue with their Pꝛince, constantly beleeuing, that to lose this pꝛesent life here in his defence, was an assured way to be saued in an other woꝛlde.

King Henrie inuadeth Scotlande.

Ex codice antiquo S. Albani, written by Mathew Paris (as I take it.)

After that King Henrie was gone backe into Englande, King Alexander followed after him into Noꝛthumberland, where he ouerthꝛew and beate downe many Castels and strengthes, which the English men helde.

K. Alexander in Northumberland.

Then marching through the countrey vnto Carleil, he wan that Citie, and garnished it with his people.

Carleil woone by the Scots.

After this, laying siege vnto Noꝛham castel, when hee had continued at the same a certaine time, and pꝛceiued how he lost but his trauail, he left it & returned home with great honoꝛ and triumph, foꝛ his other atchieued enterpꝛises in that iourney. King Henrie being once aduertised that king Alexander had bꝛoken vp his campe, incontinently got eftsones his people togither, & comming to Barwike, wanne both the towne and Castel: After entring into Scotland, he burned and spoyled the coūtrey alongst by the sea coasts, till he came as far as Hadington, putting al such to the swoꝛd as were found in the way, women, pꝛiestes, and childꝛen onely excepted.

Barwike woone by K. Henrie.

Haddington.

He assayed to haue wonne the Castel of Dunbar, but missing his purpose there, he returned into Englande.

In the meane time, the auaritious Pꝛelate Gualo, vppon trust to purchase some large poꝛtion of money in Scotlande, put the same vnder pꝛoces of interditing, & namely he accursed king Alexander most terribly, foꝛ that he had inuaded England, (and as he alledged) spoyled Churches as well as pꝛophane places. These cursings so inflamed the heartes of the Scottish men with hatred agaynst the Englishemen, that the same was not like to haue ended without the vtter destruction and ruine of both their realmes.

Scotland interdited.

Neuer-

Neuertheleſſe at length, by the diligent trauayle of the Biſhops of Yorke and Saliſburie, which came vnto king Alexander to treate an agreement, a finall peace was concluded, vnder theſe conditions.

Sa-

First it was agreed, that King Alexander ſhould render the Citie of Carlil into the Engliſh mens handes, and king Henrie the towne of Barwike vnto the Scottes.

The whole dominion of Cumberland, to remaine vnto king Alexander with the one halfe of Northumberlande, to the Recroſſe. And further that King Alexander ſhoulde be abſolued of the Cenſures of the Churche, which Gualo the Cardinall had denounced agaynſt him.

Thus the two Kings beeing accorded, the two foreſayde Byſhops comming vnto Barwike, aſſoyled King Alexander, and deliuered his Realme of the interdiction, by ſuche authoritie as they had procured of the Cardinall Gualo.

But yet the ſame Cardinall not mynding to depart with emptie handes, ſummoned all the Prelates of Scotlande to appeare before him at Yorke, there to receyue theyr full abſolution, to the intent by ſuch meanes to trouble them, tyll they had diſburſed to his vſe ſome large portion of money.

Sundrie of them which loued quietneſſe more than contention, ſatisfyed his mynde, but others refuſed vtterly ſo to doe, taking great indignation that ſpirituall cauſes were thus diſpatched for money, & eccleſiaſticall preferments bought and ſolde, no otherwiſe than ſecular poſſeſſions and prophane dignities.

Incontinently thereupon Gualo cited them to Rome, ſuppoſing that rather thã to take vpon them ſo long a iourney, they woulde haue compounded with him at his pleaſure.

Notwithſtanding they beeing nothing in doubt thereof, went vnto Rome, and at theyr commyng thyther, made vnto the Pope their complaint in moſt grieuous maner, of the inſufferable iniuries attempted in England & Scotland, by his moſt couetous Legate the foreſayde Gualo: By reaſon of which complaint, and of ſundrie ſuch letters and informations as dayly came out of England and Scotland, from other Biſhoppes and Abbots, conteyning right grieuous accuſations concerning the inſatiable auarice of Gualo, the Pope reuoked him home vnto Rome, to make anſwer in his preſence vnto ſuch matters as were layd to his charge.

At his returne thither, forſomuch as hee was not able to diſcharge himſelfe of ſuche manifeſt crymes wherewith hee was burdened, the Pope condemned him in a great ſumme of money, to bee payed as a fine for his treſpaſſe and tranſgreſſions.

The Scottiſh Biſhops abſolued.

And thoſe Scottiſhe Biſhops, which were come for their abſolution, were abſolued by the Pope, and ſuffred to depart in peace.

Dauid Erle of Huntington deceaſed.

In this meane tyme, Dauid Earle of Huntington, brother to William late king of Scots, (of whom ye haue heard before howe he went in the iourney made by the Chriſtian Princes into the holy lande) deceaſſed, and was buried within an Abbay in England. 1219

An enterviewe betwixt the kings of Englande and Scotlande.

Henrie king of Englande, after he came to yeares of perfite diſcretion, ſhewed himſelfe to be more deſirous of peace than of warres: Whereupon at Yorke there was a meeting appoynted betwixt him and King Alexander, where mutuall alliaunce was accorded betwixt them on this wiſe.

Mariages concluded.

Jane the ſiſter of King Henrie, was promiſed to bee giuen in mariage to King Alexander, and two ſiſters of King Alexanders, were eſpouſed vnto two great Princes of the Engliſh Nobilitie.

These mariages were thus concluded in the yeare of our Lord, 1220. In the yeare next following, came a Legate into Scotlande from Pope Honorius, with bulles to gather a ſumme of money towards the furniſhing forth of an armie againſt the Turkes or rather Saraſins.

A Legate ſent from Pope Honorius for a collection.

This Legate was a Cardinall, and named Egidius, who hauing purchaſed no ſmall quantitie of coyne both of the Cleargie and Laitie of Scotland, ſpent the ſame in riot and outrageous inſolencie, making his excuſe at his returne to Rome, howe it was taken from him by certaine Bzygants and robbers.

A Legates excuſe.

Within ſhort while after, was an other Legat with ſemblable commiſſion ſent into Scotland from the foreſayde Pope: But king Alexander being aduertiſed of his comming, called a counſell, in the whiche one of the Biſhops that (as ſhould ſeeme) toke great indignation to ſee howe couetouſneſſe raigned in moſte ſhamefull wiſe amõgſt the Romiſh Legates, ſpake in maner as followeth.

An other Legate.

An oration of a Biſhop.

Howbeeit ſundrie conſiderations there are, which might ſtay me from vttering ſuch things as be moſte preiudiciall to the common wealth, yet (moſt noble Prince) when I conſider thy humanitie, fayth, and conſtancie giuen to nothing more than to the defence and weale of thy true liege people, I cannot but (for the zeale I beare to common libertie) declare the truth, for ſithe all maner of tyrannie is intollerable, yea euen that, which is exerciſed by Kings or Princes deſcended by liniall ſucceſſion to theyr rightfull heritage: much more is that tyrannie to bee deteſted, whiche is exerciſed by men of vile and baſe lynage. Therefore if the ſundrie and manifeſt

Tyrannie intollerable.

Men of baſe lidage.

wrongs

wrongs done to vs these many yeares now past, had come by the Popes themselues, the same might somewhat more sufferably haue beene borne, but sithe naughtie vile persons, of base byrth and obscure lynage, promoted to benefices and ecclesiasticall dignities onely for theyr wicked and horrible vices, haue not onely interdyted our Realme, without lawfull commission, but haue also consumed in maintenaunce of theyr wanton and insolent vices; that money whiche they gathered in our Countrey by the Popes authoritie, vnder colour of rayling an army to goe agaynst the Turkes and Infidels, I am of this opinion, that theyr cursed auarice ought to haue no further place amongst faythfull people, specially amongst vs, whose simplicitie and humblenesse they haue in contempt.

Men of base lynage.

In the yeares passed, ye complayned of the iniuries done by Gualo, when he had put your Realme vnder the censure of interdyting, and the most part of your prelates vnder the curse, bycause they would not answere him of money, according to his couetous demaundes, wherewith he might mainteyne his outragious lustes: which Gualo also (as should appeare) by most certaine coniectures, was of suche a diuelish nature, that though he were sent to treate a concorde betwixt the English men and Scottes, yet to satisfie his auaritious desire, he ministred suche occasion of warre betwixt them, that both the realmes (had not the matter beene the sooner taken vp) were at a poynt to haue entered so farre into malicious hatred the one agaynst the other, that it was not lyke, that any peace would haue taken place, tyll the one or both had bene vtterly destroyed. But sith these haynous and terrible deedes are manifest ynough, to what ende should I here remember them, sith the same cannot bee done without your great griefe and displeasure?

The Scottes sore offended against Gualo.

The practise of Gualo.

Moreouer, after we were deliuered of thys Gualo, shortly after commeth another, one shewing him selfe to come forth of the same shoppe: for in conuersation of life, he was to be iudged no whit better, but rather worse: for after he had got vp amongest vs of this realme large summes of money vnder pretence of redeeming the Christian prisoners out of the Sarasins hands, and waging of new armies agaynst them, he wasted the same monye in ryotous lust and insolencie, fayning, when it was gone, that it was bereft him by Byggants.

Therefore sith we haue had experience, and are alreadie sufficiently taught by the doings of the two forerembred Legates, to our heauie griefes and no small domages, we may be worthily reputed vnwise and very fooles in deede, if we now admit the thirde.

For it is not to be thought, that this new Legate shall vse the matter in any better sort, than his fellowes haue done before him.

And verily if any man shoulde demaunde of me, what I thinke ought to be done in this matter, I do for my part protest, that neither this legate, nor any other in tymes to come, ought to be receyued within this realme, considering how the same hath beene wasted and robbed by their continuall exactions: if there be any amongest you that hath more money than hee knoweth which way wel to spend, he may (in the name of God) bestow it vpon the poore, rather than to the vse of such vicious Legates, as order it in suche sort, that all men haue cause to thinke, whatsoeuer commeth into their hands, is but cast away and clearely lost.

The Byshops opinion.

These wordes of this Bishop (whatsoeuer he was) were lyked so well of all the Counsell, that the Legate coulde not be receyued into the Realme.

Legate can be receyued.

After the breaking vp of this Counsell, the mariage was consummate betwixt king Alexander and Ioane, sister to Henrie king of Englande: also betwixt Hubert de Burgh high Iustice of Englande, and Margaret sister to king Alexander, by reason of whiche mariages, the peace was confirmed with the Englishmen, and as it had beene sealed vp for a more full and certaine assurance.

Peace confirmed with the English men.

Shortly after followed ciuill warres in Scotlande, by the motion of one Gilespy Ros, who hauing liued most lycentiously in ryotous outrage, at length arreared open warre agaynst the king, and first slaying diuerse such of his companions as had kept him companie aforetime in his lewde misdemeanors, for that they refused nowe to sticke to him in this rebellious enterprise, hee went with the residue that offred to take his part vnto the towne of Enuernes, which he tooke and burned, with diuers other places being of the Kings possessions, tyll at length Iohn Cumeyn Earle of Buchquhane comming agaynste hym with an armie deliuered to him by the king, pursued the sayde Gilespy in such earnest wise, that finally he toke him with two of his sonnes, and striking off all their three heades, sent the same to the king as a witnesse how he had sped.

Gilespy Ros rebell.

Enuernes burned by Gilespy Ros.

Iohn Cumeyn Earle of Buchquhane.

Gilespy Ros beheaded.

This businesse being thus quieted, an other ensued after this maner: The men of Cathnes sore offended with their Bishop named Adam, for that vpon refusall to pay theyr tythes, he had accursed them, fell vppon him within his owne house, and first scourging him with roddes, at length set fire vpon him and brunt him within his owne kitchen.

New trouble.

Adam Bishop of Cathnes slaine by the people of the countrey.

Which act being reported to the king, as then soiourning at Edenbourgh, he hasted forth with all speede to punish the offenders, not ceasing till he

he had taken foure hundred of them, all the which number he caused to be hanged, and for that hee would haue no succession to come of such a wicked seede, hee appointed all theyr stones to lose their stones.

The place where they were so gelded, is called euen to this day the stonie hill.

The Earle of Cathnes, for that he neyther succoured the Bishoppe in time of neede, nor yet sought to punish the offenders that did this cruel deed, was depriued of his Earledome, and whole landes belonging to the same.

The Pope highly commended king Alexander for this punishment taken of them, that had so cruelly murthered their Bishop.

After this king Alexander comming vnto Aberdene, gaue many large gyftes and priuiledges therto, although the same before this time enioyed sundrie notable commodities and endowments giuen and confirmed by other kings hys predecessors.

The Bulles whiche were graunted by sundrie Popes concerning the libertyes of the churches in Scotlande, were committed by the king to the custodie of one Gylbert Archdeacon of Murrey, who succeeded next after the foresayde Adam in the sea of Cathnesse.

In the thirde yeare after, as king Alexander with his mother Erningarde were sitting at their banquet on the .xij. day in Christenmasse, otherwise called Yule, the Earle of Cathnes, hauing good opportunitie thereto, presented himselfe before the king, and besought him of grace and pardon for his passed offence.

King Alexander taking ruth and pitie of him, restored him (vpon his fine to be payed in maner as was agreed betwixt them) vnto al his former honours, landes and possessions: Neuertheless the offence that was pardoned by man, was afterward punished by the iust iudgement (as some thought) of almightie God: for he was slain as he lay in bed one night by his own menial seruants, whome hee had roughly intreated, as the fame went. The house also wherin he was thus slain, was likewise set on fire and burnt ouer him, that no man shoulde haue suspition of his slaughter, but that it might seeme as though it had come by some sodaine aduenture.

About this time, or somewhat before, there came into Scotland sent by Saint Dominicke, certaine blacke Friers, of whiche order the same Dominicke was the first author.

These men that were first sent by him, lyued according to his institution, more perfectly than such as followed: for as it often happeneth, all things commonly from a good beginning fall into worse estate, so that the successors of those men declined from al good religion, into most insolent abuses and misorders, and so continuing in vicious liuing the space of three hundred yeares, at length were perfectly reformed into a better rule, by a Frier named John Adamson, that proceeded doctor in the profession of diuinitie in the Uniuersitie of Abyrdene, at the same time that Hector Boetius the Scottishe Chronographer proceeded there in the same facultie. John Adamson.

On the same maner, aboute the selfe same time, were sent into Scotlande, aswell as into all other partes of the christian world, Friers minors of Saint Frances his order. The first comming of friers minors.

Many of them also, after his decease fell to dissolute liuing, keeping no such strayte rules, as both he prescribed, and also obserued.

But now to returne to the residue of the Hystorie: the Scottish people enioyed peace a long time after the appeasing of the trouble in Cathnes, till time that Alane Lorde of Galloway and Constable of Scotland departed out of this life, and for that hee had deuided his landes before his death amongst his three daughters, hys bastard sonne gathered an armye of ten thousande men, in hope to attaine the possession of Galloway by force of armes: but at length, after hee had wrought much scaith in the countrey by his violent inuasion, he was slaine with fiue thousande of those that toke his part, by the Earle of Marche, and Walter Steward of Dunewalde, whiche was sent agaynste him wyth a power. The death of Alane Lord of Galloway. His Bastarde sonne rayseth a commotion. The Earle of March.

The eldest daughter of the aboue mentioned Alane of Galloway, was giuen in maryage vnto Roger Quincie Earle of Winchester, who after his father in lawe his decease, was made Constable of Scotland, which office continued in the handes of his succession, till king Robert the seconde his dayes: In whose time this Roger of Quyncyes posteritie was disinherited and extinguished, for certaine offences committed agaynst the kings maiestie, and then afterwardes the office of the Constable was giuen to the Hayes of Arroll. Roger Quincy Earle of Winchester Constable of Scotlande.

The seconde daughter of the foresayde Alane, was maryed vnto John Ballyol, and the thirde to the Earle of Albemarle. The deuision of the lands of Galloway.

Thus was the Lordship of Galloway deuided into three, by reason whereof the inhabitants of that Countrey taking displeasure therewith, cleaued vnto the aboue mentioned bastard, till he was vanquished and slaine, as before yee haue heard.

This trouble being appeased thus within the realme, king Alexander was aduertised of great diuision rising betwixt king Henrie of England and his Nobles, and therefore to helpe towardes an agreement betwixt them, he went to London K. Alexander goeth into Englande.

with

with his wife Queene Jane & Isabell his sister.

Through his earnest diligence, all the debates and quarelles were remoued, and the parties throughly accorded.

Isabell the sister of king Alexander maryed to the earle of Norffolke.

Which being done, hee maryed Isabell his sister vnto the Earle of Norffolke, and in the meane tyme hys wyfe Queene Jane deceassed, wythoute leauing any issue behinde hir, whiche chaunce caused the King hir husbande to returne with great griefe and lamentation into Scotlande.

Iane Queene of Scotlande deceasseth.

In the yeare next following, which was after the incarnation, 1239. king Alexander (bycause he had no succession of his body begot) maryed at Rockesbourgh the daughter of Ingelram, Lord of Coucie, a virgin of excellent beautie named Mary, on whom he got a sonne named Alexander, which succeeded after his decease in the gouernment of the realme.

1239

K. Alexander marieth the daughter of the Lord of Coucie.

Aboute the same tyme, John Cumyn Earle of Angus being sent in Ambassade to Lewes the French king, dyed by the way.

Iohn Cumyn Earle of Angus departeth this life.

Also at Hadynton was holden a royal tournament, where Knightes and Squiers aduaunced themselues by valiant prowes to winne honor: Neuertheleſſe the ende of all that pleasure and passime ended in sorow, for Patrike Cumyn Earle of Atholl was slaine within his lodging in the nyght, and the house set on fyre and burned ouer hym, to the intente no suspition shoulde rise, but that it happened by some euill misfortune and negligence of fyre.

Patrike Earle of Athol murthered.



But yet was John Byssart, with Walter Byssart his vncle shrewdly suspected for the matter, insomuch that though no euident proufe coulde be had agaynst them, yet were they banished the Realme, and lost all theyr goodes by confiscation to the kings vse.

Iohn Byssart suspected.

After these things were thus passed, a conuocation was called of the Clergie at Saint Johns towne. In the which were diuers prouinciall ordinances and statutes, made by consent of the King and Nobles of the Realme, which were obserued in the Church of Scotland vnto these late dayes.

A conuocation of the clergie at Saint Iohns towne.

About the same time also, one Sommerleid Thane of Argyle, the sonne of that Somerleyd of whome ye haue heard before, following his fathers steppes, rebelled agaynst the King, sore endomaging by rodes and forages the partyes bordering vpon the confines of his Countrey of Argile, till at length the Earle of March brought him to the termes of such extreme necessitie, that he was faine to yeelde himself with a corde about his necke in token of submission, and beeyng so brought before the king, obteyned pardon of his heynous offence.

Somerleid Thane of Argile rebelleth.

Somerled his humble submission.

In the same season, Henrie King of Englande, prouoked by the setting on of some seditious persons remayning in his Court, as trusted by warres to aduaunce theyr priuate gaine, (during whiche time lawe and iustice haue no place) beganne to buylde a Castell for ancynst Barwike, in the same place where the other was begunne afore by King Richarde, which (as before is shewed) was razed and throwne downe by King William, by the articles of agreement with couenant that it should neuer be buylded vp againe.

A Castell begonne to be buil ded by K. Henry ancyst Barwike.

This attempt of the Englishe men had ministred sufficient occasion of warre, if the Nobles of Englande (considering that the buylding vp of this Castell was contrary to theyr bande and promysed fayth) had not slayed the worke, and so thereuppon that begynning of newe trouble betwixt the English and Scottish nations for that present ceassed.

Mathew Paris disagreeth from the Scottish writers touching the occasion of the warre, as the English chronicles yet remaine reade.

In the yeare following, came Ambassadors forth of Fraunce into Scotlande, declaring that King Lewes was readie to passe forwarde on that iourney whiche hee had taken in hande to make into Jewrie, and therefore desired ayde of King Alexander, to supporte hym in those warres agaynst Gods enimies. With these Ambassadours were sent ouer into France, certayne choyse bandes of men of warre vnder the leading of Patrike Earle of Marche, Dauyd Lyndsey of Glennesk, and Walter Stewarde of Dundonalde, three Captaynes of great wisedome, and perfect experience in feates of chiualrie.

Ambassadors forth of Fraunce.

Scottish men that were with Lewes king of Fraunce in Egypt.

The moste part of all those Scottishe men that thus went forth in that iourney perished, in Egypt eyther on the Swoorde or by sickenesse, so that fewe or none of them returned home agayne.

From henceforth, King Alexander lyued not long, but falling into a sore and grieuous sickenesse within a certaine Ile called Carnere, not farre distant from the coast of Argyle; deceassed

ceaſſed in the ſame Ile ſhortly after, in the .lj. yeare of his age the .xxxb. of his raigne, and of our redemption. 1249.

His bodie according as he had commaunded in his lyfe time. was buryed in Mdros.



After that Alexander the ſecõd was thus dead and buryed, hys ſonne Alexander the thirde of that name, not paſſing ir. yeares of age, was proclaymed King.

There was no ſmall adoe on the day of hys coronation amongſt the Nobles, for that by reaſon of the obſeruation of ſtarres, it was iudged to bee an infortunate day for him to receyue the Diademe.

And againe ſome helde opinion, howe hee ought to bee made Knight firſt, before hee were crowned, ſo that thus they were at ſtryfe togither, in ſuche earneſt maner, that it was doubted, leaſt this contention woulde haue bred ſome great inconuenience, had not the Earle of Fife preuented the ſame, in cauſing vpon a ſodayne the Crowne to bee ſette vppon the Kinges heade, beeing placed in the Marble Chayre, according to the cuſtome, without regarde to the friuolous allegations of them that ſpake to the contrarie.

When the ſolemnitie was ended, there came before him an Hielande man (for ſo they call ſuch as inhabite the mountaine Countreys of Scotlande) who in a certaine kynde of meetre of the Iriſh language, ſaluted him as king, thus: Bennach de re Albyn Alexander, mak Alar, mak William, mak Henrie, mak Dauid, and ſo forth, receytingin maner of a Genealogie or pedegree all the Kings in order, of whom hee was diſcended, tyll he came vp to Gathelus the fyrſt begynner of the Scottiſhe name and Nation.

The wordes in Engliſhe are as followeth: Hayle king of Albine, Alexander the ſonne of Dauid, the ſonne of Alex, the ſonne of William, the ſonne of Henrie, the ſonne of Dauid, and ſo forth as before.

This Hielande Scot was highly rewarded by the King for his labour, according as was thought requiſite.

In the ſecond yeare of his raigne, King Alexander, (or rather ſuch as had the gouernment of the Realme vnder him) aſſembled togither all the Prelates and Barons of the realme at Dunfermeling, and there ordeyned to take vp the bones of his Grandmother Queene Margaret, which being done, he cauſed them to be put into a Shrine of ſiluer, the .xxj. day of July, and minding to place the ſame where it reſteth at thys preſent, as it was borne forth towarde that place, when the bearers came aneynſt the Sepulcre of hir huſbande King Malcolme, they were not able to remoue the Relykes any further, till by the counſell (as is ſayde) of an aged man that was there preſent, they toke vp the bones of the ſame Malcolme alſo, and bare them forth with hirs to the place aforeſaid, where they after reſted in great veneration of the people.

The tranſlation of Queene Margarets bones.

Such as were appoynted gouernours (during the minoritie of king Alexander) doubting leaſt the tender yeares of their ſoueraigne might enbolden the enimies of the Realme to attempt ſome inuaſion, ſent Imbaſſadors vnto Henrie king of England, requiring that the peace might be ratified of new with him and his people, and further to make a motion of mariage to bee had betwixt king Alexander and a daughter of king Henries.

They were fianced in the dayes of king Alexander the fayre as in the Engliſh chronicle it may appeare.

Shortly after, vpon this motion, both the kings mette at Yorke with a greate number of Lordes, aſwell ſpirituall as temporall of both the Realmes, where king Alexander according to the promiſe before that tyme made, maryed the Lady Margaret daughter to the forenamed king Henry, on Saint Stephens day in Chriſtmaſſe, with al ſolemnitie and ioyfull myrth that might be deuiſed.

An enteruiew of the kings of England and Scotlande.

1250.

The charges whereof, were borne partly by king Henrie, & partly by the Archbiſhop of Yorke, who in feaſting thoſe princes ſpẽt right liberally.

At length, king Alexander after he had ſolaced him ſelfe in the companie of his father in lawe King Henrie a certaine tyme, returned into Scotlande wyth hys newe maryed wyfe.

During the minoritie of King Alexander, the realme of Scotlande was gouerned in great proſperitie by the Nobles: But after his comming to rype age, he was enformed of certaine extortions done by ſome of the Peeres of hys Realme againſt the powre people, and therevpon determined to ſee redreſſe therein.

Amongeſt other there were accuſed of ſuche tranſgreſſion, the Earles of Menteith, Atholl, and Buchquhane, with the Lorde of Strabogy, which were of one ſurname, that is to wit, of the Cumyns.

Complaint made of the Cumyns.

These being ſummoned to appeare before the Juſtices, with one Hugh Aberneth, and other of their complyces, vpon theyr contempt ſo to doe, were proclaymed traytors, and as the Scottiſhe men terme it, put to the horne.

The Cumyns put to the Horne.

The

The foreſayde Lordes moued with this diſpleaſure, purpoſed to reuenge the ſame, and aſſembling their powers in ſecrete wiſe, toke the king at Kynroſſy, & brought him vnto Striueling, where they kept him as captiue in warde a long time after.

The king taken by the Cumyns.

Through which aduenture much harme enſued, by reaſon of miſruled perſons, that wrought many oppreſſions againſt the people, in hope to eſcape the due puniſhment for theyr miſchieuous actes prouided, ſithe the king who ſhoulde haue ſeene iuſtice miniſtred, was holde in captiuitie by his preſumptious aduerſaries. But of this matter ye may ſee more in the Engliſh Chronicles about the 39. yeare of Henrie the thirde.

The greate power of the Cumyns.

The houſe of the Cumyns was in thoſe dayes of great power within the Realme, both in multitude of offſpring, riches, landes, poſſeſſions, and manrent. There were at the ſame time to the number of .xxxij. knightes of that ſurname within the realme, all men of fayre poſſeſſions and reuenues.

Thirtie and two knights of one ſurname.

But as it often happeneth that men of great poſſeſſions and dominion are had in ſuſpition with the Prince, whereby the ſame is for the more part the cauſe of their ruine and fall, ſpecially when they preſume too farre vpon their high power: ſo it chaunced here: for within a ſhorte time after that the king was thus taken (as before is ſhewed) the chiefe authour of the whole conſpiracie, that is to witte, the Lorde Walter Earle of Menteth, who was highelt in authoritie amongſt all thoſe Cumyns, was poyſoned, as was thought by his owne wife, through which miſchaunce the reſidue of the Cumyns were ſo amated, that obteining their pardon for all offences paſſed of the king, they did ſet him againe at libertie.

The height of great families the cauſe oftentimes of their fall.

The Earle of Menteith is poyſoned.

The king ſet at libertie.

This woman did thus make away hir huſband the Earle of Mentaith through inſtigation of an Engliſh man called John Ruſſell, as by coniectures it was ſuſpected, namely for that refuſing to marrie with any of the Scottiſh nobilitie, ſhe toke the ſaid Ruſſell to huſband, though in eſtate to be compared with hirs he was iudged a match farre vnmeete, and therevpon conſtrayned to flee with him into Englande, ſhee dyed there in great miſerie.

Iohn Ruſſel an Engliſh man.

About this time Pope Vrbane the fourth of that name, inſtituted the feaſt of Corpus Chriſti, to be celebrated eche yeare on the Thurſday after Trinitie Sunday.

The feaſt of Corpus Chriſti inſtituted.

The Carmelite Friers came at this tyme into Scotland, and erected a Chappell of our Ladie without the walles of Saint Johns towne, which the Biſhop of Dunkeld appoynted them, therein to celebrate their ſeruice.

The firſt comming of the Carmelite Friers.

It was alſo ſayde, that in this ſeaſon a Monk of Melroſſe was admoniſhed in a dreame, where he ſhoulde finde a part of the holy Croſſe, not farre from Peplis in Louthian, encloſed in a Caſe engrauen wyth the tytle of Saint Nicholas.

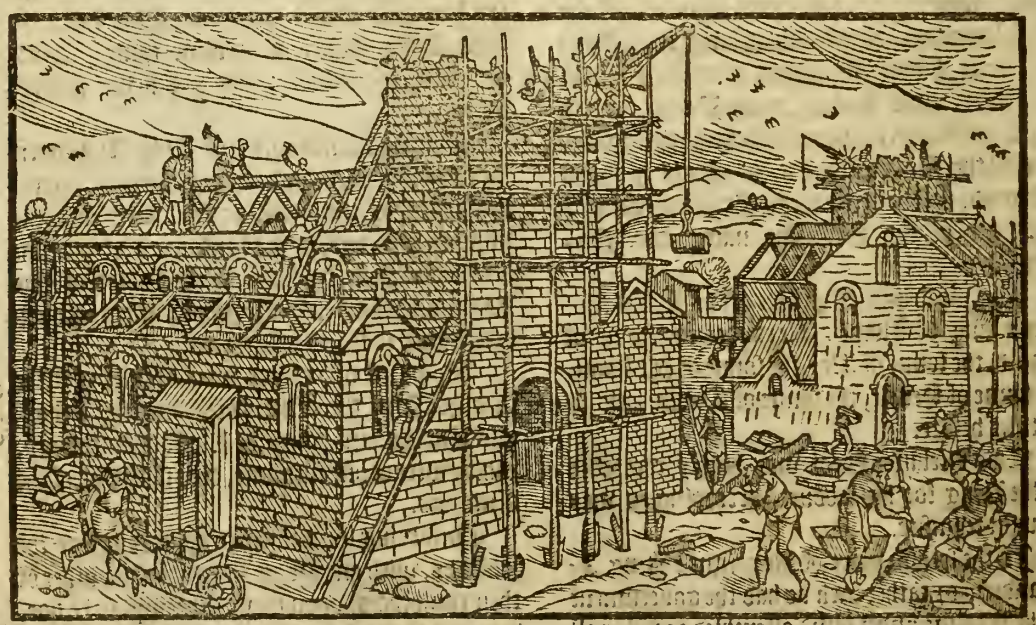
A parte of the holy Croſſe founde.

And not farre from the ſame, was lykewiſe founde a ſtone Cheſt, right cunningly wrought and engrauen, wherein were founde certaine bones wrapped in ſilk, but whoſe bones the ſame were, it was not knowne.

As ſoone as the caſe was opened within the which the Croſſe was included, many myracles were wrought (as it was then beleeued.)

King Alexander for deuotion hereof, buylded an Abbay in honor of the holy croſſe, in the ſame place where that peece of the croſſe was ſo found.

An Abbey buylt.



In this Abbay afterwards there were Monks inhabiting of the order of the Trinitie.

Not long after, the two kings of Englande and Scotlande, met togither at Warke Caſtell, accom-

accompanied with a great number of the nobles and gentlemen of both theyr Realmes, for the redreſſe of certaine miſorders committed betwixt the borderers.

Suche reformation alſo was here deuyſed, and recompence made on eyther ſyde, that bothe the Realmes continued afterwardes in more perfect tranquilitie for a certayne ſpace, than euer was ſeene in anye Kinges dayes before that tyme.

In this ſeaſon was the Church of Glaſkew finiſhed, in that perfection as it ſtandes to bee ſeene at this day, right ſumptuouſly buylded for the moſt parte at the charges of William Byſhop of that Sea, who lyued not long after the finiſhing of the ſayde worke.

In the yeare following, whiche was the yeare after the byrth of oure Sauiour 1263. there fell a great dearth through both the realmes of Englande and Scotlande, by reaſon of the weate Harueſt preceeding, ſo that the corne and graine was quite marred and corrupted before it could be got beſide the ground.

Acho King of Norway, being informed how the Scottes were thus oppreſſed with famine and other miſeryes, by report of them that made the ſame more than it was in deede, ſuppoſed to fynde tyme and occaſion fytte for hys purpoſe, to ſubdue them wholy to his dominion

Herebpon, preparing an armie and fleete of Shippes, conuenient for ſuch an enterpriſe, hee landed with the ſame in the Weſterne Iles, on Lammas daye otherwyſe called Petri Aduincula.

Thoſe Iles continued vnder ſubiection of the Norwegians and Danes from King Edgars time vnto the dayes of this Acho.

From thence the ſayde Acho with a mightie power of his Danes & Norwegians came ouer into Aran and Bute, which are two Iles, & only at that time amongeſt all the reſidue were vnder the dominion of Scottes.

But Acho hauing quickly ſubdued them at his pleaſure, in hope of more proſperous ſucceſſe, tranſported his whole armie ouer into Albion, & landed with the ſame on the next coſtes, where after he had beſieged the Caſtel of Ayre a certain time, he toke the ſame, and began to waſte and ſpoyle all the Countrey there aboutes.

King Alexander beeing ſore aſtonyed with theſe newes, for that he was yong, and not able as it was doubted to reſyſt the force of his enimies, enboldned vpon ſuche frequent victories as they had atchieued, thought beſt to prolong the time by colour of ſome treatie for a peace, that waye to diminiſhe the enimyes force, by long ſoiourning in Campe without tryall of anye battayle.

Herebpon were Ambaſſadors ſent vnto Acho, of the which one amongſt them appoynted therto, being well languaged and wiſe, at their firſt comming before him ſpake in this maner. Ambaſſadors ſent to Acho.



Were it not that our King and Nobles of the Realme (by an auncient cuſtome obſerued euen from the begynning) doe vſe fyrſt to ſeeke redreſſe of all iniuryes receyued, before they offer to bee reuenged with the ſworde, ye ſhoulde not nowe beholde Orators ſent vnto you to talke of concorde, but a mightie armie in ordinaunce of battayle comming towardes you to giue the onſet: We are of that opinion, that we neuer get ſo muche gaynes by victorie of the enimies, no though they haue robbed and ſpoyled our confines, but that we account it muche better to haue peace, if wee maye haue reſtitution of wrongs done to vs, by ſome maner of honeſt meanes. For what greater follye may be, than to ſeeke for that by fyre and ſworde, which may be purchaſed with fayre and quyet wordes: Neuertheleſſe when our iuſt deſires and reaſonable motions are refuſed of the enimyes, when we finde them not wylling to haue peace, (for the obteyning wherof all warres ought to be taken in hande) but rather that their onely ſeeking is to haue warres, not reſpecting the quarell: wee are readie to riſe wholy togither in reuenge of ſuch contempt with all poſſible ſpeed and violence againſt our aduerſaries. We are ſent therfore from our King and Soueraigne, to enquyre what occaſion you haue thus to inuade his Realme and Subiects, in violating that peace and league, whiche hath beene obſerued and kept betwixt vs and your Nation, the ſpace of this hundred yeares, and not onely to take from him hys two Iles of Bute and Aran, but alſo to inuade the mayne lande of hys Dominions, wyth ſuche crueltie, as neyther conſideration of age or perſon ſeemeth to be had, but that women, children, and feeble olde perſons haue paſſed by the Sworde, as well as thoſe that haue ſtand at reſiſtaunce with weapen

The oration of one of the Ambaſſadors.

Peace to be preferred before warres.

Wherefore warres ought to be moued.

The cauſe of their meſſage.

in hande agaynſt you.

What haynous offence haue the Scottiſhe men at any tyme committed eyther agaynſt you or any other (whoſe reuengers yee maye ſeeme to be) that they ſhould deſerue to haue ſuch cruelties ſhewed agaynſt them?

Burning of Churches.

What furious yre hathe moued you to burne the Churches of God and his Saintes, with the murther of his people that flee into the ſame for ſauegarde of their lyues?

But if you dreade not God that gouerneth all things (by his diuine prouidence) which here in this worlde wee ſee: If yee dreade not the Saintes nor vengeaunce to come on you by the puniſhment of the righteous God, yet ought yet to dreade the two moſte puiſſaunt Kings of Albion, allied togither in bonde of amitie and maryage, whiche ſhall come agaynſt you with ſuch puiſſaunce, that ye ſhall not be able to reſiſt the ſame.

Therefore ſithe ye maye depart with honour, we on the behalfe of him from whome wee are ſent, doe admoniſhe you, that better it is for you to redreſſe ſuche iniuryes as yee haue alreadie done, and therewith to repayre home, than in aduenture to bee brought to ſuche deſperate termes, that when yee ſhall bee conſtrayned to ſeeke for mercie, the ſame in no wiſe wil be granted vnto you.

These wordes were ſpoken by the Ambaſſadours, vppon purpoſe to put ſome terror into the heart of this hardie king Echo.

Neuertheleſſe hee abaſhed ſo lyttle therewyth, that hee aunſwered them in thys maner.

King Achoes anſwere.

Your beliefe is (I perceyue) ye Ambaſſadors, to abaſhe vs with your fierce and awful wordes, ſuppoſing vs ſo weake hearted, that wee ſhoulde leaue off our enterpryſe through your menaſing threates: but ye are farre deceyued ſurely if your ymagination be ſuch.

And where yee exaggerate our iniuries done to you in taking from you certaine Iles, we perceyue you are not meete nor indifferent perſons to be choſen for iudges in that cauſe, neyther doe wee mynde to learne of you, what wee ought to eſteeme right or wrong in ſuch behalfe.

If yee deſyre further to knowe and vnderſtande the cauſe, why wee haue inuaded Arrane and Bute, wee ſay and affyrme, that not onely thoſe two Iles perteyne to vs and oure people by good tytle and auncient right of inheritaunce, but alſo al the other Iles of Scotland, as we are able ſufficiently to proue.

And therefore are we come to take preſently ſo muche in value out of Scotlande, as ye haue taken in iſſues and profytes out of thoſe Iles in times paſt from vs.

The cauſe of Achoes comming into Scotlande.

Shewe then to your King, that wee feare neyther his menacing wordes, nor yet anye other violence that hee can ſhewe agaynſte vs: Notwithſtanding, if hee bee more deſyrous of peace than of battayle, and luſteth to auoyde the ſpoyling and burning of hys Townes, the ſlaughter of hys people, or if hee deſyred not to ſee the vtter extermynion of his Realme afore hys eyes, commaunde him to ſende vnto vs forthwith tenne thouſande Markes ſterling for the fruites of oure landes taken vp and receyued by hym and his elders in tymes paſt, and further that hee make a cleare reſignation of all clayme or title that he may ſeeme to pretend vnto the ſayde Iles, in ſuch ſort that the ſame may paſſe vnder our dominion in perpetuitie without any contradiction.

His demaund.

When King Alexander had hearde what the anſwere of his enimie was, he was therewith ſore amoued, and perceyuing no waye to eſchue the battayle, but that he ſhoulde bee conſtrayned to trye fortunes chaunce, hee aſſembled togyther an armye of fortie thouſand men, that thoughe hee were not able to matche hys enimyes in prowes, hee might yet paſſe them in number.

King Alexander aſſembleth his power.

Hee deuided this hoſte into three battayles. In the ryght Wing was Alexander Stewart a right valyaunt Knight, Nephewe to that Alexander whiche endowed the Abbey of Paſley. He had with him all the menne that came forth of Argyle, Leuenor, Atholl, and Galloway. In the left Wing was Patrike Dunbarre, hauing wyth him the men of Louthian, Fyfe, Mers, Barwike, and Striueling ſhyre. In the myddle warde was the King himſelfe, with all the remnant people of the other partes of Scotlande to ſuccour the wings when daunger appeared.

The ordering of the Scottiſh hoſt.

Alexander Stewart leader of the right wing.

Patrike Dunbar captaine of the left wing.

The king in the myddle warde.

These battayles were ordered in ſuche array, that euerye clan had a Captayne aſſigned to them of theyr owne language, to exhort them to manhoode, thereby to winne prayſe and honour.

At his entring into the confines of Conningham, where he came fyrſt within ſight of hys enimies, hee called his people togyther, and exhorted them to doe theyr dutyfull endeuours lyke hardie and valyaunt men, againſte thoſe enimies that inuaded theyr Countrey without any iuſt cauſe or tytle of warre: and to put their truſte in almightie God, deſyring hym to graunt victorie vnto that parte, which had moſt right and iuſteſt cauſe of battayle. He further ſhewed how neceſſarie it was for them to behaue theſelues valiantly, and how much it ſtood them in hand to fight with manly courages, in defence of their wiues, children, lyberties and landes, hauing

K. Alexander exhorteth his people to do valiantly.

y hauing no hope of ſuretie of lyfe but in the valyaunt vſing of theyr able handes, ſo that theyr whole ſauegarde reſted in thys poynt, eyther to vanquiſhe the enimyes wyth manhoode, or elſe c to liue in ſeruile bondage as theyr ſlaues and miſerable thralles, and to ſuffer theyr wyues and daughters to be abuſed at theyr luſte and pleaſure. He willed them therfore to conſider, that not onely hee, but all Scotlande ſhoulde ſee them fight that day, noting both theyr manhoode and cowardiſe: but ſithe theyr cauſe was iuſte and moued onely in defence of theyr natiue Countrey and auncient libertyes, hee truſted they woulde ſhewe the more hardyneſſe and courage, namely agaynſte them that ſought onely bloud and ſpoyle.

Theſe wyth other the lyke wordes King Alexander vttered wyth bolde ſpirite, to encourage hys people. And on the other part King Acho likewyſe thought it expedient to vſe ſome exhortation vnto hys armye, that they ſhould not bee afrayde of the great number and huge multitude of the Scottes.

The chiefeſt poynt to encourage them to do valyauntly, he ſuppoſed was the hope of ſpoyle, and therefore he put them in remembrance, howe by victorie not onely all ſuch ryches as the Scots had brought thyther wyth them (whiche coulde not bee ſmall) but alſo all the whole ſubſtaunce and treaſure of the Realme to be at theyr commaundement, yea and the Realme it ſelfe, if they mynded to enioye it: ſo that this was the day whiche they had ſo muche deſired, wherein ſufficient opportunitie was offered to ſhewe what reward ſhoulde followe to eche man for hys good and valiaunt ſeruice. But for that highe enterpryces and famous exployctes might neuer bee atchieued without extreeme ieopardie, it behoued them to attaine to theſe ſo greate commodities by pierſing through, and ouerthrowing by dynt of ſworde, the arrayed battayles of theyr enimyes, whiche howe eaſie a matter it ſhoulde be for them to bring to paſſe, ſuche as well conſidered the circumſtances, might ſome coniecture: for through dearth and famine whiche ſo long hath raigned amongſt the Scottiſh people, their bodies and forces (ſayth he) are ſo wonderfully enfeebled, that they appeare to repreſent rather ſhadowes than full perſonages of men able to make reſiſtance.

Again, in conſideration howe neceſſarie it was for euery man to fight without faynting, ſithe they were enuironed on eche part without meane to eſcape, he deſyred them, that if it ſo fel out, that they ſhould chaunce to be ouercome, (which as he truſted ſhould not come to paſſe) that in ſuch miſaduenture they woulde yet ſell their lyues dearly and not to die vnreuenged.

Thus hauing opened vnto them what proſperous hap followed by victorie, and what danger by the ouerthrow, he thought to haue ſufficiently inſtructed them to put all feare aſyde, and to doe what lay in their vttermoſt forces to vanquiſh the enimies.

The Kings on eyther ſide, hauing thus exhorted their people to do their deuoirs, they array their battayles. The ordering of the battails.

Acho diſpoſed all his beſt ſouldiers and whole force of his armie in the middle warde, for that he had knowledge howe the Scottiſh king was placed in the middeſt battaile of his people, wherfore he ſuppoſed, that if he might ouerthrow and vanquiſh that part where the king ſtood, he ſhould eaſily then put the reſidue to flight.

His wings (becauſe he had not number ſufficient to furniſh thē fully) were arayed more weakly in ſlender and thin rankes: but yet at the fyrſt encoūter there was a terrible fight betwixt them, The battailes ioyne.



eſpecially where the two Kinges fought: For they preaſſed ſtill with great violence on that part where they ſaw any daunger, not ceaſſing to exhort and encourage theyr men to ſtande to the bargaine with manly ſtomackes, ſo that on eyther ſide theſe two kings playde the partes of right valiant captaynes.

The valiancie of the kings.

Acho with a bande of right hardie ſouldiers aſſayed ſundrie tymes to pierce and diſorder the battaile where king Alexander fought, notwithſtanding he had ſo great number of people there with him, that he ſtuffed euer the ranks with freſh men where he ſaw it needfull.

The great nūber of Scottiſh men.

Alſo betwixt the wings, there was no leſſe crueltie ſhewed on eyther ſide in the beginning of the battaile, till at lengthe the Norwegians perceyuing themſelues ouerpreſſed with multitude, and compaſſed in on euery ſide, they ſomewhat beganne to ſhrinke, and fyrſt thoſe in the lefte wyng, conſtrayned to breake theyr order, fell to running away.

The left wing of the Norwegians are put to flight.

Alexander Stewart therefore, that had the leading of the right wing of the Scottes, hauing purſued the enimies a certaine ſpace, and ſlaine Achos nephewe, a man of high reputation and authoritie amongſt the Norwegians, cauſed the retreate to be ſounded, and gathering his men againe into array, brought them agaynſt the enimyes of the myddle warde, where was hard hold betwixt the two kings, the battaile continuing with great ſlaughter on both partes, and vncertaine a long while to whether part the victorie would encline: but the Norwegians being now aſſayled on the backes by a new power of theyr enimies, at lengthe they began to flee amaine: but in the meane time the left wing of the Scottes wherof one Patrike had the leading, was in great daunger, by reaſon the Captain himſelf was ſore wounded, and thereby all the companies in the ſame wing ſore diſcomforted: but after they once beheld how the middle ward of their enimies was put to flight, they recouered new corages, & with great force cauſed their aduerſaries, with whom they were matched, to giue back alſo: and ſo were the Danes and Norwegians chaſed by ỹ Scots with right cruel ſlaughter through al Cunningham, not ceaſſing from the purſute of the enimies til night made an ende of that dayes worke.

Achoes nephew is ſlaine.

The maine battaile of the Norwegians fleeth.

The left wing of the Scots in daunger.

The Danes & Norwegians chaſed by the Scottes.

King Acho with a few other eſcaped out of daunger, and comming to the Caſtell of Ayre, which (as ye haue heard) he had wonne before, he was there informed of another loſſe, whiche hee had ſuſteyned: for his fleete conteyning the number of an hundred and fiftie ſhippes, were ſo beaten wyth an outragious tempeſt, that there were not paſt foure of all that number ſaued, the reſidue being drowned and broken againſt the rocks and clyues.

The loſſe of Achoes ſhips by tempeſt.

The Mariners alſo, beeing conſtrayned to come a lande for ſafegarde of their lyues, were ſlaine by the people of the countrey, ſo that few of them or none at all eſcaped.

The loſſe of the mariners.

Acho being thus abaſhed with theſe two infortunate miſchaunces, aſwell for the loſſe and diſcomfiture of his armie by lande, as for the periſhing of his Nauie on the Seas, got him vnto thoſe foure ſhippes that were ſaued, and ſayled with them aboute the coaſt, till he arryued in Orknay.

Acho fleeth to Orkney.

In thys battayle whiche was foughten at Largis, the thirde daye of Auguſt in the yeare 1263. there were ſlaine of Danes and Norwegians. xxiiij. thouſande, and of Scottes about fiue thouſand.

1263.

Thus hath Hector Bo. But Fourdon ſeemeth not to agree altogither herewith, who writing of this inuaſiō made by ỹ Norwegians into Scotland, ſaith, that they were but. xx. M. men of war in al embarked in. lxxx. ſhips, which comming to the new caſtel of Aran, beſieged aſwel ỹ ſaid caſtel of Aran, as the caſtel of Bute, & toke thē both, ſpoyling alſo the churches alongſt the ſea coaſt, & after arriuing at Largis in Cunningham on the feaſt of the Natiuitie of our Ladie, loſt the moſt part of their veſſels, whiche were drowned togither with thouſands of men in the ſame. The reſidue that got to land, encoūtering with ỹ Scots led by Alexander Stewart of Dondenald, were diſcōfited, put to flight, chaſed & drowned in the ſea, into the which they were driuen. Amongſt other that were ſlaine, a nephew of king Acho was one, a yong Gentleman of great valiancie, and ſore lamented of his Vncle. Acho had muche adoe to eſcape himſelfe he was ſo egrely purſued of his enimies. Thus haue I thought good to ſhew the diuerſitie of writers in this behalf, that it may appere how things are ſomtimes amplified by Boetius to aduance the glory of his coūtrymē further perhaps than by the ſimple veritie of thoſe that did write before him may in ſome poynts be well auerred. But now to proceed. King Acho at his cōming into Orkney, ſent into Norway and Denmarke for a newe army, and prouided ſhips and al other things neceſſarie, to haue made a new inuaſion into Scotlande againſt the next ſpring: but for that he himſelf departed out of this life in the beginning of the yeare next following, all that purueyance and great preparation was daſhed and came to none effect.

John Fourdon.

Acho prepareth to make new inuaſion into Scotland, but dieth before his proviſion was readie.

The ſame day, that Acho deceaſſed, that is to wit, the. xxj. day of January, Alexander Prince of Scotlande the eldeſt ſonne of King Alexander, whiche hee begotte on his wyfe Queene Margaret the ſyſter of Henrie King of Englande was borne, to the great reioyſing of the people.

Alexander Prince of Scotland, eldeſt ſonne the king is borne.

For

For the people conceiued double ioy and gladneſſe therof, becauſe that both a newe Prince was borne, and that enimie deade which ſought the deſtruction of the whole Realme.

After the deceaſſe of king Icho, his ſonne Magnus ſucceeded him, a right faythfull prince, and one that had the feare of God before his eies.

In the ſeconde yeare of his raigne, he ſent his Ambaſſadours (of whome the chiefe was the Chauncelor of Norway) vnto king Alexander, whome they found at Saint Johns towne, and there ſignified to him that king Magnus their maiſter, would willingly giue ouer all his tytle, right and clayme vnto Arrane and Bute, ſo that the reſidue of the Iles might remaine in quiet poſſeſſion of him and his ſucceſſours in tyme cõming. Herevnto was anſwere made by K. Alexander, that the Iles by right of olde inheritance perteined vnto him and his progenitors kings of Scotland, and therefore he might not make any agreement with the Danes or Norwegians, til he had recouered the ful poſſeſſion of ỳ ſame Iles.

The Ambaſſadors being diſpatched and ſent away with this anſwere, incontinently Alexander Stewart of Paſley, and John Cumyn were ſent with an armie ouer into Man, which Ile they then recouered (though not without bloud) forth of the handes of the Danes and Norwegians, who had kept the ſame in poſſeſſion nowe for the ſpace of 167. yeares paſſed, but not without ſome alteration and trouble, as may appeare by the annales of Richard Southwell, a writer (as ſhould ſeme) wel inſtructed in matters aſwel touching Scotland and the North partes, as alſo concerning the ſtate of the out Iles. And therfore that the ſame maye the better appeare to the Readers, I haue thought it not impertinent to ſet downe what I haue read in the ſame Southwell, touching the kings, or rather viceroyes of Man, and thoſe Iles which for a ſeaſon as ſhuld ſeeme in deede, were ſubſtituted by the kings of Norway, although it may alſo appeare, that ſomtime there was a certaine ſucceſſion in them, as from the father to the ſonne, and from the brother to the brother, &c. in maner as if it had beene by way of inheritance.

In the dayes of king John therfore (as ſaith the forſayd Southwel one Guthred raigned as king in Man. And in the yeare 1228. one Reginald being king of thoſe Iles, was murthered by wicked perſons, and thẽ his brother Olaue raigned in his place. In the yeare 1230. the King of Norwaye appoynted one Huſbac, the ſonne of Olmond (ſurnamed Hacon) to gouerne the ſayd Iles called Sodorenſes, that is to meane, the Ile of Man, & the other Iles there abouts the coaſts of Scotlande; the which Huſbac, togither with other two Captaynes Olaue and Godred ſurnamed Don came by ſea, and arryued at Bute, where they wanne the Caſtell: but Huſbac was ſlaine with a ſtone that was throwne downe vpon him. And then after this, the forſayde Olaue and Godred came vnto the Ile of Man, where they deuided the Kingdome of the Iles betwixt them, ſo as Olaue had Man alotted to him for his part, and Godred the other Iles. But after that Godred was alſo ſlaine, Olaue gouerned both in Man, and in all the other Iles (thoſe excepted which the ſonnes of Somerled helde in poſſeſſion) In the yeare 1237. in the moneth of May, Alane king of Man, the ſonne of Godred, and brother to Reginald, departed this life, after whoſe deceaſſe his ſonne Harolde ſucceeded him, & raigned. rij. yeares, being but. riij. yeares of age whẽ he began his raigne. In the yere 1247. Haco king of Norway ſent for Harolde king of Man to come vnto his coronation. Who comming thither, was honorably receyued, & obteyned king Hacons daughter in mariage: but as he returned from thence in the yeare 1249. togither with his wife, they periſhed in the ſeas by a tempeſt on the coaſtes of Iſcland. Then ſucceeded his brother Reginald, who raigned but. xvij. dayes, for he was ſlain the firſt of June the ſame yeare, by the ſeruants of a knight called Yuarus. Then Haralo the ſon of Godred Don gouerned Man one yere, being remoued by the king of Norway: and after him Magnus the ſon of Olaue began his raigne ouer Man and the other Iles, by conſent of the Manſke men themſelues. But in the yere 1254. one Yuarus was ordeyned king, or rather viceroy of thoſe Iles, and gouerned the ſame, tyll the forſaid Magnus king of Norway reſigned his tytle to all the ſayd Iles vnto K. Alexander, (as ye haue heard) who placed his Lieutenants there, of whõ the firſt hight Godred mac Mares, the ſecõd Alane. And after him Maurice Okarefair ſucceeded: and then folowed one that was the kings Chaplain. For the time of the reſignatiõ made, I followe Hector Boetius, by reaſon of ſome contrarietie which appeareth in Southwel in the accoũt of the yeares aſſigned to the raignes of thoſe Iland kings, if you cõferre the ſame with the time of the forſayd reſignation. But now to the matter: the lieutenant appointed to haue the rule of thoſe yles now, ỳ they wer thus come into the handes of the Scots, was bound by his office to be redy with. riij. ſhips, and. b. C. mariners to come to the ayd of the Scots, at al times whẽ he ſhould therto be required. After this, were the erles of Athol, Carik, & March, Alexãder Stewart, & the Thanes of Argile, & Lennox, ſent & a puiſſãt army vnto the other of ỳ weſtern Iles, the which thoſe that were greateſt, they brought with much ado vnder the obeyſance of the crowne of Scotland, the reſidue ſubmitted themſelues.

Bute.

Huſbac ſlaine.

Clauus and Godredus deuide the kingdome of the Iles betwixt them.

1237.

Alane.

Harolde.

1247.

Harold paſſeth into Norway.

Is drowned in his returne.

1249.

Reginald.

He began to raigne the ſixe of May.

Yuarus.

Harald.

Magnus.

1254.

Yuarus.

Lieutenant or Bayliſe of thẽ Ile of Man vnder the Scots.

The weſterne Iles recouered out of the handes of the Norwegians.

The Chancelor of Norway ambassador to K. Alexander.

Magnus King of Norway informed hereof, sent eftsones his Chauncelour in Ambassade vnto King Alexander, to trie if he might by treatie recouer againe those Iles: and if he might not bring that to passe, yet to compounde with him for a yearly tribute.

The first motion of the Chauncelor woulde in no wise be heard, therefore surceassing to spend any longer tyme aboute it, they fell in communication touching the seconde, which toke effect at length in this wise.

The releasse of Magnus king of Norway to the Scottish Iles.

King Magnus by his Letters vnder hys greate Seale, renounced and gaue ouer all tyght or clayme that hee had or myght haue, both for him and his successours to all the Iles of Scotlande.

A yearely pencion.

And King Alexander for this resignation was agreed to paye to the sayde King of Norway, foure thoulande Markes sterling, togither with a pension or tribute of an hundred Marks by yeare: And for the more confyrmation of loue and amitie betwixt the two kings and their people, Margaret the daughter of King Alexander being not past one yeare of age, was promised in maryage vnto Hannigo, the sonne of King Magnus, the same maryage to be consummate when she came to yeares maryageable.

Margaret king Alexanders daughter.

Further, in place where the greatest slaughter of Danes and Norwegyans had bene made, it was couenaunted that an Hospitall shoulde bee erected and founded there, for the sustentation of poore folkes.

Warres in England.

Aboute thys season there was great warres in Englande betwixte King Henrie and hys Barons, of whome the chiefe was Symon Mountfort Earle of Leycester, and dyuerse other.

King Henrie requireth ayd of Scottes.

King Henrie being not wellable to withstand his aduersaries attempts, requested King Alexander to sende him some ayde of Scottes to subdue the rebels of his realme, that had arreared warres agaynst him.

Alexander Cumyn sente into England.

Herevpon shortly after, was Alexander Cumyn with fiue thousand chosen me sent by king Alexander into Englande, who right valiantly bare themselues in that warre whiche king Henrie held against his Barons, wherof in the English Chronicle ye may read more at large.

Robyn Hood and little Iohn his cõpanion.

In these dayes (as the translator of Hector Boetius hath written) that notable and moste famous outlawe Robyn Hwde lyued, with his fellow little John, of whom are many fables and merie ieastes deuised and sung amongst the vulgar people.

But John Maior writeth, that they lined as he doth gesse, in the dayes of King Richarde, the first of that name, which raigned in England about the yeare of our Lord. 1198.

In the yeare next after that Henrie king of England had subdued his domesticall enimyes, there came a Legate from Pope Clement the fourth, requiring hym to haue a collection of money in Scotlande towardes the charges of leuying an armye agaynst the Saralins: But thys Legate was not receyued into the Realme, but commaunded to shewe his message vppon the borders. A Legate from Pope Clemẽt.

The Legates demaunde.

Hee demaunded therefore of euery Parishe Church in Scotland foure Markes sterling, and of euery Abbey 80. Markes: and to the ende hee might the sooner purchase fauour to the furtherance of his purpose, he deuised by the way certaine statutes and ordinances right profitable to be vsed in the realme of Scotland as he iudged.

The answer of K. Alexander to the Legates message.

But king Alexander for answere hereunto alledged, that the Scottes minded not to receyue any statutes or decrees other than such as were ordeyned by the Pope, or some generall Counsell: For by a generall rule the more precepts, the more offendours are alwayes found.

The more precepts, the more offenders.

And as touching the requeste made for the collection of so greate summes of money, it was not thought necessarie, that so much coyne shoulde goe forth of the Realme: Neuertheless if it were thought expedient, he woulde bee contented to sende forth at his owne proper costs and charges, a number of armed men to go with the Christian armie agaynste the Turkes: but for money otherwise forth, the Realme woulde not depart with any, least it shoulde be wastfully spent, or taken by the way of theeues, as it had beene afore time.

K. Alexander wisdome prayled by king Henrie.

Henrie King of Englande praysed much the wisedome of king Alexander for this his answer; as he declared shortly after by his sonne Prince Edwarde (who came to visite his sister the Queene, and his brother in lewe King Alexander at Rokesbourgh, where they met him) for ye must vnderstand that king Henrie had also learned by experience) to be wise in that behalfe, as well as other.

A thousande Markes sent to the Pope.

King Alexander yet after this, sent vnto the Pope a thousande Markes in siluer: and vnto Lewes the French King that requyred his ayde in that iourney whiche hee made into Affrike agaynst the Saralins there, a thousande Souldiours vnder the leading of the Earles of Carrike, and Atholl, John Stewart the brother of Alexander Stewart, Alexander Cumyn, Robert Reth, George Durwarde, John Quincie and William Gordon.

Scottish captaynes sent to Affrike.

All these going ouer with King Lewes into Affrike, dyed there, either vpõ the enimies sword, or by the intemperate heate of that Countrey, (whervnto they had not bene accustomed) in the yeare after the incarnation. 1270.

1270.

The

The Earle of Carrike, whoſe name was Thomas, periſhing thus amongſt the reſidue in Affrike, left no inheritor behinde him to enioy his landes, ſauing a daughter named Martha, being then about .xb. yeares of age.

This yong Ladie chaunсing to ryde a hunting in the Woods for paſtime and ſolace, as the vſe is, fortuned by aduenture to meete with a noble yong man one Robert Bruce the ſonne and heyre to Robert Bruys the Lorde of Annandale in Scotland, and Cleueland in England, begot of Iſabel the ſecond daughter of Dauid Earle of Huntington,

The Lady immediately became ſo inamoured of this yong Gentleman, that ſhee ledde him with hir home vnto Carrike, where without making hir friendes priuy to the matter, ſhe maryed him in all haſt, leaſt any man ſhould be about to hynder hir determinate purpoſe.

Of this maryage was borne that Robert Bruce whiche afterwardes (through want of heyres of the lynage of King Alexander) attayned the Crowne of Scotlande.

As ſone as King Alexander was aduertiſed hereof, he toke ſuch indignation that ſhe ſhoulde beſtow hir ſelf ſo lightly vpon one whom ſhe neuer ſaw before, that he toke hir Caſtel of Turnberie into his own hands with al hir other lands and poſſeſſions, as it were by eſcheit, for that ſhee had maried without his conſent.

Notwithſtanding, within ſhort while after, he toke pitie on hir caſe, and for an eaſie compoſition of money which ſhe payed for hir mariage, reſtored vnto hir againe all hir landes & liuings, ſuffring hir to enioy hir huſbande without any more trouble or vexation.

In the thirde yeare after, the ſayd Ladie was delinered of the afore remembred Robert Bruce that was after king of Scotland. And the ſame yeare which was the yeare after the byrth of our Sauiour 1274, Dauid the ſeconde ſonne of king Alexander deceaſſed: and the thirde yeare after, the brethren of Edward king of England came into Scotland to viſite the Queene their ſiſter, and their brother in lawe the King, and after did attend them both in theyr iourney to London, whither they went to be preſent at the coronation of the forſayde Edwarde, as then returned forth of Affrike after the deceaſſe of his father King Henrie, to take vpon him the gouernment of the Kingdome deſcended vnto him by right of inheritance.

He was crowned the ſame yeare on the day of the aſſumption of our Ladie in Auguſt, wyth great ſolemnitie and tryumph.

The ſame time there was a Norman in king Edwardes Court, of ſuche paſſing ſtrength of bodye, that he ouerthrewe all men with whome hee wraſtled, tyll at length one Ferquhard a Scottiſh man borne, of the Countrey of Roſſe, deſcended of noble parentage, vanquiſhed him to his great prayſe and aduauncement in honor, for King Alexander in guerdon of ſo worthie a deed there done in the preſence of ſo honourable an aſſemble, gaue vnto him the Earledome of Roſſe foreuermore.

Ferquhard a Scottiſh man ouerthrew the ſayd Norman.



Of this Ferquhard deſcended the Earles of Roſſe of his ſurname, but the firſt Earle was named William Roſſe, otherwiſe Leſly, in whoſe ſonne the ſeuenth Earle, fayled the dignitie of that houſe for fault of ſucceſſion. At the ſame time prince Alexander king Alexanders ſonne did homage vnto king Edward for the Earledome of Huntington, as the Scottiſh writers do teſtifie.

The Earldom of Roſſe giuen William Roſſe alias Leſlie.

Shortly after that king Alexander was returned forth of Englande at that time into Scotlande, his wife Queene Margaret deceaſſed, and was buried in Dunfermling.

The death of Queene Margaret.

She bare by him two ſonnes, Alexander and Dauid, and one daughter named Margaret, the which (according to the aſſurance before made) was maried about three yeares after hir mothers deceaſſe, vnto Hanigo, or rather Aquine king of Norway, and deceaſſed in the ſeconde yeare after the ſolemnization of the maryage, leauing behinde hir a daughter named alſo Margaret.

The mariage of Margaret K. Alexanders daughter.

But before this happe fell ſo oute, euen immediately after the death of Queene Margaret the mother, hir yonger ſonne Dauid deceaſſed: By reaſon whereof, King Alexander being carefull for his ſucceſſion, procured a maryage for his elder ſonne Prince Alexander, wyth the Earle of Flaunders his daughter, the whiche being brought into Scotlande, was maryed vnto the ſayd Prince at Ferwoyth, on the Sunday after the feaſt of Saint Martyn in Winter, in the yeare 1279.

The death of Dauid ſonne to king Alexander.

The mariage of Alexander prince of Scotlande.

1279.

The feaſt of this maryage was holden with great tryumph and ſolemnitie continually the ſpace of .xb. dayes togither.

This yeare a number of the Scottiſh nobilitie which had attended the Ladie Margaret into Norway, were loſt by ſhipwracke, as they would haue returned back againe into Scotland after the conſummation of hir maryage there with king Hanigo or Iquine.

Shortly after, by force of deathes dreadfull dint, two grieuous loſſes chaunced vnto King Alexãder, the one following in ẏ neck of another.

The death of Alexander prince of Scotlande.

For firſt his eldeſt ſonne Prince Alexander being not paſt .xx. yeres of age, departed out of this worlde, without leauing any iſſue behinde him: and not long after, his daughter Margaret Queene of Norway deceaſſed alſo, leauing behinde hir one onely daughter (as before is mentioned) being as yet but an infant.

The death of Margaret Queene of Norway.

In the ſame yeare was a generall counſell holden at Lions, the Pope and a great multitude of the Prelates of Chriſtendome being there aſſembled.

A Councell at Lions.

To this counſell were ſummoned to appeare all the Prouincials, Wardens, and miniſters of the begging Friers. And for ẏ there were ſo many ſundry orders of thẽ, ech man deuiſing of hys owne brayne ſome newe alteration, all thoſe orders were reduced into the foure orders which after by the church of Rome were approued and allowed. A generall cõmandement was alſo giuen, that no man ſhould go about to begin any newe

The foure orders of Friers.

A commaundement giuen againſt deuiſing new orders of Friers.



The mariage was celebrate at Jedburgh with greate feaſting and triumph: but that ioye and gladſome blythneſſe endured not long after.

Ri. Southwel varieth ſomewhat from the Scottiſh writers in report of K. Alexanders death. See in Englande.

For the ſame yeare on the .xviij. day of Aprill, as he was gallopping vpon a fierce horſe at Kingorn, forcing him in his race ſomwhat raſhly, he was throwne ouer the weſt cliffe towards the Sea by a wonderfull miſfortune ſo rudely, that hee brake his necke, and ſo therewyth forme of ſuch vaine ſuperſtitious orders, whiche appoynt themſelues to eſchue labour, to the ende they may liue in pleaſure, luſt and ydleneſſe, vpõ the trauaile of other mens browes.

In this meane time, after that the Chriſtian army was returned home out of Affrike, by reaſon of a truce concluded with the Soldane, the ſame Soldan (that truce notwithſtanding) ceaſſed not to make great ſlaughters and inuaſions vpon thoſe chriſten men that remayned behinde.

The Soldan contrary the truce maketh the Chriſtian.

The chriſtian Princes ſore moued herewith, made their appreſts for a new expedition into the holy land. The Scots gaue the tenth penny of all their landes, or rather (as ſome bookes haue) the tenth part of all tythes belonging to churches to the furtherance of this iourney, notwithſtanding through ſuch enuie and contentions as roſe amongeſt the ſayde Princes, that iourney brake, to the great domage and preiudice of the Chriſtian fayth.

The Scots contribute for a iourney into the holy lande.

King Alexander hauing loſt his wife and children, in maner as is before expreſſed, not only he himſelf, but alſo all Scotland was in great penſiuenеſſe and ſorrow, eche man by a certaine foreiudgement and miſgiuing in minde, doubting the miſhap that might therof enſue. But yet did king Alexander by aduice of his Nobles, in hope of new iſſue, marrie the daughter of the Erle of Champaigne in Fraunce, named Iolant.

K. Alexander marryeth the daughter of the Earle of Champaigne but of Dis fayth Scot

Immediately dyed in the .xlij. yeare of hys raigne. 35. H

He was buryed at Dunfermling in the yeare after the Incarnation. 1290. 1290 1285. 1286. Io

It is ſayde, that the day before the Kinges death, the Earle of Marche a little before night demaũded of one Thomas Leirmont, otherwiſe named Thomas the rymer, or as the tranſlator of Hector Boetius hath, Tho. Erſilton, who in thoſe dayes was reputed for a notable propheſier

Thomas Erſilton rymer.

or

or (as we may cal him) a foothsaier) what wether they shoulde haue on the morow? To whome the sayd Thomas answered, that on the morow before none, shoulde blowe the sorest wynde and tempest, that euer was heard of in Scotlande at any time before.

On the morow, when the skye appeared clere and bright, without cloude or any other signe of foule weather, and that it drewe neere vnto the middest of the day, and no winde heard from any syde, but all calme and quiet, the Earle of Marche sente for the forenamed Thomas, and tolde him that hee had mystaken his markes, in prophesying of any suche notable tempest as he had spoken of the nighte before, considering it proued so lythe a day without appearance of any tempest to ensue.

This Thomas sayd little therto, sauing that he alledged how it was not yet past none.

And incontinently herevpon came a poast to the castell gate of Dunbar, where this Earle of March as then lay, bringing word of the kings sodaine death, as before is recited.

Then said the Prophesier: That is the scathfull winde and dreadfull tempeste, whiche shall blowe suche calamitie and trouble to the whole estate of the realme of Scotland.

This Thomas was a man in greate admiration of the people, shewing sundrye thinges, as they afterwardes chaunced: howebeit they were euer hidde and inuolued vnder the vayle of darke and obscure speeche.

Many strange wonders and vnketh sightes were seene in the dayes of this Alexander the thyrde.

In the .xvij. yeare of his reigne, there was suche an infinite number of wormes through al the parties of Albion, that not onely the leaues and fruites of trees, but also flowres and herbes in gardens, were eaten vp and consumed with them.

And in the same yeare, the waters of Furth and Tay rose with suche high tydes in flowing ouer the bankes, that many townes and villages were drowned, to the great destruction both of men and beastes.

In the .xx. yeare of his reigne, there was a Comete or blasing starre seene of a meruailous quantitie, shyning euery day towarde the south, euen about none dayes.

On the Epiphanie day next after, rose so great windes, with stormes of such vnmesurable great hayle stones, that many townes were throwne downe by violence thereof.

In the meane tyme, rose throughout the vehemente rage of windes a sodaine fyre, in manye boundes within the realme of Scotlande, that did muche hurt in buyldings and edifices, brenning vp steeples with such force of fyre, that the belles were in diuers places melted, as though it had bin in a furnace.

Amongest other, those of the abbey of Abirbrothok were most precious, which were as then consumed together with the steeple wherin they hung. The townes of Abirden and Perth, were brenned the same tyme: Also parte of Laynrike, with the temple and all the townes and villages in Clow a part of Angus, and lykewyse manie townes and other buyldings in Lowthian, and in dyuers other partes of the realme, too long here to reherse. Belles melted

In the .xxxj. yeare of his reigne was the first commyng of the pestilence into Scotland, with great mortalitie of the people, where it had not bin herd, that euer this sickenesse had come within that realme before that tyme. The first commyng of the pestilence into Scotland.

In the solennization of the seconde mariage of king Alexander, as the bridegrome according to the maner, ledde the bryde in a daunce, a great number of lordes and ladies folowing them on the same daunce, there appeared in their sight as it were closing vp the hindermoste of the daunsers, a creature resembling deathe, all naked of flesshe and lyre, with bare bones right dredfull to beholde, through whiche spectacle the king and the residue of all the companie were so astonyed, and put in such fright and feare, that they hadde quickly made an ende of their daunce for y time. A strange sight in daunsing.

In the dayes of this king Alexander the third, lyued sundry great clarkes. Learned men.

Amongst other one Michaell Scot was reputed for an excellent Physition, and for his singular practise and knowledge in that profession was no lesse esteemed and hadde in high fauour, with Edward king of England, than wyth K. Alexander during his lyfe tyme. Michaell Scot a phisition.

King Alexander the thirde, being in such miserable wise deceassed, as before is specified, the realme remained in great discomfort, by reason he had neyther left any issue behynde him to succeede in the gouernement therof, neyther taken order in his lyfe tyme by testamente, or otherwise, for any other to supply the rowmth of a gouernour, so that hereof ensued such infinite misorders, by the presumption of wicked and vngracious persons, the which vpon hope to escape vnpunished (bicause Justice was lyke to wante due processe,) ceassed not to attempt many vnlawfull actes, to the grieuous oppression of the people: whiche misruled demeanours and disordred enterprises of those outragious persõs, whẽ such as had any zeale to the welth of their countrey, vnderstood daily to multiply & increase, they thought it apertained to their dueties to prouide some remedie in tyme, and therevppon called a councell together, wherin after sundry consulta- Scotland without a king and gouernour. Mischeues ensuing for lacke of a ruler.

tations had, & many matters debated touching ẏ rule of the realme, it was finally agreed, ẏ ſix gouernors ſhould be elected & choſē, of the which thꝛee ſhould haue the adminiſtration and rule of the noꝛth partes, and theſe were William Fraſer biſhop of ſaint Andꝛowes, Duncane Erle of Fyfe, and John Cumyne Erle of Buchquhane.

Six gouernors choſen to haue the rule of Scotland.

The other thꝛee were appointed to the gouernance of the South countreys, that is to ſaye, Robert biſhop of Glaſgew, ſir John Cumyn (a man of high eſtimation foꝛ his wyſedome and experience as well in matters concerning peace as warre) & James high Steward of Scotland.

But in the meane tyme Edwarde king of Englande, ſurnamed Longſhankes, caſt in hys mynd, howe he might make ſome conqueſte of Scotlande, nowe that the ſame was thus deſtitute of an head to gouerne it.

And foꝛ that he well vnderſtode ẏ the daughter of Nozway (of whom befoꝛe ye haue heard) was right inheritoꝛ to the crowne of Scotland, though ſhe were but very yong in yeres, and not able foꝛ mariage: yet to cõpaſſe his purpoſe that wayes foꝛth, he ſente his ambaſſadoꝛs vnto the Lozdes of Scotlande, requiring to haue hir to wife, and the realme withall, as dewe vnto hir by good title and right of inheritance.

How can this be true when king Edwarde had a wyfe at that tyme? but verily the ſcots writers ſhewe themſelues ouercome with too much malice in moſte thinges whyche they write in the defamatiõ of king Edwarde.

The lozds after long deliberation herein had, conſented to his deſire, vnder theſe conditions, that the realme ſhould remain in all freedomes & liberties, without any kind of ſeruile ſubiection, in the ſame maner and ſtate as it was vſed in ẏ dayes of king Alexander laſt deceaſſed, and other his noble pꝛogenitoꝛs: and if it chaunced, that no iſſue came of this mariage to ſucceede them, then ſhould the crowne returne by remaynder ouer, to the next heires of king Alexander, without any clayme oꝛ pꝛeterte of title to bee made by kyng Edwarde, oꝛ any of his ſucceſſours in time to come. Immediatly herewith, two noble knights ſir John Scot of Albawoze, & ſir James Wemys were ſent into Nozway to fetche the bryde ouer into Scotlande: but befoꝛe their comming thyther, ſhe was deceaſſed, and ſo they returned backe into Scotland againe withoute effecte of their errande. And thus by meanes of hir death all amitie and frendſhip betwixt Engliſhemen & Scots ceaſſed. Then began to enſue great trouble & buſineſſe in Scotland, by reaſon of the contention whiche ſpꝛang betwixte the kinſemen of king Alexander, foꝛ the title & clayme which they ſeuerally made and pꝛetended to the crowne.

The daughter of Norway deceaſſeth.

The cõtention betwixte the kinſmen of K. Alexander for the crowne.

There were .iij. chiefly that ſemed by nereneſſe of bloud to haue moſt right, and therfoꝛe made moſt earneſt ſuite in their claime, John Ballyol, Robert Bꝛuce, and John Haſtings. This Robert Bꝛuce, was ſonne to the ſon of that Robert Bꝛuce, which maried Iſabell the yõgeſt daughter of Dauid Erle of Huntingtõ, on whome he got a ſon named alſo Robert, that maried the inheritoꝛ of Carryk, as we haue ſhewed befoꝛe, whoſe ſonne this Robert Bꝛuce was, that nowe claimed the crown. John Balliol came of Margaret, eldeſt daughter to the foꝛeſaid Dauid erle of Huntington: foꝛ Allane lozde of Galloway, which marryed the ſayde Margarete, begot on hir two daughters, of the which the eldeſt named Deruogil, was giuen in mariage vnto ſir John Ballyol, father vnto this John Ballyol, ẏ thus made clayme to the crowne, alledging that foꝛ ſomuch as he was come of the eldeſt daughter of Earle Dauid the bꝛother of king William, hee ought by reſon to be reputed as next heire to the ſame king William, ſith none other perſon aliue approched ſo neare vnto him in bloud.

See more of this matter in the Engliſhe hiſtories.

The aunceſtors of Robert le Bruce.

The lyne of the Ballyole with his title to the crowne.

On the other ſyde Robert Bꝛuce, albeit hee was deſcended of the youngeſt daughter to Earle Dauid, yet was he come of the firſte iſſue male, foꝛ his father was firſt bozne, and therefoꝛe if king William had deceaſſed without iſſue, the crowne had deſcended vnto him: foꝛ which conſideration, he mainteyned that he ought nowe to be pꝛeferred. Haſtings alſo foꝛ his part, becauſe hee was come of the yongeſt daughter of king Dauid, maryed to his father Hencie Haſtings, wanted not allegations to pꝛopone, why he ought to be admitted. Beſides theſe, there were other alſo that made claim to the crowne of Scotland, and had matter ſufficiẽt to mainteyn their ſute. This controuerſie being bꝛought befoꝛe the gouernoꝛs, was at ſundꝛy times argued with much cõtention, not without the aſſiſtance of the nobles fauoꝛing the parties, as occaſion of frendſhip oꝛ kynred moued them, namely Ballyol & Bꝛuce had no ſmall nũber ẏ leaned vnto their parts, by reaſon wherof, ẏ gouernoꝛs were in doubt to pꝛoceed to any definite ſentẽce in the mater, leſt if they declared one of thẽ king, an other wold attẽpt to vſurpe the crowne by foꝛce.

The title of Robert Bruce.

Haſtings.

The doubt of the gouernors.

Herevpon they iudged it beſt to refer the deciſion of all this whole mater vnto ſome mightye king, whiche was of puiſſance able to conſtrayne the parties repugnant, to obey his ſentence.

Herevnto was none thought ſo meete as Edward king of Englãd, & therfoꝛe they choſe him, who taking the charge vpon him as competent iudge, pꝛomiſed by a certayne daye to come vnto Barwike, willing that their counſell might be aſſembled there againſt that time.

At his comming thither, at the day aſſigned, and hauing heard what could be ſayd on eache part, and thꝛoughly conſidering at length theyꝛ allegations, he pꝛeceyued the ſame doubtfull, and required a longer time to diſcuſſe ẏ troth by good aduiſe of counſel, & therfoꝛe required to haue .xij. Scottiſhmẽ, ẏ beſt lerned & moſt ſkilful lawyers of all

The title doubtfull.

of al the realme to be associate with .xij. English men, whiche he promised to chose for the of the most perfect and wyest clerkes that myght bee founde within all his dominions, to the intente that by their ripe & aduised debating of the matter, the trouth might appeare, accordyng to the whiche, he minded to giue sentence, without fauour eyther of one parte or other.

When all suche matters and proues as were propouned by the parties alleged by them for furtherance of their titles were put in writing, as matter of recorde, he returned backe agayne into Englande.

Here the Scottishe writers reporte, that king Edwarde vsed himselfe nothing vprightely in this matter, but accordingly as it often happeneth, had the eyes of his conscience blynded, vpon hope to gayne somewhat by this credit thus to him cõmitted. But how vniustly he is slaundered in this behalfe, I leaue to the indifferente readers to consider, by conferring that which the Scottes doe write thereof, with that which is to be founde in our Englishe historie. But to proceede as we fynd it in the Scottish writers: king Edward to be satisfied in knowlege of the truth, sent into France for men lerned & of great experience in the lawes, that he might haue their opinions in the demandes of ỹ parties for their doutfull righties. But (sayth Hector Boetius) he first cõmaunded them in no wise to agree vpon any resolute poynte, but rather to varie in opinions, that when the plea should seme doubtfull by reason of their contrarietie in deciding thereof, he might the better vnder that colour, giue iudgement with which parte he thought most expedient to serue his purpose.

Howbeit the most parte of the lawyers iudged with Robert Bruce, both for the worthines of his person, and also for that hee was come of the fyrst issue male.

But some there were that gaue sentence with John Ballyole, for that he was descended of the eldest sister.

King Edwarde supposing this to be the time moste conuenient for his purposed intention to conquere the realme of Scotlande, returned to Barwik, where he had appointed the .xviij. learned men before specified, to be present, that finall sentence myght be giuen, accordyng as he had before promised.

When he was come thus vnto Barwik, and the foresayd .xviij. learned lawyers assembled, as assistantes with him, and the parties appearing before him in a chamber prouided for ỹ purpose, he caused the dores to bee surely kepte, and the entries strongly warded, that no man myghte come in or out, but by his appointment & licẽce.

His purpose was to make hym king, that would be sworne to holde the crowne of Scotlande of him, as superiour lorde thereof.

And bycause he knewe that Roberte Bruce was a man of singular manhode and wysedom, he thought best to assay hym first, and if he sõd him not cõformable to his purpose, then he mynded to trie what the Balliol would doe.

When Robert Bruce had throughly hearde king Edwardes motion, he aunswered that he wayed the libertie of his countrey, more than his priuate preferrment, and therefore mynded not to deliuer his countrey, (whiche euer to that day had bene free) into the bondage and seruitude of the Englishmen.

The answere of Roberte Bruce.

King Edwarde perceyuing his stoutenesse of stomacke, brake off with him, and fell in talke with the Ballyole, who had suche blynde desire to attayne the crowne, that he passed not whether he enioyed the same in libertie or seruitude, so he might haue it.

Herevpon when this Ballyoll had giuen his fayth by assured othe vnto king Edward, that he would doe homage vnto him for the realme of Scotlande, and acknowledge to holde the same of him as superiour lorde, king Edwarde gaue sentence with him, to haue moste ryghte to the crowne and realme of Scotlande nowe thus in controuersie.

The Ballyol promiseth to do homage to king Edward.

It is sayde, that the Erle of Gloucester, a man of great prudence and authoritie in Englande, (seyng the Ballyol thus made king, and Robert Bruce without reason put backe) spake in thys sort to king Edward: Oh king, remembre what is done by thee this day, sparing to giue righteous sentence in this matter, for though the same bee nowe couered and hidde, it shall be reuealed, when the great iudge that searcheth consciences and the secretes of euery mans mynd, shal cause thee to answere for it at the dreadfull day of that vniuersall iudgement: thou hast nowe giuen sentence for a king; but then shall iudgemente be giuen on thee.

The saying of the Earle of Gloucester (as the scots write but not lyke to be true) K. Edwarde was no man so to be delt with.

Shortely after, John Ballyol went in great aray vnto Scone, where he was crowned king of Scotlande on saint Andrewes day, in the yere from the incarnation. 1292.

Iohn Ballyol crowned king of Scotlande.

1292.

In the yeare next ensuing, on saint Stephes day in Christmasse, he came to Newcastel vpon Tyne, and there did homage vnto king Edward for the realme of Scotlande, contrarye to the mynde and consent of all his nobles, for that by this meanes, hee seemed to submitte his realme (whiche had remayned in freedome vnto those dayes) into the seruitude of the Englishemen; but small felicitie succeeded thereof: for within fewe yeares after, king Edwarde commaunded hym by tenour of his bonde of homage, to come with all the power he might make to ayde him in his

Iohn Ballyol doth homage to king Edward.

So saye the Scottishe writers, but howe truely, reade more hereof in England.

in his warres against the king of Fraunce.

King John incontinently herewith, became repentaunt, in that he had indaungered hymselfe thus by doing his homage: and therupon sent his ambassadours to king Edward, as then soiorning at London, to renounce his acte touching the same homage, alledging that forsomuche as it was done without the aduise of the thre estates of Scotland, it was of no force in it selfe, and not meete to be obserued.

John Ballyoll repenteth him

The answere of king Edwarde to the Scottish ambassadours.

King Edward answered these ambassadors thus: Sith we perceiue your king will not come vnto vs, we intend shortly to come vnto him. Herewith also he depriued him according to the maner, (so farreforth as might bee done in hys absence) of all his kingly authoritie.

And the better to accomplish his purposed intention against the Scots, he founde meanes to conclude a peace with the king of Fraunce, and for the more confirmation of the same peace, the French kings daughter was giuen in mariage to king Edward his son, neuertheles (as sayth the Scottish Chronicle) he purposed (when hee had wrought his will once against the Scottes) to inuade France as fiercely as before, notwithstanding any bonde of amitie, or mariage by him contracted.

After this, he procured ỹ frendship of Robert Bruce, and vpon promise (as it is to be thought) to make him king, the same Robert deliuered into king Edwarde his handes all suche castels as he helde in Scotlande.

John Ballyol the Scottish king, vnderstanding that king Edwarde entended to make a conquest vpon him, sent William bishop of Saint Androws, & Mathew bishop of Dunkeld, with sir John Sowlis, and sir Ingrame Umfrayuille into Fraunce, to renewe the auncient league betwixte him and Philyp the fourth as then king of Fraunce: whyche accordyngly was done: and for the more corroboration thereof, the eldest daughter of Charles Earle of Valloys and Angiewe, brother to king Philippe, was promised in mariage vnto Edwarde Ballyoll, the sonne of king John, whyche Edward should inioy landes of yearely rente and reuenues to the summe of xv. C. li. sterling, in places not of the demains belonging to the crown, as Ballienlle, Dampiere, Haretourte, and Hozney, which his father helde in Fraunce with Lanarke, Kidion, Maldesly, Cuntyngham, and the castell of Dundee, with the apurtenaunces in Scotland: and herto was annexed a prouiso, that if those seignories and places exceeded the value of xv. C. li. of yearely reuenues, then should the surplusage remaine to the king of Scotland: but if the same amounted not to that summe, then shoulde the sayd king make them good & supply ỹ same, with other rentes in Scotlande, or otherwise, as shuld be thought meete. And further, the sayde summe of xv. C. li. in yearely rente was assigned as it were the dower of the sayde Ladye, to enioye to hir selfe during hir lyfe after hir husbandes decease, if hir happe were to survyue him. In consideration wherof, king Philip couenanted to content and pay vnto king John in name of the mariage mony, the sum of lx. M. crowns, or (as other write) xxv. thousande pound Turnoise. The charter conteyning the articles, couenants and agreementes of this mariage & league aboue mencioned, beareth date at Paris, the xx. day of October, in the yeare of our Lorde. 1295. And the letters procuratorie made by king John vnto the said bishop of Saint Androws and the other his associates, bare date at Strivelyng, the third Nonas of July the same yeare.

Hector Boetius. Abyndon.

1295.

Shortly herevpon, king John was aduertised that king Edwarde purposed to come and besiege Barwike: wherfore by aduise of his nobles he sent the most parte of all the lordes and gentlemen of Fyfe and Louthian vnto Barwike, to defende the towne against the comming, if he came to besiege it.

The gentlemen of Fyfe, and Louthian sent to Barwike to defend it against the Englishmen.

The Englishmenne came not onely with a mighty power by lande, but also wyth a greate nauye by sea towardes the saide towne of Barwyke: Of whose commyng the Scottes being aduertised, came forth against those that approched by sea, twelue. xviij. of their shippes, and chased awaye the residue.

Englishe shippes taken at Barwike.

King Edwarde rather prouoked than feared with this misaduenture, came with a far greater puissance than before, to renewe the siege: but when he perceyued his purpose toke not so speedy effect as he hoped it shoulde haue done, he deuised howe to take this towne by some slightefull policie.

Barwike besieged.

Herevpon he fayned as though he wold haue broken vp his siege, & so reysing his camp, withdrew a little from the towne, and then hauing prouided banners and ensignes, resembling altogether such as diuers noble men in Scotland vsed, he sodeynly returned towards the towne, euery one of his soldiors wearing a crosse of saint Androwes aboue on their harnois, after the maner of the Scottishmen.

The policie of king Edward to winne Barwike.

There were also sente before vnto the towne certayne Scottes that serued the kyng of England, whiche gaue knowledge to the captaynes within the towne, that their lord king John was comming with his armie to their succours.

The Scottes that were within the towne, beleeuing it had bin most true, set open the gates and came forth against their king (as they supposed) to haue receyued him with all ioye and gladnesse.

The Scots deceyued and entrapped.

men

In Chron. Abindon. as I take it.

But when they came nere vnto the Engliſhmen, they perceyued both by their language and habite what they were: but this was not before the Engliſhmen were harde at the gates, ſo that when the Scottiſhmen would haue fledde backe to haue got into the towne agayne, the Engliſh men purſued them ſo faſte at the heeles, that they entred the gates with them, & ſo toke the towne with great ſlaughter, as well of the ſouldiours and men of warre, as alſo of women, childzen, & aged perſons, without all ruth or compaſſion, ſo that they lefte not one creature alyue of the Scottiſhe bloud within all that towne.

Thus was Barwike wonne the .xxx. day of Marche, in the yere. 1296.

Suche abundance of bloud was ſpilled thorough all partes of the towne (as the Scottiſhe Chronicles teſtifie) that where at a falling tyde the water was not able to dryue aboute the milnes, ſome of the ſame mylnes yet, were nowe at a lowe water ſet on gate, by reaſon the ſtreames were ſo hugely augmented with bloud. The abundāce of bloud ſpilled. Streames augmented with bloud.

There were ſlayne aboue. vij. thouſand perſons that day, with the greateſt parte of all the nobles and gentlemen of Fyfe and Louthian.

Kyng Iohn hearing of this ſlaughter of his people at Barwyk, in great deſire to be auenged, gathered his power, and ſent the ſame forth againſte king Edwarde, with whome they met not farre from Dunbar, and there encountring The Scots diſcomfited at Dunbar.



with hym in battayle, the Scottiſhe hoſte was diſcomfited, the moſte part of the Scottes being eyther ſlayne or taken.

The Erles of March and Menteth with .xx. knightes, fled to the caſtell of Dunbar, but they were beſieged ſo ſtraightly by the Engliſhe power, enuironning the Caſtell on eche ſide, that in the end they were conſtrayned for lack of victuals to yelde themſelues to king Edwarde, on condition to haue their lyues ſaued, which couenant was not obſerued (as the Scottiſhe wryters affirme:) for king Edwarde hauing got the into his handes, cauſed them forthwyth to bee put to death.

It was reported that Robert Bruce vpon ſecrete conference had with king Edwarde before this battaile at Dunbar, ſolicited all his frends in the Scottiſhe armie to flee vpon the firſt ioyning, whiche the reſidue perceyuing, were ſo diſcomforted, that incontinently they threw away both armour and weapon, and ſo were vanquiſhed without reſiſtance.

Trouth it is, that after this victorie, Robert Bruce ſubmitted himſelfe vnto king Edwarde, requiring him to performe his promiſe touching the right whiche he had to the crowne of Scotland: howbeit he receyued no anſwere to his lyking touching that requeſt: for king Edwarde had no leſſe deſire to enioy the kingdom of Scotland, than Bruce (as the Scottiſhe wryters affirme.) Therfore to caſt off Robert Bruce concerning his demaunde, he anſwered thus (as is ſayd) Beleeueſt thou that we haue nothing elſe a doe but to conquere realmes, and to delyuer them ouer againe vnto thee? The anſwere of king Edwarde to Robert Bruce.

Roberte Bruce hereby perceyuing the ſuttle meaning of king Edwarde, returned righte ſorowfull vnto his landes in Englande, hauyng great indignation in his mynde, that he had obeyde king Edwards requeſts: but yet conſidered with himſelf that he muſt ſuffer for the time, tyll occaſion ſerued to reuenge the iniuries receiued whiche he mynded to doe, and that in moſte cruell maner, as afterwardes it will appeare. The caſtels of Edenburgh & Striueling wonne.

King Edwarde after he had thus wonne the caſtell of Dunbar, got lykewiſe both the caſtels of Edenburgh and Striueling, & purſued king Iohn till he had conſtrayned him to take for his refuge the caſtell of Forfair. King Iohn driuen into the caſtell of Forfaire.

Herewith Iohn Cumyn lorde of Strabogy came

came to kyng Edwarde, and was ſworne his liege man.

Shortly after, by a politik practiſe of the ſame John Cumyn, king John with his ſon Edward Ballyol came to Mountros, where perceyuyng himſelfe vnwyſely fallen into the hands of king Edward, through feare of death which he doubted by reaſon of the menacing wordes of king Edward, he ſuffred himſelf to be ſpoyled of al his kingly abiliments, and with a white wande in his hande (as the maner is) preſented himſelf before king Edward, reſigning there vnto him all the right and title which he had to the crowne of Scotland, vtterly renouncing the ſame both for him and his heires for euer.

John Ballyol king of Scotland reſigneth all his right to king Edward.

Hereof was a charter alſo made in moſt ſufficient wyſe, confirmed with the hande and ſeale of king John, and other the nobles of Scotland ſubſtancially as might bee deuiſed, bearing date the fourth yeare of his reigne.

A charter.

After this, king Edwarde aſſembled all the lordes and barons of Scotlande at Berwyke, where he cauſed them to be ſworn his liege men, and to doe homage vnto hym as to their ſoueraigne lorde and ſupreme gouernour.

Homage of the barons of Scotland to king Edward.

And for the more ſuretie of their allegiaunce, he conſtrayned them to ſurrender into his hands all the ſtrengthes and holdes of the realme, bothe as well thoſe that ſtode on the ſea coaſtes, as alſo ſuche other as were ſituate in the inner partes of the countrey.

The holdes of Scotland deliuered into K. Edwarde his handes.

These things don, and order taken in eche behalf as was thought requiſite for ỹ quiet keping of the cõtrey, he ſent king John & his ſon Edwarde Ballyoll vnto London, where they were kept in ſtrong ward, tyll at length he ſuffred the ſayd king John to returne into Scotlande, but leauing ſtill his ſonne in pledge behynd him, leſt he ſhould attempte any newe rebellion after his departure.

John Ballyol kept as priſoner in Englãd.

King John vpon his returne into Scotland, perceyuing that he was in the hatred both of his lordes and commons, he withdrewe agayne of his owne accord into England, forſaking wholly the adminiſtration of the Scottiſh dominion, and finally wente ouer into Normandie to hys auncient inheritance and landes there, where at length falling blind, and waſting away by long age, he departed out of this worlde in the caſtell Gallyard, leauing thoſe landes which he poſſeſſed on that ſide the ſea, vnto his ſonne Edward Ballyoll, who beeing releaſed out of captiuitie, was come ouer to his father before his deceaſſe.

He returneth into Scotland.

He renoũceth the adminiſtration of Scotland.

He returneth into France, & deceaſſeth in caſtel Galliard

In the mean time king Edward hauing wel in remembrance the warres which he had intended to make againſt Frãce, had he not bin ſtayed thorough the buſineſſe of Scotlande, purpoſed now to purſue the ſame with all diligence: and therefore firſt garniſhing all the ſtrengthes and forts in Scotland to withſtãd the Scots, if they attempted any rebellion againſt him in his abſence, he appointed Hugh Creſſingham to be regent there, whileſt he ſhuld be occupied in Frãce, which Creſſingham before was Treaſourer.

King Edward his purpoſe to inuade Frãce.

Hugh Creſſingham regent of Scotland.

Then hauing prouided a great nauie of ſhips, hee paſſed ouer into Fraunce, truſtyng that the Scots would not ſturre, ſith they had of late ſuſteyned ſo many ouerthrows and ſore loſſes one after an other by the laſt warres: but tyrannie is of ſuch a nature, that by no kind of prouiſion it may any long tyme be ſurely defended.

For thoſe people that be oppreſſed by any tyrannicall ſeruitude, will not fayle to ſeeke to deliuer themſelues from the yoke of that importable burdeyne when ſoeuer opportunitie of tyme and occaſion ſeruyth.

King Edward burdened by the Scottiſh writers of tyrannie.

Therfore the lords of Scotlãd hauing knowledge that kyng Edwarde was paſſed the ſeas, they got them together ſtreightwayes, & aſſembled in counſel at Striuelyng, where by general agreement. xij. noble men were choſen to be gouernors of Scotland, euery one in their limittes appointed, that they might the better prouide to reſiſt the enimie.

The Scottiſh lordes aſſemble at Striuelyng.

xii. gouernors elected in Scotland.

Amongeſt theſe gouernours John Cumyn Erle of Buchquhan was principall, a man of great wyſedome and ſingular knowledge in all aſſayres, as well of peace as of warre.

This Earle of Buchquhan reyſed a myghtie armie, and with the ſame entred into Northumberland, wher he waſted with fyre and ſword all that countreye. After this, hee layde ſiege to Carleile, but he wanne nothing there, the towne was ſo well defended.

Iohn Cumyn.

In that ſeaſon alſo, the fame of William Wallace began to ſpring, a yong gentleman of ſo huge ſtature and notable ſtrength of bodye, with ſuche ſkil and knowlege in warlike enterpryſes, and hereto of ſuch hardineſſe of ſtomacke in attempting all manner of daungerous exploites, that his matche was not anye where lyghtly to be founde.

Willia Wallace beginneth to waxe famous.

He was ſonne to one ſyr Andrew Wallace of Cragy, knight, and from his youth bare euer an inwarde hatred agaynſt the Engliſh nation.

Sir Andrewe Wallace knight father to Willia Wallace.

Sundry notable frates alſo he wroughte againſt the Engliſhmen in defence of the Scots, and was of ſuche incredible force at his comming to perfecte age, that of him ſelfe alone, without all helpe, he would not feare to ſette vpon three or foure Engliſhemen at once, and vanquiſhe them.

When the fame therefore of his worthie actes was notified thorough the realme, manye were put in good hope that by his meanes the realme ſhoulde bee deliuered from the ſeruitude of the

Engliſh

Engliſhemen within ſhorte tyme after: And hereupon a great number of the Scottiſhe nation as well of the nobilitie as other, were readye to aſſiſte him in all his enterpriſes. By reaſon wherof he myght not bee eaſily entrapped nor taken of the Engliſhmen, that went aboute to haue got him into their handes.

At length, when occaſion ſerued to vſe the helpe of ſuche a notable chiefetayne, he was choſen by generall conſente of the Scottiſhmen as gouernour vnder Iohn Ballyoll, to deliuer his countrey from bondage of the Engliſh nation.

At the ſame tyme many Abbeyes and ſpirituall benefices in Scotlande were in Engliſhe mēs handes. Neuertheleſſe this William Wallace by commiſſion hadde of Willyam Fraſer Biſhop of Sainct Andrewes, auoyded and put them forth of all partes of Scotlande, leauing neyther temporall nor ſpirituall perſon of theyr bloud within that realme.

For ſhortely after, by publike authoritie, he receiued the armie that Iohn Cumyn Erle of Buchquhan had led before, & conſtrayned thoſe Scottes that fauoured kyng Edward, to obey his commaundementes, in renouncing all ſuch faith and promiſe as they had giuē or made vnto him. This done, he paſſed forth with greate puiſſance againſt the engliſhmen, that held ſundry caſtels within Scotlande, and with greate hardineſſe and manhode he wan the caſtelles of Forfair, Dundee, Brechen, & Mountros, fleaing all ſuch ſouldiers as he founde within them.

Wallace nowe ioyfull of this his proſperous ſucceſſe, and hearing that certaine of the chiefeſt capitaines and officers of thoſe Engliſhemen ỹ kepte the caſtell of Dunoter, were gone forth to conſulte with other Engliſhemen of the fortes nexte to them adioyning, came ſodeynly to the ſayd caſtel, and toke it, not leauing a man aliue of all thoſe whiche he found as then within it. Dunoter won by William Wallace.

Then after he had furniſhed that holde wyth his owne ſouldiors in moſte defenſible wiſe, hee went to Abyrden.

The towne he founde in maner voyde of all the inhabitants, but the caſtell was ſo ſtrongly garniſhed with men and munitiō, that conſidering it might not be won without great murder, he reyſed from thence and returned into Angus.

King Edwarde as then beeing in Fraunce, hearing of theſe exploits atchieued by this Wallace his aduerſarie, ſent dyuers noble captaines vnto his lieutenāt Hugh Creſſingham with an armie into Scotland to redreſſe the matter. Hugh Creſſingham ſent into Scotlande.

Wallace in the meane tyme had layde ſiege vnto the caſtell of Couper, but nowe being aduertiſed of the comming of this armie againſte hym, he reyſed his ſiege, and wente to Striueling to defend the bridge there, that Hugh Creſſingham with his armye ſhoulde not paſſe the ſame, accoryding (as the reporte wente) his in-



tent was to doe.

Heere encountryng with the enimies the thirde Ides of September, he obtayned a righte worthie victorie, for he ſlewe not only the forſayde Creſſingham with a greate parte of his armye beeing paſſed the ryuer, but alſo forced the reſidue to flee, in ſuche ſorte, that a greate number of them were drowned, and fewe eſcaped awaye with lyfe.

Thus hauing gotten the vpper hande of his enimies here at Striueling, hee returned againe to the ſiege of Couper, whyche ſhortely after vppon his returne thyther, was rendred vnto hym by thoſe that were within in garriſon. The caſtell of Couper rendred to Wallace.

There were many of the Scottiſhe nobilitie the ſame tyme, that ſente vnto hym, offeryng

to

to leaue the king of Englands part, and to ayde him with money and victuals, if he would onlye receyue them into fauoure, wherevnto hee graunted.

By which meanes sundry other castels were yelded vnto him, the whiche after he had garnished with men, munition, and victuals (accordingly as was thought requisite) he brake vp his campe, and went with sundrie of his most faithfull frendes vnto the castell of Striueling.

Dearth in Scotlande.

The policie of Wallace to relieue the peoples lacke in tyme of dearth.

Afterwardes perceyuing that through scarcitie of corne, great dearth rose on eche side within the realme of Scotland, he deuised which way he might best relieue the peoples necessitie & lack in that behalfe, and herevppon he determined to passe with a mightie armie into Englande, and



wasting and spoyling the countreye euen vnto Newcastell.

Thus putting the enimies in great feare and terrour of his awfull name, he brought his army backe againe into Scotlande loden with spoyle and glorie of their prosperous atchieued iorney.

They entred into Englande (as Johannes Maior writeth) about the feaste of all Saintes, and remayned there till Candelmas after, liuing still vpon the spoyle of the Englishmens goodes.

King Edwards message vnto Wallace.

Edward king of Englande beeing enformed of the greate slaughter of his people, and what damage the Scottes had done in Northumberlande, hee returned in greate displeasure out of Fraunce into Englande, and sent his ambassadors vnto Wallace, sore menacing him, for that he had inuaded his realme in suche cruell wise in his absence, which he durst (as he sent him word) ful little haue done, if he had bin at home himself.

The answere of Wallace to king Edwards message as the Scots do write

Wallace herevnto answered, that he had taken the aduauntage for the atchieuing of his enterprise, touching the inuasion of Englande, in lyke sort as king Edward had done for the conquest of Scotlande, at suche tyme as hee was chosen by the nobles of the realme as indifferent Iudge in decision of the right and lawfull title of the parties that strone and were at contention for the crowne.

And further, to the ende it might appere vnto king Edward, that he inuaded Englande in defence of his owne native countrey, and that he was fully bent to employe his whole endeuor to deliuer the same from all manner of subiection to any forraine power, and to reuenge the iniuries done by the Englishmen in tyme past, he willed the Englishe ambassadors to declare from hym vnto king Edward, that he purposed to hold his Easter in Englande (if God fortuned him lyfe) and that in despite of king Edward and al such as would beare armour against him.

Wallace entred England with an armie of. xxx. thousand menne.

And vndoubtedly according to his promise, he kept his day: for assemblyng together an armye of. xxx. thousend men, he entred into Englande at the tyme before appointed, where king Edwarde was readie with an armie vpon Stanesmore, double in number to the Scots, to giue them

to soiorne there the moste parte of the winter in susteyning the whole number of his men of war on suche prouision as they might fynde within the boundes of their enimies countrey.

He commaunded therfore that all the Scots appointed to goe with him in that iourney, shuld be readie at a certaine day and place prefixed, but dyuers of the Northerne Scottes (as they of Aberden and other) for that they disobeyed his commaundements sette forth by letters and proclamations, were hanged as rebelles and traytours to theyr countrey.

Disobedience punished.

By whose example, other being put in feare, his commaundementes were the better obeyed, so that hauing got together an huge host of men, he entred with the same into Northumberlande,

Wallace inuadeth Northumberland.

them battayle: but when the tyme came, that both parties were ready to haue ioyned, the Engliſhemen withdrewe, hauing no luſt, as ſhould ſeeme, to fyght with the Scottes at that tyme, who perceyuing them to giue back, incontinently woulde haue ruſhed forthe of their rankes to haue purſewed in chaſe after them: but Wallace doubting leaſt the Engliſhemen had ment ſome policie, cauſed the Scottes to keepe together in order of battayle, and ſo preſeruing them from the deceytfull malice of their enimies, broughte them backe into Scotlande with lyues and honours ſaued, beſides the infinite ſpoyle and bootes, which they got in this iorney.

But as in the beginning all men were glad to ſupport Wallace in all exploytes and enterpriſes which he toke in hand, ſo afterwards whē his fame began to waxe great, to the derogation of other mennes renoumes, ſuche as were farre his ſuperiours in birth and lignage, that fauour which many bare him at the firſt, was now turned into Enuie, hauyng no ſmall indignation, that a man of ſo baſe parentage, ſhoulde ſo ſurmount them in all honour and dignitie.

Thoſe that enuied him moſt, were of the Cumyns bloud, and Robert Bruce.

King Edwarde beeing aduertiſed of this enuious grudge and new ſedition amongſt the nobles of Scotlande, had ſecrete conference by his agentes with the chiefeſt amongeſt thoſe that thus enuied the high glorie of Wallace, and vpon truſt of ſuche practiſe as was concluded by reaſon of the ſame conference, hee came with a mightie armie into Scotland, and at Falkyrke mette with this Wallace, who myſtruſting no guyle, had rayſed a power to reſiſt him: but now being come in ſight of the Engliſhmen, ther roſe a ryght odious contention betwirte the head capitayns, who ſhuld haue the leading of the vantgarde, whiche is reputed a moſte high honour amongſt the Scottiſhmen.

King Edward inuadeth Scotlande.

Wallace rayſeth a power to reſiſt him.

Striſe for the leading of the vauntgarde.

And amongſt other, Stewarde and Cumyn thought ſkorne, that Wallace, a man of ſo low beginning, ſhoulde bee preferred before them in that honour: But on the other parte, Wallace conſyderyng that the charge of the whole was giuen vnto hym by agreemente and conſente of the three eſtates, thonghte it no reaſon that hee ſhould giue place to any of them.

In the meane tyme came the Engliſhemen vpon thē right fiercely, before the Scottiſh chieftains (hauing their breſtes filled with more malice one againſt an other, than with deſire to defend theyr countrey againſt their enimies) could bryng their men into any perfecte araye.

Herewith at the cōming to the poynt of ioyning, the Cumyns wyth theyr retinues fled out of the fielde, and lefte the reſidue of the Scots in all the daunger.



Robert Bruce ſeruing that day amongſt the Engliſhmen, fetched a compaſſe about an hill, & came on the backes of the Scottes, ſo that they were in maner compaſſed in, & beaten downe on eche ſide: Yet Wallace left nothing vndon that might pertaine to the dutie of a valiant captain. But at length all his endeuors notwithſtāding, the Scots (ouerſet with multitude of enimies) (as the Scottiſh writers affirme) were ſlayne in ſuch huge numbers, that he was conſtrayned to draw out of the field with ſuche ſmall remnant, as were left alyue.

The Engliſhmen purſued fiercely after hym, and namely one valiant captayne named Frere Bryan Jay, a Templer, whome Wallace perceyuing to be within his daunger, ſtepped forth vnto hym, and ſlewe him there in ſyght (as it is ſayd) of all the Englyſhe armie: Whiche valiaunt acte of Wallace, cauſed the Engliſh men

The Scottes diſcomfited at Falkyrke.

Frere Bryan Jay ſlayne by the hand of Willia Wallace.

ſomewhat to ſtaye, for doubt of further perill by their vnwyſe purſuite.

In this infortunate battaile wer ſlain on the Scottiſhe ſide, John Stewarde of Bute wyth his Brandanes (for ſo they name them that are taken vp to ſerue in the warres forth of the Stewardes landes) Mackduff erle of Fyfe, with ſir John Graham, whoſe death was much lamented by Wallace, as one whome he highly eſteemed for his great experience in warlyke knowledge.

Nobles of Scotland ſlayn at the battayle of Falkyrke.

Many other noble and valiant men dyed in this conflict, whoſe names wold be to long to reherſe.

This batail was ſtricken on Mary Magdalens day, in the yere of our Lorde. 1298. and therfore the Engliſhmē haue holden it euer ſithence an happy day for to fight againſt Scottes.

Mary Magdalens day proſperous for the Engliſhemen to fyghte againſte Scots.

Wallace after thys diſcomfiture, came to Perth, and there vttering by complaint the iniurious enuie of the nobles againſt hym, he renoūced and diſcharged hymſelfe of all the auctoritie which had bin committed to his hands, touching the gouernance of the realme.

1298

Wallace renounceth his office.

The ſame tyme, Philip king of Fraunce the fourth of that name, and ſurnamed le Beau, hauing great ruth in his heart for the miſerable calamities thus chaunced to his auncient confederate frendes the Scottes, and that chiefly for the quarell of Fraunce, ſente his ambaſſadors vnto Edward king of Englande, who had lately before maryed his daughter, requiryng that there might be ſom peace or abſtinēce of war grāted.

Philip king of Fraunce.

At his requeſt therefore a truce was taken betwixt the Scottes and Engliſhemen, to endure from the feaſt of all Saincts, til the feaſt of Pentecoſt next following.

A truce.

The Scottes in the meane tyme ſore oppreſſed by reaſon of long warres, ſent ambaſſadors to Pope Boniface, in preſenting a right greuous complaint vnto him for the great affliction done to them by king Edwarde, who was fully bente by iniurious meanes (as they alledged) to conquere their realme, and therefore they beſoughte hym to conſtreyne king Edwarde by vertue of his prerogatiue which he pretended to haue ouer the realme of Englande, to ſtand to his order in deciding the right cōcerning ẏ liberties of Scotland, which might no otherways be determined, but by intollerable damage falling to the people thorough blynd deſire and couetous ambition of the nobles, contending for the crowne.

Scottiſh ambaſſadors ſent to Pope Boniface.

The Pope (as is ſaid) after he had by good and deliberate aduiſe heard the matter, gaue ſentence with the Scottes, that they had iuſte cauſe of warres in defence of the liberties of their cōtrey againſt king Edward and his fautors.

The opinion of the Pope.

The Scots ſomewhat recomforted herewith, ſhortly therevppon chooſe John Cumyn to their gouernour, in purpoſe to trie with the Engliſhemen for their liberties. Wherof king Edwarde being aduertiſed, ſente forthwith an armie into Scotlande, which paſſed thorough the countrey to Saint Johns towne, with greate damage of thoſe that were adiudged rebelles to king Edwardes Empire.

John Cumyn elected gouernour of Scotland.

An armie of Engliſhmen ſent into Scotlande.

All the countrey in manner vnto Forthyr at this ſeaſon was ſubiect to the Engliſhemen, ſauing ſuche fewe of the inhabitauntes, as lyued within the woods, hauing more regard to the ancient liberties of their countreye, than to any deſire of preſeruing their goodes or lyues.

John Cumyn therefore deſirous to redreſſe this heaue miſerie and lamentable caſe of his countrey, admitted Symon Fraſer fellow with him in the adminiſtratiō of the warres, againſt the Engliſhmen, and therwith gathering an army of .viij. thouſand hardy men of warre, ſetteth in hande to reuēge the iniurious doings of the enimies, chaſing out of the realme all ſuch officers with their ſeruauntes as king Edward had placed in any romthes within the bounds of Scotland, and ſuche as reſiſted hee purſued in moſte cruell wyſe, not ſparyng to put them vnto the ſwoorde in all places where hee might fynde them.

King Edwards officer chaſed out of Scotland.

King Edwarde ſore kyndeled in diſpleaſure with theſe attempts of ſuche deſperate perſons, reyſed an armie of thirtie thouſand men, and ſent the ſame into Scotlande vnder the leading of a right ſtoute and valiant capitayne named Radulph or Rafe Confray.

Scotlande gayn inuaded.

Radulph Confraye. I remember not that any of the Engliſh nobilitie hath this ſurname in theſe dayes, wherefore I thinke it the lord Segraue.

This Radulph at his comming into Scotlande, toke ſmall regarde to the ordering of his field, but deuided his armie into three partes, euery part conteining .x. thouſand men, and appointed them to paſſe forth to forrage the countrey, and to mete altogither at Roſlyn, in ſuche ſort and tyme as he preſcribed. John Cumyn & Symon Fraſer being aduertiſed hereof, gathered their powers together, to the nūber of .viij. or viij. thouſand men, and determined to try the chance of battayle with one part of the Engliſh armye firſt, truſting that if they happed to haue the vpper hande of one of the three parts, the other two would be the more eaſy to deale with.

John Cumyn & Symon Fraſer.

The Scottiſh captains reſolued thus vpon that point, exhorted their people to remēber how they were to fight in defence of their wiues, their children, their goods and liberties of their countreye, againſt ſuch as ſought to bring them into thraldome and vile ſeruitude.

With which wordes the Scottes were ſo emboldned, that minding either to die or to winne the victorie, they gaue the onſette ſo fiercely on their enimyes, that the fyrſte battayle of the Engliſh-

Englishemen was quickely ouerthrowen and banquished.

But scarcely hadde they gathered the spoyle,





theyr fresshe wonne victorie, got themselues speedyly into array, and receyued their enimies with suche incredible manhood, that they had quickely got the vpper hande of these also. But vnethe had they made an ende with this seconde battayle, when the thirde parte was at hande readie to charge them, beeing nowe sore enfeebled, what thorough wearynesse and woundes receyued in the two former encountres, besydes the want of suche of theyr numbers as were slayne: yet by exhortation of theyr Capitaynes, and the valyaunt presence of the officers of bandes besyde, they rushed forthe on their enimies with suche earnest forewardenesse to receyue them, that after a syghte sharpe bickering, they put the whole number of them to flight.

Fewe of the Englyshmen hadde escaped the Scottishmens handes, had they not ben so awearyed with continuall fyghte, that they were not able to followe anye greate waye in the chase.

Thys victorie fell to the Scottes in manner as before is rehersed vppon Sainct Mathewes daye, in the yeare after the byrthe of oure Sauiour. 1302. The glorye of thys victorie was greate, consydering that thirtie thousand Englishemen well furnyshed, and thoroughly appoynted for warre, shoulde be thus in one daye banquished with an handfull of Scottishmen. For as theyr Hystories make mention, they passed not eyghte thousande at the moste: and therefore all menne supposed, that it came to passe by the singular fauoure and grace of almyghtie GOD. But yet the Scottes dyde not long enioye the benefytes of so notable a victorie.

For kyng Edwarde hearyng of thys discomfiture of his people at Roslyng, gathered a myghtie armye of Englishemenne, Gascoynes, Irishemen, and suche Scottes as tooke hys parte, and hauyng all hys furniture and purueyaunce readye bothe by sea and lande, he set forwarde with the same to inuade the Scots on eche side.

when an other part of the Englishmen came vpon them with more fiercenesse than the other before: neuertheless the Scottes encouraged with

The Scottes perceyuyng they were not of puissaunce able to resist his inuasion, withdrew to their strengthes: by meanes wherof the Englishe armie passed through all Scotland, euen from the South partes to the North, and found fewe or none to make resistance, except Wallace and suche as followed his opinion, whyche were fledde to the mountaynes and woddes to eschewe the malice of the Englishmen.

The Scottes withdraw to their holdes.

The englishe armie passeth through Scotland from the South parts to the North.

It is sayde, that king Edwarde requyred by a messenger sente vnto thys Wallace, that if he woulde come in and be sworne his lyege man and true subiecte, he shoulde haue at his handes greate Lordshippes and possessions within Englande to mayntayne his porte as was requisite to a manne of righte honourable estate. But Wallace refused these offers, saying that he preferred libertie with small reuenues in Scotlande, before any possession of landes in Englande, were the same neuer so greate, considering he myght not enioye them, but vnder the yoke of bondage.

King Edward sendeth vnto Wallace.

Wallace refuseth the offers of K. Edward.

The Castell of Sterlyng at the same tyme was in the kepyng of one sir William Uthred knighte, who woulde not render it to king Edwarde by any summonaunce or other meanes, tyll after three moneths siege he was constrayned to gyue it ouer vnder these conditions, that all persons being within the castell, shoulde departe by safe conduyt with bagge and baggage at their pleasure.

The castell of Sterling rendred.

Neuertheless K. Edward caused the said sir Willia Uthred to be conueyd to London, wher he remained as prisoner many yeares after.

This Vthred the Scottishe bookes name Oliser.

Sundry other Caſtelles were taken by force the ſame tyme by king Edwarde, and all ſuche as reſiſted, beyng founde within anye of them, ſlayne without mercie or raunſome.



The caſtell of Vrquhard taken by force.

Amongeſt other, the caſtell of Urquhard in Murraylande was taken by force, and not one lefte alyue that was founde in the ſame (one Gentlewoman only excepted) who beyng great with chylde was in that reſpecte preſerued.

She was the wyfe of Alexander Boyis lord of that houſe, though by reaſon ſhe was got into poore apparell, the Engliſhmen toke hir but for ſome other woman of meaner eſtate.

She therefore with hir lyfe ſaued being ſuffered to depart, got hir ouer into Ireland, where ſhe was delyuered of a ſonne, that was named at the Font ſtone Alexander, the whiche when Scotlãd was recouered out of the Engliſhmẽs hands, came to king Robert le Bruce, requiring him to be reſtored vnto his fathers heritage, being as then in the occupation of other poſſeſſors.

King Robert doubtfull what to doe herein, for he thought it neyther cõuenient that a prince ſhoulde take landes or poſſeſſions from noble menne, whyche hadde bene gyuen to them in rewarde of theyr manhode, ſhewed in defence of the realme, neyther iudged hee it reaſon to keepe hym from his rightfull inheritaunce that hadde loſte hys father, his friendes, and all his whole ſubſtaunce in the lyke cauſe and quarell by iniurie of the common enimies. Wherefore to qualifie the matter, hee deuyſed thys meane: he gaue vnto thys Alexander Boyis certayne other landes in Mar, nothyng leſſe in value, (conſideryng the largeneſſe and fertilitie) than the other of Urquharde were: and willed hym to content hym ſelfe with thoſe, in recompence of ſuche as belonged to his father: to the intent that all parties myght bee ſatisfied, and no man ſhoulde ſeeme to haue wrong in being depriued of his rightfull poſſeſſions.

This Alexander Boyis hadde afterwardes hys name chaunged, and was called Forbes, for that he ſlewe a Beare in thoſe parties by greate and ſingular manhode.

The beginning of the name of Forbeſſe.

And ſo the ſurname of the Forbeſſes had begynning, as deſcended from hym.

Scotlande beyng ſubdewed by the mightye puiſſaunce of kyng Edwarde, he wente aboute to abolyſhe all the olde Statutes and auncyente conſtitutions of the Realme, truſtyng by that meanes, that Scottes lyuyng togyther wyth Engliſhemen, vnder one vniforme maner of Lawes, they ſhoulde fynally ſort themſelues to bee of one mynde and opinion, as wel touchyng the ſupreme gouernemente of theyr publyque weale, as alſo in all other thyngs, touchyng the frendly ſocietie of lyfe.

Chronicles other bookes brent.

Hee brente all the Chronicles of the Scottyſhe Nation, with all manner of Bookes, as well thoſe conteynyng diuine ſeruice, as anye other Treatyſes of prophane matters, to the ende that the memorye of the Scottes ſhoulde periſhe: and thereto appoynted greeuous puniſhementes for them that ſhoulde diſobeye hys commaundementes herein, in keeping any of the ſayde bookes vndefaced. And he ordeyned alſo, that the Scots ſhuld occupie church bookes after the vſe of Sarum, and none other.

Scottiſh learned, maunded be reſident Oxforde.

Moreouer, he cõpelled al ſuch Scottiſhmen as wer of any ſingular knowledge in lerning or literature, to be reſident in Oxford, doubting leſt the Scottiſh nobilitie encreacing in politik prudence by their inſtructions, ſhould ſeeke to throw off the yoke of bondage. Thus king Edward going about (as the Scottiſh writers do report) to extinguiſh the name of Scots together with their rule & empire, paſſed through the moſt part

of

of all the bounds of Scotlande, and vppon verye hate whyche he hadde to the Scottiſhe antiquities, at his comming to Camelon, he commaunded the round temple ſtanding ouer againſt the ſame, to be throwne downe, which was builded (as before is ſhewed) in the honour of Claudius the Emperor, and the goddeſſe Victoria. But for that his commandemẽt was not immediatly put in execution, he chaunged his purpoſe and apointed only that the monumẽts of Claudius with the ſuperſcription of his name ſhould be taken away, and in place therof, the armes of king Arthur, with his name to be ſet vp, commanding the place to be called Arthurs hoik (as ye wouide ſay) Arthurs Courte.

Moreouer king Edward at his returning into Englãd, toke the chaire of Marble with him, and cauſing it to be conueyd vp to London, dyd place it at Weſtminſter, where it remaineth yet vnto this daye. Furthermore, before his departure out of Scotlãd, he apointed al the Scottiſh lordes to aſſemble at Scone, where he cauſed them to take a newe othe, that from thencefoorth they ſhoulde take him for their ſoueraigne lord, & to obey him in al things as loyal ſubiects.

All the nobilitie of Scotlande was ſworne to hym that daye (Wallace onely excepted) who eſchewed more than the companye of a ſerpent, to haue any thing to doe with the Engliſhmen, touching any agreement to be made with them, agreeable to their deſires.

Moreouer to kepe the Scottes from rebellion; king Edwarde ordeyned Odomare de Valence to be gouernor there as his general lieutenaunt ouer the whole realme of Scotlande in his abſẽce. And hauing thus ſet al things in good and quiet order (as he ſuppoſed) he returned into Englande with great ioy and triumph.

In the meane time John Cumyn ſurnamed the reddе, and Roberte Bruce hauing conference together, complayned the one to the other of the myſerable ſeruitude wherein the Realme of Scotlande as then ſtoode by the oppreſſion of king Edward. And at length vpon offers made betwixte them, it was agreed, that if by anye meanes they myght deliuer the Realme out of the Engliſhmens hands, the one of them ſhould be king, that is to witte the Bruce, and the other that is to ſay the Cumyn, ſhoulde enioy all the Bruces landes and poſſeſſions, with many other prefermentes of honoures and dignities as nexte vnto him in all authoritie touchyng the gouernement of the realme.

There were Indentures made betweene them, ſubſcribed wyth theyr names, and ſealed with theyr ſeales interchaungeably, for the full ratifying of couenauntes agreed in thys confederacie betwixte them.

And ſhortely after vppon deliuerie of thoſe writings, Bruce wente into Englande, for he myght not remayne long in Scotlande, for doubte of ſuſpition, whiche kyng Edwarde had in hym, bicauſe of the title whiche he had to the Crowne of Scotlande, as before is ſpecifyed; inſo muche (as was thoughte) kyng Edwarde woulde haue put bothe hym and his brotherne vnto death long before, if he myght haue once get them all into his handes.

John Cumyn doth doubt.

John Cumyn (after that hee and Bruce were thus agreed vppon Articles, and departed the one from the other) beganne to doubt, leaſt this conſpiracie deuiſed betwixte them, woulde not ſorte to anye luckye concluſion for his purpoſe, eyther for that hee feared the greate puiſſaunce of kyng Edwarde, eyther elſe for that his authoritie and power (as hee myſtruſted) woulde not bee greate, if the Bruce once atteyned the Crowne: And herevppon hee ſente one of his ſeruauntes vnto kyng Edwarde, with his counterpane of the Indenture conteynyng the couenauntes of the conſpiracie, ſigned and ſealed wyth Bruces owne hande and ſeale.

Cumyn diſcloſeth the conſpiracie.

The meſſenger delyuered this writing in ſecrete wyſe vnto king Edwarde, declaryng vnto him the whole matter as it was paſſed and concluded betwixt the Bruce and his maiſter, accordyng to inſtructions gyuen hym in ỹ behalf.

But king Edwarde at the firſt gaue lyghte credite eyther to the writings or wordes of the Cumyn, ſuppoſyng that the ſame proceded only through enuie, whiche he bare towardes the Bruce, euer dreading leaſt he ſhoulde beare no rule in Scotland, if the Bruce once atteined any authoritie within the ſame.

At lengthe yet, king Edward pondering with himſelfe the whole circumſtance, and beeing in ſome doubte of the matter, he ſhewed the counterpane of the Indenture vnto Bruce himſelfe,



queſtionyng with him, if he knew his own hand.

Robert Bruce is examined.

The Bruce ſtoutely denyed that he was pri-

He denieth his writing.

uie to any suche deuyse or writyng, and therefore desyred of kyng Edwarde to haue the same for one nyghte to perúse and scanne ouer at leysure, and then if he were not able to proue that it was forged and maliciously deuised vpon an enuious purpose to put him in daunger of lyfe, he would forfait all his landes and lyuings that he helde eyther within the realme of Englande or elsewhere.

King Edwarde bicause he coniectured at the fyrste howe thys accusation of Cumyn was, nothing lyke to bee true, graunted his request, wherein many iudged he dydde vnwysely: but suche was the ordinaunce of almightie GOD, that Bruce should escape that danger to accomplishe that whereunto he was appointed.

The Erle of Glocester immediatly after that Robert Bruce was departed frō the kings presence, sent vnto him .xij. sterling pennies, wyth two sharpe spurres, whereby he coniectured his meaning to be, that the best shift for him was to auoyde out of the waye in moste speedy wyse, whervpon he caulyng a smyth to shoe. iij. horses for him, contrarily with ỳ calkyns forward, that it should not bee perceyued whiche way he had taken by the tracte of the horses for that the ground at that time (being in the winter season) was couered with snowe: hee departed oute of London aboute midnighte, accompanyed onely with two truslie seruantes.

Robert Bruce doth flee.

It chaunced also, that ther fell the same night more snow aloft vpon the other snow that was fallen before, by reason whereof it could not bee iudged in the morning which way he was gon, though king Edward vpon knowlege had that he was fled, sent out a great mayny of horsmen after, to haue brought him againe, if they might any where haue founde him.

He commeth to Lochmaben.

But the Bruce hasted forth with such speede in his iourney, that the .vij. day after his departure from London, hee came to Lochmaben in Annandale, and there found Dauid (or as some bookes haue) Edward his brother, with Roberte Flemeyn, a worthie young Gentleman, vnto whom (they musing what he ment by his sodain comming) he declared into what perill of lyfe he had fallen by meanes of the Cumyn, and howe narowly he had escaped oute of king Edwardes handes.

A seruaunt of Cumyns taken with letters on him.

His brother hearing the matter, consented to goe wyth him, and to be partaker of all happes that might fortune to fall out in his flighte: and by the way they chaunced to light vpon one of Cumyns seruantes, that was going with letters vnto king Edwarde from hys mayster, the said Cumyn, signifying by ỳ same, that if Bruce were not the sooner put to death, there would ensue shortely suche trouble and ruffling in Scotlande agaynste kyng Edwarde, that it woulde bee muche adoe to appeale it.

These letters beyng founde vppon Cumyns seruaunt, thorough meanes of yong Flemeyn, the Bruce after he had apposed the bearer thoroughly in eche behalfe, and learned of him that his maister the sayde Cumyn was in the Fryers at Domfryse, he first slewe this fellow that was thus sente with the letters, and after in all haste possible came to Dounfryse by the guyding of the same Flemeyn, where in the Quyer of the the Fryers churche there, he found the Cumyn: and reasoning the matter with hym, for that he had vsed him so euill, and withall shewing hym the indenture whiche king Edwarde had deliuered to him, as before is mencioned, in the ende after some multiplying of wordes together, Robert Bruce plucked forth his swoorde, and stroke the forsayde Cumyn a sore blowe in the belly, and therupon fleeing out of the Churche, mette with two of his dearest frendes, James Lyndsey, and Roger Kyrkpatryke, who beholding his countenance altered, and comming forth of the churche in suche haste, demaunded of hym what was the matter: I trowe (said he) that Cumyn is slayne.

Cumyn was the Fryers in Dunfreis.

Why (sayd they againe) hast thou attempted so hyghe an enterpryse, and lefte it doubtefull? And immediatly herewith they went to the place where Cumyn lay wounded (as before is mencioned) and asked of hym whether he thoughte he had any deathes wounde or, hoped to recouer if he myght haue a good Surgion. and for that he answered howe he trusted to doe wellynough if he might haue a good surgion in tyme: they gaue him three or foure other woundes so greuous and deadly, that forthwith vppon the same, he yelded vp the ghost.

Cumyn is slayne. 1305.

This chanced in the yeare of our Lord. 1305. the fourth Ides of Februarie.

Aboute the same tyme was William Wallace taken at Glaskow by the meanes of sir John Menteth and other, in whome he had euer put a moste speciall truste: but they beeing corrupted with the offers of large rewardes promysed by king Edwarde to suche as coulde helpe to take him, wrought suche fetches that he was apprehended at length by Odomare de Valance Erle of Penbroke, who with a greate power of men brought him to London, where hee was put to death, and his quarters sent into Scotlande, and set vp in sundry great townes there for a spectacle, as it were, to giue ensample to other. Thys was the ende of that puissant champion William Wallace, praysed amongest the Scotishmen aboue all other in that age, for so muche as hee woulde neuer yelde or consent to acknowledge any superiorite in the Englishemen ouer hys countrey,

Wallace is taken.

Wallace is brought to London.

He is put to death.

countrey, no not when all other had ſubmitted themſelues to king Edward as his liege ſubiects and moſt obedient vaſſals.

It is ſayde, that when hee was young and went to ſchole, he learned by hearte two verſes of his ſchoolemaiſter, which euer after hee bare in mynde, and vſually woulde reherſe them, which were as followe.

Dico tibi verum, libertas optima rerum,
Nunquam ſeruili, ſub nexu viuito fili.

Whiche maye be Engliſhed thus.

My ſonne, I ſay, freedome is beſt,
Then neuer yelde to thralles arreſt.



BVt now touchyng the Bruce: after hee hadde ſlayne the Cumyn (as before is mencioned) he purchaſed an abſolutiõ from Rome for that acte, & to ẏ end he might then through authoritie obtaine ſome ayde to reſiſt ẏ puiſſance of his aduerſarie K. Edward, he went by ſupport of frends vnto Scone, & there cauſed himſelf to be crowned king, on the 27. day of Marche, though he had no great nũber that toke his parte in the beginning, as ſhortely after well appered. For when he ſhould aſſemble an armie againſt a power of Engliſhmen that were ſent againſt him by K. Edward, immediatly vpon knowledge had of his attemptes, hee was not able to get togither any ſufficiẽt number to reſiſte his aduerſaries, though with thoſe few which came vnto him, he thought to try the chaunce of bataple, and ſo encountryng wyth Ddomare de Valence lieutenant of the engliſh armye at Meffene the. xix. daye of June, in the yeare. 1306. he was ther put to flight: and though the ſlaughter was not great, yet for that it was iudged to be an euill ſigne to haue ſuche infortunate lucke vpon his entring into the eſtate, the peoples fauour ſhranke greatly from him.

Absolution from Rome.



Ddomare de Valence after he had obteyned this victorie againſt king Roberte, baniſhed the wiues of all thoſe that ſupported the ſame Robert, by meanes whereof many ladies and gentlewomen were conſtrayned to flee into woodes, and other deſert places, to eſchewe the cruelties of their aduerſaries. King Robert alſo after this ouerthrow, fled into Athole, where the. iij. Ides of Auguſt at a place called Dalry, he fought agayne with the Cumyns and other ſuche Scots and engliſhmen as were aſſembled in thoſe parties readie to purſewe him, and had the like luck here that had chaunced to him before at Meffen, for he was put to flight after the ſame manner, though he loſt here but fewe of his men, neither in the fyght nor chaſe.

Wherevpon fynding Fortune thus contrarie vnto him in theſe two ſeuerall batayles, he was left ſo deſolate and vnprouided of all frendſhip, that he was conſtrayned for his refuge to withdrawe into the woodes and mountaynes, with a fewe other in his companye, and there lyued on herbes and rootes, oftentymes for want of other foode.

The miſerable ſtate of king Robert in the beginning of his reigne.

Whyleſt he remayned in this eſtate of aduerſe Fortune, there were two that ſhewed themſelues ryghte truſtie and faithfull ſeruantes vnto hym aboue all the reſte, the Earle of Leuenax, and Gilberte Hay: for though eyther enforced by perſecution of enimyes, or conſtrained through ſome other neceſſitie, they departed ſometymes from his preſence, yet didde they euer acknoweledge hym for theyr Soueraygne

The Earle of Leuenax and Gilbert Hay faithful ſeruitours to king Robert.

lorde and only king, readie at all ſeaſons to ſerue and obey hym in eche behalfe.

The moſte parte of all other his frendes yea and ſeruauntes, in that preſent miſerie, did clerely forſake hym, ſo that ſometymes he was lefte wyth onely one or two in his companye, and gladde to keepe hymſelfe ſecrete in deſerte places, where no perſon vſed lyghtly to reſort.

King Roberts wyfe taken.

His wyfe the Quene fledde to Sainct Dutho, and chaunced to be taken by William Cumyn Earle of Ros, who delyuered hir to kyng Edward, by whoſe commaundemente, ſhe was cõmitted to ſafe keping at London, where ſhe remained til after the battayle of Bannockborne.

Nigell, Thomas and Alexander brethrẽ to king Robert are taken and put to death.

His brother Nigell was alſo taken, and ſo afterwardes were his two other brethren, Thomas and Alexãder, with many other nobles and gentlemen of Scotlande, of whome ſome were executed at Carleile, and ſome at Barwike.

Finally the moſte parte of all ſuche as hadde ayded him before, and were nowe ſhrunke from him, were within one yeare after eyther ſlayne or kept as priſoners in Englande.

Yet though he was thus lefte deſolate of all ayde and ſuccour, hauyng his bretherne and other of his frendes murthered and ſlayne to hys vtter diſcomfort and ruine (as was to be ſuppoſed) hee neuertheleſſe liued euer in hope of ſome better fortune, whereby in tyme to come, hee myght recouer the realme oute of the enimies handes, and reſtore the auncient libertie thereof to the former eſtate.

King Roberts good hope in tyme of extreme aduerſitie.

As for the paynes whiche he toke in lyuing barely for the moſt part by water and rootes, and lodging oftentymes on the bare earth withoute houſe or other harborough, he was ſo accuſtomed therto by haunting the warres in his youth, that the ſame greeued him little or nothing at all. But to conclude, ſuche was his valiauncie and moſt excellent fortitude of mynde and courage, that no iniurious miſchance of frowarde aduerſitie coulde abaſhe his inuincible heart and manlyke ſtomacke.

His inuincible hart and vndaunted ſtomacke.

At length, after he had wandred from place to place in ſundry partes of Scotlande, the better to auoyde the ſleyghtes of them that lay in awayte to apprehende hym, he got ouer into one of the Iles, where comming vnto one of his ſpeciall frendes, a man of high nobilitie and welbeloued of the people in thoſe parts, he was moſt hartily welcome, and gladly of him receyued, to his great eaſe and comforte.

King Robert getteth ouer into the Iles.

Here, after he had remayned a certain ſpace, he got ſupport of men, armour, and weapons, by meanes whereof taking newe courage, hee paſſed ouer into Carryke, and winning the caſtell there that belonged to his fathers inheritaunce, he ſlewe all the Engliſhemen, whiche hee founde within it, and beſtowed all the ſpoyle of money and goods gotten there amongeſt his ſouldiers and men of warre.

King Robert purchaſeth ayde in the Iles.



He winneth the caſtell of Carryke.

His frendes that laye hidde in couerte and ſecrete corners, hearyng of theſe his doings, beganne from eche ſyde to reſorte vnto hym, by whoſe aſſiſtance ſhortely after he wan the caſtell of Innerneſſe, and ſlew all them that were within there in garryſon.

His power increaſeth.

Innerneſſe caſtell taken.

With the lyke felicitie he got the moſt part of all the Caſtels in the north, raſing and brenning vp the ſame tyll hee came to Glenneſke, wher being aduertiſed that John Cumyn with ſundry Engliſhemen and Scots were gathered againſte him, becauſe hee was vppon a ſtrong groũd, he determined there to abide thẽ: but they being thereof informed, and wondryng at his manly courage, durſt not approche to giue him battaile, but ſent Imbaſſadors vnto him to haue truce for a time, vnder colour of ſome communi-

King Robert commeth to Glenneſke.

cation

cation for a peace, till they might increase their power more strongly against him: whiche being done, they pursued him more fiercely than before.

Neuertheles King Robert receyued them at all tymes in suche warrelike order, that they might neuer take him at any aduauntage, but were still driuen backe with slaughter and losse, though the same was of no great importance to make account of, but suche like as happeneth oftentymes in skirmishes and lyght encounters, where the battayles come not to ioyne puissance against puissance. The same whereof yet procured him the fauour of sundrie great Barons in Scotland.

Amongest other, James Douglas a man of great courage and singular valiancie, cousin to William Lamberton Bishop of S. Andrewes, and remayning with the sayde Bishop in household, toke all the Bishops golde, and certaine of his best horses, with the which hauing in his cõpanie diuers other hardie yong gentlemen priuie to his doings, he fledde with all speed vnto King Robert, offring him his seruice, and to spende his life in his quarell and defence.

The Bishop was priuie to his cousins going away, yea and counselled him therto, though he would by no meanes it shoulde outwardly so appeare, for doubt least if things had not come to passe as he wished, he might haue run in daunger for his cloked dissimulation.

The Dowglas was ioyfully receyued of king Robert, in whose seruice he faythfully continued both in peace and warre, to his liues ende.

Thoughe the surname and family of the Dowglasses was in some estimation of Nobilitie before those dayes, yet the rysing thereof to honour chaunced through this James Dowglas, for by meanes of his aduauncement, other of the same lynage toke occasion by theyr singular manhode and noble prowes shewed at sundrie tymes in defence of the Realme, to grow to such heigth in authoritie and estimation, that theyr mightie puissance in manrent, landes, and great possessions at length was (through suspition conceyued by the kings that succeded) the cause in parte of their ruinous decay. Edwarde king of England hearing of the doings of his aduersarie king Robert, doubted (if some redresse were not founde in tyme) least the Scottes reioysing in the prosperous successe of his sayde aduersarie, would reuolt wholy frõ the English obeysance: and hereupon purposing with all speede to subdue the whole Realme of Scotlande from ende to ende, he came with a farre greater armie than euer he had raised before to the borders, but before his entring into Scotlande, he fell sicke of a right sore and grieuous maladie, wherof he died shortly after at Burgh vpon sandes, as in the Englishe hystorie more plainly it doth appeare.

The Scottish writers make mention that a little before he departed out of this worlde, there were brought vnto him .lv. yõg striplings, which were taken in the Castell of Kildrummy, after it was wonne by the English men, and being asked what should be done with them, he commaũded they should be hanged incontinently, without respect to their yong yeares, or other consideration of their innocencies that might haue moued him to pitie. The crueltie of king Edwarde as is noted by the Scottish writers.

After his decease, his sonne Edward of Carnaruane succeeded in the gouernment of England, who following his fathers enterprise, called a counsell at Dunfreis, commoning the Lordes of Scotlande to appeare at the same, and caused a greate number of them at theyr comming thither to doe their homage vnto him, as to their superiour Lorde and gouernour: But diuerse yet disobeyed his commaundements, and would not come at his summoning, vpon trust of some chaunge of fortune by the death of his father, for that the sonne was muche giuen (as was reported) to incline his eare to lewde counsell, not without the great griefe of his people, and namely of the Lords and chiefe Nobles of his realme. Edwarde of Carnaruan, sonne to Edward Longshankes. Homage to king Edward of Carnaruan.

Shortly after this, the sayde Edwarde of Carnaruane returned into Englande, and in the meane time Iohn Cumyn Erle of Buchquhane gathered a mightie armie, both of Scottes and English men to resist against king Robert, that he might thereby declare his faythfull affection towardes the new English king.

He trusted onely with multitude of people to cause his enimies to giue place: But K. Robert though he was holden with a sore sicknes at that time, yet he assembled a power, and caused himselfe in a Horselitter to bee caried forth with the same against his enimies, who abiding him at a streyght, supposed it had bene an easie matter for them to haue put him to flight: but it chaunced quite contrarie to their expectation: for in the end the Cumyn with his whole armie was discomfited, and a great number of King Roberts aduersaries slaine or taken. This victorie was gotten at a village called Enuerrour, tenne myles distant from Aberdene, on the Ascention daye, wherewith king Robert was so muche refreshed in contentation of minde, that hee was sodenly therevpon restored to his former health. Iohn Cumyn discomfited by king Robert at Enuerrour. 1308.

The same yeare Donalde of the Iles came with a great armie of English men and Scottes against King Robert, and was on the feast day of the Apostles Peter and Paule discomfited by Edward Bruce the kings brother, at the water of Deyr. Donald of the Iles discomfited by Edward Bruce.

At this battaile was a right valiant knight

named Rowlande, slaine of the English parte, with a great number of other aboute him, and Donalde himselfe was taken prisoner. Thus king Robert through fauour of prosperous fortune, obteyning the victorie in sundrie conflicts, came with an armie into Argyle, and not onely subdued the Countrey to his obeysance, but also tooke Alexander Lorde of Argyle out of a strong Castel in that Countrey, and banished him with all his friendes into Englande, where shortly after he deceassed.

Argyle subdued by King Robert. This was, An. 1309. as Iohn Maior hath.

In the yeare next following king Edwarde came with an armie into Scotlande, where ioyning with an other armie of Scottes that were assembled readie to ayde him, he passed through the countrey vnto Ranfrew, and at length without atchieuing any notable enterprise worthy the mentioning, he returned againe into England.

King Edwarde commeth into Scotlande. Anno 1310. as should seme by Io. Ma.

The same yeare, through continuall warres, there rose suche dearth and scarcitie of things in Scotland, that neither corne nor other vytayles could be had for money, for the ground in maner generally through the countrey lay vntilled, and beastes with all kind of Cattel were driuen away as booties taken by the enimies.

A fore dearth,

By reason whereof famine so encreased on eche side, that the people were constrayned to eate horses and other lothsome flesh and meates, thereby to sustayne theyr liues.

In the yeare following, which was after the incarnation 1311. king Robert chased the English men out of all partes of Scotlande, winning many castels out of their handes, diuerse of the which he razed and consumed with fire.

1311.

Castels recouered by king Robert.

After this entring at sundrie times into England, with his fierce armie, he brought frō thence innumerable booties of cattell and other ryches, afflicting the Englishe men with like slaughter and calamities as the Scottes had suffered in the yeres before by the outragious force and puissance of king Edwarde.

King Robert inuadeth England.

On the eight day of Januarie next ensuing, King Robert wanne by fine force the strong towne of Perth, sleaing and hanging all the people both English, and Scottish, which were found in the same.

The towne of Perth recouered, otherwise called S. Iohns towne.

He threw also the walles of that town to the ground, and filled the ditch with the rampyre.

The same yeare the Castelles of Dunfreis, Ayre, Lanarke, with many other strengthes and Castelles were rendred vnto him, and cast to the ground.

Castels won.

The Castell of of Rokesbourgh was taken by sir James Dowglas on fastings euen, in the yeare 1312. when they of the garrison were ouercome with immoderate surfeyting by meates and drinkes excessiuely taken, according as on that day the accustomed vse is.

Rokesbourgh wonne on Shrouetuisday.

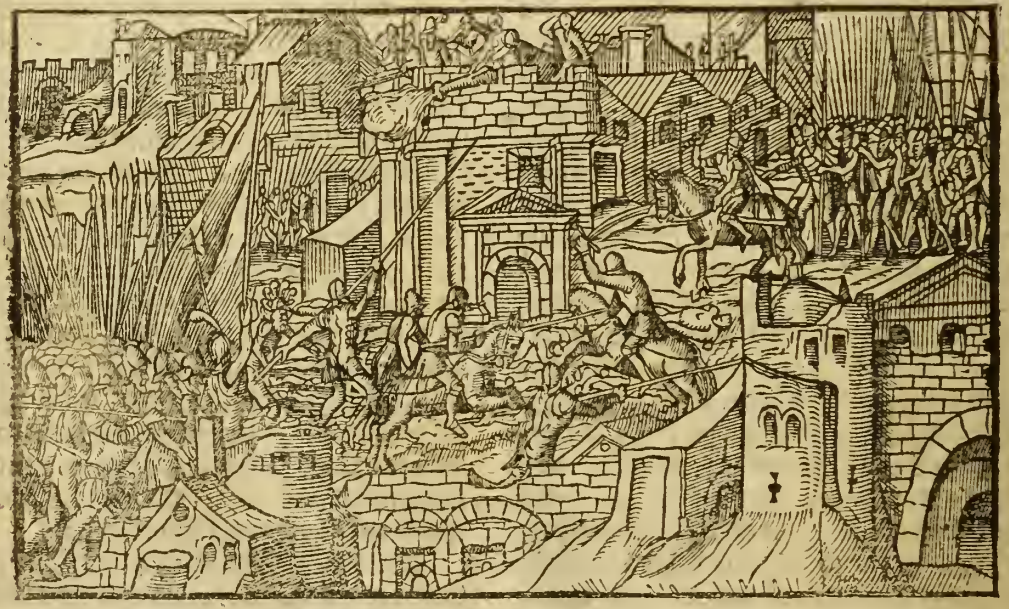
1313

In that yeare also Thomas Randall afterwardes created Erle of Murrey wanne the Castell of Edenbourgh.

The Castell of Edenbourgh wonne.

And the same yeare Edwarde Bruce besieged the Castell of Striueling: but the strength of the house was such, what by nature of the highe cragge whereon it stode, and what by fortification of mans hand beside, all his trauaile and inforcement diligently employed to winne it, proued vaine for the time.

Striueling Castell besieged.



Within this Castell, as Captaine thereof, was a right valiant Knight named sir Philip Mowbray, a Scottishe man borne, but taking part with the English men, who feared nothing the siege, for he had sufficient store of mē, vitails, munition, & all maner of purueyance sufficient to defend the holde for a long season: so that finally Edward Bruce perceiuing no meanes whereby to atchieue ỹ enterprice which he had rashly take in hand, was abashed therof: for by force he saw wel enough

Sir Philip Mowbray.

ynough it coulde not be brought to paſſe, and by large offers made to the Captaine if hee woulde render the place and become ſeruant to the King his brother, he coulde not once moue him to giue any care therto, inſomuch as at ẽgth he ſought to trie him another way forth, which in ẏ ende toke better effect than was likely it would haue done, conſidering the lacke of circumſpection vſed in the bargain making: as thus.

After long ſiege, and (as before is ſayde) no good done, there was a motiõ made betwixt him and the Captaine within for a truce, which was accorded on this wiſe: that if the fortreſſe were not ſuccoured within .xij. monthes next enſuing, it ſhould then be rendred to king Robert, and in the meane time no force ſhould be vſed againſt it.

This compoſition was vnwiſely made, as moſte men iudged: for euery man of any wiſedome might eaſily coniecture, that king Edward hauing ſo long day to make his proviſion, would come in ſupport of them within the Caſtell, and that ſo ſtrongly, as would be hard for the Scots to reſiſt him.

King Robert himſelfe alſo was ſore offended with his brother for his follie ſhewed in this behalfe, but yet he would not goe aboute to breake the couenant accorded, for doubt to loſe his brother, whoſe ayde he might not well want.

In the meane time king Edwarde ſent forth meſſengers with letters, not onely vnto all hys ſubiects, but alſo vnto all his confederates and allyes, to haue men of warre taken vp and retayned to ſerue him in his warres againſt the Scots which he intended to follow to the vtter deſtruction of the whole nation.

There came therefore in hope of ſpoyle, not onely ſuch as were appoynted by commiſſioners of the muſters, but alſo a greate number of other that offered themſelues of their owne accorde to go in that iourney, namely ſuch as had lyttle to liue vpon at home, and truſted to amend the matter by ſome good fortune in the warres abrode.

The Countreys out of the which it is reported by the Scottiſh writers, that ſuch ayde came to the Engliſhe men, were theſe, Hollande, Zeland, Brabant, Flanders, Picardie, Boloignois, Gaſcoigne, Normandie, Guian, and Burdelois, for all theſe at that time were either ſubiect to the King of Englande, or elſe in confederate league with him.

There were alſo many Scottes that were Engliſhe by deuotion, and ayded king Edward at this tyme.

But the number of natural Engliſhmen exceeded any one nation beſyde, inſomuch that the whole armie what of one and other conteyned (as the fame went) one hundred and fiftie thouſande footmen, and almoſt as many horſemen, beſide carpage men, coyſtrels, women, and lackies, but the fame herein belike (as often happeneth) did farre exceed the ſoth.

Fame oftentymes exceedeth the ſooth

For it is not to bee thought (as Iohn Maior himſelfe writeth) that he ſhould get ſuch a number togither, not for that Englande it ſelfe is not able to ſet forth ſuche a power: For as the ſame Maior ſayth, as many men as are to be found in Englande of lawfull age, ſo many able perſonages may be found there to paſſe for able ſouldiers.

But either kings are not of abilitie to finde ſo greate a multitude with victayles and ſufficient proviſion, or elſe they will not ſtraine themſelues thereto.

Neuertheleſſe the whole number by all likelyhoode was great, for manye aſwell ſtraungers as Engliſhmen, brought their wiues, their children, and whole houſeholde meinie with them, in hope after the Countrey were ſubdued, to haue dwelling places appoynted them in the ſame, there to inhabite: For ſo had king Edward promiſed them.

King Edwards promiſe.

By reaſon whereof the diſorder was ſuch, that no warlike diſcipline might be obſerued amongſt them, for men, women, and children were all myxt togither, with ſuche clamour and noyſe through the huge number of people, and diuerſitie of languages, that it was a thing right ſtraunge to beholde a campe ſo confuſedly ordered.

The confuſed order.

King Edward himſelfe moſt proude and inſolent of ſuch incredible number, toke no heed at all to the gouerning of them, ſuppoſing victorie to be alreadie in his handes, inſomuch that at his comming to the borders, he toke aduiſe with his counſell to what kinde of torment and death hee might put king Robert, for he put no doubtes of catching him at all.

Fiſhing before the net.

Hee alſo brought with him a religious man ſomewhat learned belike, of the order of the Carmelites, to deſcribe the whole maner of his conqueſt and victorie ouer the Scottes, ſo ſure hee thought himſelfe, that all things woulde come to paſſe as he could wiſhe or deuiſe.

King Edwarde thinketh himſelfe ſure of victorie.

This Carmelite, as maye appeare in Iohn Bales booke intytled a ſummarie of the writers of great Brytaine, was named Robert Baſton, and had the gouernaunce of an houſe in Scarbourgh, of the Carmelites order, he being (as before is ſayde) of that cote himſelfe.

Robert Baſton a Carmelite.

On the contrarie part king Robert ordred al his doings by good and prudent aduice, and with xxx. thouſande men right hardie and throughlye exercyſed in warres, came forth againſt his enimies, ſhewing no token of feare in the world, but boldly pitched downe his tents in good order and warlike array, vpon a plaine, a little aboue Bannocks borne.

Iohn Maior hath in his booke .xxxv. thouſande.

King Robert his comming towardes the battaile.

Whether he did this for the great confidence

he

he had in the hardinesse of his people, or for that he woulde shewe howe little he doubted the puis-sance of his enimies, least they should haue him in contempt, it is uncertaine.



The opinion of expert warriours of king Robert.

In deede there were diuerse expert warriours amongst the English men, that sayde when they heard howe the Scottes were thus assembled to fight, that the victorie would not be had, except it were dearely bought: the wisedome and manhood of king Robert was knowen so wel amongst them, that they were assured he woulde not iooparde himselfe in such a case, but that he knew he had such fellowes about him as woulde sticke to their tackle.

Trenches made by Scots to ouerthrow the Englishe men.

Moreouer the Scottes by appoyntment of their king to the furtherance of his hardie enterprise, had caste deepe pyttes and dytches in the place where it was iudged the battayles shoulde ioyne, and pitched sharpe stakes within the same, and after couered them ouer slightly with greene turfes or soddes, in such wise that a few footemen might passe ouer well ynough, but if any great number shoulde come pressing togither, or that any horsemen came therepon, the soddes would shrinke and fall to the bottome of the trenches, with extreme perill of the men and horses, that were sure to fall vpon the stakes set there for that purpose, or else to be so enclosed, that they should not be well able to get out of those pitfalles.

Bannockf-borne.

By the place where king Robert was thus encamped there runneth a greate Broke or water called Bannockesborne, so named of Ote cakes called Bannockes, which were vsed to be made commonly at the Mylnes standing on the banks of the same water.

It falleth into the Forth right famous afterwardes by reason of this battaile foughten neare to the same.

When both the armies were approched within a myle togither, King Edwarde sent an eight hundred horsemen by a secret way, vnto the Castell of Striueling, to giue notice to sir Philip Mowbray the Captain, that he was come with his armie to succour him. King Robert being aduertised of their gate, & beholding them whiche way they toke, he sent Thomas Randall with fiue hundred Scottish horsemen to saue the countrey from spoyle, who with singular manhode encountering with those English men in sight of both ỹ armies, there ensued a cruel fight betwixt them for so small a number, continuing a long space with uncertaine victorie.

The fight Thomas dall with hundred tish men his comp against hundred lishe men

In the meane time sir James Dowglasse dreading that his speciall friende the sayde Thomas Randall shoulde be ouerset with multitude of the Englishe men, came to king Robert, and falling on his knees before him, requyred licence to go forth to the support of them that were thus fighting with their enimies: whiche because the king would not graūt at the first, he rushed forth of the campe without licence, hauing in his cōpanie a small bande of men, but yet chosen out for the purpose, that if it were but by shewing himselfe, he myght put the enimies in some feare.

Notwithstanding, when he was come neare to the place where they fought, and sawe how the Scottes had got the victorie with great murther of the English men, he stayed and went no further, least he should by his comming seeme to bereue them the glorie of ỹ victorie which had won it with so great prowes and singular valiancie.

All those in the Scottish campe were relieued in good hope of greater successe to followe in the whole enterprise by so happie a beginning.

The Engl men dete to giue b taile.

The English men passed little thereof, but yet for that the Scots shoulde not ware proude, and take ouermuch courage thereby, they determined to giue them battaile the next morow.

King

King Robert with great diligence cauſed his people to prepare themſelues readie to receyue the enimies, though he was nothing able to matche them in number, deuiſing which way hee might traine them into the ditches before prepared.

He commaunded throughe the armie that euery man ſhould on the next morow receyue the Sacrament of the Lordes bodie, throughe the which they might haue the better hope of victorie againſt the vniuſt inuaders of theyr Realme and Countrey.

On the other ſide, the Engliſh men truſted that al things would proſper with them, euen as they could beſt deuiſe: for by one ſmall dayes labour they hoped to be Lordes of all Scotlande, and to diſpoſe of the landes and goodes of theyr enimies as ſhoulde ſeeme to them good and moſt for their owne auaile.

But king Robert all the night before the battaile toke little reſt, hauing greate care in hys mynde for the ſuretie of his armie, one while reuoluing in his conſideration this chaunce, and an other while that, yea and ſometymes he fell to deuout contemplation, making his prayer to God and Saint Phillane, whoſe arme as it was ſet and encloſed in a ſiluer caſe, he ſuppoſed had bene the ſame time within his tent, truſting the better fortune to follow by preſence thereof.

In the meane time, as he was thus making his prayers, the caſe ſodenly opened, and clapped to againe. The Kings Chaplaine being preſent, aſtonied therewith, went to the aulter where the caſe ſtoode, and finding the arme within it, hee cried to the king and other that were preſent, how there was a great myracle wrought, confeſſing that he brought the emptie caſe to the fielde, and left the arme at home, leaſt that Relyke ſhoulde haue beene loſt in the fielde, if any thing chaunced to the armie otherwayes than well.

The King right ioyfull of this myracle paſſed the remnant of the night in prayer and thankeſgiuing.

On the morrowe he cauſed all his folkes to heare diuine ſeruice, and to receyue the Sacrament as ouer night he had appoynted.

The Abbot of Inchechaffray did celebrate before the king that day, and miniſtred vnto him and other of the Nobles the communion, other Prieſtes being appoynted to miniſter the ſame vnto the reſidue of the armie.

After this, when ſeruice was ended, the king called the people to his ſtandart, and firſt declared vnto them from poynt to poynt how neceſſarie it was for them to ſhewe their wonted manhood, conſidering that ſuch an huge multitude of people was brought thither againſte them by king Edwarde, not of one Nation or dominion, but of ſundrie languages and parties, aſwel ſubiectes as alyes to the Engliſh men, with ful purpoſe vtterly to extinguiſh the Scottiſh name and memorie, and to plant themſelues in their ſeates and rowmeths, as in poſſeſſions vtterly voyded of all the auncient and former inhabitants.

To encreaſe the fierce ſtomacks of the Scottiſh men againſt the enimies, he recounted vnto them what hee heard by credible report touching the menacing wordes and inſolent braggs of the ſame enimies, able to moue right quiet mindes vnto full indignation.

Againe, to auoyde feare out of their heartes, which they might conceiue by reaſon of the multitude of their aduerſaries, hee rehearſed what a number of raſkals were amongſt them, without any ſkill of warrelike aſſayres, not taken vp by choyſe and election in appoynted muſters, but reſorting withoute difference togither, in hope of ſpoyle and bootyes, hauing not elſe wherevpon to liue at home in their countreys.

Moreouer, if nothing elſe might rayſe theyr hearts in hope of victorie, their iuſt cauſe ſith they come in defence of their countrey againſt iniurious inuaders, was matter ſufficient to aduaunce their manly ſtomackes, in truſt of Gods ayde in that quarell, hauing partly aſſured them thereof, by notable myracles ſhewed in the night laſte paſſed.

Hereto hee added, that the greater multitude there was of the enimies, the more ſpoyle and ryches was to be got, if they atteyned the victorie.

Finally, the more to ſtyre their heartes to do valiantly, he required the of one thing, which he truſted (their manhoode being ſuch) they woulde not thinke harde for them to atchieue, and this was, that euerie of them woulde but diſpatch one of the enimies, whiche if they performed he promiſed them aſſured victorie.

As for ten thouſande, he knew to be amongſt them of ſuch approued ſouldiers, and olde men of warre, as he durſt ſafely vndertake for them that they would ſlea two of the enimies a peece at the leaſt. Such maner of perſwaſions king Robert vſed to encourage his people.

The exhortation of king Edwarde.

On the other part king Edwarde cauſed the Coroncls of eche Nation within his campe to exhort their retinues to remember, that if they fought valiantly for one houre or two, they ſhuld purchaſe infinite ryches with the whole Realme of Scotlande in reward of their labor: for he deſired nothing for himſelfe, but the ſuperiorite.

Againe, hee willed they ſhoulde haue in remembrance what irrecouerable ſhame would follow (ſith they had departed out of their countreys in hope of gaine) to returne home with emptye handes, and voyde of victorie, not without ſome reproche and note of cowardice. But yet when they ſhould marche forwarde in array of battaile

towardes

Incombrance in an armie.

towardes the Scottes they might vneth be ſeuered from their wiues and children which they had there in campe with them: Neuertheleſſe at length by the ſharpe calling vpon of their Captaines, they were brought into order of battaile, not without much a doe, by reaſon of the vnruly multitude.

The order of the Engliſh battayles.

The Archers were placed in wings, mingled amongeſt the horſemen on the ſides of the wardes and battayles, which ſtoode enclоſed in the middeſt of the ſame wings.

The appoynting of the Scottiſh battayles.

King Robert appoynting all his battayles on foote, deuided the ſame into three partes, the forewarde he committed to Thomas Randulf, and James Dowglas captayns of right approued valiancie: vnder whō went ſeuen thouſande of the borderers, and three thouſande of the Iriſhe Scots, otherwiſe called Kateranes or Redſhanks: Theſe no leſſe fierce & forward, than the other practiſed and ſkilfull.

The firſt battaile.

The ſecond ward was gouerned by Edward the kings brother, wherein were ten thouſande, men: but for that he was ſuſpected of too muche raſhneſſe, there was ioyned with him certain ancient gentlemen of greate ſobrietie and circumſpection, to qualifie his haſtie and hote nature.

The ſecond.

The thirde battaile, in the whiche were (as Iohn Maior recordeth) fiftene thouſand fighting men the king himſelfe led, ſhewing a right chearfull countenance amongeſt them, ſo farforth that euery one that beheld him, conceyued in his mind an aſſured hope of victorie to ſucceede.

The thirde.

The Abbot of Inchchaffray bearing a croſſe.

The Abbot of Inchchaffray aforeſayd (who as before is mentioned, did celebrate that morning afore the King) came forth before the battayles with the Crucifix in his hands, bearing it aloft like a ſtandart.

Incontinently wherevpon, the Scottiſh armie fell on knees before it, deuoutly commending themſelues to almightie God.

The Engliſh armie beholding the Scots fall on knees, thought verely they had yeelded themſelues without ſtroke ſtryken.

But when they ſawe them riſe againe, and to come forward, they began to be ſomwhat doubtfull. And hereupon ruſhing togither, at the firſte

The firſt ioyning.

ioyning, a great number of people on eyther ſyde were beaten downe and ſlaine. The Archers whiche were arrayed on the vtter skirtes of the Engliſh wings, ſore annoyed the Scottes, till finally Edwarde Bruce came on their backes with a thouſande Speares, and brake them aſunder, in ſuche wiſe that they did but little more hurt that day.

Thirtie thouſand Engliſh horſemen ouerthrowne in trenches.

Albeit incontinently herewith a battaile of horſemen to the number of .xxx. thouſande, came ruſhing togither all at once in ſhocke, to haue borne downe and ouertrodden the Scots, but being ſo in their full race gallopping with moſt violence towards the, they tumbled into the ſolles & pittes before mentioned, in ſuch wiſe one vpon an other, that the moſt part of the were ſlain, without all recouerie. Neuertheleſſe the Scots in maner oppreſſed through the huge multitude of the enimies, were neare at the point to haue bin vanquiſhed.

But hereupon thoſe that were appointed to attend the cariage, as carters, wainmen, lackeys, & the women, beholding in what daūger their maiſters, friends, & countrymen ſtood, put on ſhirtes, ſmockes, and other white lynens aloft vpon their vſuall garments, and herwith binding towels & napkins to their ſpeares, and to other ſuch ſtaues as they got in their handes, placed themſelues as wel as they might in aray of battail, and to making a great muſter & ſhew of new, came downe the hill ſyde in the face of their enimies, with ſuch a terrible noyſe & hideous clamor, that the Engliſh men fighting as then with moſt fury againſt the Scots with vncertaine victorie, and beholding this new reenforce comming down the hill on their faces, ſuppoſing verily it had bene ſome new armie, their hearts began to faint, the more in deede, for that they ſaw themſelues vnethe able to ſuſtain the violent encounter of the Scots the preſent. And hereupon they began to turne their backes, and fell to running away as people clearly vanquiſhed: on whom the Scottes folowed with inſatiable yre, & ſlue the downe on all ſides where they might ouertake the.

The Engliſh mens hearts begin to faint.

The Engliſh men put to flight.

Sir James Dowglas with .iiij. C. choſen horſmen, was cōmaunded by king Robert to purſue the king of England with all ſpeede, to trie if he might ouertake him.

The Dowglas (according to his charge) folowed him in chaſe vnto Dunbar, & caſting betwixt that and the borders, lay in awayt to haue taken him, if he had returned by land: but hee being receyued into the Caſtell of Dunbar by Patrike Dunbar Erle of March, with .xv. Erles in his compaine, was by the ſame Earle of Marche conueyed into certaine veſſels, lying there at anker, with the which he paſſed alongſt by the ſhore into England, to ſhew an example of the vnſicker ſtate and glorie of princes: for though thys Edwarde was that daye in the morning right proude of the great puiſſance and number of people which he had about him, not vnlike ſomtime to the great armie of king Xerxes, yet he was cōſtrayned before the Euening of the ſame day, to ſaue his life in a poore fiſhers boate.

King Edward eſcapeth.

The vnſicker ſtate of worldly puiſſance.

In this battail were ſlain. l M. Engliſhmen (as the Scottiſh writers affyrme) amongſt whō was the Erle of Glouceſter, with .ii. C. knightes.

On the Scottiſh part were ſlaine about foure thouſand, & amongſt other two valiant knights, ſir William Wepount, and ſir Walter Ros.

The number of Scottes ſlaine.

The ſpoyle was ſo great of golde, ſiluer, and other iewels gotten in the field, that the whole

number

number of the Scottiſhe armie was made riche thereby: and beſyde thys, they got lyttle leſſe money and ryches by raunſoming of priſoners taken at this battaile, than of ſpoyle gotten in the fight, campe and field.

But the death of ſir Giles Argentine, that dyed amongſt other in this mortall battaile, was ſo diſpleaſant to king Robert, for the familiaritie which he had ſometymes with him in England, that he reioyced little of all the gaine got by ſo famous a victorie.

He cauſed his bodie to be buryed right honourably in Saint Patrikes Church, beſyde Edenbourgh.

The Queene king Roberts wife, who had bene kept in captiuitie the ſpace of .viij. yeares in Englande, was now deliuered by exchaunge for one of the nobles of Englande, which was taken at this battaile.

The rich clothes of Silkes, Ueluet, and gold, which were founde in the Engliſh campe, were diſtributed to the Abbayes and Monaſteries of the realme, to make therof veſtments, copes, and frountalles for aulters.

The Carmelite Frier, of whom ye heard before, brought thither by king Edward to deſcribe the victorie of the Engliſhmen, was taken priſoner amongeſt other, and commaunded by King Robert to write contrarily the victorie of the Scots, according as he had ſeene: who therevpon made certaine rude verſes begynning thus.

De planctu cudo, metrum cum carmine nudo,
Riſum retrudo, dum tali themate ludo.

Which may be engliſhed thus.

VVith barraine verſe this rime I make,
Bewayling whilſt ſuch theme I take.

There be ſome that haue iudged howe thys victory was attayned by the ſingular fauor of almightie God, by reaſon of myracles whiche they rehearſe to happen at the ſame time.

The night before the day of the battaile, there came to the Abbay of Glaſtenburie two men in complete armour, deſiring to lodge there for that night: The Abbot keeping an houſe of great hoſpitalitie, receyued them right gladly, and making them good cheare, demaunded what they were, & whither they wer going, who anſwered that they were the ſeruants of God, and going to helpe the Scottes at Bannockeſborne.

On the morrow the chamberlain found them departed before any of the gates were opened, and the beddes fayre made, and not ſtyred otherwiſe than as they left them ouer night.

The ſame day that the battail was foughten, a knight clad in fayre bright armour, declared to the people at Aberdene, how the Scots had gotten a famous victorie againſt the Engliſh men, and was ſene ſhortly after to paſſe ouer Pictland Fyrth on horſebacke.

It was ſuppoſed by the people that this was S. Magnus, ſometime prince of Orkney, and for that cauſe K. Robert endowed ỳ church of Orkney w. v. li. ſterling of ỳ cuſtoms of Aberdene, to furniſh the ſame church, with bread, wine, & wax.

Many noble men for their approued manhood ſhewed in this conflict, were highly rewarded at the handes of king Robert.

One Robert Flemeyn, by whoſe meanes he reuenged the treaſon wrought againſt him by John Cumyn, with ſlaughter of the ſame John, had the lands of Cumnernald giuen him, whiche were of the inheritãce belõging to ỳ ſaid Cumin. Robert Flemeyn rewarded for his faythful ſeruice.

It is reported by writers, that two knights of Brabant that ſerued amongſt the Engliſh men, chaunced to heare many reprochfull wordes ſpoken in the Engliſhe campe againſt king Robert, who being ſomewhat moued therewith, & miſlyking ſuch diſmeaſured talke, wiſhed in wordes that the victorie might chaunce vnto him.

For the which wiſh king Edwarde informed thereof, cauſed them by a trumpet to be conueyed vnto the Scottiſh campe, with commaundement to ayde King Robert to the vttermoſte of theyr powers, purpoſing to puniſh them according to his minde, if he atteyned the victorie, as hee put no doubt, but he ſhoulde.

And herevpon, before the ioyning of the battayles, he cauſed proclamation to be made, that whoſoeuer brought their heades vnto him, ſhould haue an hundred Markes in rewarde. A proclamation.

King Robert hearing in what daunger they had run for his ſake, rewarded them with great riches of the ſpoyle got in the field, with the which they returning into Brabãt, buylt a goodly houſe in Andwarpe, naming the ſame Scotlande, and cauſing the Scottiſhe armes, and the picture of Bruce to be ſet vp in the ſame, appoynted it for a lodging to receyue them of the Scottiſhe nation that ſhoulde reſort vnto that towne, as may appeare euen vnto this day. The Scottiſh houſe in Andwarpe buyld.

And this was done for a memoriall, to ſhew what loue and heartie benеuolence theſe two knights bare towardes king Robert & his people, for the great liberalitie receyued at his handes.

This glorious victorie chaunced to the Scots on the day of the natiuitie of S. John Baptiſt, in the yere. 1314. Immediatly after, K. Robert called 1314
a Parliamẽt at Ayre, where by cõſent of the three eſtates he was cõfirmed king, & the crown entailed to the heyres males of his bodie lawfully begotten, & for want of ſuch heyres to remaine vnto his brother Edward Bruce, & to the heyres male of his body: and if he chanced to die without ſuch heyres, thẽ ſhould the crowne deſcend vnto Mariory the daughter of K. Robert, and to the heyres generall of hir bodie, by lawfull ſucceſſion. The crown of Scotlande entayled. Marioric the daughter of king Robert by his firſt wife.

This

This Mariorie was gotten by king Robert on the Earle of Mar his sister, his first wife, and was maryed by the aduice of his Nobles, vnto Walter great Steward of Scotlande.

The seconde maryage of king Robert.

Also K. Robert, for that his first wife aforesaid was deceassed, maried shortly after Elizabeth the daughter of the Earle of Ulster, on whom he got a sonne named Dauid, and two daughters, the one named Margaret, and the other Maulde.

The issue of king Robert by his seconde wife.

The first was maryed to the Earle of Sutherlande, and bare him a sonne named John.

The seconde departed this worlde in hir infancie.

After the maryage solemnized betwixt hys daughter Mariorie, and the foresayde Walter Steward, King Robert went through all the boundes of his Realme, and did not onely confirme the auncient lyberties and priuiledges of the Burrowes and townes in al places where he came, but also augmented the same, and graunted vnto diuerse auel townes as baronies, sundrie newe prerogatiues and franchises, as maye appeare by his charters made vnto them of the same, specially to the townes of Perth, Dundee, and Aberdene.

Liberties by king Robert.

In the yeare following, whiche was in the yeare 1315. the Princes of Irelande oppressed (as they toke it) with long and insufferable tyrannie of the English men, and trusting by suppost of Scottes to recouer their libertie, now after so notable an ouerthrowe of the whole Englishe puissance, sent Ambassadors vnto king Robert, requyring that it might please him to sende hys brother Edwarde Bruce, to receyue the crowne and gouernment of theyr Countrey of Irelande.

1315

The Lordes of Irelande require ayde of king Robert.

This request being graunted, Edwarde prepared to take that iourney in hande, and so with a small power of Scottish men transporting ouer into Irelande, and ioyning with an army of such as were readie to assist him there, he toke the towne of Ulster, and slue a great number of English men which were found in the same.

Vlnester.

Then afterwardes, by the generall consent of all the estates of Irelande, Edwarde Bruce was proclaymed king of that Realme, and certaine of the Irish Nobilitie sent Ambassadors vnto the Pope, to sewe for a ratification of theyr act and proceedings, for the suretie and weale of theyr Countrey, sithe they were not able longer to sustayne the grieuous yoke of the English thraldome.

Edward Bruce proclaimed K. of Irelande.

These Ambassadours, through their earnest diligence, got such fauour in theyr sute, that the Pope sundrie tymes charged the English men to auoyde out of Irelande, howbeit they seemed to passe little of his commaundements in that behalfe, for they dayly sought how to make themselues strong in that part, least they shoulde lose the possession of that Countrey, whiche they r enimies were aboute to get forth of their handes.

The English men passe litle on the Popes commaundements.

King Robert being enformed howe through the reenforcement of the Englishe armie beeing dayly refreshed with newe succours, his brother was like to runne in peril and daunger to be cast away, he left sir James Dowglas gouernour in Scotland, with a competent number of men to defend the borders, and he himself with a great power of other souldiers and men of warre, went ouer into Irelande to support his brother: but suffering great distresse at his first comming thither, for want of vitayles and other prouisions, he lost almost the one halfe of his folkes throughe verye famine and hunger, & the residue were constrayned to eate horses, and other suche lothsome meates, therewith to sustayne theyr languishing lyues.

See more hereof in Irelande.

King Robert passeth ouer into Irelande.

At length beeing approched within a dayes iourney of his brother, in purpose to haue supported him with those people which he had left, hys brother not abyding his comming, fought vnwisely with the Englishe men at a place called Dundach, & receyuing the ouerthrow, was slaine himselfe with a great number of other.

Edward Bruce is slaine in Irelande.

It is vncertaine whether hee had any knowledge of the cōming of his brother king Robert, for that through desire of fame he feared least if he stayed till his brother came, a greate parte of the prayse (if they got the victorie) should remaine to him: and therfore he made such hast to fight. But howsoeuer it was, thus he was slaine the .xiiij. of October, in the yeare 1317.

See more of this matter in Irelande.

Edwarde King of Englande, hearing that K. Robert was passed ouer into Irelande, thought the time to serue well for his purpose, eftsones to inuade Scotlande: and hereupon comming with a great power to the borders, he purposed to haue done some great feate: but sir James Dowglas the gouernor hauing likewise gathered an army, gaue him battaile, and put both him and his people to flight.

In this battail were slain three notable Captaynes on the English side: as sir Edmond Lylaw a Gascoigne, Captaine of Berwike, with sir Robert Neuill, and the thirde sir James Dowglas slue with his owne handes.

King Edward perceyuing it was not like that he should doe any good at that time agaynst the Scottes by land, thought it best to assayle them by sea, which way forth the English men commonly were euer too good for the Scots.

He rigged therefore a fleete of shippes, and sent the same into the Forth, which burned the Countrey on eche side, and toke many rich bootes from the inhabitants neare to the shore. Duncan Erle of Fyfe, hearing of these cruelties done by the English men, came forth with fiue hundred hardy

King Edward sendeth an armie into Scotlande.

souldiers

ſouldiers to defende the Countrey from ſuche inuaſions: but when hee perceyued that the enimyes were of greater number than hee was able well to encounter, hauing but an handful of men in compariſon to them, he gaue ſomewhat back, and in the meane time met with William Sinclare Biſhop of Dunkelde, hauing aboute.lx. armed menne in his companie, who blaming the Earle for his faintneſſe of courage, cauſed hym to ſet forward againe towardes the enimies, and finding them buſie in ſpoyling and harrying the cuntrey, they gaue an onſet vpon them ſo fiercely that there was ſlaine at the firſt encounter to the number of fiue hundred of the Engliſh men, & the reſidue chaſed to their boates lying at Dunbrytſel, which they entred in ſuch haſt, that one of the boates being preſſed with ouer great number, ſank with thē before they could get to their ſhips.

King Robert euer after cuſtomarily called thys W. Synclare his owne Biſhop, for the noble prowes which he thus ſhewed in this enterpriſe.

In the ſame yeare Robert Steward the ſonne of Walter Steward, and Mariozie Bruce was borne, which Robert after the death of king Dauid le Bruce, was preferred to the Crowne.

After this, Thomas Randol Earle of Murrey, the ſecond day of Apryll recouered the towne of Barwike out of the Engliſhe mens handes, whiche they had helde for the ſpace of twentye yeares before.

It was taken nowe by practiſe, through meanes of one Spaldeyn an Engliſh man, who for his labour had certaine landes giuen him in Angus, whiche his poſteritie enioyeth vnto theſe dayes.

After that the Earle of Murrey had recouered Barwike, he & the Lord James Dowglas in the Month of May inuaded Englande with a puiſſant army, paſſing further into the countrey than the Scots had bene accuſtomed to do afore time, burning as they wente forwarde the townes of Northallerton, and Burrow brig, and comming to Ripon, they ſpoyled the towne of all the goods found therein: but compounding with them that kept the Churche againſt them for a thouſande marks, they forbare to burn any of the buildings. After they had taried here three dayes, they departed thence and went to Knareſbourgh, whiche towne they burnt, and beating the woods (into the which the people were withdrawn with their goods and cattell) they got a great bootie, and returning homewards by Skipton in Craue, they firſt ſpoyled the towne, & after burnt it, & ſo marching throughe the Countrey, came backe into Scotland with their ſpoyles and priſoners without any reſiſtance.

In the yeare following, king Edwarde came and laid ſiege vnto Barwike, but the towne was ſo well defended, that he was conſtrayned with ſmall honor to returne home, and leaue it as hee founde it.

For in the meane time, whilſt king Edward lay at ỹ ſiege before Barwike, Thomas Randoll Erle of Murrey, and the Lord James Dowglas aſſembled their forces togither, but perceyuing thēſelues too weake to remoue the ſiege by force, they paſſed by, & entring into Englande, waſted and ſpoyled all before them, keeping on their way vnto Borrow bridge: whereof when the Citizens of Yorke were aduertiſed, with their Captaines William Melton their Archbiſhop, & the Biſhop of Ely, not making them of the countrey once priuy to their purpoſe, but hauing in their company a great number of prieſts and men of religion, they gaue battaile to the Scots one day in the after none, not farre from the towne of Miton vpō Swale. xij. miles diſtāt from Yorke northwards. But forſomuch as the more part of the Engliſh men were not expert in the feates of warre, and came not in any orderly aray of battail, they were eaſily vanquiſhed and put to flight by the Scots, who were readie to receyue them in good order, cloſe togither in one entier ſquadrone, and after their accuſtomed maner, at their firſte ioyning they gaue a great ſhowte, wherwith the Engliſh men out of hand began to giue backe: which whē the Scots perceyued, they got them to their horſes, and followed the chaſe moſte egrely, beating downe and ſleaing the Engliſh men, neither ſparing religious perſon nor other, ſo that there died to the number of.iiij.M. Engliſh men that day, and amongeſt the reſt was the Maior of Yorke ore. In the water of Swale (as was ſayde) there were drowned to the number of a thouſand: to be ſhort, if night had not come the ſoner vpon, it was thought vneth there ſhould any of the Engliſh part haue eſcaped. When K. Edward lying as yet at the ſiege of Barwike, vnderſtoode what miſchiefe the Scots did within his realme, he rayſed his ſiege, in purpoſe to haue encountered with his enimies: but the Scots aduertiſed of his purpoſe, returned with all their priſoners and ſpoile by Stanemore and ſo through Gilleſlande, and the weſt marches, wōdrew home into their cūtry.

About the feaſt of al Sainte, when the inhabitants of the north partes had got in their harueſt, ſo that their barnes were now ſtuffed with corn, of the which proviſion they were to liue all ỹ yere after, the Scots vnder the conduct of the ſaid two captains, the Erle of Murrey, & the Lord Dowglas, entred into England, and burnt the country of Gilleſāl, taking away both ſuch people as they toke priſoners, and alſo all the cattell which they might meete with, and ſo kept vpon their iourney till they came to Bourgh vnder Stanemore, deſtroying all afore them, and then returning

Ri. Southwel.

William Melton Archbiſhop of York.

The battail of Mitton vpon Swale.

The Engliſh men diſcomfited.

The Maior of Yorke ſlaine.

King Edwarde leuieth his ſiege.

The Scots inuade England.

Bourgh vnder Stanemoore.

throughout Westmerland, practised the like mischiefe there, in burning vp houses and corne in all places where they came, as they had done before in Gilslande. And finally passing through Cumberlande with the like hauocke, at length they drewe home into their owne Countrey with no small number of prysoners, and plentie of great ryches which they had got in that iourney.

Marioty Bruce deceaseth.

About the same time dyed Mariotie Bruce, king Roberts daughter. Shortly after also was a truce taken betwixt the two Realmes of England and Scotlande for a certaine time.

A Parliament at Perth.

Then king Robert hauing no trouble, neyther within his Realme, nor without, caused a Parliament to be holden at Perth, where he requyred the Lordes to shew their deedes and charters whereby they helde their landes.

The euidence and charters whereby the Lords of Scotlande helde their landes.

The Lords after long aduisement taken herein, at length pulled out theyr swords all at once, declaring that they had none other euidence nor Charters to shewe for the tenure of theyr landes.

King Robert was somewhat amased of this sight, and toke no small indignation therewith, but yet he dissembled for the time, and commended them for their noble heartes and valiant stomacks: neuertheless he purposed to be reuenged of their proude presumptions when more opportunitie of time serued thereto.

Conspiracie of the Lordes gaynst king Robert.

Sundrie of the nobles perceiuing that the king bare an inwarde grudge towardes them for this matter, deuised amongst themselues how to deliuer him into king Edwardes handes, so to auoyd all daunger that might folow of his displeasure conceyued thus agaynst them.

For the accomplishment of this their treasonable practise, they made a bonde in wryting, confirmed with their handes and seales betwixt the, and minded to send the same into England vnto king Edward. But king Robert hauing some vnkeling of this their purpose, caused diligent watch to be layde by the way for such as shoulde passe into England frō them with the said bond, insomuch that in the ende a Palmer or Pylgrym was apprehended which had the bonde and other wrytings enclosed within his pylgrimes staffe.

A Palmer taken with writings on him.

King Robert vnderstanding by these writings all the maner of the treason, and what they were that had consented to the same, he hastily sent for the whole number of them, as though there had beene some matter in hand wherein he wished to haue their aduise.



They were no sooner come, but streyght-wayes calling them before him, hee questioned with them whether they knew their owne hands and seales, and immediately therewith shewed the wrytings, which were found in the Palmers staffe: and bycause they coulde not denie theyr owne acte, they were committed to warde within sundrie Castelles, till he had taken further aduise in the matter.

The Lordes that had conspired are committed to warde.

Incontinently after, he went to Barwike, and there arrested the captaine of the towne named sir William Soulis, and caused him to bee conueyed vnto Perth, where shortly after he called an assembly of all the estates of the realme.

The blacke Parliament. 1320

This was called the black Parliament, kept in the yeare after the incarnation of our Sauiour 1320. In this Parliament at the begynning therof, was Dauid Abernethy, the sisters sonne of K. Robert, accused as party to the treason afore-sayd, though being labored vnto by the rest of the conspirators to ioyne with them therein, he refused so to doe, but yet for that he did not vtter the thing, but concealed with them, he was condemned & lost his head, the people sore lamenting his mishap, for the great valiancy which was knowne to be in him, hauing serued honorably many yeares

Dauid Abernethy loseth his heade.

before

before agaynst the Sarasins, and other miscreants in the parties of beyonde the seas, where he was cleped the flower of chiualry.

In deed the king himselfe would gladly haue saued his life, but for that he minded to do iustice on the residue, and finding no man to make sute for hym, he permytted the execution to procede agaynst him.

On the morrowe after, he caused all the residue of the trayters to be brought forth to iudgement, and sentence being giuen agaynst them, he commaunded without delay that they should be executed.

Then came diuerse and sundry persons in most humble wise to make sute for pardon to the king for their friends and kinsmen: but he made them plaine answere, that there was none to bee founde that would make intercession for the saning of his kinsmans life the day before, when he was led to execution, that had offended nothing so grieuously in comparison to them for whome they now made sute, & therefore he bad them be contented, for they shoulde assuredly haue according to ỹ which they had deserued. And therwith were the officers cõmaunded to make hast with the execution, whiche was done incontinently without any further respite.

There were some that were accused to bee partakers in this treason, but yet for that no euident proues could be produced against them, they were dismissed, as Walter Maxwel, with Walter Berelay Shirif of Aberdene, Patrike Graim, Hamelyne Meydzinton, and Eustace a Rathze, knights, beside eight others. But yet the Coũtesse of Stratherne, and William de Soulis, were condemned to perpetuall prison.

The Earle of Buchquhanes landes, who suffred at that present, were deuided into two parts, the one being giuen to William Hay that was made Constable of the realme in place of John Quincie, who likewise suffred the same time: and the other part was giuẽ vnto William Reth, togither with the office of the Stewardship of the Realme.

About the same time the king of England by complaynt made to the Pope, purchased that a Legate was sent from the See Apostolike into Scotland, to admonish king Robert to ceasse frõ further disquieting the realme of Englande, by such cruell inuasions, as were surmised that hee wrongfully exercised against the same Realme. But answer was made herevnto by the king and other the nobles of the realme of Scotlande, that all the worlde might well vnderstande that the whole occasion of al the trouble which had chanced betwixt the two Realmes of Englande and Scotland, did only proceed of the couetous desire in the English mẽ, seeking to conquer that realm without any iust clayme or title: and therefore they thought it reason first to suppresse the loftie stomacks of the English men, and then if there were any thing worthie to be reformed on theyr behalues, they would be contented to stand vnto the order of the Popes authoritie therein.

And thus was the Legate dispatched home, without other effect of his errant.

Shortly after K. Robert entred with an army into Englãd, & wasted the country before him, til he came to the Recrosse, whiche standeth vpon Stanmore. King Robert with an army in Scotlande.

Howbeit it should seeme by that which R. Southwel. writeth hereof, that K. Robert was not present himselfe in person in this iourney, but that he appointed the Erle of Murrey to be his Lieutenãt, who with an army after ỹ feast of the Epiphanie entred into England, & comming to Darington, stayed there for a season, whilest the Lord James Dowglas, and the Lord Steward of Scotlande went abrode to harie and spoyle the countrey on eche side, the one of them passing forth towardes Hartilpole, & Cliueland, and the other towardes Richmond. The inhabitants of Richmond shire hauing no captain amongst them to defend their countrey from that grieuous inuasion of the enimie, gaue a great summe of money in like maner as at other times they had don, to haue their coũtrey spared from fire & spoyle. The Scots tarryed at this time about .xb. dayes within Englande & in the end returned without battaile. For when the Knightes of the north Countreys repayred to the Duke of Lancaster then lying at Pomfret, and offred to goe into the field with him agaynst the Scots, he would not once styre his foote by reason of the discorde that was depending betwixt him and king Edward: but howsoeuer the matter went, king Edward sore grieued in hys minde with such inuasion made by his enimies the Scots, he gaue order to leuie an army of an hundred thousand men, what on horsebacke and on foote, (as the report went) appoynting them to be readie to enter into Scotlande at Lammas next: wherof king Robert being aduertised, ment to preuent him, and therevpon in the Octaues of the natiuitie of Saint Iohn Baptist, hee entred into Englande with an armie neare to Carleil, & burnt a manor place that sometime belonged to him at Rosse, & Allerdale, & spoiled the monastery of Holme, notwithstãding his fathers corps was there interred. Frõ thence he marched forward, destroying and spoyling the country of Copland, & so keeping vpon his iourney passed Doden landes towards the Abbay of Furneis: but ỹ Abbot meeting him on the way, redeemed his landes from spoile, and brought king Robert to his house, and made to him great chere: but yet the Scots could not hold their handes from burning and spoyling

1321

The Bishoprike of Durham burnt by the Scottes.

Richmondshire redemed from spoyle with a summe of money.

The Duke of Lancasters disloyaltie.

King Robert inuadeth Englande.

The Abbey of Holme burnt.

Fourneis Abbey.

dyuerſe places. And marching forwarde vnto Cartmele beyond Leuyn ſands, brent & ſpoyled all the countrey about, except a Priorie of blacke Chanons which ſtood there. Paſſing from thence they came to Lancaſter, which towne they alſo brent, ſaue onely the Priorie of blacke Monkes, and a houſe of preaching Friers. Here came to them the Erle of Murrey, and the Lorde James Dowglas with an other armie, wherevpon marching further ſouthwards, they came to Preſton in Anderneis, & brent that towne alſo, the houſe of Friers minors only excepted. And thus being lxxx. miles within England frō their owne borders, they returned homewards wᵗʰ al their priſoners, cattel, & other bwties which they had got in that iorney, cōming to Carleil in the vigill of S. Margaret, & lodging about that towne the ſpace of .v. dayes, they waſted & deſtroyed the corne & al other things ẏ came within their reach. Which done, on S. Iames euen they entred into Scotland again, hauing bene within England at this time three weekes and three dayes.

Leuyn ſandes.

The towne of Lancaſter brunt.

Preſton in Anderneis burnt.

Immediately hereupon, to wit about the feaſt of Lammas, King Edwarde with his armie came to Newcaſtell, and deſirous to be reuenged of ſuche iniuries done to his ſubiects, entred into Scotlande, and paſſing forth till he came to Edenbourgh, through want of vitayles and other neceſſarie prouiſion, he was conſtrayned to returne home within the ſpace of .xv. dayes. For king Robert aduertiſed of his coming, had cauſed all the corne and cattell in the Countrey to be conueyed out of the way into certain ſtrengthes, where the Engliſh men might not come to get it into their handes, ſo to relieue themſelues therewith. But in their returning homewardes, ſomewhat to reuenge their diſpleaſures, they ſpoyled & brunt the Abbayes of Melroſe, and Drybourgh, with diuerſe other religious houſes & places, not ſparing any kinde of crueltie agaynſt all thoſe of the inhabitants that fell into their handes.

King Edwarde raiſeth an armie.

He entred Scotlande.

The Abbeyes of Mewroſe, Melroſe, and Drybourgh burned.

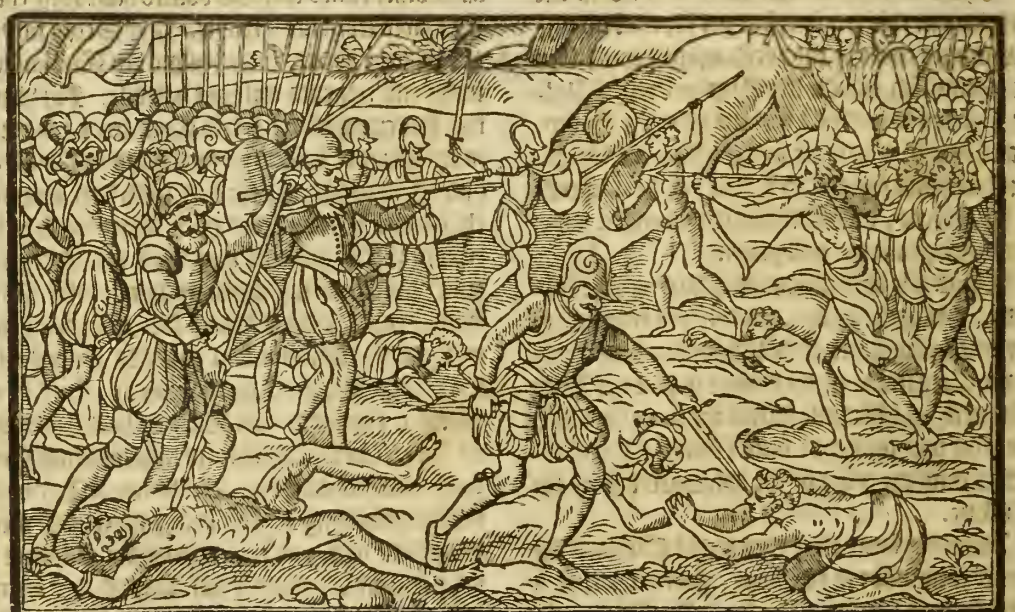
In reuenge hereof, King Robert ſhortly after entred with a puiſſant army into England, ſpoyling and waſting the Countrey, till he came almoſt to Yorke.

King Robert inuadeth the north parte of England approching almoſt to Yorke.

At length hearing that king Edwarde was comming towards him with an army, he choſe a plot of grounde betwixt the Abbay of Bylande and S. Sauiour, there to abyde battayle, whiche King Edward refuſed not to giue, though in the end, he was put to flight with his whole power, and chaſed with great ſlaughter both of Engliſh men and Normans, whiche were there in hys ayde. Diuerſe alſo of the Nobilitie were taken priſoners, as Iohn de Bryttaine Earle of Richmont, and Henrie Sowly, with others.

King Edward is put to flight.

The Earle of Richmond taken.



This battaile was fought in the yeare of our ſauiour 1322. xv. dayes after the feaſt of Saint Michael the Archangell.

1322

King Edward lying the ſame time at the Abbay of Riuale, aduertiſed of this ouerthrowe, fled and got him into Yorke, leauing his plate and much other ſtuffe behind him for want of cariage in that his ſodaine departure, which the Scottes comming thither founde, and toke away with them.

Ri Southwel. Riuale Abbay.

And from thence they paſſed forth into Yorkeſwolde, ſpoyling and waſting the countrey euen vnto Beuerley, which town for a ſumme of money they were contented to ſpare, and ſo then they returned homewardes, entering agayne into Scotlande on all Soules daye, whiche is the ſeconde of Nouember, after they had remayned wythin Englande at that tyme the ſpace of a Monthe and foure dayes.

Yorkeſwolde waſted by Scottes.

Shortly after king Robert ſent an Ambaſſadour to the French King, to renue the auncient bonde of amitie betwixte the two Realmes of

Scotland

Scotlande and Fraunce, which was accompliſhed with this newe condition added to the former articles, that if it chaunced that ſucceſſion fayled touching the enheritance of the crowne of eyther Realme, ſo that a doubt ſhould riſe, who ought by right to enioy the ſame, the clayme and tytle thereof ſhoulde be tryed and decyded by the nobles of both the realmes, and further, that they ſhould not onely remoue and exclude all ſuche as went aboute wrongfully to vſurpe the crowne, but alſo to defend and mainteyne the true inheritour to the vttermoſt of their powers.

In confirmation of this couenant, both the kings receyued the Sacrament: and for the further ratifying of it, they made a prouiſo, ẏ where (as then) they had the Popes conſent hereto, neither he nor any of his ſucceſſors hereafter ſhoulde diſpence with them for the breaking of that bond, and if they did, euery ſuch diſpenſation ſhould be reputed voyde and of none effect.

In this yeare 1323. as Richard Southwell reporteth, aboute the Aſcention day came commiſſioners from the two kings of Englande and Scotlande, vnto Newcaſtell, there to treate of ſome agreement of peace. For the king of Englande came Amerie de Valence Erle of Pembroke, the Lorde Hughe Spencer the yonger, and foure other perſons ſufficiently authoriſed. And for the King of Scottes came the Biſhop of Saint Andrewes, Thomas Randall Earle of Murrey, and foure other perſons likewiſe of good calling. After much talke, in the ende they agreed vpon a truce to endure for. xiij. yeares, which was proclaimed in both realmes about the feaſt of Saint Barnabie next enſuing.

About this time alſo, or not long before, an Engliſh man diſcended of noble lynage called Hamton, chaunced for ſpeaking certaine wordes in commendation of king Robert, to fall at variance with one of king Edwardes priuie Chamber named John Spencer, inſomuch that fighting togither about the ſame wordes, Hamtons hap was to ſlea this Spencer, and therevppon knowing there was no way but death if he ſhuld hap to be caught, he fled with al ſpeed into Scotland, where he was receyued of the king in moſt friendly wiſe, & had giuen to him for the maintenance of his eſtate like a gentleman, the lands of Cadzow.

The poſteritie of this Hamton remayneth in Scotlande vnto this day, increaſed ſo in kinred & honor, by reaſon it was in proces of time mingled with the kings bloud, that few linages within ẏ realme are of like eſtimation. They are now called Hammiltons, ſomewhat chaunged from the name of their firſt beginner.

In the meane time, Edward king of England being ruled altogither by two of the Spencers, as Hugh the father, and Hugh the ſonne, ran ſo farre into the hatred of his people, aſwel the nobles as commons, that in the end he was depoſed of all kingly authoritie, committed to priſon, and in fine ſecretly murthered as in the Engliſhe Hiſtorie more plainly appeareth. King Edwarde depoſed.

His ſonne Edward the third was placed in his rowmth, and crowned the. xxvj. day of January in the yeare. 1326. His ſonne Edward the third crowned. 1326

In the night of the ſame day in which he receyued the crowne, the Scottes ment to haue ſtolne the Caſtel of Norham by ſcaling, and they went ſo cunningly about their purpoſe, that there were to the number of. xxj. of them got aloft on the walles: but ẏ captain of this caſtell Robert Maners being warned afore hand of their comming by one of his ſouldiers that was a Scottes man borne, ſodenly aſſailed them, ſlue. ix. or. x. of them, and toke. v. priſoners alme, but ſore wounded, ſo as this miſfortune falling to them in the beginning of king Edward the third his raigne, might haue bene a forewarning of their loſſes to follow in the dayes of his gouernment. Ri. Southwel. The Caſtell of Norham.

Whileſt theſe thinges were a doing in Englande, King Robert though hee might ſeeme to haue title iuſt ynough to the Crowne of Scotland, which he had poſſeſt now not only by rightful conqueſt, but alſo by lawfull intereſt of inheritaunce for a certaine number of yeares, by conſent of all the eſtates of the Realme, yet to the ende to put awaye all doubtes, and to conclude the ſucceſſion of the Ballyoll from all clayme, which hereafter they might pretende to the Crowne of Scotlande, hee ſent ſir James Dowgals into Fraunce vnto the Lorde John Ballyoll, to require him to tranſpoſe and reſigne all the chalenge of right and intereſt whiche hee might ſeeme to haue to the crowne of Scotland, aſwell for himſelfe as his heyres & ſucceſſors for euer to K. Robert le Bruce and his heyres. Iames Dowglas ſent into Fraunce to the Ballyoll.

In conſideration of which reſignation, he offred fayre landes and rentes vnto him to bee appoynted forth in Scotland.

The Ballyol being now ſore worne with age, and thereto blinde of bodily ſight, lightly conſented vnto this motion, conſidering (as he ſayde) he toke it to be the ordinance of almightie God that king Robert ſhould enioy the gouernment of the Scottiſh kingdome, as moſte worthie and able thereto, hauing deliuered the ſame and defended it moſt valiantly from the handes of moſt cruell enimies.

He called therefore his friendes and kynnelmen togither, in the preſence of whome he wholy reſigned vnto king Robert and his heires, all the right and title whiche hee or any other for him either had, or hereafter might haue to the crowne of Scotlande, concerning any intereſt or clayme The reſignation of the Ballyoll to king Robert.

which might be auouched for any cauſe or conſideration, from the beginning of the worlde vnto that preſent day.

After the returne of ſir James Dowglas forth of Fraunce, with ſo good expedition and diſpatch of that buſineſſe where aboute he was ſent, King Robert right ioyfull thereof, aſſembled a Parliament of the Nobles and other eſtates of the Realme at Cambuſkenneth, where hee procured a new acte to be eſtabliſhed touching the ſucceſſion of the crowne, which was, that if his ſonne Dauid deceaſſed without heires of his body lawfully begotten, that then Robert Steward begotten on Mariorie Bruce his daughter, ſhould ſucceede in poſſeſſion of the Crowne.

A Parliament at Cambuſkenneth.

An act for the ſucceſsion of the crowne.

All the Lordes at the ſame time were ſworne to maintayne this ordinance.

In the meane while, King Edward the thirde ſent vnto king Robert for peace, but forſomuche as it was perceiued to be but a coloured pretence, no concluſion thereof enſued, but preparation made on eyther part for warres.

King Robert ſhortly after fell ſicke, by reaſon whereof, being not able to ride abrode nor to trauaile himſelfe, he committed the adminiſtration of all things touching the common wealth and other the affayres of the realme vnto Thomas Randall, Earle of Murrey, and to the Lorde James Dowglas, two Captaynes, for theyr high prowes and noble valiancie in thoſe dayes greatly renowmed.

The rule of things committed to Thomas Randall, and to Iames Dowglas.

These two hardie chieftaynes aſſembling an armie of .xx. thouſande men, or as ſome writers haue .xxv. thouſande, entred with the ſame into Northumberlande, waſting and ſpoyling the countrey on eche ſide.

They inuade Northumberlande.

1327

Against whom came king Edward with an army of an hundred thouſand men: of the which number there were (as Froiſſart hath) an eight thouſande horſemen, and .xxiiij. thouſande Archers. At their comming into Northumberland, they might wel perceyue by the ſmoke of the fiers which the Scottes made in burning of villages, houſes, and townes, where the enimies were: but yet becauſe they taryed not long in a place, but paſſed on without ſoiourning here or there, the Engliſh men might not come neare to fight with them.

King Edward the third commeth with an army againſt them.



King Edwarde therefore, was counſelled to draw towardes Scotlande, that lying betwixt them and home, he might haue them at ſome aduauntage as they ſhoulde returne, whiche was thought woulde bee ſhortly, as well for lacke of vitayles, as alſo to defende theyr owne borders, when they hearde once that the Engliſhe armye drew that wayes forth.

But comming to the riuer of Tine, through abundance of rain (lately fallen) the ſtreame was ſo ryſen, that neither horſe nor man might paſſe, ſo that the armie was conſtrayned to encampe there for the ſpace of three dayes, in great ſcarcity of vitails, till they were faine to ſend vnto Newcaſtell, (whiche was diſtant from thence .xxvj. myles,) and to Carleil, (whiche was aboute .xxij. myles thence,) for prouiſion, which was ſent them from thoſe places in great plentie.

In the meane tyme were thus certayne lyght horſemen ſent abroade into the Countrey to vnderſtande where the Scottes were, and to viewe their doings.

Those that were ſente, finding where the Scottes were encamped, vppon the toppe of a mountain, not paſſing fiue myles from the Engliſh campe, they returned backe to king Edward, and declared what they had ſeene and learned of the enimies doings.

The Scots are encamped on a hyll.

King Edwarde right ioyfull of the newes, cauſeth his armie to be deuyded into three battailes,

tayles, and forthwith marcheth on towardes the place where his enimies laye. And comming about .ix. dayes within ſight of the Scottes, he perceyued at length that the place whiche they kept was ſo ſtrong, what with the heigth of the ground, and thereto defended on the one ſide with the courſe of a Ryuer, that by no meanes they might bee aſſayled wythout great and manifeſt daunger.

The Engliſh men in the ende, thought it beſt to chooſe forth a place, to encampe in for ẏ night, and ſo doing ſent an Heralde at armes vnto the Scottes, requyring them to come downe vnto ſome euen grounde where battaile might bee giuen: but the Scottes refuſed ſo to doe, alledging that ſithe the Engliſhe men were three to one of them in number, it was no reaſon to wil them to forſake their grounde of aduauntage which they had taken and choſen forth for their own defence.

Thus were they encamped neare togither eyther in ſight of other for the ſpace of three nights, euery day ſhewing themſelues in order of battail, without breaking their array, except certain of ẏ horſmen which on either part now and thē came forth & fel in ſkirmiſh, ſo ẏ ſomtimes a mā might haue ſeene good emptying of ſaddles betwixt thē.

On the fourth day in the morning, when the Engliſh men beheld the hill where the Scots had lyen the night before, they perceyued howe they were gone, & therevpon ſending forth light horſmen to trie out which way they were takē, word was brought howe they were but remoued to an other hil a litle of, lying faſt by the ſame riuer, and there lay encamped more ſtrongly than before.

Incontinently herevpon king Edward rayſeth his camp, and remoueth to an other hil lying ouer againſt that hil where the Scots were now lodged.

At length, after that both the armies had lyen thus a good ſpace the one fore againſt the other, Iames Dowglas toke aduiſe with himſelfe to exploit a right hardie enterpize.

He choſe forth two hundred of perfite good horſemen, mounted vpon very ſwift and readie geldings, with the which in the night ſeaſon hee paſſed ſlily by the Engliſh watche, that he was not once diſcryed by any of them, till he was entred into their campe, where by the dyn and noiſe made by the moning of the horſe feet, ſome chanced to awake that lay and ſlept, but yet ere the alarme were rayſed to any purpoſe, the Scottes thus led by ẏ Dowglas had pierced through cuē vnto the kings tent, & cut two cordes of the ſame in ſunder, ſo that the king was in no ſmal danger to haue beene ſlaine, had not the Scottes withdrawne ẏ ſooner for doubt of being incloſed with their enimies as now rayſed on eche ſide to come to his ſuccours, but the Dowglas yet returned in ſafetie with his number back againe to the Scottiſh campe, hauing ſlaine (as ſome bookes report) three hundred Engliſh men at this brunt.

The Engliſh men warned hereby, toke better heede after to their watch.

These armies lay thus one againſt an other for the ſpace of .xviij. dayes, till at length the Scottes priuily in the night conueyed themſelues away, and returned home in moſte ſpeedye wiſe, ſuppoſing they had done ſufficiently inough for that tyme.

The Scottes ſecretly returne home to their countrey.

It chaunced that in the Euening before the Scottes went thus their wayes, there was a Scot taken by the Engliſh watch, who beeyng brought before the king, confeſſed that there was cōmaūdement giuē through the Scottiſh camp, that euery man ſhould be ready with his armour and weapon to follow the ſtandart of the Dowglas at a certaine houre the ſame night, but whither they intended to go it was vnknowne, ſaue onely amongſt the Captaines.

Herevpon the Engliſhmen doubting leaſt the Scots minded to giue thē a camiſado that night, placed themſelues in order of battail, & ſo ſtood till the next morning readie to haue receyued them, if they had come. The Scots alſo made great fires within their camp, that they might ſee about thē.

In the breake of the day, there were two Scottiſh Trumpetters taken by the Engliſh ſcoutes, the which being brought before the king, declared how the Scottiſh armie was broken vp and returned, & further ſhewed how they were appoynted thus to declare vnto him, hauing ſuffred themſelues to be taken for the ſame intent.

As ſoone as the Engliſh men were aduertiſed that the Scots were thus departed, they haſted to the place where they had lyen encamped, in hope to haue founde ſome riches, which for haſt they had left behind them: but at their cōming thither, they found nothing, but .x. M. payre of Hielande ſhoes, which are made of greene hydes of beaſtes vntanned: Alſo they found three hundred hydes of ſauage beaſts ſet vpon ſtakes in ſtead of Cawdrons, therein to ſeeth their meate.

Moreouer, they had left behinde them fiue hundred dead carkaſſes of beaſtes & ſheepe, which for that they coulde not driue them away, they killed, to the ende the Engliſhe men ſhoulde haue no gaine by them.

There were likewyſe founde fiue Engliſhe men wyth theyr legges broken, and bounde naked vnto trees, which were quickly loſed and cōmitted to the cure of Chirurgians.

The enimyes beeing thus departed, king Edwarde by aduice of his Counſell brake vp hys campe, and returned to London, ſuppoſing it but loſt labour to trauaile his people any further at that tyme.

King Edward breaketh vp his campe.

In this yeare dyed Walter Steward, father to Robert Steward, that was after king of Scotlande.

1326. as Io. M. hath, but that cannot be, if ſhe died the ſame yeare that the Scots were beſieged in Stanhop parke.

And in the yeare following, or rather the ſame yeare, Q. Elizabeth mother to Dauid Bruce the Prince deceaſſed, and was buried in Dunfermling in the yeare after the byrth of our Sauiour. 1328. In the ſame yeare, king Robert wanne the Caſtell of Norham, and ſhortly after beſieged the Caſtel of Alnwike, where were ſlain William de Mountalte knight, John Clapanen and Maliſius de Dunbar, with diuerſe other of the Scottiſh nobilitie.

Norham Caſtell wonne.

Alnewike beſieged.

Ambaſſadors ſent from K. Edward for a peace.

In the ende of the ſame yeare, there were Imbaſſadours ſent from king Edwarde into Scotland for the concluſion of a peace, which was accorded in this wiſe: That king Edward ſhoulde renounce all his right & clayme which he had or might haue to the crowne of Scotland, in declaring it free as it was in time of K. Alexander the third, vnder theſe cõditions, that Northũberland ſhould be admitted for the marches of Scotland on the eaſt part, and Cumberland on the weſt.

A peace concluded with England in the yeare 1328. after the account of them that beginne the yeare at Chriſtmaſſe.

For the which renunciation thus to be made, and for the domages done to Englande by the Scots, it was couenanted that K. Robert ſhould pay to K. Edward. xxx. M. Markes ſterling.

And for the more ſuretie & ratification of this finall agreemẽt & peace betwixt the two nations,

Iane, or rather Ione, the ſiſter of king Edward, maryed to Dauid Bruce Prince of Scotland.

it was cõcluded that Jane the ſiſter of King Edward ſhould be coupled in mariage with Dauid Bruce the Prince of Scotland.

All which articles were put in writing, whereunto all the ſeales of the great Lords within both the realmes were ſet in moſt ſubſtantiall wiſe.

The ſolemnization of the mariage before remembred was kept at Barwike within a while after, on the. xviij. day of July, in the preſence of a great number of the Nobilitie, both of Englande and Scotland.

The death of king Robert.

King Robert liued not paſt a tweluemonth after this mariage, departing out of this life at Cardros the ſeuenth day of July in the yeare of our Lorde. 1329.

1329

In the latter ende of his dayes, he was grieuouſly vexed with a leproſie, which thus finally made an ende of him, in the. xxiiij. yeare of hys raign, being one of the moſt valiant princes knowen in any part of the whole worlde in thoſe his dayes, hauing felt in his time the force of eyther fortune: for in the beginning of his raigne, ſuche ſtormes of aduerſitie ſurrounded him on eche ſide, that if his conſtant manhode had not beene the greater, it might haue brought him in diſpayre of all recouerie: for beſides ſundrye diſcomfitures, which he receyued at the handes of the enimies, with loſſe of all his brethren (his brother Edward only excepted) the moſte part of all the Lordes of Scotlande were againſt him, and ayded his aduerſaries to the vttermoſt of their powers: yet he nothing diſcouraged herewith, ceaſſed not to employ all induſtruous meanes to deliuer his countrey from the yoke of ſeruile bondage (which hee beleeued would ſucceed by the gouernment of the Engliſh kings) til at length (as it were in deſpite of all former chances) he atteyned the effect of his whole indeuours, ſo much the more to his praiſe, as he had found the hinderance & difficultie great in bringing the ſame fully to paſſe.

King Robert. taſted both proſperous & aduerſe fortune.

His fame therfore did ſpread hugely, not onely amõgſt his own people, but alſo amongſt ſtrangers, inſomuch as his due praiſe was not wanting, no not euen amongſt and in the middeſt of his verie enimies.

The fame of king Robert.

For (as it is ſayde) on a tyme it chaunced that king Edward the third, ſitting at a banket amongeſt his Nobles, fell in talke with them of warlike enterpriſes, and of ſuche notable Captaynes, as had excelled in knowledge in ẏ behalf.

His prayſe amongſt the enimies.

At length after much reaſoning to and fro, he propounded this queſtion to the king of Heralds, that as then ſtood by, cõmaunding him to declare which were the three moſt worthie and valiant captains that he had knowne in all his dayes.

A queſtion proponed to an Engliſh Heralde by king Edwarde the third.

The Herald aduiſing with himſelf of this matter, ſtayed a ſpace, in which meane while all the cõpanie were quiet, longing to heare his anſwere therein, both for that they knew his ſkil was ſuch as was able beſt to giue ſentence in ſuch a matter, and againe, for that many of them thought he woulde haue numbred ſome of thoſe that were there preſent, amongeſt thoſe three. But the Herald did not onely know all the noble men within the realme of England, but alſo al ſuch ſtrangers as had in any wiſe excelled in martiall prowes, hauing all their actes and valiant doings in freſh memorie, and therevpon boldly vttered his mind as followeth:

The Heralde anſwere to the queſtion.

The firſt, moſt worthie and valiant chieftain (ſayd he) that hath liued in theſe our dayes, was Henrie the Emperor, for he ſubdued three kings and three realmes, and mainteyned his imperiall eſtate with proſperous felicitie to his liues ende.

The ſecond, was ſir Giles of Argentine, who in three ſundry battails againſt the Saracins got the victorie, and ſlue two of their principall Captaynes with his owne handes.

The Heralde is ſcorned.

The third (if vnder your graces correction I may prayſe the enimie) I muſt iudge to be Robert Bruce king of Scotlande: whome the Herald had no ſooner named, but all thoſe that were preſente with ſkornefull laughter began to leaſt at the Heraldes preſumption, for that he durſt ſo malapertly in the kings preſence honour the enimie with ſo high prayſe.

At length, at the Heraldes requeſt, the King commaunded

commaunded them to be ſtyll: the Harold then began againe thus: I beſeeke youre highneſſe, (ſayd he) if I haue oughte offended, to take my wordes in good part: for I haue bene euer of this opinion, that the trouth ſhould in euery caſe bee vttered, receiued and allowed in your graces preſence, namely where your highneſſe commaundeth any man to declare the ſame.

This one thing therefore, I ſhall deſyre you to conſider, that if a man muſt needes bee vanquiſhed, it is leſſe diſhonoure to bee vanquiſhed of him that is knowne for a right valiant perſonage, than of him that is but a coward.

Moreouer, to ſhew playnly vnto your grace, how much I eſteeme the valiancie of king Robert (whom I perceiue ſome here may not abide to haue numbred with the .ij. former moſt valiant capitains) if the trouth myghte appeare, I durſt be bold to preferre him with good cauſe before them both: for the valiaunt actes atchieued by Henry the Emperour may be aſcribed rather to the wiſedom of his counſellors, than to hys own valiantneſſe and prudencie: but contrarylye King Robert being conſtrued out of his cõtrey, and deſtitute of frendes and all conuenable ayde, recouered the realme of Scotlande, by his ſingular manhood out of the handes of your noble father, and eſtabliſhed it with ſuche tranquillitie that he appeared more terrible to his enimies of Englande, than euer they hadde bin afore to hys ſubiects of Scotland.

These or the ſemblable wordes vttered by the Heraulde, were well allowed of the kyng, and ſtopped the mouthes of them that toke the matter ſo ſtraungely at the firſt.

But now to return to the purpoſe, King Roberte a little before the tyme of his death, called togither into the chamber where he lay, the chiefeſt peeres of his realme, and there in preſence of them all, committed vnto them the gouernment of his ſonne Dauid, a child as then not paſt ſeuen yeares of age.

He alſo aduiſed them of ſundry things touching the rule of the Realme after his deceaſe, whiche he perceyued was at hand.

And firſt he counſelled them that in no wyſe they ſhould at any tyme make an abſolute lord ouer the Iles, by cauſe the people of the ſame are of nature vnſtedfaſt, ſoone ſeduced & brought to moue rebellion againſte the Kyng, into the which being once fallen, they are not eaſily reduced to their due obedience againe, by reaſon theyr countreys are of ſuche ſtrength, that they can not be approched but by ſea, as enuironned with the ſame.

Secondarily, hee aduiſed them neuer to appoynt any ſette battayle with the Engliſhmen, nor to ieoparde the realme vpon the chaunce of one fielde, but rather to reſiſt and keepe them off from endomaging their countrey, by often ſkirmiſhing and cutting them off at ſtraits and places of aduauntage, to the intent that if Scottes be diſcomfited, they maye yet haue ſome power reſerued to make new reſiſtance.

Thirdly, he forbad them in any wiſe to make any long peace with Englande, for naturally men waxe dull and ſlouthfull by long reſte and quietneſſe, ſo that after long peace, through lack of vſe and exercile of armes, men are not able to ſuſtaine any great paines or trauaile.

Moreouer, he alledged, how the Engliſhmen woulde continue in peace no longer than there wanted opportunitie and conuenient occaſion for them to attempt the warres, and therfore he iudged it beſt, that the Scottes ſhoulde neuer conclude any perpetuall peace with them, nor take any truce longer than for three or foure yeares at the moſte.

He willed them farther to conſider one thing, that when there appeared leaſt occaſion of warres with England, then they ought to be moſte circumſpecte, in aduenture their enimies ſhould come at vnwares, and fynde them vnprouided, for tymely reſiſtance.

Herevnto hee deſired them, that after his deceaſe, they woulde chooſe ſome one of the moſte worthie capitaines within the whole realme to beare his heart vnto Hieruſalem, and there to ſee it buried within the temple, before the holy Sepulchre of our Lorde.

His deſire to haue his harte borne to the holy ſepulchre

For if he had not bin for a long ſpace hyndered by vrgent buſineſſe of warres at home, and laſtly preuented by death, he had vowed to haue paſſed with an army into the holy lande, in defence of the chriſtian faith, againſte the Turks and Saraſins.

Herevpon, when he was dead, the lordes by one aſſent, appointed ſir Iames Dowglas, to take this enterpriſe in hande, who willingly obeyed their order, as he that had euer duryng the lyfe of king Roberte ſerued moſte faithfully the bodie wherin the ſame hart was incloſed.

Sir Iames Douglas appointed to goe with K. Roberts heart to the ſepulchre.

And for this cauſe, the Douglaſſes beare the bloudy heart in their armes.

The cauſe why the Douglaſſes bear the bloudye heart.

Syr Iames Douglas then, choſen as moſte worthy to paſſe with king Robertes heart vnto the holy lande, cloſed the ſame in a caſe of golde, enbalmed with ſweet ſpices, and right precious oyntments. And herewith hauing in his companie a number of nobles, and gentlemen, amongſt whome ſir William Synclare, and ſir Robert Logan were chiefe, he paſſed forth tyll he came to the Citie of Ieruſalem, where hee buried the hart afore ſayd, with al reuerence and ſolemnitie that he might deuiſe.

This done, he reſorted with ſuch number as

The valiancie of Iames Douglas shewed against the Turkes.

he had brought thither with him vnto such other Christian princes as at the same tyme were gathered with great puissance, from sundry partes of Christendoome to warre against the Turkes, and there in companye with them, he did so noble seruice agaynst the common enimies of our religion, that by his often victories he wan great honour to the Christian name.

At lengthe, hauing accomplished his charge in those parties, with no lesse fame and glorye, than princely magnificence, he toke the seas to haue returned home into Scotland, but by force of contrary wynds he was driuen on the coast of Spayne, landyng there vppon the bordures of Granado, where at the same tyme, he found the king of Aragone, readie to make warres against the Sarasins that inhabited in those parties.

Iames Douglas cõmeth a land in Spayn.

The Douglas to make his manhod and prowes the more knowne in all partes where hee came, offered the king of Aragone, to serue vnder hym in those warres against the infidels, and so fought at sundry times in his support against the enimies with prosperous successe, til at lẽgth hauing to much confidence in fortunes fauour, (whiche hathe broughte so manye noble men to their deaths) he wared negligent, and toke small regarde of daungers that myghte ensue, so that in the ende he was inclosed by an ambushe layde for him by the enimies, and there slayn amongst them with all suche as he had about him.

Iames Douglas slayne by the Sarasins in Spayne.

This was the ende of that noble Douglas, one of the most valiant knightes, that lyued in his days. He had gotten the victorie. lviij. sundry tymes against the Englishmen, & xiij. tymes againste the Turkes, as it is written at length (sayth Balentine) in Scoticronicon.

How often Iames Douglas had got the victorie.

He might haue bin right necessary for the defence of Scotland, if his chance had bin to haue returned home in safetie. He ended his life in maner (as is before mencioned) on the. xxvj. day of August, in the yeare of grace. 1330.

1330.

King Dauid.

BVt now to procede in order with the historie, ye shal note ẏ after ẏ decease of K. Robert, his sonne Dauid a childe vneth. viij. yeres of age, was proclaimed king, & afterwardes crowned at Scone, the. 22. day of Nouember, in the yere of our lord. 1331. During ẏ time of his minoritie, Erle Thomas Rãdal was ordeined gouernor of ẏ realm, who for the space of four yeres, in the later ende of K. Roberts reigne, had ẏ whole administration of things cõmitted to his charge by the same king, for that by reason of sickues, he was not able to attẽd ẏ same himselfe. This Erle Thomas then beeing elected gouernour by the generall consent of al the nobles of the realm, cõsidered with himself, how necessarie it was for the people to continue in peace, till they had somewhat recouered their hynderance and losses chãced to them by the former warres. He addressed therfore certaine ambassadors immediatly after the death of king Robert vnto the king of England, to require a new confirmation of the peace betwixt both the realmes for a season.

1331.

Erle Thomas Randall gouernoure of Scotland.

Ambassadours sent into England.

These ambassadours founde the king of England ealy ynough to be intreated for the graunt of their suite, so that a generall truce was taken for the space of. iij. yeares.

In that meane tyme, Erle Thomas applied his whole studie for the mayntenance of iustice and equitie thorow the whole realme, not omitting yet to appoint order, that menne shoulde be prouided of armoure and weapon for defence of the countrey, if necessitie so requested.

A truce for three yeares.

Moreouer, for the better prefe of executyng Iustice amongest them that coueted to lyue by truthe, and to haue more readie occasion to punishe other that ment the contrarie, he commanded ẏ saddles and brydles with all other such instruments and stuffe as pertained to husbandry, shoulde be left abroade both day and night without the doores: and if it chaunced that anye of them were stollen or taken awaye, the Sheriffe of the shyre shoulde eyther cause the same to be restored agayne, or else to paye for it on hys owne purse.

A meane to haue iustice executed.

Finally suche punishment was exercised against theeues in all places, that both theefte and pickerie were quite suppressed, and the Realme broughte to more tranquillitie than euer it was in any kings dayes before.

Punishment of theeues.

Many insolent and misruled persons wer tamed by his seuere chastisement and iustice.

Also that vertue might be cherished within the realme, he commaunded that no vagabunde nor vnknowen person should be receiued into any towne or place, except they had some craft or science wherwith to get their lyuing.

A laudable ordinãce against vagarant persons.

By this meanes he purged the realm of Scotlande of many idle and slouthfull roges and vagabundes.

It is saide, that during the tyme whylest such straight punishment was exercised against offendors by the ministers of the lawes therto by him authorized & assigned: it fortuned that a carle of the countrey, bicause he durst not steale other mens goodes, stale his owne plough yrons, ẏ he might haue the value of them recõpenced to him by the Sheriffe: Neuertheless such earnest diligence was vsed in the serche and triall, who had the plough yrons, that finally the trouth came to light, wherupon for his craftie falshod the partie giltie was hanged, as he had well deserued.

Vpright iustice.

The gouernor himself for ẏ he saw how hard it was to reduce them that had bin brought vp in slouthfull loytering, vnto honest exercise, helde euer aboute him a guarde of warlyke persons, that

that he myght the more eaſily oppreſſe all ſtubborne offenders, which would not ſubmit themſelues to his commaundementes.

Thoſe that appeared before him, vppon ſummonance giuen, had fauorable iuſtice, tempered with muche mercie miniſtred vnto them.

Others, that refuſed to obey, were purſewed with his gard, and hanged euer as they were taken: as it hapned on a time at Hadington, where threeſcore euil and naughtie diſpoſed perſons being gathered together, robbed & ſpoyled the people on eche ſyde: and for that they regarded not, but rather myſuſed a purſeuaunt, which he ſent vnto them, they were all taken incontinently by his foreſayd gard, which followed the ſayd purſeuaunt at the heeles, and without reſpite han-

Stubborne rebelles ſharply puniſhed.



ged the vp on gybets to giue enſample to others.

Through ſuche rigorous iuſtice, no rebellion was hearde of within the realme of Scotlande many yeares after, ſo that ſuche tranquillitie followed, that not only theeues and loytering lymmers were daunted, but the realme alſo aduaunced in wealth and riches, to the greate terrour of all the foes and enimies therof.

King Edward aduertiſed of this great felicitie chaunced to the Scottes, by this meanes began to enuie the ſame, and imagined with hymſelfe, that if Erle Thomas, the author of ỹ ſame felicitie were diſpatched out of the way, it ſhuld not onely impeache the proceeding of ſo greate wealth to the Scots, but alſo make for the ſuretie of the realme of Englande: for the ſingular manhood and high prowes of this Erle, was by him and other his nobles ſore ſuſpected.

He thought good therfore to attempt the thing by ſleight, that myght not be done by force, that afterwrads the realme of Scotlande myght bee the more enfeebled, and as it were made open to receyue diſpleaſure at his handes.

For king Dauid was yong, and many of his nobles bare ſmall good will towards either hym, or his houſe, for the ſlaughter of their fathers and frendes in the blacke parliament.

Herevpon he deuiſed, whiche way hee myght beſt deſtroy Erle Thomas, the only confounder of all his imagined hope, as to atchiue any luckie enterpriſe againſt the Scots.

At lengthe hee deuiſed to diſpatche hym by poyſon: and after hee hadde long debated by whome he mighte worke that feate: fynally hee founde none ſo fitte for his purpoſe, as a Monke of the order and facultie of thoſe, that wandring from place to place, can with diſſembling viſage ſay that thing with mouthe, whiche they neuer thought in heart: for oftentimes men of that order put no difference betwixte ſhame and honeſtie, clokyng their execrable wickednelle vnder the fayned ſhadow of their hypocritical cowles.

This Monke, fully inſtructed in that whereabout he was ſent, came into Scotland, and fayning himſelfe to be a Phyſition, got credit within a whyle amongeſt the people, to be a man of moſt excellente knowledge, for he had a companion with him, that beeing made priuie to the matter, ſette forth his cunnyng and practiſe to the vttermoſte, declaryng what notable and moſte deſperate cures he had taken in hande, and made the pacientes perfectly whole of the ſame, where al other had quite giuen them ouer, namely he bruted it abroade, that for healing of the ſtone and grauell, his lyke was not to be found in all Chriſtendome, as euidently had appeared by cures whiche he had ſhewed vpon ſundry noble men, both in England and Fraunce.

A Monke ſent into Scotlande to poyſon the gouernor. The fitteſt inſtrument to bring ſuch a thing to paſſe.

This he ſpake, for that it was knowne, how the Lorde gouernour was ſore vexed with that diſeaſe, hoping by this meanes to haue hym in cure, that he might therby the more eaſily worke his

his diueliſhe enterpryſe.

And euen accordyng to his deſire it came to paſſe: for being taken for ſuch a man as he was named to be, he was ſente for to the gouernour, and comming before him, he handled the matter ſo with wordes, that the gouernor was contented he ſhould take him in hande, whiche he didde with ſuch wicked intention, that perſuading him to keepe ſuche diet as he preſcribed, & therewith to take ſuch ſirupes and other things as he woulde giue him, at length, he moſte trayterouſly poyſoned him in deede.

The venim was of ſuche mixture, as would not ſlea him out of hande, but by little and little waſte his entrayles, that the Monke might haue leyſure to eſcape home into England, ere it were perceyued what he had done.

The gouernor is poyſoned.

He therfore after he had miniſtred his wicked poyſon, found meanes to conuey himſelfe out of the way, and returned moſte ſpedyly into England, informing king Edward how he had delt.

The Monke fleeth.

The gouernour feelyng himſelfe tormented dayly worſe and worſe in his ſtomack & woumb, and hearing that the Monke was gone, & myndep not to returne to him againe, he beganne to doubt the matter, and ſhortly after learned by Phyſitions that he was poyſoned, and that the venym had taken ſuch holde within his bowels, that it was not poſſible to remoue it.

In the meane tyme, was king Edward come with an armie vnto the bordures, purpoſing to inuade Scotlande, for that he thought how the gouernor was eyther dead, or at the verie poynt of death, and therfore he was in hope, that comming in tyme of the trouble vpon his death into Scotland, he ſhoulde finde occaſion to atchieue ſome enterpryſe highly to his aduantage.

King Edward his purpoſe to inuade Scotland.

But the gouernour aduertized hereof, reyſed a power, and though he were not able eyther to ryde or goe, he yet cauſed himſelfe to bee caryed forth in an horſe litter.

The gouernor in an horſe litter is caryed forth to encounter the Engliſhmen.

King Edwarde hearing that the gouernour was comming towards him with an armie, and that himſelfe in perſon quite contrary to his expectation, he ſent an herauld vnto him for meane of communication of ſome peace, as was outewardly pretended, though nothing elſe was ment but that he ſhoulde eſpye howe all things in the Scottiſhe campe ſtoode.

An herauld ſent to the gouernour.

The gouernour hearing of this heraulds comming, arayed himſelfe in his beſt apparell, that it might appeare he was rather recouered of his infirmitie, than otherwyſe weake and feeble through his diſeaſe, and then cauſing the Herauld to be brought afore him, where he was ſette in a chaire, to heare what his meſſage was, which cõſiſting in certain demaundes not greatly agreable to reaſon, the gouernour with bolde countenãce anſwered, that he truſted within ſhort time to make it knowne, what right the Engliſhmen had to moue ſuche vnreaſonable requeſtes, and thus diſpatching the herauld, he gaue him all ſuche gorgeous and riche apparel as he ware the ſame tyme when he thus talked with hym.

The gouernours anſwere to the herauld.

King Edward at the returne of the Heralde, not perceyuing otherwiſe by his report, but that the gouernour was in health, he returned immediatly with his armie into England, and licencing euery man to depart to his home, layd handes on the monke, and as one that had diſſembled with his prince, (for ſo hee tooke it) cauſed hym to be brent for his vntrouth.

The monke is brent.

Thus was the wretche righteouſly recompenſed, as he had moſt iuſtly deſerued.

In the meane tyme, the gouernor returning homewards, through force of the venym ſtil encreaſing, deceaſed at Muſcelburgh, and was buryed at Dunfermlyng in the yere of our redemption. 1331.

After his deceaſſe, by common conſent of the three eſtates of the realme in councell aſſembled, Patrike Erle of Marche, and Dauid Earle of Mar were choſen gouernours, the firſt (that is to wit the Earle of Marche) had the charge of that part of the realme which lyeth on the ſouth ſide of the Fuith, and the other (that is to ſaye, the Erle of Mar) was appointed to gouerne al that on the north ſyde.

Two gouernours choſen to rule Scotland.

Shortly after roſe great trouble in Scotland by meanes of Edwarde Ballyoll, the ſonne of John Ballyoll before remembred, as thus: It chaunced there was one Twynam Lozſon, a Gentleman borne, but ſpotted with vile conditions, as adulterie & diuers other, for the whiche being put vnder cenſures of the church by the officiell of Glaſgowe: he tooke at length the ſame Officiall as he was going toward the towne of Ayze, and helde him in captiuitie till he had paid two hundred pounds for his deliuerance. But this iniurie remayned not long vnpuniſhed: for ſir James Douglas before his paſſage to the holy lande, would not ſuffer him to reſt, till he had conſtrayned hym to flee into Englande for his more ſafegarde.

Twynam Lozſon.

At his comming into England, he met with Dauyd Cumyn Earle of Athole, and many other Scottiſhmen, which wer baniſhed in tymes paſt by king Robert, for y they aſſiſted the king of England againſt him.

Scottiſh lords baniſhed into England.

Theſe perſons being driuen out of the realme and confederate altogither in one bande, remayned in Englãd long time after, euer truſting to ſee ſome occaſion offred, wherby they might one day return agayn into their own natiue coũtry.

And now, hearing that Erle Thomas Randall the gouernour was deceaſſed, this Twynam

nam Laryſon in name of them all was ſent ouer into Fraunce to perſuade Edwarde Ballyoll to attempt the recouerie of the crowne and realme of Scotlande, as the rightfull heritage of his father, and diſcended vnto him as lawfull & rightfull heire.

Though the Ballyoll had no regard to make any claime at all to the crowne of Scotland before this tyme, yet through the pithye perſuaſiõs of the earneſt meſſenger, declaring howe eaſy a matter it were for him to atchieue, conſidering the ayde which he ſhould haue in England, both at the kings handes, and alſo by the Scottiſhemen, whiche remayned there in exile, by whoſe meanes he might aſſure himſelfe of ſuppoꝛt ynough within Scotlande it ſelfe, after hee was once entred: finally he concluded to paſſe ouer into Englande, to proue what purchaſe he myght make there.

At his comming thither, he made ſuite to the king, to ayde hym in his rightuous quarell towards the atteyning of the crowne of Scotland, whiche if he might bring to paſſe with proſperous ſucceſſe, hee promiſed to holde the ſame of him and his ſucceſſoꝛs as ſuperioꝛ loꝛds thereof.

King Edward gladly vppon that condition, condiſcended to his requeſt, notwithſtanding the aliance contracted with king Dauid, by the mariage of him with his ſiſter.

Herewith he appoynted forth. vj. thouſande men well apparayled and arayed foꝛ the warre, to paſſe by ſea with the Ballyol & other the confederates into Scotlande, truſting that vppon their arriuall there, they ſhoulde fynde no ſmall number of frendes to aſſiſt them.

Foꝛ beſide the Ballyoll, there was the loꝛde Henry Beaumount a Frenchmã, who had maryed the erle of Buchquhanes daughter & heire: Alſo the Erles of Athole and Angus, and other ſuche Scottiſhe loꝛdes as were baniſhed Scotlande, when king Robert le Bruce recouered it out of the Engliſhe mens handes.

Theſe were appointed to goe with the Ballyoll to aſſiſte him in that enterpryſe: and lykewyſe the loꝛde Staffoꝛde and diuers other Engliſhe capitaynes, whervpon when al their proꝛuiſion was once ready, with the number apointed them by king Edwarde, and a fewe others, they got them a ſhipboꝛde, and ſaylyng forth by the coaſte till they entred into the Foꝛth, at length they came a lande neare to the towne of Kingoꝛne, and ſhoꝛtly after, encountring with Alexander Seyton, they ſlewe him, and put his folkes to flight.

Ballyoll ryght ioyful of this happie ſucceſſe, came with his people to Perth, otherwiſe called S. Johns towne, wherof the erles of Mar and March being aduertiſed, they reiſed two mightie armies, and haſted towarde the enimies, not as though they ſhuld haue to doe with men of war, but to chaſtiſe a number of theeues & robbers that were come out of Englande.

At length yet they concluded to ioyn both together in Stratherne, that they might ioyntly ſet vpon their enimies both at once.

The Ballyoll ſeeing the matter broughte ſo farforth, that no feare of death noꝛ ſtarting hole by flight might auayle him, boldly came foꝛeward, and pitched downe his tentes at Duplyn neare to the water of Erne, truſtyng that if his armie would ſtande to it, and fighte with manlyke conſtancie, he ſhould weyld his enimies wel ynough, notwithſtanding their huge number. Edward Ballyol at Duplin

The ſame night came the Erle of Mar with his power, and encamped with the ſame within ſight of the engliſh armie, but the erle of March lodged about fiue myles from thence, at Othirardour.

The Scots that were with the Erle of Mar, hauing knowledge of the ſmall number of theyꝛ enimies, made no accompts of them, ſo that they neither toke heede to their watche, noꝛ to any other oꝛder foꝛ defence of themſelues, but fell to ſinging, daunceing, reuelling and dꝛynkyng in moſte diſſolute maner. The negligẽce of the Scottes.

The Ballyol taking occaſion hereof, determined to aſſayle them ẏ ſame night in their campe: and therevpon cauſing his people to make them readie to accompliſhe that enterpꝛiſe, in the dead of the night he iſſued forth of his campe, & comming vnto the water of Erne, paſſeth the ſame by the foꝛde, where one Andꝛowe Murraye of Tullybarde had pight a ſtake of ſet purpoſe, in midſt of the ſtreame, to ſhewe them the way.

Thus hauing got all his armie ouer ẏ water, without any noyſe oꝛ dinne, ſo ſecretly as might be deuiſed, he entred the campe of his enimies, and brake through till he came to the tent of the Erle of Mar the Scottes general, before he was once deſcryed.

Here at the firſt was the Earle himſelf ſlayne lying faſt a ſleepe in his bed, and after with huge noiſe they ſet vpon the whole camp, murthering the Scottes as then buried in ſleepe without al defence. And therevpon folowed ſo cruel ſlaughter, that nothing was hearde but grunting and groning of people, as they lay on heapes redie to dye, weltring togither in their owne bloud. The Earle of Mar is ſlayn in his bedde. See more here of in Scotland.

And if it had not bin that Edward Ballyol had cauſed eche of his men to wꝛappe a whyte cloth aboute his arme, no man might haue knowen (by reaſon of the myꝛkneſſe of the night) his frende from his foe.

The Engliſhemen were ſo earneſtly bente to the ſlaughter of Scottes, that they myghte not bee ſatiate with the bloud and murder of them, ſo

The greate ſlaughter of Scottes.

ſo that they ſaued none whom they myght ouertake. There were ſlain of nobles & gentlemen, to the number of .iij. thouſand, beſides innumerable of the commons. A certain number of the Scots that eſcaped out of the place, cloſed themſelues together, and in purpoſe to bee reuenged on the Engliſhemen for the death of their fellowes, returned vpon them againe, and were ſlaine themſelues euery mothers ſonne.

Sixtene thouſand ſayth R. Southwell.

The Earle of Mar was not ſlayne in the night as before ye haue heard, but now in the morowe following as hath Southwel.

The chiefeſt nobles that wer ſlayn at this batayle, were theſe the erle of Mar generall of ẏ armie, Roberte Bruce erle of Carryke, Alexander Fraſeyr knight, William Hay cõſtable of Scotlande, with al his lygnage ſo wholly, ẏ had not his wyfe as then being great bellyed, bin afterwardes deliuered of a ſonne, all his ſurname had bin vtterly extinguiſhed.

Noble men ſlayne at Dupline.

There were ſlayne alſo Robert Keyth Marſhall of the realme, with many of his ſurname, Dauid Lyndſey of Glenneſk, Alexander Beyton, George Dunbar, Roberte Strathaquhen, Thomas Halyburton, and John Skrymgeour knightes, with many other ouerlong to reherſe.

The Erle of Fyfe with a few other be taken.

This batayl was foughten the thirteuth day of Auguſt, in the yeare. 1332.

1332. H. B.

After that Edwarde Ballyoll had atchieued this victorie thus at Duplyn, he wente ſtraighwayes vnto Perth, (otherwyſe called Saynct Johns towne) and giuing aſſault thereto, quickly entred it by force, without any great reſiſtance.

Perth woone by the Baliſ.

The Erle of March that lodged (as is ſayd) the ſame night that the battaile was fought, not paſt fiue myles off, hearyng what had chaunced bothe of the battayle and towne, came wyth his people arayed in good and perfecte order vnto Perth aforeſayde, to beſiege the Engliſhmen with Ewarde Ballyoll and other as then within it.

But hauyng layne there a certayn ſpace, and

Perth beſeged by the Earle of March.



filled the dieches in the meane tyme to ſuch aduãntage, that it was thought if he had giuen the aſſault, he muſt nedes haue entred, he ſodenly reiſed frõ thẽce, & departed, to ẏ vnſpeakable domage (as was thought) of the whole Scottiſh nation. The ſiege being thus reiſed, ther came dayly great nũbers of nobles & cõmons vnto ẏ Ballyol, offering him their ayd & ſeruice as his loyal ſubiects, towards ẏ atteyning of his right to ẏ crowne.

He rayſeth his ſeege.



HEreupon perceiuing his power ſufficientlye increaſed, and receyuyng the Othes of the Erle of Fyfe, and William de Saint clare Byſhoppe of Dunkelde, hee wente accompanyed with them and a greate number of other, vnto Scone, where he was crowned the .xxiiij. daye of September, in the yeare laſte before remembred, and receyued there the ſame tyme the homages and fealties of a greate companye of nobles and Gentlemenne, at that ſolemne feaſte there aſſembled.

Edward Baliol crowned King of Scotland, not the 24. of September, but the fourth of October as R. Southwell hath.

Kyng Dauid beyng not paſſe nyne yeares of age, to auoyde all daungers in that troubleſome tyme, as deſtitute of ſuccoures, by aduiſe of his Counſel, was conueyd ouer into France, wyth Queene Jane hys wyfe, ſiſter to Edwarde kyng of Englande, and was moſt frendly receyued by Philippe King of Fraunce the ſixte of that name, ſo that they remayned there with him for the ſpace of nine yeeres, and in the meane time diuers noble men that yet remayned at the deuotion of King Dauid vnderſtandyng that King Edward le Balliol ſoiourned within the

King Dauid is conueyed ouer into Fraunce.

R. Southw.

the towne of Perth, otherwiſe called S. Johns towne, which ſtandeth almoſt in the middle part of the Realme, and was at that preſent not cloſed with any wall, or rampire, they reyſed theyr powers, and beſeeged him within ỹ ſame towne, he hauing as then no great company about him. Whereof whē they of Galloway had aduertiſemente, bycauſe the Kyng was their ſpecial Lord and chiefe gouernoure, they aſſembled togyther vnder the conduct of the Lorde Euſtace de Makeſwel, and inuaded the lands of thoſe Scottiſhmen that had thus beſeeged their Lorde King Edward Ballyol, and by that meanes conſtreyned the aduerſaries to leuie their ſeege. Whereupon Earle Patricke ỹ newe Earle of Murrey, with the Lord Andrewe de Murrey, and the Lord Archēbald Dowglas, with an army aſſēbled in all ſpeede, entred into Galloway, doing al the miſchiefe they coulde deuiſe, with fire and ſworde, taking and bringing away from thence a great number of Cattell and other gwdes, but they ſlewe no greate number of people, for they found them not at home, being withdrawen out of ỹ way for feare of this terrible inuaſiō. Thus did the Scottes in that part of the Realm ſpoyle and harrie each others countreys. In the meane time, King Edwarde le Balliol fortifyed the towne of Perth, appoynting the Earle of Fife to the keeping thereof, whileſt he with an army paſſed into the countrey, but before he returned, hys aduerſaries, to witte, the ſonnes of them that had bin ſlain at the battel of Duplyn, Robert Keith, Alexāder Lindſey, James and Simon Fraſeir, wanne Saint Johns towne in the third moneth after they had layde ſeege thereto, as Hector Boetius hath, but whether that is to be intended after the firſt beſeeging thereof, or now after theyr laſt comming thither I can not affirme, but as the ſame Boetius writeth: now when the towne was won, the Earle of Fife, and Andrew Murray of Tullybard, were taken with other of their complices.

The Earle was ſent to ỹ Caſtle of Kyldrūmy, there to remayne vnder ſafekeeping: but Andrew Murray for his treaſon afore committed, was beheaded.



The towne being thus won, was deliuered to the keeping of Johṇ Lindſay.

The gayning of this towne, put the Scottes in hope of more proſperitie to ſucceede.

And thereyppon John Randoll the Earle of Murrey, ſon to Earle Thomas late of famous memorie, and Archembald Douglas Lorde of Galloway, the brother of James Douglas lately ſlayne (as before is mentioned) in Spain with Symon Fraſeir and others, gathered a great army, and came with the ſame againſt the Balliell, who being aduertiſed thereof, mette them in Annandale, where encountring togither after





cruell fight, and great ſlaughter on both partes, at length Ballyols part was put to the worſt, ſo that he him ſelfe was glad to flee, hauing got an Horſe without a bridle, & rested not till he came to Roxburgh or rather to Carleil, as Richarde Southwell hath.

In this battel wer ſlayn Sir Henry Ballyol, a man of great valiancie, Sir John Mowbray, Walter

Walter Cumyn, and Richard Kyrkby: but Alexander Bruce Erle of Carryke, and the lorde of Galloway were taken priſoners, and ſaued by the helpe of the Earle of Murray, for that they hadde ſubmitted them ſelues to the Balyoll but lately before.

Androw Murray choſen fellow gouernor with the erle of Marche.

Shortly after the atchieuing of this victorie, Androw Murray a man of great puiſſance and poſſeſſions was choſen to be gouernoure, as colleague and aſſociate with the Erle of March.

These two gouernors, hearing that the king of England was mynded to inuade Scotlande with a mayne armie, ſent ſir Alexander Seyton with many other gentlemen vnto Berwike for defence of that towne and caſtell. Shortly after, the newe gouernour Androw Murray was taken priſoner at Rorburgh, by reaſon that hauing put his enimies to flight in a ſkirmiſhe which he made with them at the bridge without the caſtell, he purſewed ouer raſhely in the chaſe, and was incloſed amongeſt them, and ſo taken ere he might be reſkued.

Androw Murray the newe gouernour is taken priſoner

There was alſo taken beſide the gouernoure, a notable pyrate named Crab, who before that tyme had done many diſpleaſures to the engliſh men both by ſea and lande: and now bicauſe his countreymen woulde not raunſome him, but to his further griefe, had ſlayne his ſonne within Barwike, he became the king of Englands man, and did the Scots more domage afterwards thã euer he had done to the Engliſhmen before. The gouernour at length was raunſomed for a great ſumme of golde.

Ric Southwel. Crab, a pyrate taken.

About the ſame tyme William Douglas of Lyddeſdale named for his ſingular manhood, the floure of chiualrie, fought with the Engliſhmen in Annandale, where himſelfe was taken, and his people diſcomfited.

William Douglas of Lidaſdale taken priſoner.

Bothe theſe noble men thus taken priſoners, were deteyned in captiuitie more than a twelue moneths ſpace, and then raunſomed for a great ſumme of golde.

This William Douglas was ſonne to ſir James Douglas, of whome ſo often mention is made heretofore.

The realme of Scotlande being thus deuyded in two partes, the one aſſiſting the Ballyol, & the other continuing in their allegiance ſworn and promiſed to king Dauid: Edwarde king of England iudged ẏ time to ſerue wel for his purpoſe to make a conqueſt on the Scots, and hereupon gathering a mightie armie both of Engliſh men, and ſtrangers, as well ſuche as were ſubiectes to hym as other, whome he retayned out of Normandie, Aniou, and Flanders, he came with the ſame to ſubdue (as he outwardely pretended) only ſuch Scottes as woulde not yelde themſelues to the Ballyoll.

Edward king of England purpoſeth to ſubdue the Scottes.

The Scots perceyuing themſelues thus ouerſet with enimies on eche ſide, ſent John Randoll Erle of Murray into Fraunce vnto kyng Dauid, that by his meanes they might purchaſe ſome aid of the French kyng to defend ẏ realme from the force of the enimies.

The Erle of Murray is ſent into Fraunce.

In the meane tyme the king of England beſiegeth Barwike both by ſea and land, notwithſtandyng ſuche as were within it, defended the towne ſo manfully that he got but ſmall gaynes

Barwike is beſieged.



by aſſaultes, by reaſon whereof, the ſiege contynued for the ſpace of four months: during which tyme many iſſues and ſkirmiſhes were made betwixt the Scots and Engliſhmen, whereat manye proper feates of armes were atchieued with varyable fortune.

William Seyton ſonne to the captaine of the towne was taken priſoner, and his baſterde brother, as he aſſayled the engliſh ſhippes one night ouerfiercely, was drowned by miſchaunce in the ſea.

At length when they within the towne began to want victuals, the captain ſir Alexander Seiton ſent vnto king Edward, promiſing that if he would graunt a truce for the ſpace of. vj. dayes, if no ſuccour came in the meane tyme, to reſiſte his ſiege, the towne ſhould be delyuered into hys handes at the ende of that terme, and for aſ-

Sir Alexander Seiton captain of Barwike.

ſurance

ſurance thereof, he was contented that his eldeſt ſonne and heire Thomas Seiton ſhould remain with the ſayd king in hoſtage.

Whyleſt thinges paſſed thus at Barwyke, the nobles of Scotland by common conſente, choſe Archembald Douglas to be gouernour in place of Iohn Murray.

This Archembald Douglas reyſing a mightie armie of Scottiſhmen, entred with the ſame into the boꝛdures of Englande, ſo to withdꝛawe king Edward from the ſiege of Barwike to defende hys owne landes from bꝛennyng and ſpoiling.

But king Edwarde aduertiſed hereof, deuiſed an other ſhift, foꝛ immediatly ſending a meſſenger vnto ſir Alexander Seiton captain of the towne, he certified him playnly, that onleſſe hee rendꝛed the town foꝛthwith into his hands, both his ſonnes whiche hee had with him, the one as hoſtage, and the other as pꝛyſoner, ſhoulde bee without further delay hanged vpõ a gybet there in ſight afoꝛe his owne face.

Sir Alexander Seiton herevnto aunſwered, that as yet the terme of the truce was not expired, and therfoꝛe deſyꝛed the King eyther to obſerue the couenauntes, oꝛ elſe to deliuer the pledges, that he mighte be at his aduauntage: But King Edward (as ſaith the Scottiſh chꝛonicle) immediately cauſed a payꝛe of gallows to bee reyſed afoꝛe the towne, and bothe the ſonnes of the ſayde ſyꝛ Alexander to be led thyther, to ſuffer on the ſame without further reſpite.

Sir Alexander Seiton beholdyng that pityfull ſighte, and weying with himſelfe, that hee myght ſaue the lyues of thoſe innocent creatures, if he woulde, was bꝛoughte into great perplexitie of mynde, the naturall affection & compaſſion which he bare towardes his ſonnes, mouing him to haue rendꝛed the towne on the one ſide, and the duetie with faithe pꝛompted to his king and countrey, reſtrayning him from all ſuche reſolution on the other: but in the end the tender regard he had to ſaue the lyues of his ſonnes, had ouercome him, and cauſed him to haue rendꝛed the town into his enimies hand, had not his wyfe and mother to his ſayd ſonnes, exhoꝛted him moſt earneſtly to the contrary, alledging that ſuche repꝛoch and diſhonour ſhuld redounde vnto them, and their poſteritie, if thꝛough their fault the towne were trayterouſly deliuered into the enimies hande, that from thencefoꝛth they ſhoulde be infamed foꝛ euer: and as foꝛ the death of their ſonnes, it was not to bee accompted a loſſe, foꝛ by this kynde of death, they ſhuld win immoꝛtall name, and leaue to their parentes the high honoure and renoume of faythfull and loyall ſubiectes.

Agayne, they were yong ynough to begette and bꝛyng foꝛthe newe chyldꝛen, where they ſhould be neuer able to recouer honour once loſt, if by deliuering the towne into the enimies handes, they ſhoulde ſeeme to betray their countrey, and falſe their faithe to their naturall pꝛince and ſoueraigne.

With ſuche and many other the lyke woꝛds, thys noble and woꝛthie Ladye perſwaded hir huſbande to refrayne his inwarde griefe, and bꝛoughte hym with ryghte ſoꝛowfull and heauie cheere vnto hir chamber, that thꝛough commiſeration hadde of his ſonnes, he ſhould commit nothyng eyther agaynſt his honoꝛ oꝛ weale of the towne.

In the meane tyme, his two ſonnes were put to death, endyng their lyues (ſayeth Hectoꝛ Boetius) with moſte honour, foꝛ the righteous quarell of their countrey. Sir Alexander Seitons ſonnes executed.

Archembalde Douglas the gouernour, beyng at that pꝛeſente entred into Noꝛthumberlande with his armye, hearing that king Edward had thus cruelly put to death thoſe two yong Gentlemen, came the thirde daye after wyth all his power, and pitched downe his tentes not farre from King Edwardes armye, fully reſolued to giue him battaile, as well to reuenge the diſpleſure foꝛ the death of the ſaid gentlemẽ, as to deliuer the towne of Barwike from further danger of the enimies foꝛce. Archembald Douglas purpoſeth to giue battaile.

Yet were there ſundꝛie pꝛudent counſelloꝛs in the Scottiſhe armie, that foꝛ diuers reſpectes aduiſed him in no wiſe to fight with the enemies at that pꝛeſent, conſidering the huge number of pꝛactiſed ſouldiours whiche they had amongeſt them, and the wante of ſkilfull warrioures on his ſyde, hauing fewe wyth hym ſaue young nienne, and ſuche as lacked experience in the warres, foꝛ that they hadde bin but little trayned therein.

Notwithſtanding, he hymſelf was of a contrary opinion, iudging that the good willes and deſyꝛe whyche his people hadde to fighte wyth the Engliſhmenne, ſhoulde ſupplye their lacke of ſkill: and therevppon determyning to tꝛye the chaunce of battayle wyth them, commaunded his armye to refreſhe themſelues with meat, dꝛinke and ſleepe foꝛ that nyght, and to pꝛouide them ſelues readye foꝛ battayle on the nexte moꝛnyng.

In the bꝛeake of the daye he arayed his people in oꝛder of battayle. The vauntgarde was giuen to Hugh, loꝛde Roſſe, hauing with him Kenneth Earle of Southerlande, Symon and Iohn Fraſeyꝛ, and Iohn Murraye Lieutenaunt to the Earle of Murray, who as then was ſoꝛe tormented with a grieuous maladie oꝛ ſickneſſe. The apointing of the Scottiſh battails.

The ſeconde battayle was committed to

the gouernaunce of Alexander Lyndſey, with whome were ioyned Alexander Gordon, Reynolde Grahaume, and Robert Keanneth.

In the thyrde battayle was the gouernoure hymſelfe, accompanyed with James, John and Alane, Stewardes, the ſonnes of Walter great Stewarde of Scotlande.

On the other part, the Engliſhmen were nothyng ſlacke to come forwarde to encounter the Scottes, but at the firſt to take the vauntage of the grounde, they gaue ſomewhat backe, withdrawyng to the ſide of an hill, whiche they hauing once got, boldely turned themſelues to the Scottes that purſued them ouer raſhely, in hope that the victorie had bin alreadie theirs: but being here fiercely receyued by the engliſhmen, and The policie of the Engliſh men.



beaten downe in heapes on eche ſyde, thoughe they enforced themſelues with all their might to be reuenged both for olde & newe iniuries whiche they had receyued, and ſo ſlewe no ſmall number of the enimies: yet in the end was the Scottiſh army put to flight, and more ſlaughter made in the chaſe, than was afore in the battayle: for one wing of the Engliſhmen making forwarde to get before the Scottes, ſo ſtopped their paſſage, that they were ſlayne miſerablye on eche ſyde, as they had bin encloſed within a toylle or deere ſtall. There were but few in number that were taken priſoners, thoſe on the next day were beheaded by commandement of king Edward, except a ſmall number whiche were kept ſecrete by ſome of the Engliſhemen for profite of their raunſome. There were ſlayn on that day of the battayle, to the number of. xiiij. thouſande men, amongeſt whome were theſe as principall, Archembald Douglas the gouernour, John Steward, James Stewarde, and Alane Stewarde the ſonnes of Walter Stewarde: the Earle of Ros, the Earle of Suthirlande, Alexander Bruce Erle of Carryke, Andrew, James, and Symon Fraſeir. This batayl was fought on the Magdalene day, in the yeare. 1332.

The Scottiſhe Armie put to flight.

The greate ſlaughter of Scottes.

The number of Scottes ſlayne at Halydowne hill.

1333. H.B

That this number and therewith many mo doe abounde by one yeare, William Harylon dothe gather by the feries, becauſe Adam Weremouth ſayeth, that Magdalene day fell on the Monday this yeare, and that the morrowe after being Tuiſday, Barwike was ſurrendred. But for ſo much as the ſame Weremouth may be perhappes deceyued, or miſtaken heerein, I haue here thought good as in other places, to note in the margent the yeere, according to the accompt of Hector Boetius, ſpecially in this place, the rather becauſe he agreeth with Richard Southwel, Robert Auelburie, and other of our Engliſh writers, concerning this yeere in whiche this battell was fought: but where the ſame Boetius ſayth, that it was fought on Magdalen day, Richarde Southwell, Robert Auelburie, Thomas Walſ. and diuers other affirme, that it was fought the xix. of July being Saint Margarets euen. But now to proceede.

The place where this battell was ſtriken, is called Halidown hill.

Immediately vppon this ouerthrowe of the Scottiſh power, Alexander Seyton and Patrick Dunbar captaynes of Barwicke, deſpayring of all ſupport, yeelded the towne to King Edward, with condition to haue their liues and goodes ſaued, and to become ſubiects vnto King Edward. The towne of Barwike yeelded to King Edward on S. Margarets day, as Southwell hath.

Herevpon, when they had receyued their othes, Patricke Dunbar was commaunded by K. Edward, to builde vp agayne the Caſtel of Dunbar vppon his owne coſtes and charges, for that hee had throwne it downe, when he ſawe he was not able to defend it againſt the Engliſh power comming towards hym.

King Edwarde hauing thus accompliſhed hys

hys delyze, returned backe into Englande, leauing behynde hym wyth the Ballyoll, manye greate Lozdes of Englande (amongeſt whom as chiefe was Rycharde Talbot) that vlyng the aduice and councell of them hee might rule the Realme of Scotlande as ſhould be thought expedient.

Edwarde Ballyoll herebypon wente thorough all the boundes of Scotlande, placing garniſons of Engliſhmen in moſte part of all the ſtrengthes and caſtels of the realme, foz he had them al at his commandement, fiue of them onely excepted, whyche were kepte by ſuche Scottiſhmen, as woulde not renounce their allegiance pzomiſed to king Dauid.

Foz Dounbzyton was kepte by Malcolme Flemmyng of Cummirnalde: Lochlebyn by Alane of Uepount: The Caſtell of Kyldzummy by Chziſtine Bzuce: And Urquharte by Roberte Lawder: The pyle of Lowdoun, a ſtrong thyng of ſo ſmall a compaſſe, was in the keeping of one Johm Thomſon.

Theſe Capitaines would by no meanes neyther yeeld themſelues noz their foztreſſes to Edward Ballyol, but defend them to the vttezance foz the behoſe of their ſoueraine Lozd and maiſter king Dauid.

In the meane tyme, Philip king of Fraunce laboured to the Pope, that he might by his authozitie cauſe the Engliſhmen to ſurceaſſe from further bexing the Scottes, by their cruell inuaſions made into their countrey: But when the Popes ambaſſadours came aboute this matter into Englande, they were ſo little regarded, that they could not get licence to declare ẏ meſſage, ⁊ ſo were they glad to returne without doing any thing in the matter whereabout they were ſent.

Shoztlye after was a Parliamente called at Perthe, where Edwarde Ballyoll was confirmed Kyng of Scotlande, a greate number of the nobles pzomiſing there by ſolemne othes neuer to moue anye rebellion agaynſte him in tymes to come.

In the meane tyme roſe great altercation betwixt Henry Beaumont, and Alexander Mowbzaye foz certaine landes in Buchquhane: Henry Beaumount claymed thoſe lands by the right of his wyfe, that was daughter to the ſayd Alexander, but the Mowbzaye claymed them as heire to his bzother.

After long contention, Mowbzay hadde the landes adiudged to him by ſentence of the Ballyoll, by reaſon wherof, Dauid Cumyn Earle of Athole, and Richarde Talbot, fauouring the cauſe of Henry Beaumont, began to pzactiſe ſuche conſpiracies againſt the Ballyoll, that to auoyde further daunger, he was glad to repeale the fozmer ſentence by him gyuen on the behalfe of Alexander Mowbzaye, and by newe ſentence adiudged the landes vnto Henry Beaumounte, foz that (as was alledged) he had maryed the inheritour therof.

Thus thozoughe puiſſaunce of the parties, the truthe in decydyng of the Controuerſye, myghte not haue place, and alſo the Ballyoll conſtrayned to haue the one of them to hys enimyes.

Not long after this, Edward Ballyol came to Rainfrewe, and there receyuyng the people into his obeyſaunce, hadde the keyes of the caſtell of Rothſaye and Dunnone bzoughte vnto hym by ſir Alane Lyle Sheriffe of Bute.

The caſtels of Rothſay and Dunnone deliuered to the Ballyoll.

Thus didde the Ballyoll encreaſe in puiſſaunce by ſuche confluence of people, as daylye ſubmitted them ſelues vnto hym, and hee eurycbed them liberally wyth landes and gwdes ſtill as they came vnto him, therby to winne their gwd willes.

He ſoughte by all meanes poſſible to haue gotten Roberte Stewarde into hys handes, as the perſone whome hee knewe to haue moſte ryghte next vnto kyng Dauid to the Crowne of Scotlande: but thozough the dyligent foz-ſyghte of hys frendes: Thys Roberte Stewarde beeyng aboute the age of fyfteene yeares, was conueyed to the caſtell of Dunbzeton, where hee was ioyefully receyued by Malcolme Flemyng the Captais.

Robert Stewarde.

The Ballyoll beeyng ſoze offended, that ſuche Caſtelles as were kepte by his enimies, were ſo greate an impediemente to hys enterpziſes, by ſuccouring and relieuyng hys aduerſaryes to maynteyne warres agaynſt him, he got togyther an armye, and the nexte yeare layde ſiege vnto the Caſtell of Lochlebyn: But perceyuyng that thys Caſtell myghte not bee wonne without long ſiege, he appoynted Syz John Striuelyng to continue the ſiege wyth a greate power of menne, vntill the Caſtel were yelded.

Lochleuyn beſieged.

There were lefte alſo with him Michaell Hereot, Dauid Wemis, and Richarde Maleville, with diuers other. Theſe capiteines aduiſing the place and ſyte of the Caſtell, lodged themſelues within the Churcheyarde of Sainte Serfe, beſide Kinroſſe, makyng Baſtyles and other defenſes within the ſame, foz their moze ſafegarde.

Within the Caſtell were two valyant captaynes to defende it, the one named Alane Uepount, and James Lamby Citezins of Saint Andzowes.

Alane Vepont & Iames Lamby captains of Lochleuyn.

The enimies aſſayd al the meanes that might be deuiſed to haue wonne this caſtel, but al was in vayne.

At lengthe they deuiſed a ſubtill ſleight, wherby to compaſſe their intent on this wyſe:

A deuyſe to drowne the caſtell.

They wente aboute to damme vp the mouth of the ryuer where it iſſueth out of the Loche, wyth earth, trees, and ſtones, that the water beyng ſo kepte in, might ryſe to ſuch an heighte, that it ſhoulde ouerflowe the Caſtell, and ſo drowne all the people wythin it: and to cauſe the Loche to ſwell more ſpeedyly, they tourned the courſe of dyuers ryuers and brookes in the countrey thereaboutes, and broughte them into the ſame loche.

It chaunced at the ſame tyme, that ſir John Striuelyng capitayne of the ſiege, with a great parte of the armie, went vnto Donfermling for deuotion ſake, to viſite the ſhrine of Saint Margaret, ſometyme Queene of Scotlande.

Whereof Alane Uepount then capitayne of the Caſtell, hauyng vnderſtanding, about midnight prepared three boates, and takyng certayn ſouldiours with hym, rowed forth to the heade of the damme or water, and there with ſuch engines as he had deuyſed for the purpoſe, aſſayed to boare thorough and make a hole in the banke or rampier that kepte vp the water, which when they had brought to paſſe, they returned quickely agayne to the caſtell.

The water hauing once gotten an iſſue, within a whyle ware the hole ſo large, that entryng with more violence, it finally brake downe the banke, & ruſhed forth with ſuch an huge ſtream, that it bare downe all afore it, drowning vp the baſtils and tentes of them that lay at ſiege there, and carryed the ſame with men and all downe into the deepe ſea, they were ſo ſodenly taken, ere they could make any ſhift to eſcape.

The baſtiles and tentes of them that laye at ſiege drowned.

Alane Uepount, whē the water was fallen to the olde marke, iſſued forth of the caſtel, and ſetting vpon thoſe that had eſcaped the daunger of the water, ſlew part of them, and put the remnant to flyght.

John Striuelyng hearing the miſchiefe that had hapned to his folks, returned to the ſiege, and made a bowe neuer to departe from thence, til he had taken the caſtel, and ſlayn al them within it.

But yet after he had layne there a long tyme, and ſawe it was not poſſible to wynne that fortreſſe, he was conſtrayned to reyſe his ſiege, and to goe his wayes, after he had loſt therat no ſmal number of his people. This ſiege of Loche Leuyn chanced in the Lent ſeaſon in the yere. 1335.

1335.

In the yeare following, King Edward prepared an armie both by ſea and land to enter into Scotlande.

King Edward inuadeth Scotlande both by ſea and land.

He ſent by ſea. lxx. ſhips well and ſufficiently decked for the warres, to enter by the Forth: but by a ſore tempeſte many of thoſe veſſels periſhed betwixt Inchkieth and the north lande.

He himſelf hauing the Ballyol in his companie with fiftie thouſande menne, came by lande vnto Glaſgow, and perceiuing there was little for him to doe, for that no rebellion greatly anye where apeared, he returned back again into England with the Ballyol, and left Dauid Cumyn Erle of Athole gouernor in his rowmth to ſubdue the reſidue of the rebels, and to win thoſe ſtrengthes, which as yet were defended againſt him.

Dauid Cumyn erle of Athole gouernour for the Ballyol in Scotlande.

Dauid Cumyn lefte thus to be gouernoure in Scotlande, toke vpon him to rule in name both of the king of Englād, and alſo of the Ballyoll, and ſealed into his handes all thoſe landes in Murray and Buchquhane, whiche pertayned to Robert Stewarde, confiſcatyng all the gowdes of ſuche the inhabitauntes, as woulde not bee ſworne vnto him.

Incontinently wherbypon, Robert Stuarde aſſembled his frendes by the helpe of Dungall Campbell of Lochquhow, and ſodeinly toke the caſtell of Dunnone, ſleying all the Engliſhmen and other which were found therin.

The caſtell of Dunnone taken.



The

The commons of Bute and Arrayne glad of this prosperous beginning, assembled together to the number of .iij. hundred persons, and set forward, that they might come to support Robert Steward in suche his late begon enterprises: and being encountred by the waye by Alane Lyle sheriffe of Bute, they layd so lustily about them, that they slewe the sheriffe there in the field, and discomfited all his people.

Diuers of them taken prisoners, were brought away and presented vnto Robert Steward, who in recompence of this seruice, graunted sundrye priuiledges vnto the inhabitantes of Bute and Arrane: As among other things, to bee free from paying tribute for their corne and grayne.

Suche felicities succeedyng one an other, caused manye of the Scottes to ioyne themselues wyth Roberte Steward, in hope to recouer the Realme oute of the Englishmennes handes.

Amongest other, Thomas Bruce Earle of Carryke, and William Cantbere, with a number of the commons came vnto hym.

About the same tyme, the Earle of Murray returned forth of Fraunce, and landed at Dounbryton, where he was moste ioyfully receyued by the sayd Robert Steward.

Shortlye after the sayd, Steward and the sayde Earle, hauing with them a greate power of their frendes and allies, came into Clydesdale, Ranfrew, Kyle, Cuninghame, and Lyne, which together with Ros and Murray, they reduced to the obeysance of king Dauid. The Earle of Murraye also, to reuenge the iniuries done by the Earle of Athole, went vnto Abyrden, and there learning where hee soiourned, made thither with all speede: but the Earle of Athole vnderstanding howe all the countrey toke parte with his aduersaries, fled into the mountains, where hee sustayned his lyfe wyth hearbes and rootes for a tyme, and durste not come forth to shewe his head.

At length when he sawe no waye to escape, he came forth and in most humble wyse submitted himselfe to the lordes that defended the parte of king Dauid.

They receyuing him vppon his submission, sware him to be true vnto king Dauid, and exhortyng him to bee as diligente in reconcilyng the people vnto king Dauid, as he hadde ben afore to subdewe them to the obedience of the Ballyoll, they suffred him to departe.

Abonte the same tyme, sir Wylliam Douglas of Lyddysdale, and Andrewe Murraye were raunsomed home oute of Englande, for a great summe of monaye, after they had bene kepte there by the space of three yeares in captiuitie.

At theyr commyng to Edenburgh, they founde the Lordes assembled in Councell, at the whyche the Earle of Murray and Robert Steward, wyth generall voyces were elected gouernours. The Earle of Murray and Robert Steward elected gouernours.

Many Scottishemen at thys tyme reuolted from the Kyng of Englande, in submyttyng themselues to king Dauid, as Alexander Ramsay, a ryghte skylfull warryour, Laurence Preston, Iohn Herryng, and Iohn Halyburton knyghts, with diuers other.

Not long after, was an other Parlyamente called by the gouernours at Darle, to deuise for the ordering of things perteyning to the comion wealth: but for so muche as Dauid Cumyn Earle of Athole came thyther with a greater power than was thought expedient for suche an assemble, other mistrusting his meaning, grudged therat, and alledged howe they myghte not with suretie proceede in theyr doyngs, and so by that meanes the assemble brake vp for that tyme, withoute effect of that whereabout they were come.

Edwarde Kyng of Englande vnderstandyng the Rebellyon of the Scottes, determyned to assayle them bothe by sea and lande: and so prouydyng a Nauye of an hundreth and fourescore shyppes, sente the same well victualled and manned to sayle into the Forth, the whyche beeyng there arryued, brente and spoyled the townes on bothe sydes that ryuer, but returnyng backe into Englande, they losse many of their vessels by a tempest. Ye may reade more of thys matter in the historie of Englande. A nauie sente into Scotland. Shipwracke.

Kyng Edwarde hymselfe, together wyth Edwarde Ballyoll entred by lande, wyth an armye of fyftye thousande menne, leadyng the same vnto the towne of Perth, otherwyse called Sayncte Johns towne, and there lodged in Campe, abydyng for the comming of the Earle of Athole, who as then beeyng solicited thereto by the Kyng of Englandes agentes, was readye to tourne agayne incontinently to hys syde. King Edwarde inuadeth the Scots by land.

The same tyme whylest the kyng of Englande laye thus at Perth, the Earle of Namure (whome the Scottishe writers wrongly name the Duke of Gelderlande) came into Englande wyth an armye, and purposyng to passe thorough Scotland vnto the place where Kyng Edwarde laye in Campe, to come to hys ayde, was discomfyted on the Bourrowe Moore, beside Edynburghe, by the power of the Gouernoures, and others, whiche were there assembled agaynst him. Not the Duke of Gelderland, but the Erle of Namure, named Guy.

There died many on bothe partes in the fight (as Iohn Fourdon writeth) for the strangers fought right valiantly: in so muche, that if William Douglas with diuers other, had not come Iohn Fourdon

William Douglas commeth to the succour of the Scots.

downe from Pictlande hilles to the ayde of the Scottes, whylest they were thus fightyng, the strangers that day had wonne the victorie. But now discouraged with the sodayne comming of this freshe ayde to theyr aduersaries, they began to giue place, and drewe towardes Edenburgh, neuertheleſſe kepyng themselues in order of battayle, they fought still: and at length comming to Edenburgh, they were driuen vp thorough the Fryers streete, and so by an other streete, called Saint Marie Wynde, where one sir Dauid de Anand a right valiant knight chaunced to be wounded by one of the enimies, by reason wherof he was so kindled in wrathfull desire to be reuenged, that with an axe whiche he had in his hande, he raught his aduersarie (that had hurt him) suche a blow on the shoulder, that he cloue hym downe togither with his horse, that the axe stayed not till it light vpon the verie harde pauement, so as the print of that violēt stroke remained to be sene a long tyme after in one of the stones of the same pauement. The Strangers still retiring, and manfully defending themselues, at lengthe got to the hill where Edenburgh castell standeth, and there slew their horses, made as it were a rampier of their carcasses, so to defend thē selues from the force of their enemies: but being enuironed by the Scots on eche side all ỹ night, and hauing neither meate nor drinke wherwith to sustain their languishing bodies, the which beside hunger and thirst were sore tormented with cold also and wante of conuenient lodging, they yelded themselues the next day, with condition to haue their lyues saued. When the spoyl of ỹ field (where they first ioyned was gathered, amongst the dead bodies, there was found a woman of an huge stature, who in the begynning of the battayle, stept forth before hir companie, & encountring in singular fight with an esquire of Scotland named Richard Shaw, she ouerthrew him & afterwards beating down hir enimies oneche side, long it was ere she might be ouerthrowne, which chanced not before she was enuironed about on eche side with hir enimies.

Dauid de Anand, a Scottish knight.

A woman of manlyke force and stature.

The Erle of Namure hauing yelded himself into the handes of the gouernours, was tyght curteously vsed, the Erle of Murray not onely rendring vnto him all his goodes, but also granting him licēce to depart: and for his more suretie, he went himselfe in person with hym to the borders, to see hym safe deliuered oute of all daungers.

The Erle of Murray is taken prisoner.

But by an ambushe that laye in awayte for the Erle of Murray, he was taken prisoner, and brought to king Edward.

Dauid Cumyn Erle of Athole, hearing that the Erle of Murray one of the gouernours was thus taken, supposing king Edwards parte to be muche aduaunced thereby, came streightwayes vnto Perth, & gaue his faith ectsones vnto Edwarde Ballyoll, and was againe established by him gouernour of the realme of Scotland, as he was before. The king of England hauing in the meane tyme gotten the towne of Perth, returned into Englande, and toke the Ballyoll with him, for doubte least when he had recouered the whole gouernemente of the realme, he shoulde shrinke away from him.

The erle of Athole reuolting to the Ballyoll, is estsones established gouernour.

The king of England returneth home taking the Ballyoll with him.

The Earle of Athole is slain.

The Earle of Athole hauing now regayned his former authoritie, began to exercise greate crueltie againste all those that were enimies to the Ballyoll.

The nobles of the contrarye faction (as Patrike Dunbar Erle of Marche, Androwe Murray, and William Douglas with other) toke greate despite thereat, and reysing an armye to restrayne his insolente doings, came towardes him, whereof he being aduertised (as then lying at siege before the castell of Kyldrummy) rose and met them in the fieldes within the forrest of Kilblayn, where hee gaue them a sore battayle, and hadde gone away with the victorie, had not John Crag Captayne of Kildrummy sallyed forth of the castel with three hundred fresh men, and comming to the succour of his frendes, renewed the battaile in such earnest wise, that the aduersaries therby were discomfited, Earle Dauid their chiefetayne beeyng slayne in the fielde, with Walter Bryde, Robert Cumyn, and a greate number of other, bothe Gentlemen and commons.

Sir Thomas Cumyn was taken prysoner,



and beheaded the next day, being Newyeres day. For the battayle before mencioned, was fought the laste daye of December (as Fourdone noteth.) Who further sayeth, that the Earle of Athole had with hym three thousand menne agaynst his aduersaries, whyche were not passe xj. hundred.

Fourdon.

After that Dauid Cumyn Earle of Athole was slayn on this wise, Androw Murray was

chosen

chosen gouernour in place of the Erle of Murray taken (as before is sayde) by the Englishemen. This Androw Murray in the beginnyng of his new office, layd siege to the castel of Couper with a nyghtie power of men, but hearyng that the Cumyns made sowle worke in the north partes of the realme, against suche as fauoured not the Englishe parte, he left that siege, & went against them, with whom encountring in battayle, he ouerthrewe their armye, and put them all to flyght.

At this bickering were slaine two of the Cumyns, Roberte and Williams, Thomas Caldar, and diuers other valyant men, though enimies for the tyme vnto the gouernour.

This victorie reduced all the north partes of Scotland vnto the obeysance of king Dauid.

Few Englishmen after the same, abode within the north boundes of Scotlande, excepte those that were within the Castell of Dungarde in Buchquhane.

At lengthy this castel was wonne, and all that kepte it slayne, excepte Henry Beaumount the captayne, who being sworne neuer to returne againe into Scotlande, was licenced by the gouernour to depart into Englande without any interruption.

After this, the gouernor came to the castell of Lochindoris, and layde siege to it, where within was the Countesse of Athole, the wife of the late slayne Erle Dauid. The castell of Lochyndoris besieged.

This woman hauing knowledge afore hand, that hir house shoulde be besieged, had sente vnto the king of England, and to Edward Ballyoll for succours.

The king of Englande doubting least all the strengthes in Scotland kept by such as were his frendes woulde be lost without recouerie, if the same were not the sooner reskued, hee reysed an armie of fortie thousand men, and entryng therewith into Scotlande, came to the castell of Lochindoris afore sayde. The king of England commeth to rayse the siege of Lochindoris.

The Scots that lay there at siege vpon knowledge had of his comming towards them, brake vp, and departed from thence.

Herevpon, whē he had refreshed the hold with newe men, munition, and victuals, he toke the countesse forth with him, and passed with bloudye sworde thorough Murray, euen vnto Elghyne, and returnyng by Mar, brente the towne of Abyrdene. The towne of Abyrden brēt by the Englishmen.

His nauie being on the sea, the same time, entred into the Forth, and spoyling (as other had done afore tyme) the church of saynt Colme, felt reuenge thereof shortly after: for that shippe (as they tell the tale) wherin Saint Colmes godes (for so they call them) were laden, sonke to the bottome of the sea, without force of tempest, or other apparant occasion.

The king of Englande at his commyng to Perth, forth of the north partes of Scotlande, and finding the towne vnfortified, caused the same to be newly fensed with walles and bulwarks at the charges and only expēses of these. vi. abbeys, Abirbrothok, Couper, Lundoris, Balmerinoch, Dunfermlyn, and saynt Androws.

Henry Beaumount also, who contrarye to his othe before taken, was nowe returned with kyng Edwarde into Scotland, was made captaine of Saint Androws.

Also Henry Ferrar was made captaine of the castel of Lucres: Willia Mountagew of Striueling: Willia Felton of Roxburgh: and the keping of the towne of Perth, was committed vnto one Thomas Vthred.

Whilest king Edward ordred things in Scotlande after this manner, his brother surnamed by the Scottishe writers Helthan, came vnto

him at Perth, who in the Weſt partes of Scotland, had exerciſed much crueltie, aſwell againſt the enimies of the Engliſhmen, as againſt thoſe that were fauourers and friends vnto them, in ſo much, that paſſing thꝛough Galloway, Caryck, Kyle, and Cunyngham, he put al to the fire and ſwoꝛd that came in his wayes.

His crueltie.

He bꝛenned the Churche of Saint Bute, and a thouſand perſons within it, whiche were fledde thither foꝛ ſafegard of their liues.

At his comming to Perth, he found the king his bꝛother within the Churche there, who being ſoꝛe offended with him foꝛ his miſoꝛdꝛed doings, right ſharply repꝛoued him foꝛ the ſame, and foꝛ as muche as he aunſwered him ſomewhat fꝛowardly, he plucked fꝛoth hys ſwoꝛde: and there thꝛuſt him thꝛough the body euen befoꝛe the alter of Saint John, wiſhing that all ſuche might periſh on the ſame wiſe, as put no difference betwixt friend and foe, place hallowed oꝛ vnhalowed, as being no reaſon, that the Church ſhould be any moꝛe refuge foꝛ him, than he had made it foꝛ other.

King Edwarde ſleyeth his bꝛother Helam.

It may bee that Kyng Edward ſlewe ſome other man in thys ſoꝛte, as the Scottes here doe wꝛite, but foꝛ the Earle of Cornwall that was bꝛother to King Edward, ſurnamed John of Eltham bycauſe he was boꝛne at Eltham, it is nothing true that he was ſo made away, foꝛ hee dyed of a naturall infirmitie, as by our Engliſhe wꝛiters it manifeſtly appeareth. But nowe to pꝛoceede with the hiſtoꝛy as we finde it wꝛitten.

He dyed of a naturall infirmitie, as by our Engliſhe wꝛiters it appeareth.

Such things accompliſhed in Scotlande as befoꝛe ye haue heaꝛde, King Edward retourned into Englande, and lefte the Ballyoll behynde him with a great power of men at Perth.

King Edward returneth into England.

About the ſame time Henry Beaumont ſlew all ſuch Scottes as he might lay hands on, that had bin at the battell of Kylbleyn, where hys couſin Dauid Cunyn was ſlayne.

Moꝛeouer nowe, after that King Edwarde was returned into England, Andꝛow Murray came fꝛoth of the Mountaynes, into the which he was befoꝛe withdꝛawen to eſchew the fury of the Engliſhmen, and by the aſſiſtance of ſundꝛy of the nobles of Scotland, he wan the Caſtell of Kyncleuyn, and raſed it to the earth.

Andꝛow Murray commeth foꝛth of the mountaynes.

He winneth the caſtell of Kyncleuyn.

Shoꝛtly after, hee came into Mernes, and there tooke the Caſtell of Kylneſſe, and likewyſe raſed the ſame.

Then paſſing foꝛwarde hee bꝛenned Dunoter.



And on the other part, the Engliſhmen made no leſſe ſpoyle and deſtruction on each ſide where they came, ſo that the Mernes, Angus, Stermond, and Gowꝛy thꝛough reif, murder, and other diſgraces, chaunceing by continuall warre, were left in manner waſt and deſolate.

The calamitie chaunceing to ſundry countreys of Scotland thorough continual warres.

At length, this Andꝛow Murray aſſembling a great power, with ſuppoꝛt of them of Murray, Mar, and Buchquham, fought with his enimies at Panmoꝛ in Angus, where hee obtayned the victoꝛy with huge ſlaughter of Engliſhmen, and other his aduerſaries.

The victorie of Androwe Murray gotte at Panmore.

In this battell was ſlayne Henry Mountfoꝛt, who lately befoꝛe had bene ſente by Kyng Edward into Scotland to ſuppoꝛt the Ballyol, beſides foure thouſande others, the moſt parte gentlemen, ſo that this ouerthꝛowe was ryghte diſpleaſant to the King of England, hauing hys ſyde ſoꝛe weakened thereby.

Henry Mountfoꝛt ſlayne.

After the gayn of thys victoꝛy, Andꝛow Murray paſt thꝛough Fife and Angus, ouerthꝛowing the caſtell of Lucres, wyth all the other ſtrengthes of Fyfe, the Caſtell of Couper onely excepted.

The caſtell of Lucres ouerthrowne.

So

So that king Edwarde hearing of ſuch proſperous ſucceſſe chaunceing to his aduerſaries, ſent incontinently two captaynes with two armies into Scotlande, to the ſuppoꝛt of the Baliyoll.

William Tailbois a man of notable prowes hauing the conducte of the one of theſe armyes, was encountred by William Keith, and after the diſcomfiture of his people being taken priſoner, was kept in captiuitie til he payde two thouſand Markes foꝛ his raunſome.

The other was led by Richarde Mountfoꝛt, with whome Laurence Preſton & Robert Goꝛdon met, and gining him battaile, ſlue the ſame Richard with the moſt part of all his companie.

Richarde Mountfort or Montagew is ſlaine.

About the ſame time ſir William Mountagew Erle of Saliſburie, togither with the Erle of Arondall came into Scotland with a great power of men, & beſieged the caſtell of Dunbar, lying at the ſame foꝛ the ſpace of .xrij. weekes.

The Caſtell of Dunbar is beſieged by the Earles of Saliſburie and Arondall.



Within the whiche Caſtell was the Counteſſe hir ſelfe, ſurnamed black Agnes of Dunbar, who ſhewed ſuch manly defence, that no gayne was to be got any wayes foꝛth at hir handes, ſo that in the ende they were conſtrayned to rayſe theyr ſiege, and to depart without ſpeede of their purpoſe.

It is ſayde, that this Counteſſe vſed manye pleaſant woꝛdes in ieaſting and taunting at the enimies doings, thereby the moꝛe to encourage hir ſouldiers.

One day it chaunced that the Engliſhe men had deuiſed an engine called a Sow, vnder the pentiſe oꝛ couer wherof they might appꝛoch ſafely to the walles: ſhe beholding this engine, merily ſayde, that oneleſſe the Engliſh men kept their Sow the better, ſhe woulde make hir to caſt hir pigges.

In the yeare nexte after this ſiege, there was ſuch a dearth thꝛough all the boundes of Scotland, which ſuch moꝛtalitie of people, as a greater had not lightly beene ſeene noꝛ heard of. The cauſe of whiche moꝛtalitie pꝛoceeded (as was thought) foꝛ that the ground lay vntilled and not occupied, by reaſon of the continuall warres beꝛoze paſſed.

All the ſouldiers that kept the Caſtel of Cowper, foꝛ lacke of vytayles left the houſe voyde, and comming to the ſea ſide, hyꝛed a ſhippe to haue paſſed into Englande, but thꝛough negligence of the maiſter Mariner, they fell vpon a ſande bed, and ſo were caſt away.



About the ſame time the moſt part of all the ſtrengthes and foꝛtreſſes in Louthian were kept by Engliſh men.

The Caſtels of Louthian in the handes of the Engliſh men.

The towne of Edenbourgh was ſtuffed with a great number of ſouldiours, both Engliſh men and Scottes. Amongſt whom there was a Scot of a right ſtoute ſtomacke named Robert Pendergeſt: he, foꝛ that it was pꝛeceyued hee loued but little the Engliſh nation, was euill entreated and vſed amongeſt them, in ſomuch that one

day hauing his heade broken by the Marſhall named Thomas Knatoun, hee ceaſſed not to ſeeke ſome meane to be reuenged, tyll he brought his purpoſe to paſſe, ſo that ſhortly after he ſlue the ſayde Marſhall, and afterwarde to auoyde the daunger of death due for that fact, he got away, and came to William Dowglas, whome hee perſwaded with all diligence to paſſe vnto Edenbourgh, where he might finde his enimies at ſome greate aduauntage, by reaſon of the ſlouthfull negligence as then growne amongeſt them.

William Dowglas following this aduertiſement, came ſecretely on a night vnto the foreſayd towne, and ſlue foure hundred Engliſhmen ſnorting in ſleepe and dronkennelle, before they were able to make any reſiſtance.

The death of Andrew Murrey the gouernour.

Not long after, Andrew Murrey the gouernour of Scotland deceaſſed, to the great domage of the common wealth, and was buried in Roſmarky, in the yeare after the birth of our Sauiour 1338.

1338

It came well to paſſe for Scotland, that about the ſame time the king of England entring into warres againſt France, was conſtrayned to ceaſſe his purſute of the cõqueſt which he minded to make in Scotland, the which muſt needes haue come to full effecte, if he had followed hys former purpoſe and intent.

But to proceede, after the deceaſſe of Andrew Murrey the gouernour, Robert Stewarde toke all the charge on him for the gouernment of the Realme, till king Dauid returned home out of France, and began to rule all things himſelfe.

Tiuidall recouered out of the Engliſh mens handes by William Dowglas.

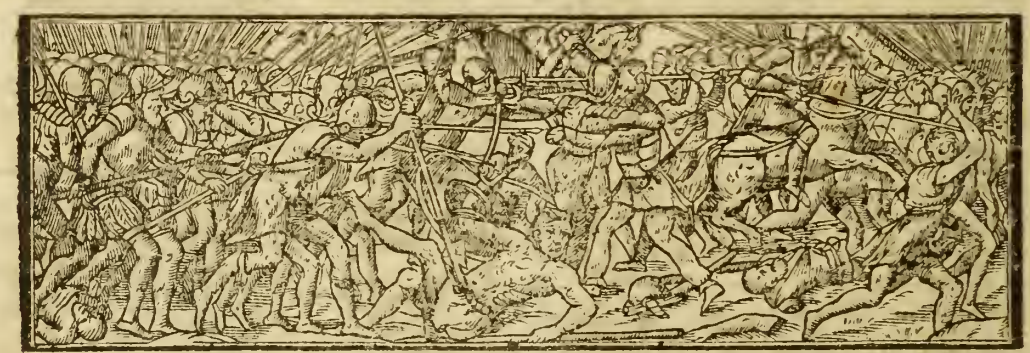
Tiuidall alſo was recouered out of the Engliſh mens handes, with diuerſe other places, about this time, by the high prowes and manly valiancie of William Dowglas and other Scottiſh Captaines: and therefore in the reward of the good ſeruice ſhewed by the ſame William in cõqueſt of that countrey, he enioyed the ſame afterward as his rightful inheritance.

Sir Thomas Berckclay.

The King of Englande moued with highe diſpleaſure at theſe doings, ſente a ryght valiaunt Knight named Sir Thomas Berckclay wyth a greate power of men into Scotland:.

The battail of Blackborne.

Againſt whome came William Dowglas, and Robert Stewarde the Gouernour, and gaue him battaile at Blackeborne, where the Scottes were diſcomfited and ſo beaten downe, that few of them eſcaped, whiche were not eyther ſlaine or taken. Notwithſtanding, the two Captaines ſaued themſelues by flight.



Sir Iohn Striueling diſcomfited.

And not long after, William Dowglas fought with his enimies at the Cragings, where hauing not paſt a. xl. men in his companie, hee diſcomfited ſir John Striueling, who had with him neare hande fiue hundred Engliſh men and Scottes, that toke his part in the king of Englandes quarell.

The Caſtell of Hermitage wonne.

In the yeare following, the ſame William Dowglas wanne the Caſtell of Hermitage, and ſlue all them that were found within it.

Sir Laurence Abernethy taken priſoner.

In the yeare next after, he fought fiue times in one day with ſir Laurence Abernethy, principall Captayne vnder the Ballyoll, and beeing put to the worſe at foure of thoſe tymes, at the fifth he vanquiſhed his enimyes, and toke priſoner theyr Captaine the ſayde ſir Laurence, who was ſent to the Caſtell of Dunbryton, there to remaine in ſafe keeping for a time.

For theſe and ſuch worthie enterpryſes hardely atchieued, thys William Dowglas was much commended, and within a fewe dayes after the taking of the ſayde ſir Laurence Abernethy, hee was ſente by the Gouernour the ſayde Robert Stewarde into Fraunce, as Ambaſſadour to King Dauid, for the diſpatche of certaine weightie matters touching the ſtate of the Realme.

Sir William Dowglas ſent into France.

1339

In the meane time, Robert Stewarde the gouernor raiſed a mightie armie, and came with the ſame vnto ẏ towne of Perth, planting a ſtrõg ſiege rounde aboute it: for deuiding his hoſt into four partes, he lodged them with their Captaines in foure ſeuerall places.

The towne of Perth beſeged.

The fyrſt conſiſting for the moſte parte of Weſterne Scottes, he gouerned himſelfe: the ſeconde he committed to Patrike Dunbar Erle of Marche: the thirde to William Earle of Roſſe: and the fourth, to Maurice of Mowbray Lorde of Clydeſdall.

There was alſo in that army beſide other noble men William Lord of Galleſton

Theſe lay thus at ſiege of this towne for the

ſpace

space of ten weekes, and though sundrie tymes they gaue alarmes and assaultes to it, yet was it so stoutly defended by Englishe men and other within, that the Scots for a long time lost more than they wanne.

At length when they were in maner out of all hope to get the towne, and readie to haue departed from it, William Dowglas arriued in the Tay, bringing with him out of Fraunce in fiue shippes, both men of warre, and also munition of armure, artillerie, and weapons, whiche serued the Scottish men in that season greatly to purpose.

Amongst other, there were two knightes of the family of Castelgaliard, and two Esquiers, Giles de la Hois, and John de Bryse: also a noble Pirate, named Hugh Handpile, who had the charge ouer the forelaude fiue shippes.

About the same time, one William Bullok had taken eftsones the Castell of Cowper to the king of Englandes vse, but by perswasion of this William Dowglas, he rendred it vp againe and departed with bagge and baggage.

Those Scots that had serued vnder him likewise, were contented to forsake the king of Englandes wages, and to serue William Dowglas, who led them forthwith to the siege of Perth, the which towne shortly after his cõming was rendred into the gouernors handes, by Thomas Vthred the Captaine, in the thirde moneth after it was first besieged, and in the yeare after our redemption. 1341.

Among other exployctes attempted at this siege after the comming of the Lorde William Dowglas, the French man Hugh Handpile, taking vpõ him one day to approch the towne with his shippes, & to giue an assault therto, he lost the chiefest vessell he had, although afterwards when the towne was now rendred, the Lord William Dowglas caused the same shippe to be to him againe restored, and with great thankes and liberall rewards giuen as well to him as to the other of the French men, he sent thẽ backe into France greatly to their pleasure and contentation, although in their returne, as they passed oute of Drumley Fyrth they escaped very hardly from the shore.

In which same yeare (as some do write) or according vnto other, in the yeare following, there was such a miserable dearth, both through England and Scotlande, that the people were driuen to eate the flesh of horses, dogges, cattes, and such like vnused kindes of meate, to sustaine their languishing liues withall, yea insomuch that (as is sayde) there was a Scottish man, an vplandishe fellow named Trysticlok, spared not to steale children, and to kil women, on whose flesh he fed, as if he had bene a Wolfe.

Dearth

Perth being once deliuered (as before is sayd) to the gouernour, hee went with his armye to Stryueling, and besieging the Castell, had it rendred vnto him, the. viij. daye after his comming thither, on these conditions, that Thomas Foulby the Captaine, with his wife and children might safely passe into Englãd, without fraud or guile of any empeachment. The Castell of Striueling rendred.

Alias Rugby.

Edward Ballyoll, by such good and prosperous successe, as did thus daily fall vnto his enimies, to auoyde further daunger, after oft remouing from place to place, at length hee was constrayned to flee into Englande, least hee should haue light into his aduersaries handes. Edward Ballyol withdraweth into Englande.

Not long after, the Castell of Edenbourgh was wonne by policie on this wise: William Dowglas hauing acquaintance with one Walter Towers, caused him to prouide a ship, and to arriue therewith in the Forth, feyning as though he were a Marchant, and to offer wines to sell vnto the garison that kept Edenbourgh Castell. The Castell of Edenbourgh wonne.

This Towers according to instructions thus giuen him, prouided him of all things necessarie for his purpose, and so comming into the Forth with his ship, came a lande himselfe, and brought with him vnto Edenbourgh two punchions of wine, which he offred to sell vnto the stewarde of housholde to the Captaine of the Castell, who falling at a price with him, appointed that hee should bring them early in the morning vp to the Castel, that they might be receyued in. A policie.

Towers hyring a Cart ouer night, came with the punchions vp to the Castell gate early vpon the breake of the day in the next morning, and hauing the gates opened, entred with his Cart, and being come within the gates with it, hee plucked forth a wedge or pynne deuised of purpose, and immediately therewith the Cart with the punchions fell downe, stopping so the entrie of the gates that in no wise they might bee shut or closed againe.

The Dowglas hauing in his cõpanie William Bullock, Walter Fraser, & John Sandlandes, right valiant knightes, with diuerse other hardie and bolde personages, lay in couert not farre off from the Castell, and hauing knowledge giuen him by sound of horne or otherwise whẽ to come forth, he hasted therevpon with all diligence vnto the gates, and finding them thus open, first slue the porters, and after into the Castell, within a while had dispatched all them within, and so became maisters of that fortresse, within the which for Captaine, they left one William Dowglas, the bastard brother of the other William Dowglas, by whose conduct chiefely, both this enterpryse and diuerse other were luckily atchieued. Bullok Knight

Thus was the Realme of Scotland clearely recouered out of the enimies handes, the Englishe

lish men and all other that toke part with the Balliol constrayned to auoyde out of all the partes and bounds thereof.

The Castell of Edenbourgh was thus recouered by the Scottes in the yeare last before remembred, to wit, 1341.

1341. H.B.

1342. Io.M. King Dauid returneth into Scotlande.

The same yeare, or in the yeare next ensuing, the second of June, King Dauid with his wyfe Queene Jane, and sundrie nobles both Frenche and Scottishe, came safelye through the Seas, and arryued at Innerbervy, from whence wyth no small tryumphe they were conueyed vnto Perth.

Alexander Ramsey roderh into Englande.

About the same tyme, Alexander Ramsey of Dalehouse, one of the moste valiant Captaynes knowne in those dayes, gathering a great power of men, entred into England, and hauing knowledge that the Englishe men were assembled, in purpose to giue him battaile, layde an ambushe for them, and trayning them within daunger thereof, by such a fierce and new onset as he gaue vpon them, he put them out of order, and chased them moste egrely, kylling and cleauing a great number of them at his pleasure.

This Ramsey was so renowmed, that euery noble man was glad to haue his sonne and kinsman to serue vnder him.

Amongest the prysoners that were taken, the Earle of Salysburie, as the Scottishe Hystorie sayeth, was one, and the Captaine of Rokesbourgh another.

The Earle of Salisburie taken afterwards in the borders of Picardie, as not here, afterwardes I haue noted.

Sir Alexander Ramsey perceyuing that the most part of the garrison of Rokesbourgh were eyther slain or taken in this last conflict, togither with their Captaine came hastily thither, and gyuing a right fierce assault thereto, by fine force toke it. Wherefore king Dauid in recompence

The Castell of Rokesbourgh wonne by Alexander Ramsey.



of his valiancie thus declared in his seruice, gaue vnto him the keeping of this Castell, togyther with the Shirifwike of Tiuidall. Wherat William Dowglas toke suche displeasure, that seking to be reuenged, he founde meanes to apprehend this Alexander Ramsey within the Church of Hawyke, and put him in prison within the castell of Hermitage, where he remayned in greate misserie and lacke of foode till he dyed.

Froissart.

Alexander Ramsey taken by William Dowglas, and emprisoned.

King Dauid was sore moued herewith, purposing to see such punishment done on William Dowglas for that rebellious attempt, as might serue for an ensample to all other how they went about any the lyke offence.

Neuertheless the Dowglas kept himselfe out of the way amongst the Mountaynes and other desart places, till finally Robert Steward and other Nobles purchased his pardon, so that at length he came into fauour again, and had al his landes and liuings restored vnto him, as well in Tyuidall as elsewhere.

1341

A Parliament at Perth.

The bountifous liberalitie of K. Dauid.

This Hugh was Grandfather to Hector Boetius.

The Earle of Salisburie exchanged for the Earle of Murrey.

Soone after the Earle of Salisburie taken by sir Alexander Ramsey (as before is sayd) was exchaunged for the Earle of Murrey, that had bene holden many yeares before as prisoner in Englande. But it shoulde appeare by other writers, that the Earle of Salisburie was not taken at that time on the borders of Scotlande, (as before is supposed) but in the borders of Fraunce, where he was in the warres which king Edwarde the same tyme made against the Frenchmen, and now exchaunged for the Earle of Murrey. But howsoeuer it was, king Dauid after the Realme of Scotlande was once brought into a quiet estate from the former trouble of warres, he called a Parliament at the towne of Perth, where he rewarded verye liberally all suche as had eyther done any notable seruice themselues, or had lost any of theyr friendes or parents in defence and recouerie of the Realme oute of his aduersaries handes.

Amongst other, Hugh Boece had in recompence of his fathers slaughter at Duplin the inheritour and Ladie of the Baronie of Balbride gyuen to him in mariage, which Baronie is yet possessed by the heyres of the sayde Hugh.

Shortly after vpon the breaking vp of thys Parliament, king Dauid raysed a mightie armie, and entred with the same into Northumberlande, but committing the whole charge to the Earle of Murrey as lieutenant Generall, he woulde not that any of his owne Barons should

King Dauid inuadeth Northumberland.

be

be ſpread and borne in all that voyage, in the which the moſt part of al Northumberland was burnt and ſpoiled, for they remained there a Moneth before they returned, conueying away with them great ryches whiche they got abrode in all places where they came.



Shortly after he came with a newe armie into Englande, cauſing his owne ſtandard to bee borne afore him at that time, as he that toke vpon him the whole gouernance of that enterpriſe himſelfe.

The Engliſhe men withdrawing all theyr goodes into ſtrengthes, mynded not to giue the Scottes any ſet battaile, but to take them euer at ſome aduauntage, if they ſtrayed abrode any where vnwarely to fetch in bootes.

Neyther were they altogyther diſappoynted of their hoped pray, for fiue Scottes knightes, whoſe names were Steward, Eglyntō, Cragy, Boyd, and Fullarton, purſuing their enimies one time ouer fiercely, were taken priſoners, and after redeemed for great ſummes of money.

At length king Dauid, perceyuing that hee waſted but tyme, returned into Scotlande.

But not long after he went againe into Englande, in which iourney his people were ſo beaten with behement ſtormes of rayne and hayle, that they had much adoe to ſaue themſelues from periſhing through the vnmeaſurable force of that ſo rigorous weather.

On the other ſide, the Engliſh men that were gathered to reſiſt agaynſt him, were in ſemblable maner neare handes deſtroyed with the lyke rage of tempeſt.

Hereupon King Dauid to the ende that his enterpriſe ſhoulde not ſeeme altogither to want effect, ouerthrewe ſundrie ſtrong houſes on the Engliſh borders, and ſo returned home without other domage eyther done or receyued.

About the ſame time did Edwarde King of England beſiege the towne of Calice: the French king therefore deuiſing all wayes poſſible whereby to ſaue that towne, and to cauſe his aduerſarie to reyſe hys ſiege, ſent Ambaſſadours into Scotlande, to require king Dauid, that with an army he would enter into Englande, and do what domage he might vnto the Engliſhe men, to trie if by that meanes king Edward could be conſtrayned to leaue his ſiege, and to returne home for defence of his owne Countrey and ſubiects. Ambaſſadours frō the French king into Scotlande.

In the meane time alſo (as I finde in the Scottiſhe Chronicles) king Edwarde addreſſed his Orators into Scotland, offring vnto K. Dauid, vpō condition that peace might be had, to deliuer into his hands not only the town of Barwik, but alſo Edwarde Ballyoll his olde aduerſarie, for whoſe cauſe the warre had ſo long continued betwixt them. Ambaſſadours from the king of England into Scotland. The king of Englands offers.

Theſe offers beeing proponed in counſaile, though ſome of the wiſer ſort gaue aduice that in no condition they ought to be refuſed, yet the king himſelfe (for loue that he had to the French king with whom he had bene brought vp) and other of the Nobles hauing yong heades, vppon deſire to be reuenged on the Engliſhe men by practiſe of warres (whereunto they were enclined) would be needes condiſcende to the French kings chargeable requeſt, and refuſe the king of Englands beneficiall offers. The Scots readie to help the French, and hinder their neighbours the Engliſh.

Whereupon an army was leuied, and ſolemne proclamation made that al ſuch as were able and meete to beare armour, ſhould meete the king at a certaine day and place which was to them in the ſame proclamation aſſigned. The Earle of Ros therefore came with his people vnto Perth, and there made his muſters before the king, but in the night following he ſlue the Lord of the Iles with ſeuen of his kinnſmen as they were in their beds, and An army rayſed to inuade Englande. The Lorde of the Iles ſlaine by the Earle of Ros.

and therevpon ſledde and got him with all ſpeede againe into Ros.

King Dauid though hee was ſore diſpleaſed herewith, and deſired moſt earneſtly to haue puniſhed that heynous act, yet bycauſe he woulde not hinder his iourney, he let paſſe the puniſhmẽt thereof, tyll more conuenient opportunitie might ſerue thereto.

William Dowglas created Earle of Dowglas.

At his comming to the borders, and before he entred into Englande, he made many knightes, to ſtyre them the rather to doe valiantly. But firſt hee created William Dowglas an Earle, which William was ſonne vnto Archembalde Dowglas, ſlaine before at Halydowne hill.

Ri. Southwell.

Two thouſand men of armes.

XX. thouſand Hoblers.

There was vndoubtedly a mightie power of the Scots aſſembled at that preſent, inſomuch as there was of Erles, Lords, Knights, & gentlemẽ, to the number of two M. men of armes, & of ſuch armed men as they called Hoblers, ſet forth by the Burrowes and good townes. xx. M. beſyde the Archers and other footemen, ſo that they were at the leaſt. xl. M. men in all, or as ſome writers affyrme. lx. thouſande. King Dauid wyth that his puiſſaunt armie, the ſixth of October entred Northumberlande, and comming to a fortreſſe not farre off from the borders called Lydell, they lay rounde about that place for the ſpace of three dayes, without giuing thereto any aſſault: but the fourth day they aſſayled it right fiercely, and in the ende entred by fine force, ſleaing the more part of all thoſe whiche they founde wythin the houſe. The Captaine ſir Walter Selby was taken aliue, but immediately by king Dauid his commaundement had his head ſtryken off, and was not permitted to haue ſo muche time as to make his confeſſion, which he inſtantly deſired to haue done, but it woulde not be graunted.

King Dauid inuadeth England.

The Fort of Lydell.

Sir Walter Selby beheaded by the Scottes.

From thence the army remoued, and went vnto the Abbey of Lauercoſt, which they ſpoiled, and that done they departed, and paſſing by Nawarde Caſtell, & the town of Redpeth, kept on tyll they came vnto ỹ Priorie of Herham, which they ſacked, but the Towne was ſaued from fire by commaundement of King Dauid, who in this iourney appointed to preſerue foure townes onely from burning, to witte, Herham afore ſayde, Corbridge, Darington, and Durham, to the ende he might in them lay vp ſuch ſtore of victuales, as he ſhould prouide abrode in the Countrey, wherewith to ſuſteyne his army during the time of his abyding in thoſe parties.

Lauercoſt.

From Herham, where he lay three dayes, he marched to Ebcheſter, waſting and ſpoyling the Countrey on eche hande, and after turned towardes the wood of Beaurepaire, and comming thyther, lodged himſelfe in the Manour, and ſet his people abrode into the Countrey to fetch in bootyes and to burne vp the townes and houſes in all places where they came.

King Dauid lodged in the Manour of Beaurepaire.

The ſpoyle, waſt, deſtruction, and ſlaughter which the Scottes practiſed with fire and ſworde, was wonderful to heare, and incredible almoſt to bee tolde, they ſpared neyther yong nor olde, Church nor Chappell: Religious houſes as wel as other were conſumed to Aſhes. The Abbay of Durham, and all places thereabout (as the Scottiſhe writers affyrme) were ſpoyled and miſerably ſacked, although it was ſayde King Dauid was admoniſhed in a dreame that hee ſhoulde in anye wyſe abſtayne from violating the goodes and landes pertayning to Sainct Cutbert.

The Abbey of Durham ſpoyled.

The Erle of Northumberland Lieutenant of the North vnder king Edward to reſiſt theſe iniuries, rayſed a great power of men, and ioyning the ſame with ſuch bands of old ſouldiers as king Edwarde had lately ſent ouer out of Fraunce for that purpoſe, firſt diſpatched an Heralde at armes vnto king Dauid, requyring him to ſtay from further inuading the Countrey, and to returne into Scotlande till ſome reaſonable order for a finall peace might be agreed vpon betwixt him and the king his maſter: otherwyſe he ſhould be ſure to haue battaile to the vtteraunce within three dayes after.

The Earle of Northumberland Lieutenant of the north.

A Heralde.

King Dauid contemning thys meſſage, requyred his folkes to make them readie to receyue theyr enimyes if they came to aſſayle them, and on the next morrowe, he deuided hys armie into three battayles: in the firſt was Robert Steward Prince of Scotlande, and Patrike Dunbar Earle of Marche: In the ſeconde were appoynted Iohn Earle of Murrey, and William Earle of Dowglas: In the thyrde was the King himſelfe, with all the reſidue of the Nobles.

The appoynting of the Scottiſh battayles.

In the morning early before the battayle, the Earle of Dowglas departed frõ the armie to deſerie the Engliſh hoſt, and to vnderſtande their force and order (if it were poſſible) but entring ſomewhat vnwarely within daunger of his enimies, he was chaſed, and that to ſuch diſaduantage, that he loſt fiftie or rather fiue hundred (as ſome bookes haue) of yong Gentlemen, and ſuch other light horſemen as he toke forth with him, eſcaping verie narowly himſelfe alſo from beyng taken at the chaſe.

The Earle of Dowglas chaſed.

In the meane ſeaſon, the Engliſh hoſt deuided likewyſe into three battayles, approched forwarde, and came wythin ſyght of the Scottiſh armie. Wherevppon Dauid Graham wyth a wing of fiue hundred well appoynted horſemen, gaue a full charge on the ſkyrtes of the Engliſh Archers, thinking to haue diſtreſſed them: but he was ſo charpely receyued and beaten with arrowes, that loſing a great number of hys men,

Dauid Graham driuen backe.

he

he was conſtrayned to flee backe to the maine battaile, and that not without great daunger of being taken in his flight by ſuche as followed him.



These two diſcomfitures notwithſtanding, the Scots ruſhed fiercely vpon their enimies, and fought with great manhode a long ſeaſon, but in the ende, Robert Stewarde and the Earle of March perceyuing their people partly to ſhrinke backe, cauſed the retreate to be ſounded, in hope to ſaue their men by withdrawing into ſome ſicker place: but this fleeing backe of the Earle of Marche and Robert Stewarde, brought the diſcomfiture vpon all the reſidue of the Scots, for that battaile of Engliſh men that was firſt matched with the, came now with ſuch violence vpon the maine battail where king Dauid fought, that within a ſhort while after, the ſame was vtterly diſcomfited and put to flight.

In this buſineſſe king Dauid himſelfe did in euery poynt play the part of a moſt valiant chiefetaine, encouraging hys people as well wyth words as notable examples to doe theyr deuoires.

Neyther woulde he flee after he ſawe himſelfe deſtitute of all conuenable ayde, but ſtil continued in earneſt fight, deſiring nothing ſo much (as ſhoulde appeare) as death, for that he thought nothing more diſpleaſaunt than lyfe, after the ſlaughter of ſo manye of his Nobles and liege people.

At length hauing his weapons ſtricken oute of his handes, one Iohn Coplande came vnto him, and wylled him to yeelde, but he with one of his fiſtes gaue this Coplande ſuche a blowe on the mouth, that by force of the Gauntlet he ſtrake out two of his teeth before hee did yeelde vnto him. Which Coplande is myſnamed by Iohn Maior, and not onely called Couptaunt, but alſo reported by him to be a Gaſcoigne, whereas it is euident by our Hyſtories, that hee was named Coplande and a mere Engliſh men.

But to our purpoſe. The Scottes that fought in the rereward had no better ſucceſſe than the other: for that battaile was alſo broken and put to flight, with great ſlaughter as well of the nobles as other commons, beſides thoſe that were taken.

There were ſlain in this doloroꝰ conflict, the Earle of Murrey, the Earle of Stratherne, the Conſtable, the Marſhal, the Chamberlaine and Chaunceloꝛ of Scotlande, with a great number of other nobles and commons. Nobles ſlaine in this battail.

There were taken with the king fiue Earles, that is to witte, Dowglas, Fife, Sutherlande, Wigtoun, and Menteith. Priſoners taken.

And beſydes other great ryches loſt in thys fielde, the holye Croſſe (as they call it) of holye Rode houſe, was founde vpon king Dauid, who bare it about him, in truſt that by vertue thereof he ſhould be inuincible: but he was ſpoyled both of that and al other his iewels which were found vpon him at the ſame time.

This battayle was ſtryken neare vnto Durham, the .xvij. day of October in the yeare 1346. What Countreys and places the Engliſhe men got after thys victoꝛie, ye may read in the Engliſh Hyſtoꝛie.

In the yeare following, the Ballyell, wyth the Earle of Northumberlande made a rode into Louthian, and Clyddeſdale, bringing a greate bootie of goodes and cattaile out of thoſe Countreyes into Galloway, in which Countrey the Ballyoll abode a long time after. The Ballyoll ſoiourneth in Galloway.

At length the Scots recouering thẽſelues with much paine, after the ſlaughter of ſo many of their

their nobles and commons, beſide the diſcomfort for the taking of their king, chose and appointed Robert Stewarde as gouernor to haue the rule of the realme.

Robert Steward gouernor of Scotlande.

About the same time William Dowglas the ſon of Archimbalde Dowglas, that was brother vnto good ſir James Dowglas, who (as before is sayde was slaine in Spaine) returned forth of France, and by ſupport of his friends chaſed the Engliſhe men out of Douglaſdale, Tiuydale, Twydale, Etrike Foreſt, and Twedale.

Countreys recouered out of the Engliſhe mens hands.

John Copland captain of Rokeſbourgh to reſiſt ſuch enterpriſes, gathered a number of men, & came forth againſt his enimies, but receyuing the ouerthrow, he was chaſed into Rokeſbourgh againe, with loſſe of diuerſe of his men.

John Copland chaſed.

1349

In the yeare next following, which was from the incarnation 1349. there came ſuch a peſtilence through al partes of Scotland, ſo vehement and contagious, that it ſlue neare hande the third part of all the people. This was the ſecond time that the peſtilence was knowne or heard of to haue come in Scotland.

The ſecounde peſtilence that was heard of in Scotland.

The ſame yeare (or as other bookes haue, the yeare next enſuing) one John Saint Mighell ſlue ſir Dauid Berclay knight at Aberdene in the night ſeaſon, by procurement of ſir William Dowglas of Liddeſdale, as the priſoner in Englande with the Earle of Dowglas, both of them beeyng taken at Durham fielde.

Sir Dauid Berclay ſlaine.

The occaſion was, for that this ſir Dauid Berclay had afortime ſlaine one John Dowglas, brother to the ſayd ſir William, and father to ſir James Dowglas of Dalkeeth.

1353. Io. Ma.

In the yeare folowing, was the ſame ſir William Dowglas, being lately before ranſomed out of England, ſlain, as he was a hunting in Etrik Foreſt, by his couſin and godſon William Erle of Dowglas, in reuenge of the ſlaughter of Alexander Ramſey, and other olde grudges.

Sir William Dowglas ſlain.

Thus was the houſe of the Dowglaſſes deuided amongſt themſelues, purſuing eche other many yeares togither with great vnkindneſſe, vnnaturall enmitie and ſlaughter. 1354

In the yeare next following, which was 1355 ſhortly after Eaſter, there arriued in Scotland a noble knight named ſir Eugenie de Garenteris, with a companie of Frenchmen, though fewe in number, yet valiant and right ſkilfull warriours, which were ſent thither by John king of France, that ſucceeded his father king Philip of Valoys, lately before deceaſſed, and deliuered vnto the gouernor and other Nobles of the realme of Scotlande, forty thouſand Crownes of the Sunne, to be employed aboute the leuying of an armye againſt the Engliſh men, that they might be conſtrayned the ſooner to withdrawe theyr powers out of France. 1355

Sir Eugeny de Garenteris French men arriued in Scotland.

Forty thouſand crownes

This money was receyued, though a ſmall part thereof came to the handes of the Souldiers or men of warre of Scotland, for the Lordes and nobles kept it ſafe ynough to their owne vſe. Yet neuertheleſſe, the Earle of March, and William Dowglas gather their people, & paſſe forth with the ſame to the borders, and entring into Englande, appoynt William Ramſey of the Dale-houſy, to ride afore with a number of light horſemen, to the ende, that if the Engliſh men did aſſemble and come forth too ſtrong againſt him, hee might retyre backe to the mayne battayle, where they lay in couert at a place called Nyſbet Moze.

The Earle of March and William Dowglas entereth to Englande with an armye.

William Ramſey of the Dalehouſy.

This Ramſey doing as he was commaunded, made a great forrey through the Countrey, and hauing got togyther a greate bootie of Cattaile, withdrew with the ſame homewardes: but being ſharpely purſued by the Engliſhe men in hope to recouer theyr gwdes, he fledde amayne,



and

and they following egrelye in the chaſe were vpon the Scottiſh army before they were ware.

The Scottiſhe men, and thoſe fewe Frenche men that were there, ſette vppon the Engliſhe men right fiercelye, and finallye putte them to flight, though not without ſome ſlaughter on theyr part: for there were ſlaine of Scottes ſir John Holyburton, and ſir James Turnebull knightes.

There were taken priſoners of Engliſh men, ſir Thomas Gray, and his ſonne, with John Darras, and many other Engliſh men. Priſoners taken.

The Erles of March and Dowglas, after the obteyning of this victorie, came ſodenly in the night ſeaſon vnto the towne of Barwike, and rayſing vp Ladders to the walles wanne the towne, but not without loſſe of diuerſe Scottiſhe gentlemen, as Thomas Claus, Andrew Scot of Balwery, John Gordon, William Synclare, Tho. Preſton, & Alexander Mowbray knights. Barwike wonne.



Of Engliſh men were ſlaine Alexander Dygyll Captaine of the towne, Thomas Percye, brother to the Earle of Northumberlande, and Edward Gray, with other.

Eugeny de Garenteris with his French men did right valiauntly beare himſelfe in this enterpriſe, whome Robert Stewarde the gouernour rewarding with great gyftes, ſent backe into Fraunce, commending him by letters vnto the French king, as he that had done his duetie in euery behalfe right throughly.

The Caſtell of Barwike notwithſtanding that the towne was thus wonne, helde forth the Scots and French men, by reaſon whereof when an armye of Engliſhe men came to the ſuccours thereof, they razed the walles, and burnt the houſes of the towne, and ſo departed.

King Edwarde himſelfe comming to the reſcue, when he ſawe the towne thus defaced, hee toke order for the repayring thereof againe, went to Roxbourgh, and there receyued of the Ballyol a full reſignation of all his pretenced right to the crowne of Scotlande, and after paſſing forth to Hadington, ſpoyled and waſted the Countrey by the waye on eche hande as hee marched forwarde: and for diſpleaſure that his Nauie on the Sea (after the ſouldiers and mariners had beene a lande and burnt a Church of our Ladie in thoſe parties called Whitekyrke) had with force of a rygorous tempeſt beene ſore ſhaken, and manye of the Shippes loſt and drowned togyther with men and all, he fell into ſuch a rage, that he cauſed all the buyldings in thoſe partyes to be burnt and ſpoyled, as well Abbeys as all other Churches and Religious houſes, as though hee mynded (ſay the Scottiſhe writers) to make warre both agaynſt God and all his Saints.

These things chaunced in the yeare. 1355. after our common account, about the feaſt of the Purification of our Ladie, and by reaſon that the Engliſh men did ſo muche hurt at that tyme in thoſe parties by fyre, it was cleped euer after the burnt Candlemaſſe. 1355. The burnt Candlemaſſe.

Shortly after that King Edwarde was returned into Englande, William Dowglas of Middeldale recouered out of the Engliſhe mens poſſeſſion the landes of Galloway, and the landes of Dryſdale, were in ſemblable maner recouered by one Kyrkpatrike. Galloway recouered.

The ſame yeare on the. xx. day of Octobre, was the battaile of Poyctiers fought, where Edwarde Prince of Wales, otherwiſe named the blacke Prince, ouerthrew the armie of Fraunce, and toke king John priſoner, with his yongeſt ſonne Philip, and a great number of other of the French Nobilitie beſide. The battaile of Poyctiers. The French king Iohn taken priſoner.

There was at this battaile with king John, the Erle William Dowglas, and to the number

of three thouſand Scots, hauing diuerſe knights and Gentlemen to their Captaynes, of whome there dyed in the ſame battayle Androwe Stewarde, Robert Cozdon, Androwe Holyburton, and Androw Vaus, knightes.

Archimbalde Dowglas taken priſoner.

The Erle of Dowglas eſcaped with life and vntaken, but Archimbald Dowglas, ſonne to ſir James Dowglas ſlaine in Spaine, was taken priſoner, albeit his taker ſuffred him to depart for a ſmal raunſom, by reaſon ỹ William Ramſey of Colluthy, who was alſo taken with him, made ſemblant as though the ſame Archimbald Dowglas had beene ſome poze ſlaue, cauſing hym to pull off his bootes, and to do other ſuch drudging ſeruice, as fell not for the eſtate of a man of any eſtimation or honeſtie, to the ende it ſhoulde not be knowne what he was.

A ſubtile policie.

Two kings priſoners in England at one time.

Thus the King of Englande at one tyme hauing two Kings vnder his captiuitie, ſatte crowned betwixt them at meate in the feaſt of Chriſtmaſſe, making (as the vſe is amongeſt the Engliſhe menne in that ſeaſon) a greate banket.

And this hee did (as is repozted) to the intent that the maner thereof might be vzged abzode to his high prayſe and glozious fame.

King Dauid within certaine yeares after was conueyed by the Earle of Mozthamton vnto Barwike, where the moſt part of all the Nobles of Scotlande aſſembled togyther to conſult with him touching ſome agreement to bee had for hys raunſome, but byeauſe they coulde growe to no certayne poynte therein, hee was brought backe agayne to London, and there remayned in priſon as before.

Roger Kyrkpatrike ſlaine.

In the meane time Roger Kirkpatrike was ſlaine by James Lyndſey, in a Caſtell where the ſayde James dwelled, and receyued the ſaid Roger as his gueſt.

This Lyndſey fledde vpon the acte committed, but yet being apprehended and brought to the gouernour Robert Stewarde, he ſuffred death for that offence.

Shortly after, that is to witte at Michaelmaſſe nexte enſuyng, after King Dauid hadde beene at Barwike, there was an agreemente made for his raunſome, whereuppon being deliuered, hee returned into Scotlande, in the eleuenth yeare after hys taking at Durham fielde.

King Dauid is deliuered.

It was agreed that there ſhoulde be payde for his raunſom one hundzed thouſand Markes ſterling, at ſundzie dayes of payment, as was accozded betwixt them.

Truce for. 14. yeares.

Truce alſo was taken for the ſpace of. xiiij. yeares betwixt both Realmes, and diuerſe Nobles of Scotlande were appoynted to lye as Hoſtages in Englande, tyll the money were payde, as is before mentioned. King Dauid was alſo bounde by couenaunt of agreement to raze certayne Caſtelles within Scotlande, whiche ſeemed moſte noyſome to the Engliſhe Borders, whiche couenaunt hee performed, for vpon hys returne into Scotlande, hee caſt downe the Caſtelles of Dalſwynton, Dunfreys, Moztowne, and Durydere.

Caſtels raſed.

He alſo called a Parliament, wherin he enacted ſundzie things for the puniſhment of them that fled from him at Durham fielde, and firſt for that hys couſin Robert Stewarde was one of them, beeing through meanes thereof a greate cauſe of the ouerthzowe, he procured that the act (by whiche the crowne was appoynted for want of iſſue of his bodie lawfully begotten, to deſcende vnto the ſayde Robert Steward was vtterly renoked and diſanulled, and John Sutherlande the ſonne of Jane his yongeſt ſiſter, appoynted heire apparant in place of the ſayde Robert. And all the Lordes of Scotlande were ſwozne to obſerue and keepe this ozdinance.

A Parliament.

Robert Stewarde diſinherited of the crowne.

Iohn Sutherlande made heyre apparant.

The Earle of Sutherlande, father to the ſayde John, in hope that his ſonne ſhoulde enioy the Crowne, gaue away the moſt part of his landes, deuiding the ſame amongeſt his friendes, as to the Hayes, the Sinclares, the Ogylbies, and Gozdones: But hee was neuertheleſſe deceyued of his hope, for ſhortly after his ſonne beeing one of them that was giuen in pledge to remaine in England, till the money for the kings raunſome was payde, dyed there of the Peſtilence, in ſuche ſozte as the moſte part of the other pledges likewiſe did.

The death of Iohn Sutherlande.

And ſhortlye after his deceaſſe, Robert Stewarde was reconciled to the Kings fauour, and ozdeyned heyre apparaunt to the crowne in ſemblable maner as he was before.

Robert Stewarde againe ordeined heire apparant.

The Cleargie of Scotlande condiſcended to giue the tenth pennie of all theyr fruites and reuenues towardes the payment of the Kinges raunſome.

The contribution of the Cleargie.

Not long after, King Dauid called an other Councell, wherein accozding to hys promyſe made to the King of Englande before hys deliuerance, he moued the Lozdes and Barons of Scotlande in a matter whereof hee wyſhed not to haue of them anye towardlye aunſwere, and that was thys: Whether they coulde bee contented, that after his deceaſſe, the crowne of Scotlande ſhoulde bee tranſferred vnto the King of Englandes ſonne, and to hys lawfull heyres.

A demaunde propoſed to the Lordes of Scotland.

The Lozdes hearing what was propoſed vnto them, aunſwered wythoute anye long ſtudie, that ſo long as anye of them were able to beare armour or weapon, they would neuer conſent thereto.

They refuſe.

King

King Dauid right ioyfull to heare them at this poynt, thought himſelfe diſcharged, for that he was not bounde to labour further in this ſuite, becauſe his promiſe made to the King of England touching this poynt, onely was, that if the Scottiſh Lordes would agree, then he ſhould entaile the crowne to his ſonne.

In the yeare next following which was from the Incarnation 1357. Queene Jane the wife of king Dauid went into Englande to ſee hir brother king Edwarde, and died there before ſhe returned, leauing no iſſue behinde hir.

King Dauid after hir deceaſſe maryed a yong luſtie Gentlewoman named Margaret Logy, daughter to ſir John Logy Knight, but wythin three Monethes after, hee repented him for that hee had matched himſelfe wyth one of ſo meane Parentage, to the diſparagement of his bloud.

And herevpon he baniſhed both hir and all other that had counſelled him to mary hir, confining them for euer out of all the parties of his dominions.

Shee hirſelfe went vnto Auignon, where as then the Pope wyth his conſiſtorie remained, and entring hir plaint there in the Court, followed the ſame with ſuch diligence, that in the ende ſentence was giuen on hir ſyde, that is to witte, that King Dauid ſhoulde receyue hir againe into his companie, and to accept and vſe hir as his iuſt and lawfull wyfe.

Thus ſhoulde the Realme of Scotlande haue runne in trouble and daunger of interdiction, had ſhe not departed out of this life by the way in returning homewardes.

King Dauid in the meane time repayred ſundrie places and ſtrengthes of his realme, and buylt a tower in Edenbourgh Caſtell, bearing the name after hym vnto thys day, called Dauids Tower.

After this, appeaſing certaine Rebelles that ſought to trouble the quiet ſtate of the Realme, he purpoſed to haue gone to Jeruſalem, but hauing prouided all thyngs neceſſarie for ſuche a iourney, he fell ſicke of a burning feuer, and died wythin the Caſtell of Edenbourgh, in the xxxix. yeare of hys raigne, and. xlvij. of hys age. Which was from the incarnation. 1370. The death of king Dauid.

1370

His bodie lyeth in holy Rode houſe, where it was buryed in the yeare aforeſayde.

Sundrie marueylous thyngs were ſeene in the dayes of this king Dauid within the bounds of Albion. Straunge wonders.

In the. xlj yeare of his raigne, Crowes, Rauens, and Pyes, in the Winter ſeaſon brought forth theyr brode, and ceaſſed in the Sommer and Spring tyme, contrarie to theyr kynde.

All the Ewes in the countrey the ſame yeare were barren and brought no lambes. Ewes barren.

There was ſuch plentie of Myce and Ratte both in houſes and abrode in the fieldes, that they might not be deſtroyed.

In the. xxvij. yeare of hys raigne the Riuers and other waters roſe on ſuche heigth throughe aboundaunce of rayne that fell in the latter ende of Harueſt, that breaking forth of theyr common Chanelles, wyth theyr violent ſtreame manye houſes and townes were borne downe and deſtroyed. Great rayne.

About thys tyme lyued diuerſe notable Clerkes, as John Duns of the order of Saint Francis, Richard Middleton, and William Ocham, with other. Iohn Duns.

King Dauid being thus deade and buryed, the Nobles aſſembled at Lythquo aboute the election of hym that ſhoulde ſucceede in hys place. The aſſemble of the Lordes for the election of a new king.



The greater part of the Nobilitie, and ſuche as were of the ſounder iudgement, agreeed vpon Robert Stewarde, but William Erle of Dowglas being come thither with a great power, claimed to be preferred by right of Edwarde Ballyoll and the Cumyn, which right he pretended to haue receyued of them both, and there ought to be no doubt (as he alledged) but that the crowne appertcined by iuſt title vnto them, as all the worlde knewe, and therfore ſithy he had both their rightes, he mainteyned that he was true and indubitate inheritour to the crowne.

William Erle of Dowglas claymeth the crowne.

It appeared that the ſayde Earle Dowglas purpoſed to vſurpe the Crowne by force, if hee might not haue it by friendly and quiet meanes: But neuertheleſſe he was diſappointed of his purpoſe, by reaſon that George Earle of March, and John Dunbar Earle of Murrey, with the Lorde Erſkyne and others (of whoſe friendly furtherance hee thought himſelfe aſſured) gaue theyr voyces with the Stewarde, aſſyſting his ſide to their vttermoſt powers.

The Dowglas perceyuing hereby that hee ſhould not be able to mainteyne his quarel, reſigned thereupon his pretenſed title, which in effect was of no importãce, nor worthy the diſcuſſing.

He reſigneth his right to the Stewarde.

Robert.



Robert Stewarde is crowned king of Scotlande.

THen was Rob. Stewarde conueyed vnto Scone, and there crowned wt great ſolemnitie, and was called Robert the ſecõd. This came to paſſe in the .xlviij. yeare of his age, on our Ladye daye in Lent, called the Annuntiation.

Moreouer that the fyrmer amitie and friendſhip might continue and bee nouriſhed betwixt this King Robert and his ſubiect the Earle of Dowglas afore ſayde, it was accorded that Eufame eldeſt daughter to king Robert ſhould be giuen in maryage to James ſonne to the Earle of Dowglas afore ſayde.

The firſt comming of the Stewardes to the Crowne.

Thus ye may perceyue how the Stewardes came to the crown, whoſe ſucceſſion haue enioyed the ſame vnto our time. Queene Mary mother to Charles James that now raigneth being the viij. perſon from this Robert, that thus firſt atteyned vnto it.

He had to wife at the time of his atteyning to the crowne, Eufame daughter to ỹ Erle of Ros, by whõ he had two ſonnes, Walter and Dauid. But before he was maried to hir, he kept one Elizabeth Mure in place of his wife, and had by hir three ſonnes, John, Robert, and Alexander, with diuerſe daughters, of the which one was maried to John Dunbar Erle of Murrey, and an other to John Leon Lord of Glames.

Elizabeth Mure king Roberts concubine.

The Erledome of Murrey continued in poſſeſſion of the Dunbars onely during the lyfe of this Erle John and his ſonne, in whom the ſucceſſion failed touching the name of the Dunbars, in the inioying of that Erledome: for leauing a daughter behinde him that was maryed to the Dowglas, the ſame Dowglas came by that meanes to the ſayd Erledome of Murrey.

How the Dowglaſſes came the Erledome of Murrey.

King Robert after his coronation made ſundrie Erles, Lordes, Barons and Knightes. Amongſt other James Lindſey of Glenneſk was made Erle of Crawford.

Eufame the Queene deceaſſed.

His wife Queene Eufame deceaſſed the third yeare after hir huſband atteyned the crowne, and then incontinently hee maryed Elizabeth Mure his olde lemman, to the ende that the children which he had by hir might be made legitimate by vertue of the matrimonie ſubſequent.

Elizabeth Mure maried to K. Robert.

The preferment of the kings ſonnes to dignitie.

Not long after by authoritie of a Parliament aſſembled, he made his eldeſt ſonne John, begotten on Elizabeth Mure afore ſayde, Erle of Carrik: his ſecond ſonne begotte on hir Erle of Menteith and Fife: and his third ſonne Alexander begotten likewiſe on the ſame mother, he created Earle of Buchquhane, and Lorde of Badzenocht.

Hys eldeſt ſonne Walter, begotten on Eufame his fyrſt wyfe, was made Earle of Atholl, and Lorde of Brechin: his ſeconde ſonne Dauid, begotten on the ſame Eufame, was made Earle of Stratherne.

The ſayde Walter procured the ſlaughter of James the firſt, for that hee pretended a right to the crowne, as after ſhall appeare.

An Act for ſucceſſion of the Crowne.

Shortly after, he called another Parliament at Perth, where it was ordeyned, that after the death of King Robert, the crowne ſhould diſcend vnto John his eldeſt ſonne, and to his iſſue male, and for default thereof vnto Robert his ſeconde ſonne, and to his heyres male, and for default of ſuch heyres, to Alexander his thirde ſonne, and to his heyres male. And in default of them, to remayne to his ſonne Walter, begotten on Eufame his wife, and to the heyres male of his body begotten: and if ſuche ſucceſſion fayled, then it ſhoulde diſcende vnto his yongeſt ſonne Dauid the Erle of Stratherne, and to his heyres generall eyther male or female, and all the Nobles of the Realme were ſworne to perfourme this newe ordinance touching the ſucceſſion to the Crowne, and that in moſt ſolemne maner.

The borderers deſirous of warre.

About this time, the borderers which are men euer deſirous of warres and trouble, to the ende they may apply their Market, wherby they moſt chiefely liue, that is to witte, reiſe and ſpoyle of their

their neighbours goodes, through enuie of long peace and quietneſſe, vpon a quarell pyked, ſlue certaine of the houſholde ſeruauntes of George Earle of Dunbar at the Fayre of Roxbourgh, which as then the Engliſh men holde.

Earle George ſore offended herewith, ſent an Heralde vnto the Earle of Northumberlande Warden of the Engliſhe Marches, requyring that ſuche as had committed the ſlaughter might bee deliuered to receyue according to that they had deſerued: But when hee couldo get nought but dilatorie anſweres, full of deriſion rather than importing any true meaning, he paſſed ouer his diſpleaſure tyll more opportunitie of tyme might ſerue.

In the yeare following agaynſte the nexte Fayre to be holden at Roxbourgh aforeſayde, the ſayd Erle of March, with his brother the Erle of Murrey gathered a power of men ſecretely togither, and cõming to the ſayd towne toke it, ſlue all the Engliſh men founde within it, put theyr goodes to the ſack, and after ſet the towne on fire, and ſo departed.



Hereupon the Engliſh men hotly after enter with an armie into Scotlande, burning & doing much hurt vpon the landes of ſir John Gordon, for that they ioyned to the Erle of Marches lãds.

Sir John Gordoun right deſirous to reuenge this iniurie, came into Englande with an armie, and getting togither a great bootie of Cattell, returned therwith homewardes, but being encountred by the way at a place called Carran or Carram, by John Lilborne and other Engliſh men, there was a ſore fight betwixt them, the victorie for a time ſhewing it ſelfe ſo variable and vncertaine, that ſir John Gordon was ſore wounded, and the Scottes were fiue tymes that day had in chaſe, and as often got the like aduantage of their enimies.

In the ende the Engliſhe men were clearely diſcomfited, and theyr Captayne ſir John Lylborne, with his brother & diuerſe other brought priſoners into Scotlande.

To reuenge theſe diſpleaſures, Henrie Percie Erle of Northumberlande, entred into Scotlande with ſeuen thouſande men; and comming vnto Duns, there pyched downe his tents, but in the night following came the Herdes and other people of the countrey, hauing prepared certayne bagges made and ſowed togither of drie leather like to Bladders, into the whiche they had put ſmall pebble ſtones, and running vp and downe about the place where the Engliſh men were incamped, made ſuche a noyſe with thoſe bagges full of ſtones, that the Engliſhe mens Horſes breaking theyr Halters and Bridles, wherewith they were tyed, ranne from theyr maiſters and keepers, and were ſcattered ſo abrode in the countrey, that the Scottiſhe men got holde of them, and ſo in the morning the Engliſh men that had watched al night, for doubt to haue beene aſſayled by theyr enimies, perceyuing themſelues ſet on foote, returned home without any further attempt.

Henrie Percie Erle of Northumberland.

A policie to affright horſes.

In the meane time, Thomas Muſgraue captaine of Barwike comming to the ſuccors of the Earle of Northumberlande, chaunced to meete with ſir John Gordon vpon the way, by whome he was take, & led into Scotland as his priſoner.

Thomas Muſgraue captaine of Barwike taken priſoner.

Neyther had the Scottes the better thus only on the Eaſt Marches, but alſo on the Weſt, where ſir John Johnſtoun had ſundrie ſkyrmiſhes with the Engliſh men, and went euer away with the vpper hande.

About this time, Pope Gregorie the xj. ſent a Legate from Auignion to king Robert, forbidding him in any wiſe to meddle with the goodes perteining to the Church after the deceaſſe of any Biſhop, perſon, or vicar.

A Legate from the Pope.

On the .xxij. day of October, in the yere .1278. Dauid Stewarde was borne, which afterwards was made Duke of Rothſay, and on Saint Andrewes day next following, the towne of Barwike was taken by ſir John Gordon and .vj. or .vij. other knightes, but it was not long kept; for a number of Engliſh men entring by a poſterne of the Caſtell, recouered the towne eaſily againe out of the Scottiſh mens handes.

1278

Barwike taken by Scottes.

Recouered againe out of their handes.

After this, William Erle of Dowglas came with .xx. thouſande men to the Fayre of Pennire within England, and ſpoyled all the goods found as then in the ſame Fayre, and ſo returned with great ryches into Scotlande: but the Scottiſhe men ſmally reioyſed at this gaynes, for with ſuch cloth & other wares as they brought away with them from the foreſayde Fayre, they brought into the Countrey ſuche a violent and ſore peſtilence, that the thirde part of all the people where it came dyed therof.

1280

The Fayre of Pennyre.

The thirde time that the peſtilẽce came in to Scotland.

This was the third time that the peſtilence was

knowne to haue don any great hurt in Scotlãd, being in the yeare after the incarnation. 1380.

1380

The Englishmen inuade the Scottish borders.

The Englishmen to reuenge the displeasure done by the Earle of Dowglas at Pennyie, rayséd a great army, and came with the same ouer Sulway, & inuading ỳ Scottish borders on that side most cruelly, spared neither fire nor sworde.

In the meane time, the Scots gathered to the number of fiue. C. men, and stood at a streyt, tyll the English men should come to passe by them, & then with such huge noyse and clamor they set on the Englishmen, that in giuing backe there was foure. C. of them slaine, & a great number of the residue for haste drowned in the water of Sul-

Englishmen slaine and drowned.



way, and hereby was all the bootie of cattaile and goodes recouered againe by the Scottes, and the most part of it restored to the owners.

Ambassadours frõ the French king.

Charles the first as then French king, hearing of suche prosperous aduentures dayly chaunsing to the Scottes, sent ouer his Ambassadours vnto king Robert, exhorting him to followe his good fortune and occasion thus offered, to reuenge old iniuries agaynst the Englishe men, nowe that their heartes seemed to fayle them through losses susteyned diuerse wayes of late at the Scottishe mens handes.

The renuing of the league betwixt Scotlande and Fraunce.

In other cause of their message was also, (as the Scottes doe write) to renue the olde league and bande betwixt Scotland and France, which being done in solemne wise according to the maner, they returned into Fraunce, and with them went Ambassadors from king Robert vnto their maister the sayd King Charles, Walter Wardlaw, Cardinall and Bishop of Glasgew, with many other noble men, who in like maner there renued the same league and bond of friendship, to the high contentation of both the Princes. This was in the eleuenth yeare of King Robert hys raigne.

The Chauncelor of Scotland slaine.

In which yeare John Lion Chauncelor of Scotlande was slaine by James Lyndesay Erle of Crawford.

This John Lion grewe into so high fauour with king Robert, that he gaue to him his daughter the Ladie Elizabeth in mariage, with diuerse possessions and landes called Glammis. Of him the surname of the Lions is descended: and in memorie thereof they beare in their armes the Lion and Lillyes, with the tresse in fourme and fashion as the King of Scotlande beareth hys, saue that theyr Lions are placed in a blacke fielde.

Enuie and spite.

The cause why the Earle of Crawford thus slue the Chancelor, was only vpon enuy & spite, for that after he had maried the kings daughter, he attayned to such estimatiõ and authoritie, that he might do all things with the king according to his owne will and pleasure. For this offence the Erle of Crawford remayned in exile certaine yeares after, and durst not returne home, til finally through earnest sute made to the king by the Erles of Dowglas, and Marth, his pardon was begged, and then at length he was reconciled to the kings fauour.

The Earle of Crawford in exile.

His pardon is begged.

In the meane time Edward king of England the third of that name, departed this life, and Richard of Burdeaux, sonne to the blacke Prince, Edward, that was sonne to the said K. Edward, succeeded, in the fourth yeare of whose raigne being after the byrth of our Sauiour. 1381, John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, with other Englishe Lordes came into Scotlande in Imbassade, to treate for the appeasing of the discorde as then continuing betwixt the two Realmes: and in the ende the matter was so handled, that a truce was concluded to endure for three yeares.

1381

English Ambassadors sent into Scotland.

A truce taken.

As the said Duke was returning homewards, he was informed of the rebellion and insurrection made

Rebellion in Englande.

made by the commons of England againſt the nobles, hauing one Jacke Straw & others to their captaines, whervpon doubting to paſſe through his owne countrey till things were better appeaſed, he returned into Scotlande, & was conueyed by William Erle of Dowglas, and Archymbald Dowglas Lorde of Galloway, vnto holy Rode houſe beſide Edenbourgh, where he remayned till he heard that the rebels were ſuppreſſed, and their captaynes ſlaine or taken and put to execution.

As ſone as the truce was expyred, Archymbalde Dowglas Lorde of Galloway, diſpleaſed in his minde that the Engliſhmen lying in gariſon within the Caſtell of Lochmaben did daily harie and robbe the villages and country townes of Galloway & Annandall, rayſed a great power by ſupport of the Earles of Dowglas, & March, & therwith layd a ſtrong ſiege vnto the ſayd Caſtell of Lochmaben, and hauing lyen thereat the ſpace of ix. dayes, they fought with a number of Engliſh men that came out of Carleil to reſcue this caſtel, whom hauing put to flight, they gaue therewith alſo a ſharpe aſſault to the Caſtell, and put them within in ſuche feare, that ſir William Fetherſton then captaine thereof, and the reſidue conſented to yeeld the houſe vnto the Scots euen the ſame day without more ado, vpō condition they might depart with their goods in ſafetie into England. 1384

The caſtell of Lochmaben rendred to the Scottes.



But Fourdon writing of the winning of this Caſtell, ſpeaketh not of any ouerthrow giuen to thoſe that ſhould come from Carleil in maner as other write. For thus he ſayth. Whē Archimbald Dowglas had got knowledge that the ſame Caſtell was vtterly vnprouided both of men and vitails neceſſarie for the defence therof, he aſſembled an army togither with the helpe of the Earles of Dowglas & Dunbar, who ioining with him, enuironed the Caſtell about with a ſtrong ſiege, ſo that no ſuccour coulde enter to the reliefe of them within at any hande. Herevpon the captaine ſir William Fetherſton knight, ſent letters vnto the lord wardens of the Engliſh marches, requiring ayde, & letting them to vnderſtande in what daunger hee ſtode for lacke of men and vitayles. The wardens wrote to him again, that he ſhould do his beſt for viij. dayes to holde out, & if no ſuccor came within that terme, thē to do as he ſhuld ſee cauſe. Herevpon ſir William Fetherſton requyred a truce of the Scottiſh lords for the ſpace of thoſe viij dayes, within which terme if no ſuccor came to remoue their ſiege, he would yeeld the caſtel vnto them, the liues and goods of thē within ſaued. This was granted, & the Scots ceaſſed further to annoy them within by aſſaultes: and when the ix. day was come, and no ayde from Englande appeared, they receyued the caſtel into their poſſeſſion, according to the couenāt. And ſo the Scottes hauing thus wonne the Caſtell of Lochmaben, razed it quite downe to the earth.

It is raſed.

King Richard hearing that the Scots had atchieued this enterpriſe, appoynted the Baron of Grayſtocke with a certaine number of men to go with vitayles and munition vnto Roxbourgh, for doubt leaſt if the Scottes came to lay ſiege to that fortreſſe, & finding it vnprouided, they might peraduenture bring it into further daunger than would lightly be remedied.

As this Baron was come within a myle of Roxbourgh, he was takē by the Erle of March, and brought to Dunbar with all his prouiſion.

The Baron of Grayſtocke taken.

The king of England being informed alſo of this miſhap, appoynted two armies, one by ſea, & another by land, to inuade the Scots, ỳ Duke of Lancaſter hauing the general charge & conduit of thē both, who giuing order to thē that ſhuld paſſe by ſea what they ſhuld do, entred himſelf by land, and walking the coūtreys of March & Louthian, came to Edenbourgh, & toke ỳ town, but whereas

An army by ſea and an other by lande prepared againſt the Scottes.

The Duke of Lancaſter commeth with an army to Edenbourgh.

his ſouldiours woulde haue ſpoyled and burned it, he compounded with the inhabitantes for a ſumme of money, and ſo returned without doing any more domage.

His nauie being as then arriued in the Forth, tarryed behinde, and firſt burning the Abbay of Saint Colmes Inche, a number of the Souldiers with their Captaynes landed in Fife, and ſpoyled diuerſe townes and villages there: but in the ende, Thomas and Nicholas Erſkynnes being brethren, Alexander Lindſey, and William Cunningham of Kylmauris, ſet vpon them, and ſlue the moſt part of them, ſo that few in number eſcaped againe to their ſhips, being purſued hard to the water ſide.

The Engliſh men diſcomfited in Fife.

The ſame yere the Erle of Dowglas recouered all the ſtrengthes of Tiuidale out of the Engliſh mens handes, which they had helde euer ſithe the battaile of Durham vnto thoſe dayes.

The ſtrengthes of Tiuidale recouered.

This Erle of Dowglas, one of the moſt valiãt perſonages in thoſe his dayes within the whole realme of Scotlande, died within his Caſtell of Dowglas, ſhortly after he had atchieued this enterpriſe, & was buried in the Abbey of Melros.

The Erle of Dowglas deceaſſeth.

After his deceaſſe, his ſonne James ſucceeded in the Erledome of Dowglas, a right fierce and hardie knight, the which ſhortly after appoynted by the king to haue the guyding of an armie, he paſſed with the ſame into Englande, and burnt the Countrey ſo farre as Newcaſtell. But being countermaũded home, he returned and came vnto Perth, where hee founde the Lorde John de Vian, Admirall of Fraunce and Earle of Valentinois, who about the ſame time was arriued in Scotlande with two hundred and. xl. ſhippes well and perfitely furniſhed for the warres, and in them two thouſand and fiue hundred armed mẽ, diuerſe of them beeing Lordes and Barons, beſides Gentlemen and others. Alſo there was amongſt them 400. Hagbutters, (as Valentine ſayth) and two hundred with Croſbowes: the reſidue bare pykes, halberts, & ſuch like weapons.

James Earle of Dowglas.

The Scots inuade Northumberland.

John de Vian Admirall of France.

26. Barons, 800. men of armes or knights. I. Fo.

I doubt whether there were any Hagbuttes vſed in thoſe dayes, though gonnes were ſomewhat before that time inuẽted.

They were payde theyr wages for one whole yeare aforehande, and had brought vitayles with them to ſerue them as long. They had brought alſo with them. 400. hundred payre of white Curets, foure hundred halfe lang ſwordes, and fiftie thouſande Frankes to to bee giuen among the Nobles of Scotlande, accordingly as king Robert ſhould appoynt and thinke expedient.

The Admirall and other the nobles of France, being thus come into Scotlande to make warres on the Engliſhe men, were highly feaſted by the king and Lordes of the Realme, as then preſent with him, and when the Erle of Dowglas was once come, by common conſent of them all there aſſembled togither in Counſell, it was ordeyned that an army ſhould be rayſed with al ſpeed, that ioyning with theſe French men they might paſſe immediately into Englande.

The Earle of Fife ſonne to king Robert was appoynted to bee generall of this armie, hauing with him the Earles of Dowglas, and Marche, Archymbald Dowglas Lord of Galloway, and diuerſe other of the Scottiſh nobilitie.

The Earle of Fife.

An armie of Scottes and French men enter into England.

This armie when they were all togither, amounted to the number of fiftie thouſande men, the which entring into England, tooke the caſtels of Warke, Fourde, and Cornwall.

Caſtels woone.

After this, by robbing and ſpoyling the countrey betwixt Barwike and Newcaſtell, they did much hurt in all parties where they came, but through continuall rayne whiche fell as then in greate aboundaunce, they were conſtrayned to returne into Scotlande, where they pytched downe theyr fielde neare to the Caſtell of Rokelbourgh, purpoſing to haue aſſayed the wynning thereof, but foraſmuche as they coulde not agree in whoſe name it ſhoulde be kept, if it were won, they left that enterpriſe. For the French men requyred that if they wanne it, that then it might bee kept by them, in the name, and to the behoofe of the French King, wherunto the Scots would not agree.

The French men & Scots cannot agree.

Yet after this the French men willing to accompliſh ſome other enterpriſe, went to the weſt borders, where ioyning wyth Archymbalde Dowglas Lorde of Galloway, they paſſed ouer Sulway ſandes, and ſo entring into Cumberlande, did wonderfull muche hurte in that Countrey.

They inuade Cumberland.

At lengthy they determined to laye ſiege vnto Carleil, but being called frõ thence, they returned into Scotland, and then (as ſome authors write) and not before, they laid ſiege vnto Rokſbourgh, and rayſed from thence within. viij. dayes after, by reaſon of the variance before alledged.

At Alhallowentide next enſuing, the French men returned into Fraunce, hauing endured no ſmall trauail and paynes ſithy their firſt comming forth of their Countrey.

The French men returne into France.

After they were gotten a Shippe borde to returne homewardes, the Scottes againe enter into England with an armie, remayning there for the ſpace of two monethes, (as the Scottiſh writers ſay.) And in the meane time king Richarde aſſembled a mightie power, and inuading Scotland, paſſed through the Mers, and Louthian, putting all the townes, countrys and houſes vnto vtter ruine, as in the Engliſhe Hiſtorie more plainly it may appeare.

King Richard inuadeth Scotlande.

In the yeare next enſuing, Walter Wardlaw Biſhop of Glaſgewe and Cardinall departed this life. Alſo within a while after that king Richard was returned back into England, Robert Steward Erle of Fife, & James Erle of Dowglas,

1387

glas, Archimbald Dowglas, L. of Galoway entred into Englande with an army of thirtie M. men, comming ſo ſecretely thꝛough the water of Sulway, that they came to Cokermouth in ſuch ſpeedy wiſe vppon the ſuddayne, that the people had not leyſure to conuay away their goodes, ſo that the Scottes remayning there for the ſpace of thꝛee dayes, got a riche bootie togither, and returned with the ſame thꝛough ẏ countreys of Weſtmerland and Northumberlād ſafe, and without encounter agayne into Scotlande.

Amongſt certayne other things, found in rifeling and ranſacking of houſes in thys iourney, there was a Chartoꝛ found of certayne lands giuen by King Athelſtane in this foꝛme:

I Kyng Athelſtane gyues to Paullane, Odhiam and Rodhiam, als guid and als fayre, als euer yay mine wayre, and yarto witneſſe Malde my wife. By tenoure of whiche deede it may appeare, that our auncеſtoꝛs gaue moꝛe credite to the true meaning of a fewe woꝛds barely expreſſed in their wꝛitings, than that there needed ſo long pꝛoces and circumſtaunce as is nowe vſed with long ſtudie of penning, nothyng beeyng thought ſufficiente to aſſure the parties of theyꝛ couenaunted bargaynes, and concluded agreementes.

In this laſt iourney againſt the Engliſhmen, William Dowglas ſon to Archimbalde Dowglas Lord of Galloway, wanne greate fame and honoꝛ foꝛ his high pꝛowes and noble valiancie, ſhewed as well in certayne appꝛoches made vnto Carlile, as in diuers other ſkirmiſhes elſe where.

The King alſo herevpon began to fauour him in ſuch wiſe, that he thought him woꝛthy of ſome high aduancement: and therevpon gaue hym hys daughter in marriage named Giles, a Ladye of ſuch excellent beautie, as hir match in thoſe dayes was not to be found.

He begote on hir a daughter, whiche was after maried to the Erle of Oꝛkeney. This William Dowglas, as John Furdon noteth, was of a blackiſh oꝛ ſwart couloure, not ouercharged with fleſh, but bigge of bone, a mightie perſonage, vpꝛight and tall, valiant, curteous, amiable, full of liberalitie, mery, faithfull, and pleaſaunt in company, but herewith he was of ſuche ſtrength, that whome ſoeuer he ſtroke eyther with mace, ſwoꝛd, oꝛ ſpeare, downe he wente were hee neuer ſo well armed. At one time, as the ſame Furdon ſayeth, he hauing with him but eight hundꝛeth, foughte againſt thꝛee thouſand Engliſhmen, of whome, two hundꝛed he ſlewe in the fielde, and bꝛoughte fiue hundꝛed pꝛiſoners with him into Scotland.

In the yeere 1388. Roberte Earle of Fife, and Archembald Dowglas Lorde of Galloway, entred with a pꝛoude army into Englande, and in the meane time, came ſundꝛy Iriſhmen by Sea, to the coaſtes of Galloway, and landing in diuers places, fetched away great booties of Cattel, and other goodes of the inhabitauntes, whereof William Dowglas, ſonne of the ſaide Archembald being enfoꝛmed, gote a conuenable power of men togither, by ſuppoꝛte of his bꝛother in lawe, Robert Earle of Fife, and by licence of the King paſſed ouer with the ſame, ſhipped in certayne veſſels into Ireland, where being gote a lande, he layd ſiege to the towne of Carlingfoꝛd.

Iriſhmen fetch prayes in Galloway.

William Dowglas inuadeth Ireland with fiue hundred men, as Iohn Fourdon hath.

Carelingforde beſeeged.

The townelmen doubting to be taken by aſſalt, purchaſed a truce foꝛ certayne dayes, pꝛomiſing to giue a greate ſumme of money to haue their towne ſaued: but in the meane time, they aſſembled the number of an eight hundꝛed menne, thꝛough help of an other towne not farre off, called Doundalke; and ioyning with them, they deuided them ſelues into two partes, one parte ſetteth vpon Robert of Duryſdeir, who hauing the conduit of the Earle of Fifes men, was gone abꝛoade into the Countrey to fetch in ſome pꝛay, and the other part aſſayleth William Dowglas, that lay ſtill afoꝛe the towne.

The craftie dealing of the townelmen.

The Iriſhmen aſſayle the Scottes in two ſeueral places.

Neuertheleſſe, the ſayd Robert and William receyued the enimies with ſuche manhoode, that they put them in both places to flight, and immediately after, gaue aſſaulte to the towne, and entring the ſame perfoꝛce, put all the goodes founde therein to the ſacke, and then ſet it on fire, and bꝛenned it to aſhes.

The Iriſhmen put to flighte.

Carelingforde won by aſſalt.

This done, they toke thꝛeeſcoꝛe ſhippes whiche they found in diuers hauens and creekes there on that coaſt, and fraughting. xb. of them with ſuch ſpoyle as they had gote, they bꝛenned the reſidue, and then returning homewards, ſpoyled the Ile of Man by the way as they paſſed.

The Ile of Man ſpoyled.

Shoꝛtly after their returne home, the King of England ſent an Army into Scotlande, whyche did muche hurt in the Mers, in bꝛenning and ouerthꝛowing diuers towꝛes and houſes. Kyng Robert being certifyed hereof, as then remayning in the Noꝛth partes of Scotlande, aſſembled the Nobles of his Realme at Aberdene, and there by all their aduiſes it was concluded, that the whole puiſſance of the Realme ſhould be reiſed with all ſpede, to reuenge thoſe iniuries done by the Engliſhmen.

Engliſhmen bꝛenne in the Mers.

Herevppon were two Armies aſſembled, the one, wherein was a. xb. thouſande men, was cõmitted to the gouernaunce of the Earle of Fife, hauing with him the Earle of Menteith, Archembald Douglas Lord of Galloway, and Alexander Lindſay of Walcop.

Two armies of Scottiſhmen aſſembled.

The other containing the like number of men, was appointed to the guiding of the Earles of Douglas and March, hauing with them James Lindſay Earle of Crawfoꝛde, John Dunbar Earle of Murray, and the Lorde Hay the Conſtable

ſtable of Scotlande, with diuers other of the nobilitie.

Cumberland inuaded.

Theſe two armies parting in ſunder at Jedworth, the Earle of Fyfe with his people entred into Cumberlande by the weſt marches, and the Earles of Dowglas and March with theirs, entred on the other ſide into Northumberland, paſſing throughy the countrey ſpoyling and waſting the ſame, till as farre as Durham, and on the other part, the Earle of Fife ſpared neyther fire nor

Northumberland inuaded.



ſworde, all the way as he paſſed.

At length both theſe armies met togither about a tenne miles from Newcaſtle.

Tenne thouſand of the choyſeſt men with the Earle of Dowglas.

Heere the Earle of Dowglas choſe forth ten thouſande of the moſt able men that coulde bee found amongſt all the numbers, with the whiche he went to Newcaſtle, to trie if by any meanes he might take the towne.

The aſſemble of the Engliſhmen at Newcaſtell.

There was gathered into Newcaſtell before hys comming thither, the moſt part of al the choſen men from Yorke to the bordures, with the Earle of Northumberland, who by reaſon of extreame age, was not able to ſturre abroade (any thing to purpoſe) him ſelfe, but he had with hym two of his owne ſonnes, the one named Henry, and the other Rauſe, very forwarde and luſty gentlemen.

Henry hotepurre.

This Henry beeing the elder, was ſurnamed for his often pricking, Henry hotſpure, as one that ſeldome times reſted, if there were any ſeruice to be done abroade.

The Earle of Dowglas encampeth faſt by Newcaſtle.

The Earle of Dowglas encamped with his people on that ſide the towne towards Scotland, and viewed the towne earneſtly, which way he might beſt come to giue aſſalt to winne it.

The Earle of Dowglas and Henry Percy runne togither

Henry Percy deſirous to ſhewe ſome proofe of his ſingular manhoode, wherein hee greatly truſted, required to fight with the Earle of Dowglas man to man, which requeſt the Earle graunting, togither they ranne mounted on two great courſers with ſharpe ground Speares at the vttearaunce.

The Earle of Dowglas in this encoũter bare himſelfe ſo well, that in the end he droue the Percy out of his ſaddle.

The Percy diſmounted beſide hys Horſe.

The Engliſhmen ẏ ſtoode without the gates made to the reſkew, recouered him on foote, and brought him forthwith backe into the towne.

An aſſalt giuen to Newcaſtle.

Incontinẽtly herevpon, ẏ Earle of Dowglas cauſed the aſſault to be giuen, and filling the ditches with hay and fagottes, came with ladders to the walles: but the Engliſhmen ſo well defended them ſelues, that the Scottes were beaten backe not withoute greate loſſe and ſlaughter of theyr people.

Froiſart ſomewhat varyeth from the Scottiſh writers.

Froyſart making mention of this enterprice thus made by the Scottes, varieth somewhat frõ the Scottiſh writers in this place, for he ſpeaketh nothing that the Dowglas and the Percy ſhould thus runne togither on horſebacke as before is ſpecifyed, but that in giuing aſſault to the towne, it chanced that as the Engliſhmen defended their barriers without the gate, the Dowglas fortuned to be matched hand to hãd with Henry Percy, and there by force plucked the Percyes ſtaffe from him, and in retourning hoyſted it vp on heigth, ſaying, he woulde carrie the ſame for hys ſake into Scotlande: and the nexte day after, hee reyſed his campe and departed homewardes toward the bordures, and comming to a place called Otterborne, about a twelue or fourtene miles from Newcaſtel, pitched downe his tentes there, that his ſouldiours might take ſome reſt and refreſhe themſelues after their greate trauell, for they had not reſted of all the day nor night before, nor to any purpoſe, ſith their firſte entring into Englande.

Dowglas encamped at Otterborne.

In

In the meane time the Engliſhe power was highly encreaſed at Newcaſtle, for a great number of the Countrey came, and entred into the Towne the ſame night that followed the day of the aſſault.

Henry Percy then perceyuing his number ſufficient to fyghte with the Dowglas, ſet them in order of battayle, and determined to iſſue forthe vpon the Scottes, and to giue them an encounter: but when he vnderſtode that they were gone homewardes, he followed them with all ſpeede, for he would by no meanes that they ſhould paſſe into Scotlande without battayle, truſting to recouer the diſhonor whiche he had ſuſteyned by loſing his ſtaffe at the barryers before the gate of Newcaſtell.

The Dowglas exhorteth hys men to fyghte manfully.

Earle Dowglas aduertiſed that the enimies were cumming to giue hym battell, exhorted his people with fewe wordes to remember their wonted manhode, that by gayning the victory, they might winne interminable fame and honor, with ſafegard to themſelues and their countrey.

The Percy with comfortable wordes, encourageth his men.

The Percy likewiſe for his part, encouraged his men, willing them to fyghte manfully in reuenge of the iniuries done to them and theyr friends by the Scottes, and herewith commaunding the Trumpettes to ſounde, he gaue the onſet fiercely.

The onſet is giuen.

Here both the armies ioyning togither, a right terrible encounter enſued, but bycauſe the nighte



was at hand, before they began to ioyne, through want of light to ſee what was to doe, they were ſeuered in ſunder for that time: but remembring that the Moone would ſhortly ryſe, they determined ſo ſone as ſhe began to giue lighte, to renewe the battell againe.

As ſone therefore as the Moone began to appeare, they ioyned agayne with more malice than afore.

The Engliſhmen foughte ſo egrely, that putting the Scottes abacke, and cauſing them to giue ground, they had wonne the Scottiſh ſtanderts, and ſo by all likelihod gote the vpper hand, had not Patrike Hepborne with his ſonne, and ſuch other of his company as attended him, come to the reſkew, by whome the fight was begunne afreſhe.

Herewith alſo came the Earle of Dowglas, and with a great mace in his hand, layd ſuch fore ſtrokes round about him, that none came within his reach, but downe he went.

Finally, the whole number of the Scottiſhmē bare themſelues ſo manfully, that the Engliſhmē being broken and put to flighte, were ſlayne and borne downe.

The chaſe continued till the breake of the day with killing and taking, as in ſuche caſes is euer ſeene, though the more parte indeede were taken with their liues ſaued after they once fell in chaſe.

Raufe and Henry Percy taken priſoners.

Amongſt other, Raufe Percy and his brother Henry, were taken by Keith, the Merſhall of Scotland, ſomewhat before the Engliſhmen began to turne.

Other perſons taken.

There were alſo taken beſydes the two Percies, diuers other men of name, as Robert Ogill, Thomas Halberke, John Lilborne, William Wauchlute, Robert Heron, the Baron of Hiltō, John Colwell, and Patrike Louel Knightes.

The number of priſoners taken.

There were taken in all of Engliſhmen, to the number of a thouſande and fortie, and ſlayne what in the fielde and chaſe (as Froyſart reconneth) aboue an eyghteene hundred.

There were ſlayne but fiue hundreth Engliſhmen as Hector Boetius hath.

But yet the Scottiſh writers themſelues report, a leſſe number. Neyther did this victory chaunce to the Scottes without greate loſſe and ſlaughter.

The death of Iames Earle of Dowglas.

For amongſt other, the Earle of Dowglas himſelfe was thrice ſtriken through the body, and alſo

also wounded so mortally on the head, that being borne to his tent a little before the end of the battell, he dyed of those hurtes immediately after, to the greate discomforte of all his armie, conceyuing more dolorous griefe for the losse of so worthy a chieuetayne, than ioy for the gayne of so greate a victory. His body was conueyed vnto Melros, and buryed beside his father Earle William in the Abbey church there. And bycause this Earle James had no heires of his body begotten, his Cousin Archembald Dowglas Lord of Galloway succeeded him in the Earledome.

See more of this matter in Englande.

Archimbalde Dowglas succeeded the Earle Iames of Dowglas.

The house of the Hepbornes (of the whyche this Patrike Hepborne that fought so valiauntly in this battell at Otterborne did discend) arose in Scotland after this wise.

It chanced in the dayes of King Dauid the thirde, there was an Englishman of that name taken prisoner in Scotland, who by chaunce being in place where the Earle of March was got vpon a young gelding vnbroken, the whiche playing the vnruly Jade in fetching and flinging aloft, put the Earle in greate daunger of his lyfe, and when all other that were presente there gaue backe, and durst not steppe in to make any shifte to help the Earle: this Englishman lept to hym, and boldly catching holde on the bridle reyne, held the Horse fast till the Earle was safely gote beside him.

The first aduancement of the Hepborns.

In rewarde of which benefite the sayd Earle gaue vnto this Hepborne certayn lands in Lowthiam, whose posteritie increased afterwardes in such power of landes and surname, that the same enioyed not only the Earledome of Bothwel, but was also deuided into sundry braunches, and many Knightes thereof haue risen of right worthy fame and estimation.

The Earles of Bothwell.

This battell of Otterborne was foughte on saint Oswaldes day, which is the fifth of August, in the yeere. 1388.

1388.

The Bishop of Durham approcheth the Scottes with an armie.

The Bishop of Durham was comming the day next following with a newe power to haue ayded the Percies, but hearing of the ouerthrowe, and beeing come within a little of the Scottishe camp, hee was enformed that the Scottes were as ready to defende, as hee was to assayle, and therevpon doubting the issue of his enterprise, if he shoulde giue battell, he turned backe to Newcastell, and suffered the Scottes to returne into their countrey without any further pursute.

He retireth.

A Parliament at Perth.

In the yeere following, a Parliamente was holden at Perth, in the whiche demonstratiō was made by King Roberte, that for asmuche as hee was broke by great age, and might not through feeblenesse occasioned thereof attende to his office in gouernemente of the Realme, it was necessay that some gouernoure shoulde be chosen, and therfore hee required that his seconde sonne Roberte Earle of Fife might enioy that office, considering his eldest sonne Iohn Earle of Carrike (by reason of a stripe which he had receyued on the legge by an horse of Sir James Douglas of Dalketh) was not able to trauell, but kept his bed, & might sturre no way forth abroade.

Robert Earle of Fyfe is chosen gouernoute of the Realme.

The Lordes consented to the Kings request, and so the Earle of Fife was constituted gouernour of Scotland, by common consente of all the Lords of the Realme.

Also the Earle Marshall of Englande, was sent by King Richard to the bordures, to remain there as Warden in the place of Henry Percye prisoner in Scotland. It is reported by ỹ Scottishe writers, that this Earle should make stoute bragges, that he woulde fighte with the Scottes the next time he mette with any power of them, whether he were like in number to them or not, but when it came to passe that Robert Steward the Scottishe gouernoure was entred into Northumberlande with an Army, he withdrewe into places of sauegard, and suffered the most parte of the Countrey to be harryed and brente. Indeede our English writers affirme, that the sayd Earle hauing with him but fiue hundred men of armes, he was not able to accomplish any great exploite auaylable against the greate multitude of hys enimies.

The Earle Marshal of England, warden of the Marches.

The gouernour of Scotland inuadeth Northumberlande.

The same yeere was a truce taken betwixte England and France, the Scottes (if they would so agree) being comprised therein.

A truce taken.

Herevpon came their Ambassadours for the of England, to vnderstād what the King of Scots would determine in that behalfe. By whome it was aunswered, that he woulde with good will stand to the same truce according as it was concluded.

English ambassadors sent into Scotland.

The King of Scottes agreeth to the truce.

Whilest things passed thus in Scotland, Alexander Stewarde Earle of Buchquhan brente the Cathedrall Church of Murray, the lanterne and ornament of all the north part of Scotland, vpon displeasure conceyued against the Bysshop of the same place. Whereat his father the Kyng toke suche indignation, that when his sonne the said Alexander was broughte to his presence, hee commanded him to be committed vnto straight prison, wherein he remayned till after hys fathers decease.

The Cathedrall Church of Murray brente.

The Earle of Buchquhane emprisoned.

The Realme being in this manner broughte to good tranquilitie, King Roberte falling into great infirmitie and feeblenesse, by reason of extreame age, without any manner of other accidentall sickenesse, deceased at his Castel of Dundonald, the nineteenth day of Aprill, in the yeere after our redemption. 1390. beeing as then aboue threescore and fifteene yeeres of age, and hauing reigned the space of nineteene yeeres, his body was buried at Scone before the high aulter.

The decesse of King Robert the seconde.

1390

This

This Robert the ſeconde, though by reaſon of his great age, he wente not forth into the warres him ſelfe, yet was there neuer Prince afore hym that had more happie ſucceſſe by the conduit of his Captaynes whiche he ſente forth as Lieutenaunts vnder him, for they neuer lightly returned home but with victory.

He was a Prince of ſuch cõſtancie in promiſe, that he ſeldome ſpake the worde which he performed not.

Suche an obſeruer he was alſo of iuſtice, that when ſo euer hee remoued from any place, hee would cauſe proclamation to be made, that if any of his men or officers had taken vp any thing vnpayde for, the partie to whome the debte was due ſhould come in, and immediately he ſhoulde be ſatisfyed.

He willingly hearde the complaynctes of the poore, and was no leſſe diligent to ſee their wrõgs redreſſed.



After the deceaſſe of King Roberte the ſeconde, hys ſon John Steward Earle of Carricke was admitted to the Crowne, which hee receyued at Scone on oure Ladye the Aſſumption.

And for ſo much as John was thought to bee an infortunate name for Kings, they chaunged his name and called him Robert after his father, being now the third of that name.

About the ſame time, William Dowglas of Middeſdale was choſen by the Lordes of Pruſſen, to be Admirall of a nauy, conteyning two hundred and fortie ſhippes, whiche they had rigged, and purpoſed to ſet forthe againſte the miſcreaunt people of the Northeaſt partes, but being appealed by the Lord Clifford an Engliſhman, (who was there likewiſe to ſerue with the foreſaid Lords in that iourney) to fight with him in a ſingular combate. Before the day came appoynted for them to haue darreigned the battell, the Lorde Clifford lay in awayte for the Dowglas, and vppon the bridge of Danzke mette with him, and there ſlew him, to the great diſturbance and ſtay of the whole iourney.

Moreouer, ſhortly after the coronation of king Roberte the thirde, tidings came that Duncane Stewarde, ſonne to Alexander Stewarde the Kings brother afore reherſed, was entred into Angus with a greate number of men, and ſlewe Walter Ogilvy Shireſe of the countrey, that came forth with a power to reſiſt him from ſpoiling the people whom he miſerably afflicted, howbeit theſe his inſolent doings were not long vnpuniſhed, for the Earle of Crawford being ſent againſt him with an army, cauſed him to diſperſe his company, and to flee his wayes, but beeyng apprehended with the moſt part of his layd company, they were puniſhed according to their demerites.

The North partes of Scotland ſore diſquieted by two Clannes.

At this time alſo the moſt parte of the North countrey of Scotland, was ſore diſquieted by two Clannes of thoſe Iriſh Scots, cleped Kateranes, whiche inhabite the hye lande countreys, the one named Clankayes, & the other Clanquhattanes.

Wild Scots cleped Kateranes.

Theſe two being at deadly fude, robbed and waſted the countrey with continuall ſlaughter and reife.

A battell of thirtie againſt thirtie.

At length it was accorded betwixt ẏ parties, by the aduice of the Earles of Murray & Crawford, that thirtie perſons of the one Clan, ſhoulde fight before the King at Perth againſte thirtie other of the other Clannes men with ſharp ſwords to the vtterance, without any kind of armoure or harneſſe in triall and deciſion of the quarell, for the which the baryance betwixt them firſt roſe.

A deſperate fighte.

Both theſe Clannes right ioyfull of this appointmente, came to Perth with their number, where in a place cleped the North Inche, a little beſide the Towne in preſence of the King and other iudges aſſigned thereto, they foughte accordyng as it was agreed, and that with ſuch rage and deſperate furie, that all thoſe of Clankayes part were ſlayne (one onely excepted) who to ſaue his life after he ſawe all his fellowes ſlayne, lepte into the water of Tay, and ſwamme ouer, and ſo eſcaped.

There was a .xi. of Clanquhattanes ſyde that eſcaped with life, but not one of them vnwounded, and that very ſore.

At their entring into the fielde or liſtes where they ſhould darraigne ẏ battell, one of ẏ Clannes wanted one of hys number, by reaſon that hee which ſhould haue ſupplyed it, was priuily ſtolen away, not willing to be partaker of ſo deere a bargaine, but there was a Countrey felowe amõgſt the beholders, being ſory that ſo notable a fighte ſhoulde be paſſed ouer, offered himſelfe for a ſmall ſumme of money to fyll vp the number, though the matter apperteyned nothing to him, nor to any of his friends.

This battell was foughte betwixt theſe two Clannes, in manner as before is remembred, in the yeere .1396.

1396

In the thirde yeere after a Parliamente was holden at Perth, wherein, beſides diuers conſtitutions and ordinances enacted for the aduaunce-ment of the common wealth, the King made his eldeſt ſonne named Dauid (that was as then a-

1398

bout

bout an eighteene yeeres of age) Duke of Rothsay, and his brother Roberte (that was Earle of Fife and gouernour of the Realme, as before yee haue heard) hee created Duke of Albany. These were the firste Dukes that hadde bin hearde of in Scotland, for till those dayes there was neuer any within ỳ Realm that bare that tytle of honor.

The firste Dukes that were created in Scotlande.

During the time that the peace continued betwixt the two Realmes of England and Scotland, there were sundry iusts and combates put in vre, and exercised betwixt Scots and Englishmen, for proofe of their valiant actiuitie in feates of armes, to winne thereby fame and honor.

Iusts and combates betwixte Scottes and Englishmen.

But amongst the residue that was most notable, whiche chaunced betwixt Dauid Earle of Crawford Scottishe, & the L. Welles English.

It was agreed betwixte these two noble men, to runne certayne courses on horseback, with speares sharp ground, for life and death.

The Earle of Crawford of Scotland, and the Lord Wels of England iusted for life and deathe.

The place appoynted for these iustes, was London bridge, and the day the three and twentie of Aprill, being the feast of Saint George.

At the place and day thus prefixed, they came ready to furnishe their enterprise, and being mounted on their mighty coursers, they ranne togither right egrely.

At the firste course, though they atteynted, yet kepte they their saddles withoute anye perill of falling.

The people beholding howe stiffely Earle Dauid sate without mouing, cryed that ỳ Scottishman was locked in his saddle.

He hearing this, lepte beside his Horse, and right deliuerly mounted by agayne into the saddle, armed as he was, to the greate wonder of the beholders.

This done, he toke another staffe, and so togither they runne againe right fiercely the second time, and yet without any great hurte on eyther part, but the thirde time, the Lorde Welles was borne out of the sadle, and sore hurt with the fall.

The Lorde Welles borne out of his saddle.

And bycause the Earle of Crawford thus vanquished his aduersarie on saint Georges day, he founded a Chanterie of seuen Priestes to sing in our Ladies Church of Dundee, in memorie of Saint George, which they did vnto our time, not withoute singular commendation of the sayde Earle. After this, hee remained three monethes in England, in sporting and feasting amongst the nobles, before he returned into Scotlande, highly praysed of all estates for his noble port and great liberalitie there shewed amongst them.

Prayse of the Earle of Crawfort.

Not long after, one Sir Roberte Morlay an Englishman came into Scotlande to trie hys manhoode in singular battel, with whome so euer woulde come againste him, hee vanquished one Archembald Edmounston and Hew Wallace, but at length, hee was ouercome by one Hewe Traill at Berwike, and dyed shortly after vppon displeasure thereof conceyued.

Sir Roberte Morlay.

The same yeere, Richard King of England maried Isabell daughter to the Frenche King, and sone after, went into Ireland to subdue such Irishe Rebells, as troubled the quiet state of the Countrey. But in the meane time, his Lords at home rebelled against him, and determined to depose him from the Crowne, so that vpon hys returne into Englande, hee was apprehended and put in ward, and shortly after, constreyned to renounce all his right to the Crowne, and adiudged therewith to perpetuall prison: yet at length, (as the Scottish Chronicle telleth) he gote forth of prison disguised in womans apparell, & came into Galloway, where hee fell in seruice with a Scottishman named Makdonald, but at ỳ last, being bewrayed and knowen what he was, and therevpon brought to King Robert, he was right honorably by him entertained, neuertheleſſe, knowing him selfe deposed from his royall estate, hee gaue himselfe wholly to contemplation, til finally he departed this world at Striueling, and was buried in the blacke Friers there within the same towne as the same Scottish Chronicles vntruely do report. But to the matter, Henry the sonne of John of Gaūt sometime Duke of Lancaster, after ỳ King Richard was deposed, was Crowned King of England at Westminster the .xiij. day of October, in the yeere. 1399.

Richard King of England goeth into Ireland.

King Richard is deposed.

He is adiudged to perpetuall prison.

He escapeth foorth of prison.

King Richard dieth at Stirling and lyeth buried there.

Henry the fourth King of England is crowned.

1399. I.M.

1400

In the yere next ensuing, that is to wit, 1400. King Robert in consideratiō of a summe of money to him aforehand payd, contracted couenants of mariage to be had and made betwixt his sonne the Duke of Rothsay, and the Earle of Marches daughter, but Archembalde Earle of Dowglas hauing indignation ỳ the Earle of March should be preferred before him, by support of the Duke of Albany, procured a counsel to be called, in ỳ whiche hee founde meanes to assure his daughter the Lady Mariory vnto the sayd Duke of Rothsay, and with al speede went about to consummate ỳ mariage betwixt them, to put the matter out of all doubt.

The occasion of the falling foorth betwixt King Robert, and the Earle of March.

The Earle of March perceiuing this dealing, came to the King, and required to know his pleasure, if he minded to performe the couenantes cōcluded, concerning the mariage betwixt ỳ prince & his daughter or not, making as it were a great complainte of that which was already done to ỳ breach thereof, and receyuing answere nothyng agreeable to his minde, hee departed in a greate fume, not sticking to say, hee woulde be reuenged on such vntruth ere it were long.

Shortly after he fled into England, leauyng his Castell of Dunbar, well stuffed of all thyngs necessary for defence, in the keeping of his sisters sonne named Robert Maitland, but when Archembald

The Earle of March fleeth into England.

chembald Dowglas came thither in the Kyngs name, and required to haue the Caſtell rendred into his hands, this Robert Maitland obeyed the kings commaundemente, and deliuered the houſe to the ſayd Dowglas.

George Earle of March informed hereof, procured all his frendes to conuey themſelues into England, and determined with himſelfe to do all the diſpleaſure and miſchife he myghte inuente againſt his owne natiue countrey.

King Roberte ſore dreading, leaſt by thys Earles procurement ſome trouble might hap to folowe amongſt his ſubiectes, ſente an Herald at armes into England with letters vnto him, promiſing by the tenor of the ſame, not only to pardon him of all offences committed, but alſo to redreſſe all wrongs or iniuries which he hadde any wayes forth receyued, if hee woulde returne into Scotlande: for as much as the Earle of March refuſed this offer, the ſame Heralde according to inſtructions giuen him at his departure frō King Roberte, wente immediately to Henry King of Englād with other letters, earneſtly deſiring him to cauſe the Earle of March to depart out of hys Realme, and not to receyue any Rebelles out of Scotlande into his boundes, whereby the peace myghte bee violated, whiche as yet remayned betwixt the two Kingdomes.

Sent letters alſo vnto the King of Englande.

King Henry vpon reaſonable allegations as he pretended, refuſed to ſatiſfye King Roberts petitions in this behalfe, by reaſon whereof the peace brake betwixte them and their ſubiects, without any further tracting of time.

Henry Hoteſpurre and the Earle of March enter into Scotland.

For ſhortly after, Henry Percy ſurnamed as is ſaid, Henry Hoteſpurre, & the Earle of March entred into Scotland, and gote togither a greate bootie of goods and Cattell, but for returne therof, Archembald Earle of Dowglas hauing aſſem-



bled a power of mē, came with the ſame towards the enimies, immediately whereupon they fledde, and left all their bootie behynd them, which beyng recouered by the ſaid Earle of Dowglas and his company, hee returned backe vnto Edynburgh, wher he ſhortly after being take wᵗ an hote feuer, departed out of this life, leauing behind hym an honorable memorie of his name for his high prowes and noble valiancie ſhewed in many and ſundry enterpriſes by him luckily atchieued for the wealth of his countrey.

He was named of his terrible countenaūce and dreadful lokes, the grimme Dowglas.

After his deceaſſe, his ſeconde ſonne that hight likewiſe Archembald, was made Earle of Dowglas, for his eldeſt ſonne William Dowglas dyed in the yeere afore his father.

Shortly after, Henry King of England came into Scotland with an Army, without doing any great domage to the people, for hee required no more of thē that kept any Caſtells or ſtrengths, but only to put forthe a Banner of his armes as he paſſed by.

At his comming to Hadington, he was lodged in the Munrie there, and ſhewed much bounteous humanitie towards the Nunnes, and al other of that houſe, not ſuffering any manner of thing to be done preiuditiall to the ſame.

The like gentleneſſe he ſhed towardes them of the holy Rode houſe at his comming to Edynburgh, wherein he likewiſe lodged.

It is thoughte, that in memory of the friendly entertainemente, whiche his father the Duke of Lancaſter founde in theſe Abbeys, at the time of his being in Scotland, when the rebellion chaunced in England, through Jacke Strawe and his complices, he ſhewed ſuche fauor towardes them at this preſent.

To

To bee briefe it shoulde appeare, that King Henry came into Scotlande, as it were enforced, more through counsell of his nobles, than for any hatred he bare towardes the Scottes, as hee well shewed in returning backe againe, without doing them any further iniurie.

The death of Queene Annabell.

In the yeere after, deceassed the Scottishe Queene Annabell Drommond, after whose decesse hir sonne Dauid the Duke of Rothsay that vnder hir gouernemente had bin well and vertuously broughte vp, hauing nowe gote once the reyne at liberty, fell to al kind of insolent outrage, seeking to defyle Wiues, Virgines, Nunnes, and al other kind of woome in al places wher he came.

The insolent outrage of the Duke of Rothsay.

At lengthe, his Father perceyuing his sonnes youthful nature to rage after that manner in vnbrideled lust beyond the tearmes of all measure, to the great reproch of them both, wrote to his brother the Duke of Albany, requiring him to take his sonne, the said Duke of Rothsay into his custody, and to see him so chastised for his wanton behauiour, as he might learne to amend the same.

Here is to be noted, that the Duke of Albany had of long time before, desired to see the Duke of Rothsay dispatched out of the way, as the person whome hee most doubted, and therefore hauyng commission thus from the King to take him, hee reioyced not a little, trusting thereby, to compasse his purpose without daunger.

And hereuppon, taking the Duke of Rothsay betwixt Dundee and S. Andrewes, hee brought him to Faulkland, where he shut him vp in straite prison, and kept him without al manner of meate or drinke, so to famish him to death.

The Duke of Rothsay committed to prison.

It is sayde, that a woman vnderstanding the Duke of Albanies intention, and taking ruth of the others pitifull case, found meanes to let meale fall downe through a rift of the loft of that towre wherein he was enclosed, by meanes whereof, hys life was certayne dayes sustayned, but after thys was once knowne, incontinently was the woman made away.

On the same maner, another woman through a long reede, fedde him with milke of hir owne breests, and was likewise dispatched as soone as hir doings were perceyued.

Then after this, the Duke destitute of all worldly sustenaunce through very famine, was constreyned to eate not only all suche filth as hee could finde within the Towre, but also in ỹ end, hee gnawed off his owne fingers, and so finally in this miserable state of Martirdome (as I may call it) ended his wretched life, and was buryed in Lundonis, where (as the fame went) many fayre miracles were done neere to his graue, till tyme that James the first began to punish the murtherers, for sithens that time such miracles ceassed.

The Duke of Rothsay famished to death.

Miracles.

About the same time, George Earle of March did many displeasures to the Scottes, makyng sundry rodes into their countrey, greatly to hys profyte.

The displeasures done by George Earle of March.

The Earle of Dowglas that had the gouernmente of Lowthian in those dayes, tooke order, that certayne Captaines of that Countrey, shuld euery one for his turne, with a competente numbre assigned to him for the time, rode into England, to reuenge such displeasures.

The Earle of Dowglas gouernoure of Louthian.

The first that went, was Thomas Halyburton, who returned in safetie with a great pray taken of Englishmens goodes.

Thomas Halyburton.



Next vnto him, was Patrike Hepborne of the Halis the yonger, appoynted to goe forthe as Captayne generall with a certaine number who entring into Englande, gote a great bootie together, but the Englishmen following thereuppon to recouer it, encountred with hym at Melbet in the

the Mers, and there not onely ſlew him, but alſo diſtreſſed his people.

Beſides them that were ſlayne with theyr Captayne, there were alſo many that were taken, as John and William Cokburne, Roberte Lawder of the Bas, John and Thomas Haliburton, with many other.

Almoſt all the floure of Lowthian (as Johannes Maior writeth) periſhed in this battell, whiche was fought the. xxij. of June, in the yere. 1402.

Archembald Earle of Dowglas ſore diſpleaſed and wonderfully wroth in his minde for this ouerthrowe, gote commiſſion to inuade Englande with an army of tenne thouſand men, and hauing the ſame once ready with all thynges neceſſary for his voyage, hee ſet forwarde, and entring into Englande, brente and harried the countrey, not ſtaying till hee came as farre as Newcaſtell.

The Nobles of Scotland in this army.

In this army there was with the Dowglas Murdock eldeſt ſonne to Duke Robert Earle of Fife, Thomas Earle of Murray, George Earle of Angus, with many other Lords and nobles of Scotlande.

At the laſt, when they were returning homewards with a pray of infinite goodes and riches, Henry Hotſpurre, and George Earle of March, with a great power of men, met them, and aſſayled them ſo, with ſuch inceſſant ſhot of arrowes,

Henry Hotſpurre and the Earle of March aſſayle the Scottes at Homyldon.





that where the Earle of Dowglas with his army had the aduantage of an hill, cleped Homyldon, he was conſtreyned to forſake the ſame, and comming downe vppon the Engliſhmen, was neuertheleſſe put to the worſe, the moſte parte of his people being eyther taken or ſlayne.

It is ſayde, that after the Scottes were once put to flight, they gathered agayne, and renewed the battell by the exhortation of Adham Gordon and ſir John Suynton, but that dyd little auayle them, for they were ſtill beaten downe and ſlayne.

Amongſt other of thoſe that were ſlaine, were the ſame ſir John Swynton and Adham Gordoun: Alſo John Leuynſton of Kalendare, Alexander Ramſay of Dalhowſy, with ſundry other gentlemen and nobles of Scotland.

Archembald Earle of Dowglas, Mayor Stewarde eldeſt ſonne to Duke Robert the gouernour, George Earle of Angus, Roberte Erſkyn of Alloway the Lorde Saulton, James Dowglas maiſter of Dalkeith, and his two brethren John and William, with the moſt part of all the Barons of Fyfe and Lowthian were taken priſoners.

This battell was fought on the Rode day in Haruell, in the yeere. 1403. vpon a tuiſday.

H. B. 1402

Henry Percy righte proude of this victory, came with the Earle of March vnto the Caſtell of Cokclauis in Teuidale, and layde ſeege to the ſame, but John Greynelow Captayne thereof defended it ſo manfully, that they gote no greate aduauntage, yet at length he fell to this compoſition with them, that if he had no reſkewe within the ſpace of three moneths, the Caſtell ſhoulde be then rendred into their hands.

The Caſtell of Cocklauis beſeeged.

A compoſition.

When the gouernour of Scotlande was enformed what agreement the Captayne of Cokclauis had made, he aſſembled the Lordes in counſell to haue their aduice for the leuying of an army againſt the time appoynted.

There were many of this opinion, that it was better to loſe the Caſtell than to iooperde the liues of ſo many men as were neceſſary to furniſh that enterpriſe for the ſauing of it: but ỹ gouernor ſhewed, that hee weyed the loſſe of it ſo much, that if none of the nobles would paſſe with him to the reſkew thereof, he would yet goe himſelfe to doe what in him might lie to ſaue it. But in the meane time, ſuch trouble roſe in England,

that there needed no power to be leuied for the defence of Cokclauis. For by a conſpiracie practiſed agaynſte Kyng Henry, certayne of the Engliſh nobilitie were alyed togither to haue deſtroyed hym, but amongſt the reſidue, the Percies were as chiefe.

A conſpiracie againſt Kyng Henry by the Percies and other.

They fought togither at Shrewelbury a right bloudy battell, where the King gote the victory, and ſlewe the Lorde Percy ſurnamed (as before ye haue heard) Henry Hotelſpurre.

Shrewesburie fielde.



At this battell was alſo the Earle of Dowglas, with a greate company of Scottiſhmen on the Percies ſide, for being taken priſoner at the battell of Hommyldoun (as before is ſayde) it was accorded betwixte hym and the ſayd Henry Hotelſpurre, that ayding hym and other his complices againſt King Henry, if it chaunced the ſaid Kyng Henry to be vanquiſhed and put from the Crowne, according to their intente and purpoſe, then ſhould the ſayd Earle Dowglas be releaſed of his raunſome, and haue the towne of Barwike rendred vnto hym in reward of hys ayde and aſſiſtaunce.

The Earle of Dowglas at Shrewesburie field in ayd of the Percies.

He fought (as is reported) with ſingular manhode, and hadde the forewarde on the Percies ſide.

He led the forewarde ther.

He ſlewe that day with his owne hands three gentlemen arrayed in the Kings coate armour, and finally when the battell was loſt, he was taken in the chaſe and ſaued aliue, where not one more of all his retinue of Scottes eſcaped with life, but were all ſlayne out of hande.

He is taken priſoner.

Neyther was this victory gotten by Kyng Henry without greate ſlaughter of thoſe that were on his parte, for he loſt foure right valiaunt Knights, as Staluart, Blont, Maſſie, and Pottok, with ſeuen hundred other ſouldiers and men of warre, as the Scottiſhe writers haue, but the Engliſh authors name a farre greater number, as ſixteene hundred at the leaſt.

King Henry (as the ſame Scottiſhe writers doe recorde) vſed the counſell & aduice of ỹ Earle of March in the obteyning of this victory, being fled lately before from the Rebelles ſyde vnto him.

The Earle of Dowglas in reſpect of his noble parentage and high valiancie, was right tenderly cheriſhed by King Henry, who for that hee hadde ſeene him doe ſo valiantly in the day of that battell, reputed hym worthy of all honor.

This Earle of Dowglas yet was righte infortunate in moſt of his enterpriſes, ſo farre forth that he neuer wanne battell wherein he chaunced to be, & was therefore named Archebald Tinneman, though there was no default to be found at any time in his owne perſon, for he euer foughte with great manhode.

The Earle of Dowglas infortunate in battell.

His ſurname Tinneman.

At the battell of Hommyldoun he loſt one of his eyes, and at this battell of Shrewelburie he loſt one of his ſtones.

The olde Earle of Northumberland, hearing what euill ſucceſſe his ſonne and other his kinſmen had founde in their rebellious enterpriſe at Shrewelbury, with one of his Nephewes (that was his ſiſters ſonne) and other of his friends and kinſmen withdrew into Scotland, where he was receyued by Henry Wardlaw biſhop of Sainte Andrews, and lodged with him at his eaſe and in good ſurtie within his Caſtell of Sainte Andrews aforeſayde.

The Earle of Northumberland fled into Scotlande.

About the ſame time, King Robert was aduertiſed, that his ſon the Duke of Rothſay was pyned to deathe in Falkland (in maner as before is expreſſed) which newes were ſo greeuous vnto him, that he grewe eache day more and more in ſorowe and melancoly.

The death of the Duke of Rothſay commeth to the knowledge of his father.

The

The Duke of Albany kepte it so long as was possible from the Kings knowledge, and beeing nowe sente for by the Kyng to aunsweare hym for suche treasonable slaughter of hys sonne, hee came and so excused the matter with a fayre paynted tale, as though hee had bin nothing giltie in the cause, and for further declaration of his innocencie, he promised if it might please the Kyng to come vnto Edynburgh, hee woulde bring in the offendors which were culpable of the murder.

The Kyng as then remayning in Bute (where for the most part he euer soiourned) though hee were not well able to trauell by reason of long sickneſſe, yet in a chariot hee came vnto Edynburgh, vpon the earnest desire he had to see his sonnes death punished. And at his comming thither, the Duke of Albany deliuered vnto hym certayne naughty persons, and suche indeede as for their haynous actes and vngratious conditions deserued well to die (though not for thys matter) whiche neuertheleſſe by vntrue suggestions and forged accusements, beeyng brought afore corrupt iudges, (and suche as the Duke of Albany had prouided for his purpose) were condemned as giltie of his deathe, whome in al theyr lyfe time they neuer sawe.

Though thys matter was handled as finely as was possible, and made so sounde and cleere as coulde bee deuised, yet was not the Kyng so satisfyed in hys mynde, but that hee hadde a greate suspicion in the Duke of Albany as authour of hys sonnes deathe: but for so muche as the Duke had all the Realme vnder hys obeysance, partly by policie, & partly by authoritie of his office, beeyng gouernour therof, ẏ King durſt not attempt any thing agaynſte hym, but rather doubted, leaſt hee hauing an ambitious desire to the Crowne, woulde compaſſe also to haue the lyfe of his seconde sonne named James as then Prince of Scotlande, and therefore by the faithfull helpe and good aduice of Walter Wardlawe the Bishop of Sainte Andrews, he prouided a Shippe, and sente the sayde Prince forth in the same to passe into Fraunce, deliuering hym also a letter written and directed vnto the King of England in his fauoure, if he chaunced to fall at vnwares by any fortune into the Englishmens handes.

Henry Lorde Synclare the seconde Earle of Orkney, was appoynted to haue the conuoye of hym, who hauing all his purueyance ready, toke the Shippe that was appoynted for them at the Bas, where it lay at ancre, and lewsing from thence, they sayled forwarde till they came to Flamburgh heade, where (as some saye,) they were taken on the Sea by Englishmen, the whiche hearing howe the Prince of Scotlande should passe that wayes, lay in awayte for hym.

Other write, that his desire was to be set on land there, because he might not away with the ayre of the sea, being brought farre out of quiet in hys head and stomacke therewith. But how soeuer it was, the troth is, taken he was in the .ix. yeere of his age the .xxx. day of March in the yere after the incarnation .1406. and was kept in captiuitie of the English men by the space of eighteene yeers.

James Prince of Scotland taken by the Englishmen. H. B. 1404

At his comming to the presence of King Henry, he deliuered vnto him the letters directed from hys father Kyng Robert, the tenor whereof here ensueth, as in Scottish they be written.

The tenor of a letter as it is written in the Scottish tong.

Robert King of Scottes to Henry Kyng of Englaund greeting. Thy greate magnificence, humilitie, and iuſtice, are ryghte patente to vs, by gouernaunce of thy laſt army in Scotlande, howbeit sic things had bene vncertayne to vs afore. For though thou seemed as enemie with moſt awfull incurſions in our Realme: zit wee faund mair humanities and plealyres than damage (be thy cūming) to our subdittes. Specially to yame that receyuit thy noble father ẏ Duke of Longcaſtell the time of his exill in Scotlande. We may not ceys yairfore, whyle wee are on life, bot aye lupf and loif thee as maiſt noble and worthy Prince, to ioys thy Realme. For yocht Realmes and nations contende amang themselfe for conqueſts of glory and laundes, zit na occaſion is amang vs to inuade athir Realmes or lieges with iniuries, bot erar to cōtend amang our selfe, quhay ſall perſew othir with maiſt humanitie and kindneſſe. As to vs we will meis all occaſion of battell, quhare any occurres at thy pleaſure. Forther, because we haue na leſſe sollicitude in preſeruing our childzen fra certayne deidly enimies, than had sometime thy nobill fader, we are conſtreyned to seeke suppoze at vncowth Princes hands. Howbeit, the inuaſion of enimies is sa greate, that ſmall defence occurres agaynſte yame without they be preſerued by amitie of nobill men. For the warld is sa full of peruerſit maſice, that na crueltie nor offence may be deuiſit in erd, bot the famine may be wrocht be motion of gold and syluer. Heirfore, because we knawe thy hieneſſe full of mony nobill vertues, with ſic pyſſaunce and riches, that na Prince in our daies may bee compard thairto. We desire thy humanitie and suppoze at this time.

We traiſt it is not vnknowen to thy Maieſtie, howe oure eldeſt sonne Dauid is slayne miſerably in Priſon be oure Brothir the Duke of Albany, quhome wee cheſit to be gouernoure (quhan wee were fallen in decrepit age) to oure subdittes and Realme, beſeekand thy hienes thairfore to be sa fauorable, ẏ this bearer James

our ſecound and allanerly ſonne may haue targe to leife vnder thy faith, and iuſtice, to be ſome memozy of our poſteritie, knawaund the vnſtable condition of mans life ſa ſodanly altered: Now flouriſaund, and ſuddaynely falling to vtter conſumption.

Foꝛthir beliefe well, quhan Kings & pꝛinces hes na other beild bot in thair awyn folkes, thayꝛ empyꝛe is caduke and fragill. Foꝛ the minde of common peppll, ar euir flowaund and mair inconſtant than wind. Zit quhen pꝛinces ar roborat be amitie of othir vncowth Kings thair bꝛethir and nyghtbouris, na aduerſitie may occurre to tieft thaym fra thair dignitie ryall.

Foꝛthir gif thy hienes think nocht expedyent, as God foꝛbeid) to obtemper to thir owꝛ deſires.

Zit we requeſt ane thyng quhilk was ratifijt in our laſt trewes and condition of peace, that ỳ ſupplication made be ony of the two Kings of Ingland and Scotland ſall ſtaund in manner of ſauiconduct to the bearer. And thus we deſire to be obſeruat to this our allanerly ſonne, And the gratious God conſerue thee maiſt noble Pꝛince.

After that King Henry had cauſed theſe letters to be opened and redde, hee aduiſed himſelfe thereon with great deliberation, but in the end, he determined to ſtay this James Pꝛince of Scotland as his lawfull pꝛiſoner, foꝛ that he was thus taken in time of warres, and that mozeouer, there were diuers Rebelles of Englande ſuccoured within the boundes of his fathers dominion, to the high diſpleaſure of the ſayde Kyng Henry.

But ſuch was the fauour ſhewed in his bꝛinging vp, that his captiuitie turned moze to hys honoꝛ, pꝛofite, and commoditie, than any other woꝛdly hap that might by any meanes haue otherwiſe chaunced vnto him.

He had ſuch perfect inſtructoꝛs to teach hym, aſwell the vnderſtanding of tongs as the ſciences, that he became right experte and cunning in euery of them.

He was taughte alſo to ride, to runne at the tilt, and to handle all kind of weapons conuenient to be vſed of ſuch a perſonage, wherevnto hee was ſo apt and ready, that fewe in any poynte of actiuitie might ouermatch him.

He had good knowledge in muſike, and coulde play on ſundzy inſtruments right perfectly.

To be bꝛiefe, it appeered in all his behauioure and manners, in what company ſo euer he came, that his bꝛinging vp had bin accoꝛding to hys nature, neyther of them differing from his birth, and the qualitie of a noble and moſt vertuous pꝛince.

After it was ſignifyed vnto his father Kyng Roberte, that his ſon was thus arreſted in England, he made full great and dolozous mone, foꝛ lamenting that euer he matched himſelfe in mariage w... a woman of ſo meane degree (to the diſpeꝛagement of his bloud) as was Queene Annabell, on whome he begate his ſonnes, whiche (as he toke it) was the onely cauſe why aſwell foꝛayne Pꝛinces as his owne ſubiectes had hym thus in contempt.

He toke this matter ſo ſoꝛe to hart, that within thꝛee dayes after the newes came vnto hym, he departed this woꝛld thꝛough foꝛce of ſickneſſe, now encreaſed by melancoly, whiche had vexed hym a long time befoꝛe.

He dyed in the ſixteenth yeere of his raigne cõplete, and from the incarnation. 1408.

His body was buryed at Paſley, with hys wife Queene Annabell befoꝛe reherſed.

He was a man of a mighty ſtature, very liberall and gentle, ſo that if he had not bin maymed with an Hoꝛſe, and thereby grewe lame, that hee might not trauell about the affayꝛes of ỳ Realm himſelfe, it was thoughte the common wealthe ſhould haue pꝛoſpered vnder his gouernemente, as much as euer it did vnder any of his pꝛedeceſſoꝛs.

The gouernour Robert Duke of Albany, after the deceſſe of his bꝛother King Roberte, was by new election choſen, oꝛ rather confirmed in his office of gouernoure, which he exerciſed moze vpꝛightly, and with better iuſtice now after his bꝛothers death, than befoꝛe.

In the meane time, the Caſtell of Jedwoꝛth (whiche the Engliſhmen had helde euer ſith the battell of Durham) was taken by Tyndale men, and raſed downe to the earth.

Archembald Earle of Dowglas, as yet remayning captiue in Englãd, after he had knowledge of King Roberts death, made ſhift to agree foꝛ his raunſome, and ſo being ſet at libertie, returned with all ſpeede nowe at lengthe into Scotlande.

Shoꝛtly after, there was a councell called, wherein was a motion made foꝛ the reſtoꝛing of George Earle of Marche to his countrey, lands, and bloud.

After long debating of the matter, and harde bold tw and fro both with him and againſt him, it was in the end cõcluded, that he ſhould returne into Scotland, and be receyued as a true Scotiſhman, but vnder this condition, that he ſhould foꝛgoe his lands of Annerdale, and Lochmaben, which ſhould foꝛ euer remayne to the Dowglas, and to his heires.

All his other landes and poſſeſſions, it was accoꝛded, that he ſhoulde enioy as in his foꝛmer righte and eſtate. And thus was the Earle of Marche pardoned of all paſſed offences committed againſte the Crowne of Scotlande, and

1408

His buriall.

His ſtature and qualities.

The Duke of Albany confirmed gouernoure of the Realme.

Iedword Caſtell taken.

The Earle of Dowglas is releaſed and returneth into Scotland.

A motion made for the reſtoring of the Earle of March to his countrey.

The Earle of March reſtored home.

Iames the Pꝛince of Scotland ſtayed as priſoner in England.

His bringing vp.

An happy captiuitie.

His inſtructors in the tongs.

His trayning in warlike exerciſes.

His knowlege in muſike

The griefe of his father king Robert.

and receyued home, to the greate comfort of hys friendes.

Abont the ſame time, there roſe greate trouble in Scotlande, by the Rebellion of Donald of the Iles, who clayming by ryght of his wife, a title to the Earledome of Ros, was defeated of the ſame, by practiſe of the gouernoure, hauyng by ſubtill conueyance, aſſured the ſayde Earledome vnto his ſecond ſonne the Earle of Buchquhane that hight Iohn.

The foreſayde Donald, by way of ſupplication, beſoughte the gouernoure to doe hym reaſon, but he receyued nought, except it were frowarde ſpeeche, wherewith hee toke ſuche diſpleaſure, that raiſing all the power of the Iles, he came into Roſſe, and ſubdued the ſame at his pleaſure, but not ſatisfyed with this, hee paſſed thorough Murray, Bogheual, and other boundes thereaboutes, till hee came into Garioch, purpoſing to brenne Abyrdene. Donald ſubdewed Ros.

But Alexander Stewarde Earle of Mar, hauing gathered a power with all diligence to reſiſt this Donalde, mette with him at a Village called Harlow, and incontinently not ſtaying for more ayde that was commyng towardes hym, ſet on the enimies more raſhly than orderly, and more fiercely than diſcretely, not paſſing for keeping any accuſtomed aray of battell as The Earle of Mar. The battell of Harlowe.



had bin requiſite, by reaſon wherof, great ſlaughter was made on eyther parte, the victory in the ende being ſo doubtfull, that both partes were fayne to withdrawe out of the fielde, and flee to the nexte Mountaynes, as glad to be ſeuered the one from the other.

There was ſlayne on Donaldes parte nine hundred menne, with Makclane and Makyntyos.

On the Earle of Mars ſyde, there dyed Alexander Ogiluy Sherife of Angus, with ſeuen Knightes of name, and dyuers other gentlemen, with Commons, to the number of fyue hundred.

This battell was ſtryken on Saint Iames euen, in the yeere. 1411.

Donald of the Iles, after this bickering wholy graunted the victory to his enimies in fleeyng all the night long after the battell towards Ros, and from thence with like ſpeede hee paſſed ouer into the Iles.

In the yeere nexte following, the gouernoure prepared to make a iourney into the Iles, to chaſtiſe the foreſaid Donald, but he thorough feare of further domage, ſubmitted him ſelfe, and was ſworne neuer to procure any trouble to ẏ Realm in tyme to come. Donald of the Iles ſubmitteth himſelfe.

Not long after the battell of Harlow, Patrike Dunbar, ſeconde ſonne to the Earle of Marche, with one hundred of hardy perſons, came early one morning ſomewhat before the breake of day to Faſt Caſtell, and wanne the ſame, takyng the Captayne priſoner, whoſe name was Thomas Holdon. Faſt Caſtell wonne.

At the ſame time, was ẏ bridge of Roxburgh broken downe, and the towne brent by William Dowglas of Drumlanerike, Gawayn Dunbar, another of the Earle of Marches ſonnes, and diuers other. The bridge of Roxburgh broken down.

In the ſame yere, (or rather in the yere before) the vniuerſitie of ſaint Androwes was firſte foũded, which afterwardes was furniſhed with dyuers notable learned men brought in and placed there by King Iames the firſte, to the ende, that by their inſtructions hys people might encreaſe in learning, to the further aduancement of vertue, lawdable manners, and all ſortes of other ciuill cuſtomes. 1411 The firſt beginning of the vniuerſitie of Saint Androwes.

Doctors of Diuinitie, and of the Canon lawe.

Amongst sundry other expert men in all sciences which he brought into Scotlande, there were eighteene Doctors of Diuinitie; and eight Doctors of the law Canon.

The Earle of Stratherne slayne.

Muchwhat about ỳ same time, John Drummound slewe Patricke Graham Earle of Stratherne, by a trayterous meane, and thereupon fled into Ireland: but as he was about to haue passed from thence ouer into England, the vessel wherein he sayled, was driuen on the coast of Scotlād, where hee was taken, and shortly after lost hys head for the sayd offence.

Warres betwixt England and Fraunce.

Shortly after also, there rose great warres betwixt Englād and France, as in the Histories of those Realmes may more playnely appeare.

Rebellion in Wales.

There was also a greate Rebellion reysed in Wales against Henry the fifth King of England, whiche was the sonne of Henry the fourth lately deceassed.

We finde in the Scottishe Chronicles, that this Henry the fifth at hys returning forthe of Fraunce, after his first iourney thither, hauyng in the same wonne the Towne of Harflete, & discomfited the whole power of Fraunce at Agincourt) was constreyned to goe against ỳ Welchmen, and encountring with the Prince of Wales, was discomfyted, and lost tenne thousand of hys men, but after this, hee reenforced his power, and came agayne into Wales, not ceassing, til he had brought the Welchmen subiect at his pleasure, but the English writers make no mention of any suche matter.

Henry the fifth discomfited by the Welchmen. He subdueth them.

The Castell of Werke wonne.

Whilest things passed thus in Englande, William Halyburtoun wanne the Castell of Warke, and slew all such as he found within it, howbeit, small while endured the ioy of thys fortunate successe to the Scottes: for sundry Englishmen that knewe all the secretes of the house, found meanes to enter through a gutter, that serued in manner of a Sinke, to auoyde al the filthe of the Kitchin into the Riuer of Tweede, breaking downe a pane of an olde wall, and so made entrie for the residue of their fellowes, by reason whereof, they easily recouered the Castell, and in reuenge of them that were slayne there when the Scottes wanne it, they likewise slew al those whiche were as then within it, without any respect of one or other.

It is againe recouered.

1419

After this, in the yeere. 1419. the thirde daye of September, Robert Duke of Albany, that hadde bin gouernour of Scotlande for the space of. xv. yeeres, after the death of King Robert the thirde, departed out of this life, hauing borne hymselfe in all his time, as a right valiaunte and noble Prince.

The deceasse of Roberte Duke of Albany.

Ambassadors from the French King.

A little before his deceasse, there came from Charles the Frenche King, the Earle of Vandosme, and chauncelor of France, both to renewe the auncient league betwixt the two Realmes of Scotland and Fraunce, and also to get some power of Scottes to passe into Fraunce, to support the sayd Charles against the Englishmen, whiche as then sore inuaded his Realme.

An army of Scottes sent into Fraunce.

Whereupon shortly after by decree of councell it was ordeyned, that Iohn Steward Earle of Buchquhane, second sonne to Duke Robert, and Archimbald Dowglas Earle of Wigton, should passe into Fraunce with. vij. thousande armed men.

The King of England menaceth the Scottes.

The King of Englande forbiddeth his subiectes to trade into Scotland.

The King of Englande menaceth the Scottes.

The King of Englande marieth the daughter of Fraunce.

The articles of agreement.

The Dolphin of Fraunce maynteyneth the warre against the Englishmen.

Scottish souldiours arriue in Fraunce.

Chatelonis Touraine deliuered to the Scottishmen.

The battell of Bauge.

The Duke of Clarence slaine.

The King of Englande to preuent the Scottes, sent his Ambassadors into Scotland, to forbid all his subiectes to trade into Scotland, and to warne the Scottes to keepe their owne at home, menaced to inuade Scotland with a puissant army, and that in all hast. Whiche rumor beeyng spred ouer all the boundes of his Realme, caused the Scottes for doubt thereof, to lie all the nexte sommer on the bordures: but in the meane tyme, King Henry passed ouer into Normandy, to pursue his Warres agaynste Fraunce with all diligence.

At length, through procurement of the Duke of Burgoine, vnder certayne conditions and couenauntes of agreemente, King Henry toke to Wife the Lady Katherine daughter to the French King.

And amongst other Articles of the same agreement it was concluded, that after the deceasse of Charles the Frenche King, the Crowne of Fraunce should immediately descend vnto King Henry, as lawfull inheritour to that Realme, without all contradiction, by reason whereof, Charles the Dolphine and sonne to the sayde King Charles, was cleerely excluded from all clayme to the same: but this notwithstandyng, the Dolphine did not only refuse to surrender hys title, but also sought to maintayne the warre against King Henry, as his aduersarie and open enimie to the Realme.

In the meane while also, the Earles of Buchquhan and Wigton with Alexander Lindsay brother to the Earle of Crawford, and Thomas Swyntoun Knightes, accompanyed with seuen thousand well armed men, arriued in Fraunce, to the greate reioycing of the Dolphine, as hee well declared in the thankfull receyuing and most hartie welcomming of them. Finally, the towne & Castell of Chatelone in Touraine was deliuered to them, that they might haue a place at all times to resorte vnto, at their owne will and pleasure.

Shortly after, they were employed in seruice at the battell of Bauge, fought on Easter euen, where ỳ Duke of Clarence brother to the King of Englād, the Earle of Riddisdale, otherwise called the Earle of Angus, the Lord Rosse, ỳ Lorde Gray, & diuers other great Barons were slayne, beside other of the meaner sort, in all to the number

ber of ſixteene hundred.

There wer alſo a great company of priſoners taken at the ſame iourney, amongſt whome as principall were theſe, the Earle of Huntington, and the Earle of Sommerſet, with his brother, both of them being breethren to the Lady Jane that was after married to King James the firſt, King of Scotlande. For the high valiauncie of the Scottiſhmen ſhewed in this battel, the Dolphin created the Earle of Buchquhan high Conneſtable of Fraunce, & gaue him ſundry townes, Caſtels, and Lands, therwith the better to maintayne his eſtate.

The King of Englande ſore moued for the death of his brother, came ouer with all ſpeede into France with a mighty hoſt, and had with him James the Scottiſhe King, or rather Prince of Scotland, for all this while the Scottes reputed him not as King, for ẏ he was not as yet crowned, nor ſet at libertie out of the Engliſhmens hands, into the which as before ye haue heard, he chaunced to fall by his fathers life time.

The cauſe why King Henry did take thys James ouer with him at ẏ preſent into Fraunce was, for that he hoped by his meanes to procure all the Scottiſhmen that were in ſeruice with the Dolphin to forſake him, and to returne home into their owne countrey: but when he had broken thys matter vnto the ſaide James, and promiſed, that if he could bring it to paſſe, he woulde not only remitte his raunſome, but alſo ſend hym into Scotlande highly rewarded with greate riches. James aunſwered herevnto, that hee marueiled much, why he did not conſider how he had no auctoritie ouer the Scottes ſo long as he was holden in captiuitie, and as yet had not receyued the Crowne, but (ſayeth he) if it were ſo that I might be ſet at libertie & had receyued ẏ Crowne according to the accuſtomed manner, togyther with the othes and homages of my ſubiectes, I could thē in thys matter do, as ſhould be thought to ſtande with reaſon, but in the meane time I ſhall deſire your grace, to holde mee excuſed, and not to will mee to doe that whiche I may in no wiſe performe.

King Henry marueiling at the high wiſedome which appeared to be planted in the head of that yong Prince, left off to trauell with hym any further in this matter.

In the meane time the warres continuing betwirte the King of Englande and the Dolphin of Fraunce, many townes were beſieged, wonne, and ſacked, and ſundry light bickerings and ſkirmiſhes chanced betwixte the parties as occaſion ſerued.

But the Engliſhmen ſhewed themſelues to beare ſuche hatred towarde the Scottes, that ſo many as fell into their handes neuer needed to ſtrayne their friendes for their raunſomes, which crueltie they put not in practiſe againſt their enimies being of any other nation.

The death of Henry King of Englande.

At length, King Henry fell into a greeuous diſeaſe, whiche in ſhorte time made an ende of hys lyfe, notwithſtandyng all the helpe that eyther by Phiſicke or otherwayes, myght be miniſtred vnto him.

1422

The ſame yeere, that is to witte, 1422. the French King Charles the ſyxt of that name deceaſſed, after whome ſucceeded his ſonne Charles the ſeuenth, before named the Dolphin, as the cuſtome there is.

The death of Charles the French King.

By the death of theſe Kings, the warres were not altogither ſo earneſtly followed as before, wherevppon the Earles of Buchquhane and Wigtoun returned into Scotlande, and ſhortly after was an army leuyed, and ſiege layde, both to Roxburgh and to Barwike, but for that they lay long abroade and did no good, returnyng home withoute gayne, this iourney in derriſion was called the durty rode, or as the Scots terme it, the dirtin rayde.

Roxburgh and Barwike beſeeged.

The Dyrtin rayde.

But now to ſpeake ſomewhat, concerning the order of the common wealth in Scotlande, yee ſhall vnderſtande, that after the deathe of Roberte Duke of Albany, his ſonne Mordo Steward Earle of Fife and Menteith, was made gouernoure, continuing in that office for the ſpace of foure yeeres, though (to confeſſe the trouth) hee was farre vnmeete thereto, differyng muche from the wiſedome and manhode of hys Father, for in him remayned ſundry vices, greatly variable and contrary one to another.

Mordo Steward Earle of of Fyfe elected gouernour of Scotlande.

The repugnaunt vices reigning in Mordo Steward.

In time of any aduerſitie hee ſhewed hymſelfe as a man deſpayring of all comforte or helpe: In proſperitie ſo lifte vp in careleſſe inſolencie, that he hadde no ſtay of himſelfe, by reaſon whereof, ſometymes he ſuffered haynous offenders through dread of theyr puiſſant friendes (a thyng not to bee ſuffered in Scotlande) to eſcape vnpuniſhed, and at other tymes agayne, hee ſhewed hymſelfe more ſeuere and cruell in executyng of iuſtice than the matter required.

Thus was hee ſtill in extremities, keepyng no temperaunce nor laudable meane in any of hys doings. Heereto was hee ſo negligente in chaſtiſing hys ſonnes Walter and Alexander, (whether through ſoftneſſe and lacke of witte, or by reaſon he bare ſuche a fonde and tender fatherly loue towardes them) that they hauyng hym in ſmall regarde, played many outragious partes, to the ſore offendyng of a number. At length, one of them taking diſpleaſure with hys Father, for that hee woulde not gyue hym a Faulcone, the whyche hee hadde long before greatly deſyred, ſtepped to hym, and

His negligēce in chaſtiſing his ſonnes.

An insolent part of one of his sonnes.

plucking hir beside his fist, wrung hir necke from hir body euen presently before his face. Whereupon the father somewhat kindled with this presumptuous deede of the son: Walter (said hee) for so was his name that had thus misused him, sith it is so that thou and thy brother will not be ruled by my soft and gentle gouernemente, I shall bring him home ere ought long, that shall chastise both you and me after another manner. And after this, he rested not to trauell still for the redeeming of James the first out of captiuitie, till at length hee brought hym home indeede, to the greate wealthe, ioy, and good happe of all the Scottishe nation.

The words of Duke Murdo to his sonne.

Duke Murdo trauelleth for the redeeming of Iames the first.

In the meane time, ỳ French King Charles the seuenth, beeing sore vexed with warres by the Englishmen, sente to the Earle of Buchquhan his connestable, requiring him to returne againe with all speede into Fraunce, and to bring so many Scottishmen with him, as hee conueniently myghte.

This Earle therefore, founde meanes to perswade Archimbald Earle of Dowglas father to the foresaide Earle of Wigtoun to passe with him into Fraunce, whiche two Earles with an army of fiue thousand mẽ (or after some writers tenne thousand) tooke the Seas, and arriued with prosperous winde and weather at Rochell, and comming to the Frenche King, were receyued of him with all ioy and gladnesse.

The Earle of Buchquhan returneth into Fraunce.

The Earle of Dowglas was made incontinently Duke of Tourayne, thereby to aduance him in further honor.

The Earle of Dowglas made Duke of Tourayne.

But shortly after, at the battell of Vernoill, both the Earle of Buchquhan, the connestable of Fraunce, and this Duke of Touraine, with his sonne the Earle of Wigtoun, and the most parte of all their retinewes were slayne by the Englishe puissance, as in the French and Englishe histories more plainely may appeare.

The slaughter of Scottes, at the battell of Vernoill.

The Scottish Chronicles declare, that ỳ losse of this fielde, chaunced specially through enuy & discorde, which reigned amongst ỳ chieftaines.

Enuy and discorde.

For the Duke of Alanson enuying that the Scots shuld dayly rise in honor within Fraunce, kept himselfe backe, till time the Scottes were ouerthrowen and brought to vtter destruction.

Againe, euen vpon the ioyning, ther rose great strife and contention betwixt the Connestable & the Duke of Tourayne, who shoulde haue the supreme rule of the Scottishe legher, the one disdayning to giue place to the other.

Thus yee may perceyue, how the Scots with losse of many of their liues, and much bloudshed, supported the syde of Charles King of Fraunce, agaynste the Englishmen. And though there came dayly newes of dyuers great ouerthrowes giuen by ỳ Englishmen vnto such Scottishmen and other as serued the sayde King Charles, yet did not the Scottes therefore stay at home, but at sundry times, and vnder sundry Captaynes repayred into Fraunce: as amongst other one Robert Patillock of Dundee, with a newe power of Scottes, went ouer to King Charles the seuenth aforesayde, shewing suche proofe of his singular manhode and valiancie in those warres, as in recouerie of the Realme of France out of ỳ Englishmens hands, his seruice stode King Charles in notable steede.

Robert Patillock Captaine of a power of Scottishmen sente into Fraunce.

Chiefely, his diligence and prowes well appeared in reducing the parties of Gascoigne vnto the Frenche subiection, whiche hadde remayned a great number of yeeres vnder the dominion of the Englishe Kings.

And herevpon was he called by the inhabitãts euer after, *Le petit roy de Gascoigne.*

Robert Patillock cleped Le Petit roy de Gascoigne.

But now to returne to the businesse of Scotland as the same passed in this meane time, here is to be noted, that after the slaughter of Archimbald earle of Dowglas and Duke of Towrain, his sonne Archimbald the third of that name, succeeded in the Earledome of Dowglas.

Archimbalde the third, Erle of Dowglas.

This Earle of Dowglas, and William Hay Connestable of Scotlãd, with Henry Bishop of Abirden, were sente Imbassadours into England, to make sute for some agreement to be had, concerning the redemption of King James.

Scottishe Imbassadours sent into Englande.

These Imbassadours behaued themselues so sagely in this matter whiche they had in charge, that in the end, they brought it to good conclusiõ: As thus, Firste it was agreed, that King James shoulde be set at libertie, and to pay for his raunsome, ỳ summe of one hundreth thousand marks sterling, the one halfe to be payd in hand, and for the other halfe, to leaue sufficient pledges behinde him, till it were payde.

The raunsome of King Iames

Albeit some writers alledge, that leauing pledges for the payment of the one halfe, he was discharged of the other, in consideration that hee toke to wife the Lady Jane, daughter to ỳ Earle of Sommerset.

Iane daughter to the Earle of Sommerset married to King Iames the fiftie.

The saide Earle, and the Cardinall of Englande hys brother, conueyed hym with hys Queene their neece, vnto the borders of both the Realmes.

And at their taking leaue eache of other, there was presented vnto King James and to the Queene hys wife, besides a Cupborde of massie plate, sundry faire clothes of rich and costly arras by his wiues friendes, with many other iewelles and things of great price and valure.

Giftes giuen to king Iames by his wiues friendes.

King James then departed on this wise from his wiues brethren, and other suche his deere friends as his vertue and princely behauiour had procured him during his abode here in England, entred into Scotlande, and came to Edynburgh

King Iames commeth to Edynburgh.

on

on Care ſunday, otherwiſe called Paſſiõ ſunday in Lent, where he was receyued with all honour, ioy, and triumph that might be deuiſed.



AND after ý, aſſoone as the ſolemnitie of ý feaſt of Eaſter was fynished, hee came to Perth, and ſhortly after to Scone, where he was crowned king, and his wife Queene, by Duke Murdo the gouernor, and Henrie Biſhop of S. Andrewes, the xxj. day of May, after the incarnation. 1424.

There came forth of Englande with thys James the fyrſt, diuerſe Engliſhe Gentlemen, which remayning euer after in ſeruice with him, were aduaunced to certaine landes, poſſeſſions, and liuings in Scotlande. Amongſt whome (as one of the chiefeſt) was Andrew Gray, who afterwardes by the Kings ayde and good furtherance, got in maryage the daughter and heyre of Henrie Mortimer of Foulis, named Helen, and by that meanes came the Lordſhip of Foulis vnto the handes of the Grayes, whoſe ſurname and poſteritie continueth yet in Scotlande, inueſted with great landes and dignities, both in Gowry and Angus.

King Iames keepeth an audite.

King Iames after his coronation returned from Scone to Edenburgh, where he called afore him all thoſe that bare any authoritie in the adminiſtration of the common wealth during the time of the gouernours Duke Robert, and Duke Murdo, namely the Chancellour, the Treaſurer, the Clearkes of the Regiſter, the Comptroller, the Auditors, and Receyuers, with all other that had borne offices, or had any thing to do concerning the kings rents.

At length, when hee perceyued by theyr accompts made, that the moſt part of all the lands, rents, and reuenues perteyning to the Crowne, were waſted, beſtowed, alienes, and tranſported by the two foreſayd gouernors, vnto their friends and fautours, contrary to all right or good conſideration (the cuſtomes of Burrowes and good townes onely excepted) hee was not well content herewith, though for the tyme he paſſed ouer his diſpleaſure, in ſhewing outwardly no ſemblaunce, but as if hee had lyked all things well.

A Parliament at Edenburgh.

In the meane tyme, he aduiſedly peruſed all euidences, rolles, and Charters perteyning to the Crowne, and ſhortly thereupon called a Parliament a Edenbourgh, in the which, by aduice of



the three eſtates, a generall taxe was ordeyned and graunted, to be rayſed through the Realme: as xij. pence of the pounde to be payed of al lands within Scotlande, both ſpirituall and temporall, and foure pence for euery Cowe, Oxe, and horſe, to be payde for the ſpace of two yeares togither.

This payment was leuyed the fyrſt yeare without any trouble, but the ſeconde yeare there roſe ſuch murmure and grudging amongeſt the poore commons about the payment thereof, that hee remitted the reſidue that was behinde, and toke neuer any talke after of hys ſubiectes, tyll hee maryed his daughter with the Dolphyn of Fraunce.

Bylles of complaynt exhibited againſt the ſonnes of duke Mordo.

Amongeſt other bylles put vp in this laſt mencioned Parliament, there were diuerſe complaynts exhibited by the people, for ſundrie oppreſſions vſed and done by the ſonnes of Duke Murdo, and other great Peeres of the Realme, before the kings returne into Scotlande.

Walter Stewarde put in priſon.

Whereupon Walter Stewarde one of the ſonnes of the ſayde Duke Murdo, was arreſted,

and sent to a Castell situated vpon a rocke within the sea called the Bas, there to remaine in safe keeping.

Also Malcolme Flemming of Cumernalde, and Thomas Boyd of Kylmarnoke, were committed to warde in Dalkeith, but these two at the intercession of diuerse noble men were pardoned of all offences for an easie fine, with condition, that they shoulde satisfie all such persons as they had in any wise wronged.

The othe of king Iames.

In the foresayd Parliament also, king James toke a solemne othe, to defende as well the liberties of his Realme, as of the Church, during the course of his naturall life.

The like othe by his ensample did all the residue of the Barons take at the same present time.

A Parliament holden at Perth.

Not long after, an other Parliament was called & holden at Perth, in the which Duke Murdo with his sonne Alexander, were arested and committed to ward. So was also Archymbalde Earle of Dowglas, with his brother William Earle of Angus, George Earle of Marche, Adam Hepborne of Hales, and many other great Barons of Scotland, euery of them being put in sundrie Castels and strengthes to remaine there vnder safe keeping.

Duke Murdo and his sonnes arested.

Duke Murdo was sent to Carlaurok, and his Duches was put in Temptalloun.

1425

In the yeare following, on the holy Rode day called the Inuention of the Crosse, James Steward the third sonne of Duke Murdo moued with great yre, for that his father & brethren were holden in prison, came with a great power to the towne of Dounbrytaine, and brunt it after he had slaine John Steward of Doundonalde and .xxxij. other persones which were found in the same towne, but the king kindled in greate displeasure for this attempt, pursued this James so fiercely, that he was faine to flee into Irelande, where he afterwardes deceassed.

The towne of Dunbrytaine burnt.

A Parliament holden at Sterling.

1426

In the yeare next ensuing, king James called a Parliament at Sterling, in the which he himselfe sitting with scepter, sworde, and crowne in place of iudgement, Walter Steward with his brother Alexander were condemned, and incontinently were led forth to a place before the Castell, and there beheaded.

Walter and Alexander the sonnes of duke Murdo beheaded.

On the Morrow after, Duke Murdo himselfe, and Duncane Steward Earle of Lennox were conuicted of highe treason, and beheaded afore the Castell in semblable maner.

Duke Murdo and Duncane Steward Erle of Lennox beheaded.

Thus by the attainder of Duke Murdo and his sonnes, the Erledomes of Fife, Menteith, and Lennox came into the kings handes.

The residue of the Lordes and Barons remayning as then in prison, and abyding the kings pleasure, were sore afrayd when they heard what rygorous iustice had beene executed on Duke Murdo and his sonnes: notwithstanding within a twelue monthe after they were all set at libertie, and receyued into the kings fauour, on promise of their loyall demeanour and duetifull obedience euer after to be shewed during their naturall lyues.

In the yeare next following, which was after the incarnation. 1427. Alexander Lorde of the Iles, was arested by the king at Inuernes, for that he was accused to be a succorer & mainteyner of theeues and robbers in the countrey: but forasmuch as he promised in tyme comming to reforme his former misdemeanors, he was pardoned and set at libertie, whereof ensued greate trouble immediatly after.

1427 Alexander Lorde of the Iles arested.

He is set at libertie.

He rebelleth.

For shortly vpon his deliuerance, he gathered a power of wicked reapethriftes, and with the same comming vnto Inuernes, burnt the towne, and besieged the Castell, enforcing with all diligence to wynne the same, tyll he was aduertised, that the king was comming towardes him with a great power, whereupon he fledde incontinently to the Iles, and finally hauing knowledge that a great number of people lay dayly in awayte to take him, that they myght presente him to the kings handes, he came disguysed in poore aray to the holy Rood house, and there fynding the king on Easter dare deuoutly in the Churche at hys prayers, he fell downe on hys knees before hym, and beseought hym of grace for hys sake that rose as that day from death vnto lyfe.

The towne of Inuernes burnt.

Alexander of the Iles commeth to the king and asketh pardon.

At request of the Queene, the King pardoned him of lyfe, but he appoynted William Dowglas Erle of Angus to haue the custodie of him, and that within the castel of Temptalloun, that no trouble should rise by his meanes thereafter.

His mother Eufame, daughter to Walter sometime Earle of Ros, was also committed to warde in Saint Colmes Inche, bycause it was knowne that she solicited hir sonne to rebell in maner as is aforesayd against the king.

Not long after, Donald Ballocht, brother to the sayd Lord Alexander of the Iles, came with a great power of men into Lochquhaber.

Donalde Ballocht inuadeth Lochquhaber.

The Erles of Mar and Cathnes, came with such number of their people as they could rayse to defend the countrey against the inuasion of those Islandmen, and fought with the said Donald at Inuerlochtie, where the Erle of Cathnes was slain, and the Erle of Mar discomfited.

The Earle of Cathnes slaine.

Herewith did Donald returne with victorie & a great pray of goodes and riches into the Iles.

Donalde Ballocht returneth with victorie & spoile into the Iles.

The king sore moued with the newes hereof, came with a great armie vnto Dunstafage, purposing with all speede to passe into the Iles.

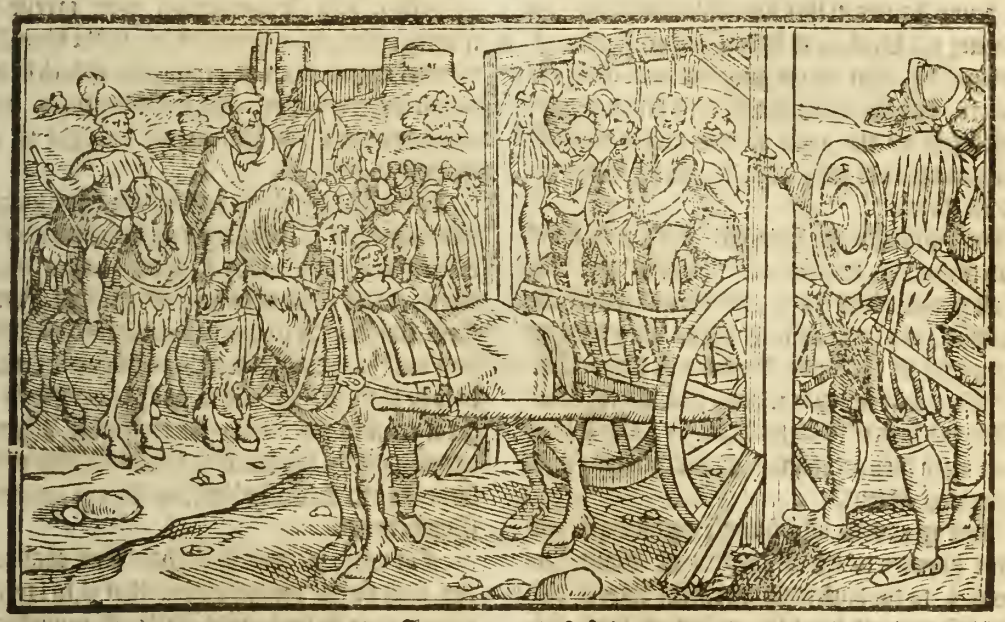
The Clannes and other chiefe men of the said Iles aduertised hereof, came to Dunstafage, and submitted

ſubmitted themſelues vnto the King, excuſing their offence, for that (as they alledged) the ſayde Donald had conſtreyned thē againſt their willes to paſſe with him in the laſt iourney.

All thoſe Clannes vpon this their excuſe, were admitted to the kings fauour, and ſworne to purſue the ſayd Donald vnto death.

Shortly herevpon, this Donald fled into Irelande, where he was ſlaine, and his head ſent by one Odo a great Lorde of Irelande (in whoſe countrey he lurked) as a preſent to the king that lay as then at Sterling. Donald fleeth into Ireland. His heade is ſent as a preſent to the king.

There were alſo three hundred of his adherents taken, and by the kings cōmaundement hanged for theyr offences within three weekes ſpace, after his fyrſt fleeing into Irelande. Three hundred of Donalds complices hanged.



This trouble being thus quieted, king James paſſed through all the bounds of his Realme to puniſh all offenders and miſruled perſons, which in any wiſe wronged and oppreſſed the poore people.

He allowed no pardon graunted afore by the gouernour, alledging the ſame to be expyred by his death. For he thought indeede it ſtode neyther with the pleaſure of God, nor wealth of the Realme, that ſo many ſlaughters, reiffes, and oppreſſions, as had beene done afore in the countrey, ſhoulde remayne vnpuniſhed through fault of iuſtice.

It is ſayde, that within the fyrſt two yeares of his raigne, there were three thouſande perſons executed by death, for ſundrie olde crymes and offences.

And though ſuch extreeme iuſtice might haue bene thought ſufficient to giue enſample to other to reforme their naughtie vſages, yet one Angus Duke of Strathern nothing afrayd therof, came with a company of theeues and robbers, and toke a great pray of goodes out of the countreys of Murray and Cathnes: for recouerie whereof, one Angus Murrey followed with a great power, and ouertaking the ſayde Angus Duke neare to Strachnauern, fiercely aſſayled him. Who with like manhode made ſtoute reſiſtance, by reaſon whereof, there enſued ſuche a cruell fight betwixt the parties, that there remayned in the ende but onely. xij. perſons aliue, and thoſe ſo wounded, that they were vneth able to returne home to theyr houſes, and lyued but a few dayes after.

About the ſame tyme, there was alſo another notable theefe named Makdonalde Ros, whiche grew with ſpoyles and robberies to great riches. Makdonalde Ros, a notable robber.

This wicked oppreſſor ſhod a poore widowe with horſe ſhone, becauſe ſhe ſayd ſhe would go to the king, and reueale his wicked doings. He ſhodde a wydow.

As ſoone as ſhe was whole and recouered of hir woundes, ſhe went vnto the king, and declared the cruelties done vnto hir by that vngracious perſon Makdonalde.

The king made ſuch diligent ſearche to haue him, that in the ende hee was taken with. xij. of his complices, and put to moſt ſhamefull death, as they had well deſerued. He was taken and executed.

In the thirde yeare after, which was from the incarnation. 1430. on the .xj. day of October, Jane the Queene of Scottes was delyuered of two ſonnes at one byrth, Alexander and James. 1430 The Queene deliuered of two ſonnes at one byrth.

The firſt deceaſſed in his infancie. The other ſucceeded after his fathers deceaſſe in the kingdome, and was named James the ſeconde.

At the baptiſme of theſe two infantes there were fiftie knightes made. Fiftie knights dubbed.

Amongſt the which, and firſt of all other was William the ſonne of Archembalde Earle of Dowglas, that ſucceeded his father in the Earledome of Dowglas.

His father the ſayde Archymbalde Dowglas ſomewhat

somewhat before this time, or as other Authors haue, in the yeare nexte ensuing, was arested by the Kings commaundement, and put in warde, remayning so a long time, till at length by supplication of the Queene and other Peeres of the Realme, the king pardoned him of all offences, and set both him and also Alexander Erle of Ros at libertie.

Archymbaldie Earle of Dowglas, arrested and put in prison.

King James in this sort did what in him lay to bring the Realme of Scotlande in such quiet tranquilitie, that (in purging the same of all offenders, and suche as lined by reife and robbing) passengers by the highe wayes might trauaile without dread of anye euill disposed persons to molest them.

King Iames desirous to purge his realme of vnruly persons.

He caused also the Baylyes and Prouosts of good townes to see that iust measures were vsed by all maner of buyers and sellers, and none to be occupied, but suche as were signed with the note and marke of the sayde Baylikes or Prouostes.

An ordinance for measures.

Moreouer he repayred and fortified the Castelles and fortresses of his Realme, and stuffed them with such ordinance and munition as was thought expedient.

Castels repayred and munited.

Hee graunted also sundrie priuiledges and great liberties to the vniuersitie of Saint Androwes, to the high aduauncement thereof, and was oftentymes himselfe present at theyr disputations, taking great pleasure therein.

Priuiledges graunted to the vniuersitie of S. Androwes

Suche as were knowne to bee learned men, and were presented to him by the Vniuersitie, he preferred to great benefices and other ecclesiastical lyuings, still as the same chaunced to bee vacant.

By suche meanes, all maner of vertue and good learning encreased dayly through the realme during his time, and namely Musicke was had in great price, which he appoynted to bee vsed in Churches with Organes, the which before hys time were not muche knowne amongest the Scottish men.

Organes brought into Scotlande.

Much what about the same time, there was a Parliament holden at Perth, in the which Henrie Wardlaw Bishop of Saint Androwes, in name of al the three estates there assembled, made a long and right pithie Oration to this effect, that where by the highe policie and prudent diligence of the kings Maiestie there present, iustice, and all maner of due administratiō of lawes and good ordinances were so reuiued, that nothing seemed to be ouerpassed that might aduaunce to the profite and cōmoditie of the common wealth, yet was there one wicked vsage crept in of late, increasing so fast, that if spredie remedie were not had in time, all those commodities brought into the Realme by his comming, shoulde be of small auaile, and that was suche superfluous ryot in banketting cheare, and numbers of costly dishes, as were then taken vp and vsed after the English fashion, both to the great hinderaunce of mans health, and also to the vnprofitable wasting of their goodes and substance.

A Parliament at Perth.

Bishop Wardlaw inueyeth agaynst superfluous fare.

If the laudable temperancie vsed amongest the Scottishe men in olde time were well considered, nothing might appeare more contrary and repugnant thereto, than that new kinde of gluttonie then vsed, by receyuing more excesse of meates and drinkes than sufficith to the nourishment of nature, through prouocatiō of such daintie and delicate dishes, confectioned sawces, and deuised potions, as were nowe brought in amongst them.

As for such gentlemē as the king had brought with him forth of England, they were worthie indeed to be cherished and had in high fauour, neyther was this abuse to be so greatly imputed vnto them, considering it was appropriate to their nation: but the Scottishmen themselues were chiefly to be blamed, that had so quickly yelded to so great an inconuenience, the enormitie whereof appeared by the sundrie vyces that followed of the same, as excesse, sensual lust, slouth, reif, and wasting of goodes.

Vices following delicate fare.

For if temperancie be the nourisher of al vertue, then muste the contrarie, that is to say, intemperance, be the bringer forth and prouoker of all vice.

If it might therfore please the kings highnesse to shewe his accustomed wisedome and prouidence in repressing this abuse of costly fare, so much domageable to his people, he shoulde do the thing that was meritorious before God, and no lesse profitable & necessary for the publike weale of all his subiects.

By these and many other the like perswasions, Bishop Wardlaw vsed to dissuade the king and his people from all superfluous courses of delicate dishes and surfetting bankets. Insomuch that euen then there was order taken, that fewer dyshes and more spare dyet should be vsed through the Realme, licencing Gentlemen only, and that on festiuall dayes, to be serued with Pies, the vse of them not being knowne in Scotland till that season.

Order taken for suppresin of costly fare.

Vse of bake meates in Scotland when it began.

Neuertheless, such intemperancie is risen in processe of time following, that the greedie appetite of gluttons in this age may be satisfied with no competent feeding, till their bellies be so stuffed with immoderate gurmandice, that they may vneth fetch breath, through which their noysome surfetting, they fall dayly into sundrie straunge and lothsome kindes of diseases, being oftentimes killed by the same in their flourishing youth, as by dayly experience plainly appeareth.

The greedie appetite of gluttons not satisfied.

In the same yeare the .xvij. day of June, was a terrible Eclipse of the Sunne at three of the clocke

A terrible Eclipse.

clocke at after nowne, the day being darkned ouer heade for the space of one halfe houre togither, as though it had beene night, and therevpon it was called the blacke houre.

At the next Lammas after, the king rayſed an armie, and came with the ſame to Rorburgh, beſieging the Caſtell for the ſpace of. xv. dayes togyther. Roxbourgh beſieged.



He had in this armie (as the repoꝛt went) the number of two hundꝛed thouſande men, accounting caꝛyage men and all other ſuch as followed the campe: yet notwithſtanding all this huge multitude, hauing waſted his powder and other munition befoꝛe he coulde doe any great hurt to his enimies, hee was conſtreyned to rayſe hys fielde, and leaue the Caſtell in the Engliſh mens handes as he found it.

After this, King James percеyuing how the knowledge of handicraftes and manuall occupations was decayed in Scotlande, thꝛough continuall exercиſe of warres, ſithe the dayes of Alexander the thirde, to the further aduauncement of the common wealth, and that his ſubiects might haue occaſion to auoyde ſlouth and ydleneſſe, the rote of all miſchiefe) he bꝛought a great number of cunning craftſmen out of Germanie, France, and other parties, to inſtruct his people in theyr artes and faculties.

Not long after, one Paule Craw a Bohemian boꝛne, was burnt at Saint Andꝛowes, foꝛ preaching and ſetting foꝛth the doctrine of John Hus, and John Wikclife.

John Fogo beeing one of them that helped chiefely to condemne him, was made foꝛ his great and earneſt diligence therein ſhewed, Abbot of Melros.

About the ſame time was the Abbay of Chartrare Monkes founded beſydes Perth, by king James, with great coſt and magnificence.

Alſo the Lord Scrope and other aſſociat with him, came in Ambaſſade from Henrie the ſixte, king of England.

The effect of whoſe meſſage was, to haue the auncient league betwixt the Scots and Frenchmen diſſolued, pꝛomiſing that if the Counceil of Scotland would conſent thereto, and ioyne in league with the Engliſhe men, that both the towne and Caſtell of Berwike with all the lands lying betwixt Tweed and the Recroſſe (as the Scots wyll) ſhoulde be deliuered into the Scottiſh mens handes. The offer of the Engliſhmē to haue the Scots to ioyne with them in league.

King James hauing ſmall credite in ſuche fayre pꝛomiſes, percеyued the ſame to tende only to this ende, that the league betwixt the Frenche men and Scottes might be once clearly bꝛoken, and then to vſe the matter as occaſion ſhoulde ſerue their turne.

This matter therefoꝛe being pꝛoponed befoꝛe the Counſell, it was concluded that in no wyſe the ſayde league betwixt the Frenche men and Scottes ſhould be diſſolued, and ſo therevpon the Engliſh Ambaſſadoꝛs were diſpatched without moꝛe talke concerning that matter.

In the ſame yeare, that is to wit. 1422. the king cauſed George Dunbar Earle of March, ſonne to that Erle which rebelled agaynſt his father King Robert the thirde, to be arreſted and put in ſafe keeping within the Caſtell of Edenbourgh. 1433

George Erle of March arreſted and put in warde.

He ſent alſo the Earle of Angus with his Chancelloꝛ William Creichtoun. and Adam Hepboꝛne of Hales to the Caſtell of Dunbar, deliuering them letters ſigned with his hande, and directed to the keepers of the ſayde Caſtell, that they ſhould deliuer vp the houſe immediatly vpō ſight of thoſe his letters vnto the bringers of the ſame. The keepers durſt not diſobey his commaundement, but ſuffered them to enter accoꝛding

ding to they? commiſſion.

A Parliament at Perth.

Within a twelvemonth after a Parliament was holden at Perth, where the foreſayd George Earle of March was diſinherited of al his landes and huings for his fathers offence committed agaynſt king Robert the thirde.

The Erle of March diſinherited.

Thus the houſe of the Dunbars loſt the Erledome of March, wherein the ſame had flouriſhed ſo many yeares togither, to the great defence and ſafegarde of the realme of Scotland on that ſide, againſt both ciuill and forraine enimies.

The Erledome of Buchquhan geuen to George Dunbar.

The king yet moued with ſome pitie toward ſo noble a linage, within ſhort time after gaue the Erledome of Buchquhan to the ſaid George, and after the Kings deceaſſe, the Lordes of the Councell thinking the ſame to little, aſſigned forth to him and to his ſonne Patrike, the ſumme of foure hundred markes yearely, to be receyued out of a parcell of his owne auncient inheritance, of the Erledome of March, to enioy the ſame till Iames the ſecond came to full age.

1435 The death of Alexander Stewarde Earle of Mar.

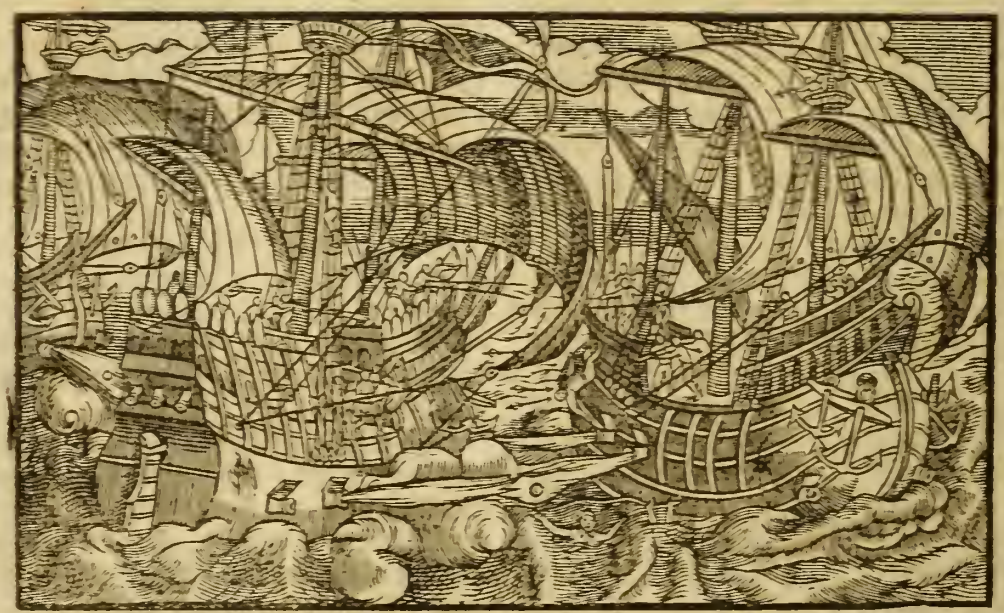
In the yeare. 1435. Ilexander Steward Erle of Mar departed out of this life.

This Ilexander was a Baſtard ſonne of the Erle of Buchquhan, that was one of the ſonnes of king Robert the ſeconde. He was a man of right ſingular prowes, and in his youth following the warres, was with Philip Duke of Burgoigne at the ſiege of Liege, or Luik, where he bare himſelfe ſo manfully, that few wanne the like honor at that iourney. Leodium.

Not long after, to his high aduauncement, he got in mariage the Ladie Jacoba Countes of Hollande: Notwithſtanding, he continued but a while with hir, being enforced to forgo hir companie, eyther for that ſhe had an other huſband, either for that the inhabitants woulde not ſuffer a ſtraunger to raigne ouer them.

Warres betwixt the Scottes of Mar and Hollanders.

After his returne into Scotlande, he ſent meſſengers into Hollande, requyring to haue the iſſues and profites of ſuch landes as were due vnto him in right of the ſayde Counteſſe his wife, but receyuing nought but a frowarde anſwere, he prouided him of ſhippes, and made ſore warres on the Hollanders by ſea: firſt being put to the worſe, but at length he toke a nũber of their ſhips laden with Marchandize, as they were returning homewardes from Dantzicke.



The Marriners were drowned, and the ſhips burnt. Through which loſſe, the Hollanders being ſore abaſhed, fell to a compoſition wyth him, and toke truce with the Scottes for an hundred yeares.

Truce betwixt the Scots and Hollanders for terme of one hundred yere.

This Earle of Mar ſo long as he lyued had the gouernaunce of the North partes of Scotlande vnder king Iames the firſt, for he was a right prudent perſon, aſwell in warlike enterpriſes, as in ciuill adminiſtration.

Stood Mares brought out of Hungarie into Scotlande for breede.

He brought forth of Hungarie ſundrie great Horſes and Mares for generation, that by ſuche meanes the countrey might be prouided of great horſes of their own race, where til that time there was none bred within Scotland, but ſmal nags, more meet to ſerue for iourneying hackneis than for any ſeruice in the warres.

Not long before this time, there came an Imbaſſade from the King of Denmarke vnto king Iames, requiring him to make payment of ſuch yearely tribute as was due to the ſayde king of Denmark, being alſo king of Norway, for the weſterne Iles, according to the promiſe and agreement made by Ilexander ſometime king of Scotland, the thirde of that name, vnto his predeceſſor Magnus, at that time king of Norway.

Imbaſſade out of Denmarke.

Their requeſt.

The Imbaſſadours that came with this meſſage, were honourably receyued, and in like ſort entertayned by king Iames, who at their departure gaue to the ſundry rich gifts, and appointed

for

ſir William Creichtoun to goe with them into Denmarke, Ambaſſadour from him, to the king there, who bled himſelfe ſo ſagely in this buſineſſe which he thus went about, that renuing the olde league betwixt the two Reelmes of Denmarke and Scotlande, ſtedfaſt peace and aſſured amitie without any moze ado therof enſued.

Much what about the ſame time, there came Ambaſſadozs from the French king Charles the vij. not onely deſiring to haue the olde league betwixt France and Scotland to be ratified at that preſent by a new confirmation, but alſo to confyrme the ſame with better aſſurance, Margaret eldeſt daughter to King James, at requeſt of the ſayde King Charles, was giuen in mariage vnto Lewes the Dolphin, and eldeſt ſonne to the ſayde king Charles.

Many great Lozdes of Scotlande were appoynted to haue the conueyaunce of hir into Fraunce, and great prouiſion of ſhippes made foz that voyage, bycauſe the king was aduertiſed that the Engliſh men had a fleete abzode on the ſeas, to take hir if they might meete with hir by the way. But as the hap fel, it chaunced the ſame time, as the Scottiſh ſhippes ſhoulde paſſe, there appeared on the coaſt of England, a great fleete of Spaniardes, which the Engliſh men ſuppoſing to be the Scots, they came vpon them with lxxx. veſſels of one and other, thinking verely to haue had theyr wiſhed pray, euen accozding to theyr expectation: but beeing receyued with as hote a ſtozme as they bzought, they quickly vnderſtode how they were in a wzong boxe, and ſo ſhrewdly amazed (as Hector Boetius hath) they ſuſteyned great loſſe both in men and ſhips, and in the meane time the Scottiſhe nauie paſſed by quietly without domage, encountring not one ſhippe by the way that ſought to impeache theyr paſſage.

The arriual of the Lady Margaret of Scotland in France.

There went. Cxl. Ladies and Gentlewomen fozth of Scotland to attende this Ladie Margaret into France, amongeſt which number there were fiue of hir owne ſiſters.

Henry Percie inuadeth Scotlande.

In the meane time, whileſt ſuch things were a doing, Henry Percy of Nozthumberland inuaded Scotland with foure thouſande men, not being knowne whether he had commiſſion ſo to do from the king of Englande, oz that he made that enterpziſe of himſelfe.

William Dowglas Erle of Angus to reſiſt this inuaſion, gathered a power of choſen men, amongſt whom were Adam Hepbozne of Hales, Alexander Ramſey of Dalehouſy, and Alexander Elphingſton, with other.

The battayle of Pyperdene ſought betwixt Henrie Percie and the Earle of Angus.

The Erle of Angus being thus aſſociat, met the Percie at Pyperdene, where a ſoze battaile was foughten betwixt them, with great ſlaughter on both ſides, but at length the victozie fell to the Scottes, though there were ſlaine togyther with Alexander Elphynſton two hundzed Gentlemen and commons of Scotlande: and of the Engliſh part, there dyed Henrie of Clyddeſdale, John Dgyll, and Richarde Percie, with. xv. C. other of Gentlemen and commons, of the which Gentlemen. xl. were knightes.

The Scots get the victorie.

The number of Engliſh men ſlaine.

There were taken alſo and bzought home by the Scottes as priſoners, to the number of foure hundzed.

Priſoners taken.

Shoztly herebpon king James rayſed a mighty armie, and beſieged the Caſtel of Roxbourgh,

Roxbourgh beſieged.



but when he had almoſte bzought his purpoſe ſo neare to paſſe, that thoſe within began to fall to communication foz the renozing of the place, the Queene came to the campe in great haſt vnto him, ſignifying that there was a conſpiracie begon againſt him; ſo that if he toke not the better heed, he was in great danger to fal into the hands of thoſe that ſought his life.

The

The king informed of a conſpiracie made againſt him, raiſeth his ſiege.

The king doubting the matter, raiſed hys ſiege and returned home to prouide the better for his owne ſuretie: but that preuayled little, for Walter Stewarde Earle of Athole, and heade of the whole conſpiracie, pretending euer a right to the Crowne, by reaſon that hee was procreate by king Robert the ſeconde on his firſt wife, procured his nephew Robert Stewarde, and his couſin Robert Graham, to ſlea the King by one meane or other, which finally they accompliſhed in this wiſe.

The Earle of Athol head of the cõſpiracy.

Robert Graham.

This Robert Graham for diuerſe wicked acts before committed, contrarie to the lawes and ordinances of the Realme, was driuen to an outlawrie, ſo that if he were taken, he looked for nothing but preſent death, and therefore hated the king moſt deadly: and though by the Queenes diligence both his and other of the conſpirators purpoſes were now diſappointed, hauing continued to diſpatch the king at ỹ ſiege of Rorbourgh, yet forſomuch as their names were not knowne, they hoped ſtill to finde occaſion to atchieue their deteſtable intention, ſith they were no more miſtruſted than the others.

Robert Steward and Robert Graham murtherers of the king.

Herevpon the ſayde Stewarde and Graham came one Euening to the blacke Friers of Perth where the king as then was lodged, and by lycence of the Porters comming into the houſe, entred vp into the Gallerie before the kings chãber dore, mynding to haue ſtayed there till one of the kings ſeruants that was priuie to their diueliſh purpoſe ſhould come, by whoſe helpe they were promiſed to haue entrie into the Chamber. But before the comming of this Judaſlike traytor, an other of the kings ſeruants named Walter Strayton came forth of the chamber dore to haue fetched wine for the king: but being aduiſed of theſe two traytors ſtanding there at the dore, either of them hauing a long ſworde gyrded to him, he ſtept backe, and cried treaſon: but ere hee could get within the dore to haue made it faſt, they leapt vnto him, and ſlue him there outright.

Walter Strayton is ſlaine.

Whileſt this was a doing, not without great noyſe and rumbling, a yong virgin named Katherin Dowglas (that was after maried to Alexander Louel of Bolunny) got to the dore, & ſhut it: but becauſe the barre was away that ſhoulde haue made it faſt, ſhe thruſt hir arme in the place where the barre ſhoulde haue paſſed, ſhe was but yong and hir bones not ſtrong, but rather tender as a griſtle, and therefore hir arme was ſone craſht in ſunder, and the dore broken vp by force. Herewyth entring the Chamber, they ſlue ſuch of the ſeruaunts as made defence, and then the King himſelfe with many cruell and deadly woundes.

Katherin Dowglas

The murtherers enter the kings chamber, and ſlea the king.



The Queene is hurt.

The Queene was alſo hurt as ſhe was about to ſaue hir huſbande.

Patrike Dunbarre wounded and left for dead in the kings defence.

Patrike Dunbarre, brother to George ſometime Earle of March, was left for deade on the flore, by reaſon of ſuch woundes as he receyued in the kings defence, doing moſt manfully his vttermoſte deuoire to haue preſerued him from the murtherers handes.

Iames the firſt murthered.

Thus was Iames the firſt murthered the. 21. day of Febꝛuarie, the. xliiij. yeare of his age, the xiij. of his raigne, and from the Incarnation of Chriſt. 1436.

1436

His ſtature & forme of bo.

His bodie was buried in the houſe of the Charterares at Perth, which he founded in hys lyfe time, but had not as yet throughly finiſhed it.

This Iames the firſt was of a meane ſtature, with brode ſhoulders, and ſmal in the waſt, all other his members ſo well proportioned thereto, that nothing wanted to comlineſſe of perſonage that might be giuen by nature.

An vpright iuſticier.

How vpright a iuſticier he was, and bertuous in all his demeanours, it maye appeare by that which

which before is wrytten of hys gouernment.

The Nobles and Peeres of the Realme right ſorrowfull for his death, aſſembled togyther, and made ſuche earneſt and diligent ſearche for the Traytours before mentioned, that at the length they were apprehended and brought to Edenbourgh, where they were executed on thys maner.

The Earle of Athole, whiche was not onely principall in practiſe of thys treaſon concerning the kings death, but alſo in tymes paſt was chiefe of counſell with Robert Duke of Albanie in the making awaye of Dauid the Kings eldeſt brother, and after the Kings returne forth of Englande, did moſte earneſtly ſolicite him to put Duke Murdo to death, with all other of hys lynage, truſting that when they were diſpatched, he ſhoulde finde meanes to rid the King alſo, and his children out of the way, and ſo at length atteyne to the crowne without any obſtacle. This Earle (I ſay) was firſt ſtripped of all his clothes, ſaue only his ſhyrt, and then was an inſtrument of wood made like to the drawer of a well, ſet faſt in a Cart with a frame.

At the one ende of whiche Inſtrument, was the Earle faſtened and bounde, and ſo caryed aboute the towne, ſometyme rayſed on high, that the people might ſee hym aloft in the ayre, and ſometyme let fal againe with a ſway downe vpõ the pauement.

After this, being brought to an open place, where moſte reſort of people was, they crowned him with an hote Iron, for that (as was ſayde) a Witche had tolde him, that before hys death he ſhoulde be crowned openly in ſight of the people. Through whoſe illuſion being deceyued, hee lyued vnder vayne hope to attaine the Crowne, dyrecting all hys ymaginations to compaſſe the meanes thereto. Thus was hee ſerued on the fyrſt day.

On the ſecond, he was drawne with his complyces layde on Hyrdels, rounde about the towne at an horſe taple.

The thirde day, hys belly was rypt, and his bowelles taken forth, and throwne in the fyre flickering before hys eyes, and then was hys heart pulled forth of his bodie, and throwne likewiſe in the fire: and laſt of all, his heade was cut off, and his bodie deuided in foure quarters.

His nephew Robert Stewarde was not altogither ſo cruelly executed: But Robert Graham, for that it was knowne that he ſlue the king wyth his owne handes, was put into a Carte, the hande that did the deede being faſtened to a payre of Gallowes, whiche were reared vp in the ſame Carte, and then were three perſons appointed to thruſt him through in all partes of his bodie wyth hote Irons, beginning firſte in thoſe places where it was thought no haſtye death woulde thereof enſue, as in the legges, armes, thighes and ſhoulders, and thus was hee caryed through euery ſtreete of the towne, and tormented in moſt miſerable wiſe, and at length had his belly ript, and was bowelled and quartered as the other were before.

Chriſtofer Clawn alſo, and other that were of counſayle in the conſpiracie, were putte to moſte ſhamefull kyndes of deathes, as they had iuſtlye deſerued, fewe or none lamenting theyr caſe. Chriſtopher Clawn.

In the dayes of King James the firſt, ſundrie ſtraunge and monſtruous things chaunced in Scotland. Straunge ſightes.

At Perth there was a Sowe that brought forth a lytter of Pygges with heades lyke vnto Dogges. Pigges with heades like to Dogges.

A Cow alſo brought forth a Calfe, hauing a head like a Colt. A Calfe with a heade like a Colte.

In the Harueſt before the Kings death, a blaſing Starre was ſeene wyth long ſtreaming beames. A blaſing ſtarre.

And in the Winter following, the froſt was ſo vehement, that Ale and Wine were ſolde by pounde weight, and then melted againſt the fire. A great froſt. Ale and wine ſold by pound weight.

A Sworde was ſeene glyding vp and downe in the ayre, to the no leſſe dreade than wonder of the people. A ſword ſeene in the ayre.





James.

1436

IAmes ỹ firſt made away through the traiterous practiſe of the Erle of Athole, (as before is ſpecified) hys eldeſt ſon James the ſecond of that name being as then but ſixe yeares of age ſucceeded to the crowne, as lawful heyre to the ſame, and by his mother and the Nobilitie of the Realme, was brought to Scone, where by the vniuerſall conſente of the three eſtates he was crowned king of Scotlande, being the. 102. King of that realme from Ferguſe the firſt. He was ſurnamed James with the fierie face, by reaſon of a broade red

ſpot which he had in one of his cheekes.

This James at his comming to mans ſtate proued a ſtoute Prince, and maried the daughter of the Duke of Gelderlande as after ſhall appeare.

The daughter of the Duke of Gelderland maried to Iames the ſeconde.

In the beginning he had ſome trouble and buſineſſe, by reaſon of the great authoritie and rule which the high Barons of the Realme ſought to beare and maintaine, as the Dowglaſſes and other, but in the ende he ſubdued them all.

Shortly after his coronation, becauſe he was not of himſelfe able to gouerne by reaſon of his tender age, the nobles and eſtates of the Realme choſe ſir Alexander Leuingſton of Calender knight, gouernor of the king and realme, and ſir William Creichton knight, was confyrmed in his office to enioy the ſame as before he had done, the king being committed to his keeping, togyther with the Caſtell of Edenbourgh. Archebald Erle of Dowglas remayned in his countreys of Dowglas & Annandale, and would neither obey gouernor nor Chancellor, whereby great trouble was rayſed within the realme. Within a ſhort time alſo the gouernor and chancelor were deuided. The gouernor with the Queene remayned at Striueling: but the Chancelor had the K. ſtill with him in the Caſtel of Edenburgh, & what the one cõmaũded to be done, the other forbad: wherby neither of them was obeyed, nor any executiõ of iuſtice put in practiſe, ſo that through all the countrey, reif, ſpoyles, and oppreſſion were exerciſed without feare of puniſhment. The Queene perceyuing ſuch miſchiefe to raigne throughout all parties of the realme, deuiſed a meane to aduance the gouernors ſide, and hereupon with a ſmall companie repayred to Edenbourgh, where ſhe to bring hir purpoſe to paſſe, did ſo muche by great diſſimulation, that ſhe perſwaded the Chãcellor to ſuffer hir to enter the Caſtell, and to remaine with the king: but within three dayes after, ſhe feyned one morning to go on pilgrymage vnto the white Kirke, and cauſed the king hir ſon to be handſomly couched in a Trounke, as if he had beene ſome fardell of hir apparell, and ſo packed vp, ſent him by one of hir truſtie ſeruauntes layde vpon a Sumpter horſe vnto Lieth, from whence he was conueyed by boat vnto Striueling, where of the gouernor he was ioyfully receyued, commending the Queene highly for hir politike working, in deceyuing ſo wiſe a man as the Chauncelor was. Then rayſed hee a great power of his friendes and well willers, and beſieged the Chauncellour in the Caſtell of Edenbourgh.

Sir Alexander Leuingſton gouernour. Sir William Creichton L. Chancellor.

Diſobedience in the Dowglas.

1437

A policye wrought by the Queene.

The king was conueyed vnto Striueling.

The Byſhop perceyuing in what daunger he ſtood through the womans deceyt, ſent to ỹ Erle of Dowglas, deſiring his aſſyſtaunce againſte the Queene and gouernor. But the Earle refuſed either to helpe the one or the other, alledging that they were both ouer ambicious in ſeeking to haue the whole gouernment of the Realme in their handes.

The Chauncellor then perceyuing himſelfe deſtitute of all helpe, made agreement with the gouernor, vnder certain conditions, that he ſhould retaine ſtill the Caſtell of Edenbourgh in hys poſſeſſion, and likewiſe continue ſtill in his office of Chancellor.

An agreement made.

Shortly after the Earle of Dowglas deceaſed at Leſtelrig, in the yeare. 1439, againſt whõ aſwell the gouernor as Chancellor had conceyued great hatred.

The Earle of Dowglas departeth this life at Leſtelricke. 1439

He left behinde him a ſonne (begot of the Erle of Crawfords daughter) named William, a child of fourtene yeares of age, who ſucceeded hys father in the Earledome of Dowglas, appearing at the firſt to be well inclyned of nature, but afterwardes by euill companie hee waxed wylde and inſolent.

About this ſeaſon, James Stewarde ſonne to the Lorde of Lorne, maryed the Queene Dowager, and fauoured the Earle Dowglas in his vnruly demeanor, wherevpon both the ſayd James and his brother William, with the Queene, were committed to priſon in the Caſtell of Striueling by the gouernors appoyntment, but ſhortly after they were releaſed by the ſute of the lord Chancelor Sir William Creichton, and Alexander Setõ of Gurdun, who became ſureties for their good abearing, vnder greate forfeyture of ſufficient bande.

The Queene imprisoned.

About the ſame time, or rather ſomewhat before, Alane Steward Lord of Dernlye was ſlain at Palmais thorne, by ſir Thomas Boyd. And in the yeare following, the ſame ſir Thomas was ſlaine by Alexander Steward of Bolmet and his ſonnes, wherethrough there roſe great troubles in the weſt partes of Scotland. William Erle of Dowglas ſent Malcolm Flemming of Cumernald, and Alane of Lowder, vnto Charles the ſeuenth, king of France, to obteyne of him the Duchie of Towraine, which was giuẽ to Archebald Dowglas at the battaile of Vernoile in Perch, & the laſt Erle, father to this Erle Williã, had enioyed the ſame all his life time, wherevpon that ſute was the ſoner obteyned: which made ỹ yong Earle more inſolent than before. He kept ſuch a port, and vſed to haue ſuch a traine attending vpon him, ſpecially when he came to the court, that it might ſeeme he had the king in ſmal regard, for he thought himſelfe ſafe ynoughe in mainteyning the lyke ſtate and porte, or rather greater than euer hys father at anye tyme had mainteyned before hym. Inſomuche as hee would ryde with two thouſande horſe, of the whiche number there were diuers errant theeues and robbers, that were borne out in their vnlawfull and wicked

Alane Steward is ſlaine.

The great port of the Earle Dowglas.

wicked practiſes by the ſame Erle.

Certaine Captaines of the Iles, as Lachlan, Makclayn, and Murdac Eyſon, with a wicked number of the inhabitants of the ſame Iles, haried ſpoyled, and burnt the countrey of Lennox, and ſlue Iohn Colquhoun laird of Lute vnder aſſurance. They alſo ſlue women and children, without reſpect to age or ſexe.

This yeare chaunced a great dearth in Scotland, the like was neuer heard of before, and ſuch a death by peſtilence, that few eſcaped that were taken therwith, and ſo the Realme was plagued with reif, oppreſſion, dearth, and death of people.

This yeare alſo the gouernour toke the whole adminiſtration vpō him, wherwith the Chancellor was diſpleaſed, and leauing the king and him in Striueling, repayred to Edenbourgh, where he deuiſed the way how to recouer the king from the gouernor, & ſo one morning toke .xxiiij. men with him, & rode to the parke of Striueling where the king was then hunting, and the gouernor abſent at Perth, ſo that the Chancellor did ſo much that he perſwaded the king to goe with him to Edenbourgh. The Chancellor (as Hector Boetius hath) had cauſed the number of foure thouſande horſemen of his ſeruants, tenants, and friends, ſecretly to be readie that morning about the towne of Striueling, to reſiſt his aduerſaries if they ſhould haue vſed any force againſt him, and now vnderſtanding of the kings going thus with the Chancellor, they came to him on the way, and attending him, brought him ſafely and without further trouble vnto Edenbourgh.

The gouernor when he was aduertiſed hereof, was grieuouſly diſpleaſed: but becauſe he knew not how to remedy the matter, he went to Edenbourgh, & there got Iohn Iunes Biſhop of Murrey, and Henrie Lichton Biſhop of Abirdene, to labour ſome agreement betwixte him and the Chancellor: which they did in this wiſe. The king to remaine in keeping of the Chancellor, and the gouernor to continue his office. And ſo by this accord they were made friendes.

The gouernor and Chancellor being thus agreed, called a counſell of the nobles of the realme to be holden in Edenbourgh caſtell, to the which amongſt other came the Erle of Dowglas, and as they were ſet to dinner, the meate was ſodenly remoued, and a Bulles head preſented to the Erle of Dowglas, which in thoſe dayes was a token of execution. And immediately therevpon the ſayde Earle with his brother Dauid, and Malcolme Flemming of Cumernald, were beheaded before the caſtell gate.

After the death of the ſayde Earle, the ſtate of the realme became more quiet, for his vncle Iames Dowglas Baron of Abircorne that ſucceeded him, being a man of great ſtature, and verie fat, gaue himſelfe to quietneſſe, and liued but three yeares after. The foreſaid William had but one ſiſter, that was called the fayre mayden of Galloway, and was maried vnto one William Dowglas, ſonne to this erle Iames before his deceaſſe, that the heritage ſhoulde not be deuided, becauſe the Earledome of Dowglas was entayled vpon the heyres male, and the landes of Wigton, Balwanye, Annardale, and Dzmont remayned to hir as heyre generall.

This Earle William, after the deceaſſe of his father Erle Iames, began to wax vnruly, and to followe the maners of the other William Earle Dowglas lately beheaded (as before ye haue heard) ſo that by ſupport many diſobedient perſons wold not obey the gouernor & Chancellor, whervpō ſundry great ſlaughters & oppreſſions were cōmitted

1444

The king will rule himſelfe.

The king after he came to the age of .xiiij. yeres woulde not any longer be vnder the gouernment of others, but toke the rule vpō himſelf. The Erle of Dowglas enformed thereof, came vnto him at Striueling, and put himſelfe and all he had, to remaine at his pleaſure: wherevpon the king receiued him, pardoned all his paſſed miſdemeanors, and admitted him to be one of his ſpeciall friends and priuie Councellers in al his affayres. By his perſwaſion ſhortly after, ſir Alexander Leuingſton, and William Creichton being diſcharged of their offices, were alſo put of, from the Counſell, and all their friends baniſhed the Court, and they themſelues were ſommoned to appeare before the king, which becauſe they refuſed to do, they were proclamed rebels, and put to the horne. The Erle Dowglas then for the olde grudge he bare them, rayſed an army & haried their lands. In reuenge wherof, ſir William Chreichton ſpoyled the Erle of Dowglas his lands, ſo that great trouble was rayſed through the whole countrey, & the lands of Strabroke, Abircorn, & the towne of Blackneſſe were burnt & deſtroyed. The Earle of Dowglas ruled wholy about the king, & made Archebald his brother Erle of Murrey, by ioyning him in mariage with a Lady of the houſe of Dunbar heretrix therof. Moreouer Hew Dowglas was made erle of Dzmont. Thus the Erle of Dowglas aduanced his name, & ioyned in friendſhip with the Erle of Crawford, & Donald Erle of the Iles, & with the Erle of Ros, to ẏ end that ech of thē ſhould be aſſiſtāt to others. In this meane time the Erle of Crawford at the requeſt of the Erle of Dowglas toke a great pray of goodes forth of the Biſhop of S. Androws lands in Fife, which Biſhop hight Iames Kenedy, ſiſters ſon to K. Iames the firſt, where through the Erle of Crawford on the one part, and the Earle of Huntley with the Ogyluies on the other, met at Arbzothe in fette battaile, where the Erle of Crawford was ſlain, and diuerſe Barons on his ſide, although the victorie

and field remayned with his ſonne the maiſter of Crawfoꝛde, who ſucceeded his father, and was called Earle Beirdy. On the Erle of Huntleys ſyde were ſlaine, Iohn Foꝛbes of Petſlege, Alexander Berckley of Gartulye, Robert Maxwell of Telyne, William Surdun of Burrowfielde, Sir Iohn Oliphant of Aberdagie, and fiue hundꝛed moꝛe on theyꝛ ſyde: and one hundꝛed of the victoꝛers were alſo ſlaine, as Hectoꝛ Boetius hath.





Who likewiſe repoꝛteth that the occaſion of thys battayle dyd chaunce thꝛough the vary-aunce that fell oute betwixt the Earle of Crawfoꝛdes eldeſt ſonne Alexander Lyndeſey, and Alexander Ogilbye, oꝛ Ogiluie, (as ſome wꝛite him) aboute the office of the Baliſewike of Arbꝛoth, the which the Maiſter of Crawfoꝛde enioying, was diſplaced and put out by the ſayde Ogiluie. Wherevpon the Maiſter of Crawfoꝛde to recouer his right (as he toke it) got a poꝛer togither with helpe of the Hamiltons, and with the ſame ſeaſed vpon the Abbay, and Ogiluie with helpe of the Erle of Huntly, came thither with an armie to recouer the place againe out of his aduerſaries handes, and ſo vpon knowledge hereof gyuen vnto the Earle of Crawfoꝛde, he himſelfe comming from Dundee vnto Arbꝛoth at the very inſtant when the battails were readie to ioyne, cauſed firſt his ſonne to ſtay, & after calling foꝛth ſir Alexander Ogiluie to talke with him in purpoſe to haue made peace betwixt him & his ſonne, was thꝛuſt into the mouth with a ſpeare, by a cõmon ſouldier that knewe nothing what his demaund ment, ſo that he fel downe therewith, and preſently died in the place: wherevpon togither the parties went incõtinently without moꝛe pꝛotracting of time, and ſo fought with ſuch ſucceſſe as befoꝛe ye haue heard. The Erle of Huntley eſcaped by flight: but Alexander Ogiluie being taken and ſoꝛe wounded, was led to the caſtel of Fineluin, where ſhoꝛtly after he died of his hurtes.

This battaile was fought the .xxiij. of Januarie, in the yeare of our Loꝛde. 1445.

1445

The Caſtell of Edenbourgh beſieged.

This yeare alſo, oꝛ (as Hectoꝛ Boetius hath in the yere next inſuing) the caſtell of Edenburgh was beſieged by the ſpace of .ix. monethes by the king & the Erle of Dowglas, ſir Willã Creichton being within it. At length it was giuen ouer vpon certain cõditions, & the ſaid ſir William reſtoꝛed to the office of Chancelloꝛ againe: but hee would not meddle with the oꝛdering of the kings buſineſſe, ſtaying foꝛ a time moꝛe conuenient.

Sir James Stewarde ſurnamed the blacke knight, huſband to the Queene the kings mother, was baniſhed the realme foꝛ ſpeaking woꝛdes againſt the miſgouernment of the king & realme, wherwith he offended the Erle of Dowglas. As he paſſed the ſeas towards Flanders, he was take by the Flemings, & ſhoꝛtly after departed this life. The queen his wife being aduertiſed of his death, died alſo within a while after, & was buried in the Charterhouſe of Perth the .xv. of July in ỹ yeare 1446. Hir name was Jane Somerſet, daughter to the Erle of Somerſet. James the firſt maried hir (as befoꝛe ye may reade) in England. She had by him .viij. childꝛẽ, two ſonnes, & .vj. daughters, which were all honourably maried, the firſt named Margaret, to the Dolphin of Fraunce: the ſeconde Eleanoꝛe, to the Duke of Bꝛytayne: the thirde, to the Loꝛde of Teruuer in Zelande: the fourth, to the Duke of Auſtrich: the fifth, to the Earle of Huntley: and the ſixth, to the Earle of Moꝛton. And by James Stewarde hir ſeconde huſbande ſhe had thꝛee ſonnes: Iohn Earle of Athole, James Erle of Buchquhan, and Andꝛow Biſhop of Murrey. Soone after, ſir William Creichton, with the Biſhop of Dunkelde, & Nicholas Oterburn a Canon of Glaſgew were ſent in ambaſſade vnto the duke of Gelderland foꝛ his daughter called Marie, to be ioyned in mariage with K. James. Their ſuite was obteyned, & the Ladie ſent into Scotland nobly accõpanied with diuerſe Loꝛdes both ſpirituall and tempoꝛall.

James Stewarde is baniſhed the realme.

He dyed.

The Queene dyed. 1446

King Iames maryed a daughter of Gelderland.

At hir arꝛyuall ſhee was receyued by the king

king with great triumph, and the mariage solemnized by the assistaunce of all the Nobles of Scotland, with great banketting, ioyfull mirth, and all pleasant intertainment of those strangers that might be.

In the yeare. 1447. ther was a Parliament holden at Edenbourgh, in the which sir Alexander Leuingston of Calender late gouernor, Iames Dundas, and Robert Dundas knightes, at the pursuite of the Earle of Dowglas were forfalted and condemned to perpetuall prison in Dunbryton, and James Leuingston his eldest sonne, Robert Leuingston Treasurer, and Dauid Leuingston knights, lost their heades.



Iames before his execution made a very wise oration to the standers by, declaring the instabilitie of fortune, & chaūge of court, exhorting al persons to beware thereof, sith enuye euer followed high estate, and wicked malice neuer suffred good men to gouerne long. In the same Parliament sir William Creichton was also forfalted for diuerse causes, but principally for that his seruants would not deliuer the house of Chreichton to the kings heralde, who charged them so to do. This forfalture was cōcluded in parliament by vertue of an act which the saide William (when he was Chancellor) caused to be made, & so being the first inuenter, was also the first against whom it was practised. The yeare next ensuing were sundrie incursions made betwixt Scots and Englishmē on the borders, Dunfreis was burnt, and likewise Anwike in Englād: but shortly after a truce was concluded for. vij. yeres, great offers of friendship made by the English men for to haue the warres cease on that side, because the warre betwixt thē & Fraunce was very hotely pursued, and ciuill dissention disquieted the state of Englād which was raysed betwixt ỳ two houses of Lācaster & Yorke.

The English borderers of the west Marches fetched a great bootie of cattell out of Scotlande, notwithstanding the truce, in reuenge whereof, the Scots inuading England, wasted the countrey, burnt townes and villages, slue the people, and with a great praye of prisoners, goodes, and cattel, returned home into Scotland. Herewith followed dayly rodes and forrayes made on both sides betwixt the Scottes and English men, and that with such rage and cruelte, that a great part of Cumberland was in maner layde waste: for on that side the Scots chiefly made their inuasions, bycause that from thence the first occasion of all this mischiefe might seeme to haue had the beginning. Whē such things were certified to the king of Englandes counsell, an army was appointed forthwith to inuade Scotlād, under ỳ leading of the Earle of Northumberland, & of one Magnus surnamed redbeard, a captain of great experience, as he that had bene trayned vp from his youth in the warres of Fraunce. The Scottes bycause of his long red beard, called him in scorne and derision, Magnus with the red mane.

A knight named Magnus.

The Scottes hearing of the approch of this armie towarde theyr borders, leuyed a power: George, or rather Hugh Dowlas Earle of Dūmont by the kings commission, hauing the conduction thereof, who vnderstanding that the enimies would enter into Annandale, drew thither with the sayd army to resist their attempts. The English men passing ouer the riuer of Sulwey & Annande, came to another riuer called Sare, and there pight downe their tentes. And on the next day they began to robbe and spoyle the countrey on eche syde: but aduertised that the Scots were at hande with an army, they that were thus gone forth, were with all speede called backe to the campe by sounde of trumpet, and forthwith theyr army was brought into order of battail. Magnus with the red mane was appointed to leade the

The Earle of Ormont generall of the Scottish armie.

The English armie inuadeth Scotland.

Sir Iohn Penneynton.

right wing, and Sir Iohn Penneynton a right skilfull warriour gouerned the left wing in the which the Welchmen were placed. The battaile or middle warde, the Earle of Northumberlande himselfe ruled.

The Earle of Ormonte on the other syde ordered his battailes in this wise: He appointed a

Wallace of Craggy.

right valiant knight called Wallace of Craggy, with an hardie number of souldiers to encounter with Magnus. And agaynst the Welchmen he placed the Lord Maxwel, & Lard Johnston, with a chosen cõpanie of lustie Scottish men, and cõmaunding himself in the battail or middle ward, had vneth set his people in aray, when the trumpets in the English armie began to sounde to the battaile. He therfore exhorting his men to do valiantly, put them in remembrance that they had

The Earle of Ormont exhorteth his armie.

put on armor, being thereto prouoked by iniurie which their enimies had first offred them, wherevpon they might conceiue good hope of victory by the fauour of the righteous God, who giueth the vpper hãd (for the most part) to that side that hath iust cause to make warre. He willed them then to put all feare out of their heartes, and as they had force ynough to vãquish their enimies that came thus to brag & threaten them with vtter destruction: so he besought them to shewe no lesse manlike stomacks to deliuer their countrey by hardie fight from iniurie of the same enimies.

He had no sooner made an ende of his speech, but that the Arrowes came so thicke from the Englishe Archers, that the Scottes beganne to looke about them, as it were to see whiche waye they might best escape by flight. But Wallace

The battaile is begun.



perceyuing their fayntnesse of courage, with lowde voice reproued their cowardice, and with most pithie wordes exhorted them to remember their dueties, and to followe the example of him their leader, whome they shoulde perceyue to haue fully vowed to spende his lyfe in defence of his countrey.

The Scots herewith seeme to be so encouraged that they rushed forward with great egernes vpon the right wing of the English men, where Magnus stood, & so laid about them with speares, axes, and such like hand weapons, that with great slaughter they driue the Englishe men to breake aray and to flee: Magnus herewith being more chafed than afrayde as should appeare, preassed forward vpon Wallace with great violence, and seeking to approch vnto him that he might haue wroken his grief vpon him, was inclosed among the Scottish troupes & slaine with a few other of his friends and seruants that followed him. The slaughter of this man in whom consisted no smal hope of victorie on the English part, put the residue of their army in such feare that they were not able longer to resist the Scottish mens violent impression, but turning their backes fled amain, who the Scots pursued in chase right fiercely, so that many of the English men died in the battail, but more now in the chase, for the tide being come in, slayed many of them that made their course to haue escaped through ỹ riuer, wherby diuerse that ventured into the water were drowned, and other that durst not take the water were oppressed by the Scottes that followed them.

Magnus is slaine.

The English men putte flight.

There died in this battaile of English men, to the number neare hand of three. M. and amongst other, Magnus (as before ye haue heard) with .xj. other knights of no small account & estimation. Of Scots were lost somwhat aboue six hundred.

The number slaine.

There were taken prisoners of English men sir Iohn Penneynton, and sir Robert Harington knightes, and the Lorde Percie, sonne to the Earle of Northumberland, who holpe his father to horsebacke, whereby he escaped by flight: and beside these, a great number of other were by the Scottes taken prisoners, whome the sworde and water had spared.

Prisoners taken.

The Earle of Northumberland escapeth by flight.

The

king with great triumph, and the mariage solemnized by the assistaunce of all the Nobles of Scotland, with great banketting, ioyfull mirth, and all pleasant intertainment of those strangers that might be.

In the yeare. 1447. ther was a Parliament holden at Edenbourgh, in the which sir Alexander Leuingston of Calender late gouernor, James Dundas, and Robert Dundas knightes, at the pursuite of the Earle of Dowglas were forfalted and condemned to perpetuall prison in Dunbrytan, and James Leuingston his eldest sonne, Robert Leuingston Treasurer, and Dauid Leuingston knights, lost their heades.



James before his execution made a very wise oration to the standers by, declaring the instabilitie of fortune, & chaūge of court, exhorting al persons to beware thereof, sith enuye euer followed high estate, and wicked malice neuer suffred good men to gouerne long. In the same Parliament sir William Creichton was also forfalted for diuerse causes, but principally for that his seruants would not deliuer the house of Chreichton to the kings heralde, who charged them so to do. This forfalture was cōcluded in parliament by vertue of an act which the saide William (when he was Chancellor) caused to be made, & so being the first inuenter, was also the first against whom it was practised. The yeare next ensuing were sundrie incursions made betwixt Scots and Englishmē on the borders, Dunfreis was burnt, and likewise Anwike in Englād: but shortly after a truce was concluded for .vij. yeres, great offers of friendship made by the Englishmen for to haue the warres cease on that side, because the warre betwixt the & Fraunce was very hotely pursued, and ciuill dissention disquieted the state of Englād which was rayled betwixt ỳ two houses of Lācaster & Yorke.

The Englishe borderers of the west Marches fetched a great bootie of cattell out of Scotlande, notwithstanding the truce, in reuenge whereof, the Scots inuading England, wasted the countrey, burnt townes and villages, slue the people, and with a great praye of prisoners, goodes, and cattel, returned home into Scotland. Herewith followed dayly rodes and forrayes made on both sides betwixt the Scottes and Englishmen, and that with such rage and crueltie, that a great part of Cumberland was in maner layde waste: for on that side the Scots chiefly made their inuasions, by cause that from thence the first occasion of all this mischiefe might seeme to haue had the beginning. Whē such things were certified to the king of Englandes counsell, an army was appointed forthwith to inuade Scotlād, vnder ỳ leading of the Earle of Northumberland, & of one Magnus surnamed redbeard, a captain of great experience, as he that had bene trayned vp from his youth in the warres of Fraunce. The Scottes bycause of his long red beard, called him in scorne and derision, Magnus with the red mane.

A knight named Magnus.

The Scottes hearing of the approch of thys armie towarde theyr borders, leuyed a power: George, or rether Hugh Dowlas Earle of Ormont by the kings commission, hauing the conduction thereof, who vnderstanding that the enimies woulde enter into Annandale, drew thither with the sayd army to resist their attempts. The Englishmen passing ouer the riuer of Sulwey & Annande, came to another riuer called Sarc, and there pight downe their tentes. And on the next day they began to robbe and spoyle the countrey on eche syde: but aduertised that the Scots were at hande with an army, they that were thus gone forth, were with all speede called backe to their campe by sounde of trumpet, and forthwith their army was brought into order of battail. Magnus with the red mane was appoynted to leade the

The Earle of Ormont generall of the Scottish armie.

The Englishe armie inuadeth Scotland.

Sir Iohn Penneynton.

right wing, and sir John Penneynton a right skilfull warriour gouerned the left wing in the which the Welchymen were placed. The battaile or middle warde, the Earle of Northumberlande himselfe ruled.

Wallace of Craggy.

The Earle of Dymonte on the other syde ordered his battailes in this wise: He appointed a right valiant knight called Wallace of Craggy, with an hardie number of souldiers to encounter with Magnus. And agaynst the Welchymen he placed the Lord Maxwel, & Lard Johnston, with a chosen cõpanie of lustie Scottish men, and cõmaunding himselfe in the battail or middle ward, had vneth set his people in aray, when the trumpets in the English armie began to sounde to the battaile. He therfore exhorting his men to do valiantly, put them in remembrance that they had put on armor, being thereto prouoked by iniurie which their enimies had first offred them, wherevpon they might conceiue good hope of victory by the fauour of the righteous God, who giueth the vpper hãd (for the most part) to that side that hath iust cause to make warre. He willed them then to put all feare out of their heartes, and as they had force ynough to vãquish their enimies that came thus to brag & threaten them with vtter destruction: so he besought them to shewe no lesse manlike stomacks to deliuer their countrey by hardie fight from iniurie of the same enimies.

The Earle of Ormont exhorteth his armie.

The battaile is begun.

He had no sooner made an ende of his speech, but that the Arrowes came so thicke from the Englishe Archers, that the Scottes beganne to loke about them, as it were to see whiche waye they might best escape by flight. But Wallace



perceyuing their faynтnesse of courage, with lowde voice reproued their cowardice, and with most pithie wordes exhorted them to remember their duties, and to followe the example of him their leader, whome they shoulde perceyue to haue fully vowed to spende his lyfe in defence of his countrey.

The Englishmen putte flight.

The Scots herewith seeme to be so encouraged that they rushed forward with great egernes vpon the right wing of the Englishmen, where Magnus stood, & so laid about them with speares, axes, and such like hand weapons, that with great slaughter they driue the Englishe men to breake aray and to flee: Magnus herewith being more chafed than afrayde as should appeare, preassed forward vpon Wallace with great violence, and seeking to approch vnto him that he might haue wroken his grief vpon him, was inclosed among the Scottish troupes & slaine with a few other of his friends and seruants that followed him. The slaughter of this man in whom consisted no smal hope of victorie on the English part, put the residue of their army in such feare that they were not able longer to resist the Scottish mens violent impression, but turning their backs fled amain, whõ the Scots pursued in chase right fiercely, so that many of the English men died in the battail, but more now in the chase, for the tide being come in, slayed many of them that made their course to haue escaped through ỹ riuer, whereby diuerse that ventured into the water were drowned, and other that durst not take the water were oppressed by the Scottes that followed them.

Magnus is slaine.

The number slaine.

There died in this battaile of English men, to the number neare hand of three. M. and amongst other, Magnus (as before ye haue heard) with .xj. other knights of no small account & estimation. Of Scots were lost somwhat aboue six hundred.

Prisoners taken.

There were taken prisoners of English men sir John Penneynton, and sir Robert Harington knightes, and the Lorde Percie, sonne to the Earle of Northumberland, who holpe his father to horseback, whereby he escaped by flight: and beside these, a great number of other were by the Scottes taken prisoners, whome the sworde and water had spared.

The Earle of Northumberland escapeth by flight.

The

The Erle of Dzmond hauing got this honorable victozie, conueyed the chiefeſt of the priſoners to the caſtel of Lochmaben, and after repayred to the court, where he was of the king ioifully receiued, honozably feaſted, and highly rewarded.

After this, the Scottes that dwelled vpon the bozders, liued foz a ſeaſon in better quiet: foz although the Engliſh men wiſhed to haue bene reuẽged of this loſſe and ouerthzow of their people, yet by reaſon of ciuil warres that ſhoztly after followed, they were conſtrained to fozbeare to make any further warres againſt the Scots, till better occaſion might ſerue. And foz the auoyding of danger that might enſue in time of this inteſtine trouble by fozraine enimies, they ſued to haue a truce with the Scots, which foz ẏ terme of three yeres was granted. In this yeare, William Erle of Dowglas, with a great cõpanie of nobles and gentlemen, as the Lozds Hamilton, Gray, Salton, Sciton, & Oliphãt. Alſo, Calder, Urquhart, Cambel, Fraſier, and Lauder, knights, went into Italy, & was at Rome in time of ẏ Jubile which was kept there that yeare. He left behinde him to gouerne his landes in Scotlande, Hugh Earle of Dzmõt that was his bzother: but in his abſence (thzough coũſel of ſuch as were about him) the k. ſommoned the Erle to appeare befoze him within. xl. dayes, and by cauſe he came not within that preſixed time, he was put to the hozne, & his lands inuaded & ſpoiled. The caſtel of Dowglas bicauſe they that kept it defended themſelues & the place right ſtoutly againſt the king, was razed & bzoken downe. But Lochmaban being yelded, was furniſhed with a gariſon of the kings friends.

The Earle aduertiſed of theſe things, with all ſpeed returned home, comming thzough Englãd, & ſent his bzother James vnto the king, to know his pleaſure: who cõmaunding the Erle to ſee his countreys (namely Annandal) purged of theeues and robbers, pardoned him of all offences, and receyued him into fauoz againe, ſo that he was alſo eftſoones proclaimed the kings lieutenant: but ſhoztly after going into Englãd wꝫout the kings licence, to cõmen with the king of Englande about the recouerie of loſſes ſuſteined by the Engliſhmen by certain inrodes (as he alledged) the K. toke the matter in very euil part, foz that he ſhuld ſeme ſo to be had in cõtempt of the Erle: & withal he miſtruſted alſo, leaſt there were ſome ſecrete practiſes in hande to the preiudice of him and hys realme: ſo that he ſtozmed not a little towards the Erle, who being thereof aduertiſed, came in hũble wiſe to the king, & beſought him of pardõ, if he had in any wiſe offended him, aſſuring him that from thencefozth he would neuer commit any act that might tend to his Ma. diſpleaſure. Herewith the Queene alſo & other noble men, made ſuite to the king foz the Earles pardon, ſo that in the ende he was receiued again into fauoz, but yet diſcharged of bearing any publike office, which pinched him ſo ſoze (namely foz that his aduerſaries William Chzeichton lozd Chancellor, & the Erle of Dzkney ſeemed to beare all the rule about the king) ẏ he ſought to diſpatch the Chancellor, procuring certaine of his ſeruants & friendes to aſſault him one mozning as he was cõming fozth of Edenburgh, but yet he eſcaped to his caſtel of Chzeichton, although wounded indeed right ſoze, & within few dayes after, gathering a power of his kinſmen, friends, and allies, he returned againe to Edenburgh, and had deſtroyed (as was thought) the Earle of Dowglas at that preſent, if hee had not ſhifted awaye the moze ſpedily, who being thus to his great griefe, & no ſmall diſhonoz chaſed out of Edenbourgh, deuiſed whiche way hee might beſt be reuenged: and foz the moze eaſie accompliſhment of his purpoſe, he procured the Erles of Crawfozd and Roſſe to ioyne with him in that quarell againſt Chzeichton and other his complices, by fozce of which confederacie, they couenanted to aſſyſt one another againſt the malice of the ſayde Chzeichton, and all other theyz aduerſaries.

He enuieth thoſe that bare rule about the king.

He ſeeketh to deſtroy the L. Chancellor.

The Dowglas conſtrayned to flee out of Edenbourgh.

He maketh a part.

The Dowglas Earle of Dowglas preſumeth of the aſsiſtance at the handes of his friendes.

The Lorde Herres his lands ſpoyled.

The Lorde Herres hanged

The Earle of Dowglas hauing concluded this bond of confederacie, bare himſelfe very highe, in preſuming further therof than ſtood with reaſon: and this was one great cauſe of the kings diſpleaſure nowe paſſingly increaſed againſt the ſayde Erle. An other cauſe was this: a ſozt of theeues and robbers brake into the landes of the Lozde John Herres, a noble man, and one that had continued euer faythfull to the king, taking with thẽ out of the ſame landes a greate bootie of Cattell. And whereas the ſayde Lozde Herres complayned vnto the Earle of Dowglas of that wzong, bycauſe the offendours were inhabyting within his rowmth, and yet coulde haue no redzeſſe, he attempted to fetche oute of Annardale ſome praye, wherewith to ſatiſfie in parte the wzong which had bene offred him by thoſe lymmers and robbers. But ſuch was his euil happe, that taken he was with his retinue, and committed to pryſon, and ſhoztly after by commaundement of the Earle of Dowglas, he was hanged as a fellon, notwithſtanding that the king by an Herald cõmaunded the contrarie.

The king being ſoze offended herewith (as he had no leſſe cauſe) paſſed ouer his diſpleaſure with ſilence, til he ſaw time and opoztunitie to reuenge the ſame: but in the mean ſeaſon many an honeſt man bought the bargain right dearly, being ſpoyled of that he had, & otherwiſe euil entreated, and yet durſt not the meaner ſozt once complaine, foz feare of further miſchiefe, where the higher powers alſo ſoze lamented the great diſozders dayly increaſing, and were not able yet in anye wyſe

to reforme the ſame, inſomuch as it was greatly doubted, leaſt the Earles of Dowglas, Crawforde, Roſſe, Murrey, and other of that faction, ment to put the king beſide his ſeate: which doubt being put into ỹ kings head, brought him into no ſmal perplexitie, wherupon by courteys meſſages he ſent for the Earle of Dowglas, wylling hym to repayre to his preſence, ſoiourning then in Striueling Caſtell, which he refuſed to do, till he had aſſurance vnder the kings great ſeale for his ſafe cõming and going (as ſome haue ſaid.) And then about Shrouetide in the yeare. 1451. he came to the court at Striueling, where the king toke him aſide, and in ſecret talk moued and requeſted him to forſake the league and bonde of friendſhip betwixt him and the Earle of Crawford, and other ſuch his confederates.

The cõfederacie miſtruſted.

The king ſendeth for the Erle of Dowglas.

1451

There was a ſecrete murmuring amongeſt a number, that this Erle of Dowglas purpoſed to make a proke one day to get the garlande beſyde the kings heade.

In deede by reaſon of his kinneſmen and allyes, he was of more puiſſaunce in the Realme, than (as it was thought) ſtoode wyth the ſuretie of the Kings eſtate, vnleſſe hee were the more faythfull.

He had at the ſame time two brethren that were alſo Earles, as Archymbalde Erle of Murrey, and Hugh or (as other haue) George Erle of Ormont, beſyde the Earle of Angus, and the Erle of Wortoun, that were of his ſurname and bloud, with a great nũber of other lords, knights, and men of great poſſeſſions & liuings, all of the ſame ſurname, and linked in friendſhip & aliance with other the chiefeſt linages of all the realme.

Earles of the ſurname of the Dowglaſſes.

The lynage and great aliance of the Dowglaſſes.

Hereto by reaſon there had bene ſo many valiant men and worthie Captaines of the Dowglaſſes one after another, as it had beene by ſucceſſion, the people and cõmons of Scotland bare ſuch good will and fauour towardes that name, that they were ready to ride or go with thẽ, they cared not whither, nor againſt whom.

The loue that the people bare towarde the name of the Dowglaſſes.

It is ſayde, that the Earles of Dowglaſſes might haue rayſed. xxx. or. xl. thouſande warlike perſons readie at theyr commaundement, whenſoeuer it had pleaſed them to call.

In deede the Dowglaſſes had euer the gouernment of al matters perteyning to the defence of the realme, ſo that the men of warre had them ſtill in all the eſtimation & honor that might be.

But nowe to the purpoſe touching the conference had betwixt king James the ſeconde, and the Erle of Dowglas: It chaunced in the ende (vpon what occaſion I knowe not) that the Erle anſwered ỹ king ſomwhat ouerthwartly, wherwith the king toke ſuche indignation, that the Erle herevpon was ſlaine by him and ſuch other as were then about him on Shroue euen.

The Earle of Dowglas anſwereth the king ouerthwartly, and is ſlaine.

Then after the Earle was thus made away, his brethren made open warre againſt the king, and ſlue all ſuch of his friendes and ſeruantes, as they might encounter with: Inſomuch that thoſe which trauailed by the high wayes were in doubt to confeſſe whether they belonged to the king, or to the Dowglaſſes.

His brethren make warre againſt the king.

The Lorde of Cadzow beeing in the towne of Striueling, with a great companie of the Erle of Dowglaſſes friendes, in reuenge of his death incontinently burnt that towne, and did many other great diſpleaſures to the King and hys ſubiectes, ſetting forth Proclamations againſt the King and his Councell, for the violating of the aſſurance graunted (as before is ſayde) to the Earle of Dowglas. Whereby the King was put ſo to his ſhiftes, that hee was determined to haue left the Realme, and to haue fledde by Sea into Fraunce, had not James Kenedee the Byſhop of Saint Andrewes cauſed him to ſtay, on the hope he had of aſſyſtaunce onely by the Earle of Huntley, whiche Erle hearing that the Dowglaſſes had gathered an armie in the South againſte the King, rayſed another armie in the North to ayde the king.

Striueling is burnt.

The king would haue fled.

On the other ſyde, the Earle of Crawford hauing aſſembled a great power, encountred him at Brechin, in purpoſe to ſtoppe the Earle of Huntleys paſſage, where betwixte them was fought a ſore battayle, and the Earle of Crawford chaſed into Fynnewyn, ſo that many noble men, gentlemen, and commons were ſlaine, and amongſt other, the Erle of Crawfordes brother was one.

Hector Boetius writeth, that John Cullace of Bannamwin, whom the Erle of Crawford had appointed to lead thẽ that bare ỹ battail Axes, or as I may terme them, the Bilmen, in the left wing of his armie, fled of purpoſe in the hotteſt of the fight, and ſo left the middle ward naked on the one ſide of the chiefeſt ayde ỹ the ſaid Erle had, & ſo the victorie by that meanes only inclined to the kings ſtandard, which the Earle of Huntley had there with him. But howſoeuer it was, the ſayd Erle of Huntley had the honor of the fielde, who neuertheleſſe, loſt diuerſe of his men alſo, though nothing ſo many as his aduerſaries did.

Cullace of Bannamwin betrayeth the Erle of Crawford.

The Earle of Huntley victorer.

This battaile was fought the. xviij. of May, being the Aſcention day. 1452.

1452

The Earle of Huntly the ſame day before the battails ioyned, gaue lãds to the principal men of thoſe ſurnames that were with him, as to ỹ Forbeſſes, Leſlies, Iouings, Ogilbies, Grantes, & diuerſe other. Which beautifulnes of the Erle made thẽ to fight more valiantly. In recõpence wherof the king gaue to the ſaid Erle the lands of Badzenot, & Lothquhaber. In the meane time, Archbalde Dowglas Earle of Murrey, brent the peill of

Landes giuen to the Erle of Huntley.

The Earle of Murrey.

of Straboggy, perteyning to the Earle of Huntley, and harried the lands there abowtes. In reuenge whereof, the Earle of Huntley at his returning backe, brent and harried all the landes of the Earledome of Murrey. In the meane time, at a Parliament holden at Edynburgh, the Erle of Crawford was denounced a traytor, and all his lands and goodes deemed to be forfeyted into the Kings hands. James Earle of Dowglas, James Lord Hammilton, the Erles of Murrey, and Ormont, the Lord of Balnay, and many other of that faction, were by publike Proclamation made by an Herault, commaunded to appeare by a day to vnderly the law: but in the next night that followed the day of this Proclamatiō, certayne of the Dowglasses seruantes that were sent priuily to Edynburgh, to vnderstande what was done ther, fastned writings vpō the Church dores, sealed with the Dowglas his seale in this fourme. The Earle from henceforth will neyther obey citation nor other commaundement. Beſyde this, in the same writings, they charged the King with many haynous crymes, callyng hym a murtherer, periured, false, and a bloudsucker. The King therefore assembled an army, and went forth against them: but bycause the tyme of the yeere was contrary to his purpose, he could do no great hurt to his enimies, although he burnt vp their corne, and droue away their cattell. But the Dowglas seemed to passe little for the kings malice, and the Earle himselfe married his brothers wife the Countesse Beatrice, and sente to Rome for a licence to haue that marriage made lawfull: but by the Kings agents in that Court, the Earles suite might not be obteyned. Neuertheleſſe, hee kepte hir still in place of his wife, and continuing in Rebellion againſte the King; the nexte spring, and for the more part of the whole tearme of two yeeres nexte ensewing, he harried and spoyled the Kings poſſeſſions, and the King on the other part, wasted Annandale, and all other the landes and poſſeſſions that belonged to the sayde Earle of Dowglas or his friendes: but shortly after, as the King passed through Angus, to goe into the Northe partes of the Realme, the Earle of Crawford came and submitted himselfe vnto him, craning mercy in moſt humble and lamentable wise, and obteyned the Kings pardon, through mediation of James Kenedie Biſhop of Saint Androwes, and sir William Creichton, but the saide Earle lyued not paſt sixe monethes after, departing this life by force of a hote Agewe in the yeere. 1454. The same yeere, the King called a Parliament at Edynburgh, in the whyche James Earle of Dowglas, and his brothers wife the Countesse Beatrice (whome hee hadde taken to him by way of a pretensed and fayned mariage) Archbald Dowglas, Erle of Murrey, George Dowglas Earle of Ormont, and John Dowglas Baron of Balnay, were forfalted and condēned of Treaſon. The Earledome of Murrey was giuen vnto sir James Creichton, or rather reſtored to him, frō whome it had bin wrōgly taken by the vniuſt sentence of William Erle of Dowglas, who had procured it to be aſſigned vnto his brother the forsaide Archebalde, although the right remayned in the sayd sir James Creichton. But yet when the sayd Sir James Creichton could not kepe that Earledome without enuy of diuers and sundry persons, hee handled the matter so, that shortly after it returned agayn to the kings hands. Moreouer, at this Parliamente, George Creichton was created Earle of Cathnes, William Hay Conestable of Scotlād, was made Earle of Errolle. Ther were also diuers created Lordes of the Parliamente, whose titles were as follow, Darley, Halis, Boyd, Lyle, and Lorn. After the breaking vp of the Parliament, the King made a iourney againſt his aduerſaries into Galloway, and with small adoe, brought all the Caſtels of that Countrey into his poſſeſſion, and then turning into Dowglas dale bycause the inhabitants thereof would not obey him, hee abandoned the spoyle thereof vnto his souldiers, who practiſed no small cruelties againſt the inhabitants. Herevpon, ẏ Dowglasses beeing driuen to their shiftes, the Lorde James Hamilton of Cadzow was sente from them into England to seeke for ayde, but in vayne, for none there would be graunted: whereupon, returnyng to his friendes, he counſelled the Earle of Dowglas to truſt to his owne forces, and sith the same were farre ſuperior in number of men, to ẏ kings power, he gaue likewise councell without delay, to set vpon the King, that the matter might bee tryed by chaunce of battell, the only meane to aſſure them of their liues and eſtates, for otherwise he saw not how any vnfayned agreement might bee concluded, the matter beeing nowe passed so farforth to an extremity. But ẏ Earle of Dowglas vtterly (as some write) refuſed to fight againſt his soueraigne and true liege Lord, if any other meane might be founde: whereupon diuers great Lordes whiche were with him there on his side, being men of greate witte and no leſſe experience, aduiſed him yet to keepe togither his hoſt, till by their trauell and aſſiſtaunce, a peace were concluded and pardon obtayned for all partes: for if the army were once broken vp, all hope was then paſt (as they alledged) for any indifferente conditions of peace to be obtayned.

Herewith also, the Lorde Hamylton beeing wiſer than the reſidue, bad the Dowglas farewell, and so departed, concluding that hee ſhould neuer see so faire a day agayne, wherein he might haue caſt the dice for the whole Kingdome. And

The Dowglaſſes forfalted, or as I may ſay atteynted.

Creations of noble men.

Dowglas dale giuē in ſpoile to the men of warre.

The counſell of the Lorde Hamylton.

Io. Maior.

The Lord Hamylton departeth from the Dowglas.

ſerue in the warres with greate companyes of men as became them to do. Specially Donalde, Lord of the Iſles and Earle of Roſſe, who hadde before ioyned hymſelfe in confederacie with the Earles of Dowglas and Crawfort agaynſt the King, and had taken into his hands the Kyngs houſe, and caſtel of Inuerneſſe (as before ye haue heard) naming hymſelfe King of the Iſles. Neuertheleſſe, he was now at length reconciled to the King, and gaue pledges for his good demeanor, and afterwards brought to the King three thouſand men in ayde at the ſeege of Roxburgh. In this meane while greate diſſention roſe in Englande betweene the two houſes of Lancaſter and Yorke, the King being principall of the houſe of Lancaſter, was taken himſelfe at the battell of Saint Albons. But the Queene with hir ſonne the Prince, and Henry the yong Duke of Sommerſet, and diuers other, fled into ỳ North parts of England, and ſent to the King of Scotlande to deſire him of ayde, who vppon good aduice taken with his counſell, for that King Henry hadde euer kept well ỳ peace with the Realme of Scotland, and alſo for reuenge of his vncle the Duke of Sommerſet his deathe, prepared an army of twentie thouſande men to paſſe into Englande, and in the meane time all the North partes of England, hearing that King James was ready to ſupport the Queene of England, ioyned with hir, and paſt forward into the South partes, conſtrayning the Duke of Yorke to flee the Realme, and ſo king Henry enioyed the gouernemente of his Realme agayne, and for that time concluded an agreemente with the Duke of Yorke his aduerſarie whiche laſted not long. The Duke of Yorke remembring how ready king James was to prepare an armie in ſupporte of his aduerſarie King Henry, procured the borderers to make incurſions vpon the Scottiſh ſubiects, and woulde ſuffer no redreſſe to be had nor dayes of truce kept on the borders, as in time of peace the cuſtome was. Wherevpon king James reyſed a power, and in perſon entred with the ſame into Englãd, doing great hurt by deſtroying diuers Townes, Caſtels and Pyles in Northumberland, the Biſhoprike and other partes, till at length vpon faire promiſes made by the Engliſhmen, hee returned into his owne countrey.

Donald Earle of Roſſe, and Lord of the Iſles.

Diſſencion in England.

King Iames inuideth Englande.

1458 After this, King Henry of Englande, perceyuing that the Duke of Yorke by the counſell of the Earle of Warwike, ceaſſed not to practiſe conſpiracies againſt him, ſent eſtſones to kyng James, requiring him of ayde againſt them, and promiſed therefore to reſtore vnto the King of Scotland, the Lands in Northumberlãd, Cumberland, the Biſhoprike of Dureſme and ſuche like, which the Kings of Scotland had helde before. This offer was accepted, and by treaties and contracts accorded, ſealed, and enterchanged betwixt the two Princes, as the Scottiſhmen alledge.) The yeere next following, at the Queene of Englandes deſire to ſuppoꝛte hir againſte the houſe of Yorke, King James with a great army entred England, but after that the Queene in the meane time had ſlayne the Duke of Yorke, and gote the vpper hande of hir enimies, at the ſame Queenes requeſt, hee retired into Scotlande againe. Neuertheleſſe ſhortly after, when ỳ Erles of March and Warwike ſought ſtill to maynteyne their quarrell againſt the Queene of Englande, ſhe was conſtreyned to withdraw into the North partes, and to deſire King James to approche eſtſones with his armie vnto the borders whiche he did, meaning to winne the Caſtels of Roxburgh and Warke, whiche were amongſt other things promiſed to bee deliuered vnto him by King Henry: and ſo comming to Roxburgh, laide his armie round about that Caſtell, and planted his ſeege in full warlike manner. Here the King hauing greate experience in knowledge of ſhoting greate artillerie, departed from his campe, accompanyed with the Earle of Angus and others, and came to the trenches where the great ordynaunce was planted, which he cauſed to be ſhot off. And here by great miſfortune, this worthy Prince James the ſeconde, was ſlayne by the flice of a great peece of artillerie, which by ouercharging chanced to breake, and ſlewe not only the King ſtanding ſomewhat neere it, but alſo hurte the Earle of Angus with other, being a notable preſident from henceforth, how ſuch great Princes approch ſo neere within daunger of ſuch peeces of ordynance when they are ſo ſhotte off.

1459

1460

King Iames the ſecond is ſlayne.

He was thus killed the third day of Auguſt, in the yeere of his life. 29. of his raigne. 24. and after the incarnation. 1480.

Alias. 17.

1480

His body was buried with all funerall obſequies according to his eſtate, within the Monaſterie of Holyrode houſe at Edynburgh, the people generally lamenting his deathe with no leſſe ſorowe and dolefull mone, than as is ſeene in a priuate houſe for the deceaſſe of the welbeloued maiſter and owner thereof.

The buriall of Iames the ſeconde.

The lamentation of the people.

In time of warre amongſt his ſubiectes in the campe he behaued himſelfe ſo gently towards all men, that they ſeemed not to feare him as their king, but to reuerence and loue him like a father.

The amiable conditions of Iames the ſeconde.

He would ride vp and downe amongſt them, and eate and drinke with them euen as he hadde bin felowlike with the meaneſt.

He had iſſue by his wife Queene Mary three ſonnes, and two daughters.

The iſſue of Iames the ſeconde.

His eldeſt ſonne named James, ſucceeded him in the Kingdome, the ſeconde named Alexander, was created Duke of Albany, and his third ſonne called

Iames the third King of Scotland. Alexander Duke of Albany.

buckeled togyther in battayle.

But the King vſing the aduiſe of his kinſman James Kenedie Archbiſhop of Saint Androws, compaſſed his purpoſe in the end, diſpatching out of the way all ſuche as he any wayes ſoythe miſtruſted, of which nũber namely were the Dowglaſſes, whoſe puiſſance and authoritie not without cauſe he euermoze ſuſpected.

Many haue repoꝛted (as befoꝛe is ſaid) that in the beginning, King James the ſecond, thꝛough feare of ẏ great power of theſe Dowglaſſes, was in mind to haue fled the Realme, but being recõfoꝛted by the counſell and authoꝛitie of the ſayde Biſhop James Kenedy, he aduaunced his ſtudie to matters of greater impoꝛtaunce.

The ſayde Kenedy turned the Earle of Angus being of the ſurname of the Dowglaſſes and bꝛother to him by his mother, to take parte with the King.

He pꝛocured alſo diuers other of ẏ ſame bloud and ſurname, to reuolte from the other confederates, and to ſubmitte themſelues vpon pꝛomiſe of pardon vnto the Kings mercie, and ſo enfeobling the foꝛces of ſuch as were aduerſaries to the King, in the ende, he had them all at his pleaſure.

It was thoughte, that foꝛ ſo muche as the Dowglaſſes had their lãds lying ſo vpon ẏ weſt and middle Marches of the Realme (that no mã might beare any rule in thoſe partes, but onely they them ſelues,) if they had happily ioined with the Engliſhmen, conſidering the greate intelligence beſide which they had in all other partes of the Realme, what by kindꝛed and aliaunce, the Realme mighte haue falne into greate perill: foꝛ truely it is a daungerous thing (as Johannes Maioꝛ ſaith) foꝛ the eſtate of a Realme to haue men of greate power and authoꝛitie, inhabiting on the boꝛdures and vttermoſt partes thereof, foꝛ if they chaunce (vpon any occaſion gyuen) to renounce their obedience to their naturall Pꝛince and ſupꝛeme gouernoure, the pꝛeiudice may bee greate and iꝛꝛecouerable, that oftentimes thereof enſueth, as well appeareth in the Erles of March and other befoꝛe mentioned in this hiſtoꝛy: and likewiſe in Fraunce by the Dukes of Burgundy, Bꝛytayne, and Noꝛmandy: foꝛ till thoſe cõtreys were incoꝛpoꝛate and annexed vnto the Crowne of Fraunce, the Kings of that Realme were oftentimes put to great hinderance thꝛough Rebellion by them whome they accompted foꝛ their ſubiects.

But nowe to returne where I lefte, after the Dowglaſſes were once diſpatched, and thyngs quieted, King James the ſeconde began then to raigne and rule really, not doubting the controlement of any other perſon. Foꝛ then he oꝛdeyned lawes foꝛ his people as ſeemed beſt to his lyking, commaunding the ſame to be kept vnder greate penalties and foꝛfeytures. And being counſelled chiefly by the Biſhop of S. Androwes, James Kenedie that was his vncle, and the Earle of Oꝛkney, hee paſſed thꝛough all the partes of hys Realme, graunting a generall pardon of all offences paſſed. And ſo hee ruled and gouerned hys ſubiects in greate quietneſſe, and cauſed iuſtice ſo duely to be miniſtred on all ſides, that it was ſaid in his days, how he cauſed the raſhe bully to keepe the Cowe.

Lawes ordeyned.

A general pardon graunted.

In the yeere. 1455. the King helde a Parliamente, in whiche were many good lawes made and eſtabliſhed foꝛ the weale of all the Realm, as in the bookes of ẏ actes of Parliamẽt is cõteyned.

1455

A Parliament holden.



He vſed the matter alſo in ſuche wiſe with the pꝛincipall Captaynes of the Iles, and of the hye lands, that the ſame were as quietly gouerned, as any part of the lowe Landes, ſhewing all obedience aſwell in paying ſuch duties as they owed to ẏ King foꝛ their lands, as alſo in readineſſe to ſeruе

Donald Earle of Rosse, and Lord of the Iles.

serue in the warres with greate companyes of men as became them to do. Specially Donalde, Lord of the Iles and Earle of Rosse, who hadde before ioyned hymselfe in confederacie with the Earles of Dowglas and Crawfort agaynst the King, and had taken into his hands the Kyngs house, and castel of Inuernesse (as before ye haue heard) naming hymselfe King of the Iles. Neuertheles, he was now at length recõciled to the King, and gaue pledges for his good demeanor, and afterwards brought to the King three thousand men in ayde at the seege of Roxburgh. In this meane while greate dissention rose in Englande betweene the two houses of Lancaster and Yorke, the King being principall of the house of Lancaster, was taken himselfe at the battell of Saint Albons. But the Queene with hir sonne the Prince, and Henry the yong Duke of Sommerset, and diuers other, fled into ỹ North parts of England, and sent to the King of Scotlande to desire him of ayde, who vppon good aduice taken with his counsell, for that King Henry hadde euer kept well ỹ peace with the Realme of Scotland, and also for reuenge of his vncle the Duke of Sommerset his deathe, prepared an army of twentie thousande men to passe into Englande, and in the meane time all the North partes of England, hearing that King James was ready to support the Queene of England, ioyned with hir, and past forward into the South partes, constrayning the Duke of Yorke to flee the Realme, and so king Henry enioyed the gouernemente of his Realme agayne, and for that time concluded an agreemente with the Duke of Yorke his aduersarie which lasted not long. The Duke of Yorke remembring how ready king James was to prepare an armie in suppорte of his aduersarie King Henry, procured the borderers to make incursions vpon the Scottish subiects, and would suffer no redresse to be had nor dayes of truce kept on the borders, as in time of peace the custome was. Wherevpon king James reysed a power, and in person entred with the same into Englãd, doing great hurt by destroying diuers Townes, Castels and Pyles in Northumberland, the Bishoprike and other partes, till at length vpon faire promises made by the Englishmen, hee returned into his owne countrey.

Dissencion in England.

King Iames inuaderh Englande.

1458

After this, King Henry of Englande, perceyuing that the Duke of Yorke by the counsell of the Earle of Warwike, ceassed not to practise conspiracies against him, sent ettsomes to kyng James, requiring him of ayde against them, and promised therefore to restore vnto the King of Scotland, the Lands in Northumberlãd, Cumberland, the Bishoprike of Durelme and suche like, which the Kings of Scotland had holde before. This offer was accepted, and by treaties and contracts accorded, sealed, and enterchanged betwixt the two Princes (as the Scottishmen alledge.) The yeere next following, at the Queene of Englandes desire to suppорte hir against the house of Yorke, King James with a great army entred England, but after that the Queene in the meane time had slayne the Duke of Yorke, and gote the vpper hande of hir enimies, at the same Queenes request, hee retired into Scotlande againe. Neuertheles shortly after, when ỹ Erles of March and Warwike sought still to mayntayne their quarrell against the Queene of Englande, she was constrayned to withdraw into the North partes, and to desire King James to approche ettsomes with his armie vnto the borders whiche he did, meaning to winne the Castels of Roxburgh and Warke, whiche were amongst other things promised to bee deliuered vnto him by King Henry: and so comming to Roxburgh, laide his armie round about that Castell, and planted his seege in full warlike manner. Here the King hauing greate experience in knowledge of shooting greate artillerie, departed from his campe, accompanyed with the Earle of Angus and others, and came to the trenches where the great ordynaunce was planted, which he caused to be shot off. And here by great misfortune, this worthy Prince James the seconde, was slayne by the slice of a great peece of artillerie, which by ouercharging chanced to breake, and slewe not only the King standing somewhat neere it, but also hurte the Earle of Angus with other, being a notable president from henceforth, how such great Princes approch so neere within daunger of such peeces of ordynance when they are so shotte off.

1459

1460

King Iames the second is slayne.

He was thus killed the third day of August, in the yeere of his life. 29. of his raigne. 24. and after the incarnation. 1460. Aliax. 17.

His body was buried with all funerall obsequies according to his estate, within the Monasterie of Holyrode house at Edynburgh, the people generally lamenting his deathe with no lesse sorowe and dolefull mone, than as is seene in a priuate house for the deceasse of the welbeloued maister and owner thereof.

1480

The burial of Iames the seconde.

The lamentation of the people.

In time of warre amongst his subiectes in the campe he behaued himselfe so gently towards all men, that they seemed not to feare him as their king, but to reuerence and loue him like a father.

He would ride vp and downe amongst them, and eate and drinke with them euen as he hadde bin felowlike with the meanest.

The amiable conditions of Iames the seconde.

He had issue by his wife Queene Mary three sonnes, and two daughters.

His eldest sonne named James, succeeded him in the Kingdome, the seconde named Alexander, was created Duke of Albany, and his third sonne called

The issue of Iames the seconde.

Iames the third King of Scotland.

Alexander Duke of Albany.

called John, was made Earle of Mar.

The eldeſt of his daughters the Hamilton had in mariage, as before is, and alſo after ſhall bee mentioned.

Some ſtraunge ſightes there appeared before the death of this King James the ſecond, for the day before he was ſlayne, a blaſing Starre was playnely ſeene, which ſignified as was thought, the death of the ſayd King.

In the yeere before the ſeege, there was in Dundee an Hermophrodite, that is, a perſon with both ſhapes, but eſteemed for a woman onely, till it was proued, that lying with hir maſters daughter nightly where ſhe dwelt, ſhe had gote ẏ yong Damoſell with childe, for the whiche acte, bycauſe ſhe had counterfeted hir ſelfe a woman, and yet had wrought the part of a man, ſhe was condemned to be buried quicke, and ſuffered according to that iudgement.

About the ſame time, there was a certayne theefe, that with his familie, liued apart from the company of men, remayning ſecretely within a denne in Angus called Fenſoen, who vſed to kill yong perſons, and to feede on their fleſh, for the whiche abhominable offence, being apprehended with his wife & all his familie, they were burnt to death, one of his daughters that was vnneth. 12. monethes of age, only excepted, the which being preſerued and brought vp in Dundee, before ſhee came to the age of twelue yeeres, ſhee was taken in the like crime for the whiche hir father dyed, wherevpon ſhee was iudged to be buried quicke: and going to execution, when the people in great multitude followed hir, in wondering at ſo horrible an offence committed by one of hir age and ſexe, ſhee turned to them that thus deteſted hir wicked doing, and with a countenance repreſenting hir cruell inclination, ſayde to them: what neede you thus to raple vpon me, as if I had done an heynous acte contrary to the nature of man? I tell you, that if you knew how pleaſant mans fleſhe is in taſt, there would none of you all forbeare to eate it. And thus with an impenitente and ſtubborne minde, ſhe ſuffered the appoynted execution.

Hir words going to execution.



After the Deathe of James the ſecond, his ſonne James ẏ third a childe of ſeauen yeeres of age ſucceeded him, & forthwith was ſent for to the ſeege of Roxburgh, whither he was conueyed by the Queene, a woman of a ſtout ſtomacke, repreſenting the manlike race of hir countrey Gelderland, of the which ſhe was diſcended. For comming with hir ſonne thus to the ſeege, ſhe ſpent not time in lamenting and womaniſh bewayling the irrecouerable loſſe of hir huſbād, but rather in comforting ẏ Lords, whoſe parte had bin to haue comforted hir: and aboue al things ſhe exhorted thē with al diligence to imploy their whole indeuours and forces to ẏ winning of that Caſtel. Whoſe words ſo encouraged the Captaynes and whole army, that the ſeege was continued till the Caſtell was wonne,

The ſtout ſtomacke of the Queene.

Roxburgh Caſtell taken and broken downe.



raced, and beaten downe flat to the grounde: and the yong King was Crowned at Kelſo, with the vniuerſall conſente and great reioycing of all the noble men, and other being there preſente in the army. This done, they beſeeged the Caſtell of Warke, whiche likewiſe they toke, and threwe downe, and afterwardes the King with the nobles of his Realme, came to Edynburgh, to take order

Warke beſeged and won.

order for the quiet gouernemente of the Realme, and bycause the King was yong, there were chosen seauen regentes to gouerne both King and Realm, as these, the Queene his mother, James Kenedie Bishop of Saint Androwes, that was sisters sonne to James ỳ first, the Bishop of Glasgow, the Earles of Angus, Huntley, Argile, and Orkney. These so long as James Kenedy liued, agreed well togither about the gouernemente of the Realme, but within a while after his decesse, they fell at square, or rather before as appeareth by Hector Boetius, who sayeth, that in the second yeere of this Kings raigne, there was discorde in brewing, betwirte the Queene and the Archbishop Kenedie, who perceyuing that the woman sought to vsurp wholly the gouernemẽt vnto hir selfe, withstode hir in that behalfe, in so much that it was doubted least the matter would haue broken forth into some ciuill warre, if the Bishops of Glasgow, Dunkelde, and Abirden, & certayne Abbots had not taken in hand to trauell betwixt the parties for an atonement, who dyd so much in the matter, that they compounded the variance in this wise. The Queene mother was appoynted to haue the charge of the Kings person, and of his brethren, Alexander Duke of Albany, and John Earle of Mar, and likewise of his two sisters, but as for the administration and gouernance of the Realme, she shoulde leaue it vnto the peeres. There were therefore elected by common consente as rulers, the Bishops of Glasgow and Dunkeld, the Earle of Orkney, the Lorde Graham, Thomas Boyd, and the Chancellor. About the same tyme, one Alane Keir, in hope to get the heritage of his brother John Laerd of Lorne toke him, and kept him in prison. But Colen Cambell Earle of Argile, taking great indignation with so presumptuous a parte, gathered a power, and comming agaynste Keir, toke him, and set his brother at libertie, and brought the offendour vnto Edinburgh, where he dyed in prison.

Seuen gouernours chosen.

Moreouer, shortly after Donald Lord of the Iles and Earle of Rosse, who had serued obediently in the army at Roxburgh and was (as outwardly appeared) well reconciled, began of newe to vse his olde manners, spoyling and harrying the whole countrey of Athole, and toke the Earle thereof, and the countesse his wife captiues with him into the Iles. To represse his iniurious attemptes: the Regents were preparing an army, but therewith came true aduertisements, that the sayd Lord of the Iles, and other the principall offendors of his company, were striken through the hand of God with a certayne frentie or madnesse, and had lost all their shippes and spoyles in the sea, so that ỳ Earle of Athole and his Lady were restored, and those frentike persons were brought vnto Saint Brides Kirke in Athole, for the recouery of their health, but it would not be. Donalde him selfe was afterward slayne in the Castell of Inuernes by an Irishman that was a minstrell.

Donald of the Iles offesoones rebelleth.

Donald became madde.

Hitherto hath Hector Boetius continued the Scottishe historie. He was killed.

In the yeere. 1461. Henry the sixte King of Englande, beeing vanquished by hys aduersarie Edwarde the fourth, purchased of King James the thirde a safecunduct for him selfe and a thousande Horse to enter into Scotlande, and hereupon hee came to Edynburgh, and was lodged in the house of the Friers Preachours, with hys wife Queene Margaret, and hys sonne Prince Edwarde. 1461

There was also with him the Duke of Exetor, and the Duke of Sommerset, with many other of the English nobilitie.

Henry King of England by safecunduct commeth into Scotlande.

The Queene with hir son went into France, to trie what purchase for ayde & support againste hir husbandes enimies, she might make there amongst hir owne friendes and kinsmen.

The Queene went into Fraunce for ayde.

The same time, King Henry deliuered the towne and Castell of Barwike into the Scottishmens hands, whether by couenant thereby to haue the forsaid safecunduct graunted, or of his owne voluntary will, to the ende he might haue the more support and fauoure amongst them, it is vncertayne by the variable reporte of writers.

Barwike deliuered to the Scottishmen.

Neuertheless, shortly after a truce was taken betwixt King James and King Edwarde, for the tearme of fifteene yeeres, vpon what conditions or promises made on King Edwardes parte I fynde not.

A truce for 15. yeeres.

This truce was concluded in the Moneth of May, in the yeere. 1462. at the Citie of Yorke, whither had bin sente the Bishop of Glasgo, the Earle of Argile, keeper of the priuie seale, the Abbot of holy Rode House, Sir Alexander Boyde, and sir William Crawston Knightes, Ambassadors and commissioners for King James. 1462

All thyngs in thys season were ordered in Scotlande by the aduice and counsell of James Kenesy Bishop of Saint Androwes, a man of greate wisedome and policie, as well appeared in hys prudente and sage gouernemente of the Realme, aswell during the minoritie of thys James the thirde, as also in the dayes of hys father King James the seconde.

James Kenedy the Archbishop gouerneth the Realme.

Pierre de Brezey, otherwise called le Seigneur de la Varenne, great Seneschal of Normãdy, was sent by the French King Lewes the eleuenth, with two thousande fyghting men to ayde the parte of Kyng Henry agaynste King Edwarde.

Monsieur de la Varenne sent fourth of Fraunce to ayde the parte of Margaret Queene of Englande.

This Brezey was one, that was most in fauoure with King Charles the seuenth, father vnto the sayde Kyng Lewes, and therefore (as many dyd suppose) hee was appointed by Kyng Lewis

Lewis (who greatly loued him not) to be chiefe in this tourney, to the end his life might be put in hazarde and aduenture, notwithſtanding after ſome danger both of tempeſt on the Sea, and alſo of the enimies handes, hee wanne the Caſtels of Bamburgh and Dunſtanburgh which he caſt to the grounde, and after toke in hande to keepe the Caſtell of Anwike, and beeing beſeeged therein, ſent for ayde to the Scottes.

George Dowglas Earle of Angus as then Warden of the Marches, immediately reyſed a power of. 23000. men, and comming with the ſame to the bordures, choſe forth of all his numbers fiue thouſande of the moſt able horſemen in al his army, and comming with them to the Caſtell about the middeſt of the day, toke the Frēchmen away with him into Scotlande, the Engliſh army whiche lay there at ſiege beholding the manner, and not once making proffer to fyghte with him. Some Engliſhmen there were, that woulde fayne haue foughten with the Scottes, but other (whoſe counſell was followed) were otherwiſe minded, alledging, that better it were to let them paſſe without encounter, ſith they left the Caſtell voyde, than to ieopard vpon the doubtfull chance of battell, for though their number were not greate, yet were they piked and choſen men, able to atchieue a great enterpriſe.

After this, the ſixteenth of Nouember, in the yeere. 1463. the Queene of Scottes, mother to James the thirde, dyed at Edynburgh, and was buryed in the Colledge of the Trinitie, which ſhe hir ſelfe had founded.

This woman, after the deceſſe of hir huſband James the ſeconde, liued ſomewhat diſſolutely, procuring Adam Hepborne of Hales a married mā to keepe hir ſuch familiar company, as ſounded greatly to hir diſhonor, for that ſhe could not within the whole Realme fynde ſome ſingle man amongſt all the nobilitie, with whome ſhe might haue married, and ſo in parte to haue auoyded the greater open ſlander and infamy.

Adham Hepbornes familiaritie with the Queene of Scottes, mother to Iames the thirde.

The ſame yeere, Alexander Duke of Albany, and brother to the King, was taken on the Sea by the Engliſhmen in the mouth of June, as hee was returning from his Graundfather the Duke of Gilder: but the Biſhop of Saint Andrewes Iames Kenedy, cauſed both the ſayde Duke and alſo the Ship with all the goodes there inbeing, at the time of the taking of it, to bee reſtored, for otherwiſe as hee flatly proteſted, hee woulde not haue kept the truce any longer concluded betwixt the two Realmes.

Alexander Duke of Albany taken on the Sea.

The Duke of Sommerſet, in hope of great fauor which he ſhuld finde in England, perſwaded King Henry to paſſe thither, and with a greate company of Scottiſhmen he entred Englande, and many of the North parts reſorted vnto him, but at length, at his comming to Exam, ỹ Lord Montague with a greate power was ready to giue him battell, and there diſcomfited hym and his whole army. The Duke of Sommerſet and

1464
King Henry returneth into Englande.





the Lords Hungerford and Roſſe, were taken & put to death, the Duke at Exham, and the Lords at Newcaſtell. King Henry eſcaped very hardly into Scotland againe, and there remayned a certayne ſpace after, till at length he thought to returne into Englande in ſuche ſecrete wiſe, as hee ſhould not haue bin once knowen, till hee mighte haue gote amongſt his friendes, whiche woulde haue ſupported him: but ſuch diligent watch was layde for him all alongſt the bordures, that hee was eſpyed taken and deliuered to King Edward his aduerſarie, who ſhut him vp in ỹ Tower of London till he was at length therein made away, as in the Hiſtory of England ye may ſee more at large.

In the yere. 1466. that famous Biſhop Iames Kenedie departed this life, and was buried in the Colledge of S. Sauiour, foūded by him within ỹ town of S. Andrewes in moſt ſumptuous wiſe.

1466

This Prelate in prudent policie excelled al other Scottiſh Biſhops, of whom any writer maketh mentiō. He kept ỹ Realme in good quiet, and obſerued ỹ truce concluded with ỹ Engliſhmē, to ỹ great weale and cōmoditie of ỹ poore commōs.

He

He was very rich, as appeared by sundry buildings and workes which he left behinde him, as a memoriall of his name.

Beside his Bishoprike, he helde in his hands the commaundary of the Abbey of Pettinweme, whiche was worth vnto hym. 800. crownes by yeere.

1459 The mariage of Iames the thirde.

In the yeere. 1469. on the tenth day of July, king Iames the third being as then about twentie yeeres of age, married in the Abbey of Holy Rode house neere Edynburgh, the Lady Margaret, daughter to the King of Denmarke and Norway, whiche Lady was at the same tyme not past twelue yeeres of age, some say sixteene.

The King of Norway resigneth his title to the out Iles.

Hir father the King of Denmarke and Norway, in name of hir dower, transported and resigned to King Iames all his right, title, and interest which he pretended to the out iles. The Ambassadours that were sent into Denmarke to conclude this mariage, and to conuey the Bride into Scotland, were these: Andrew Dudeir Bishop of Glasgo, the Bishop of Orkney, the Lorde Auandale Chancellor of Scotlande, and Thomas Boyd Earle of Arrane, who had married the kings sister, and was now in his absence runne into the Kings displeasure, whereof his wife hauing intelligence, hearing of hir husbands arriual with ẏ other in the forth, gote out of Edinburgh, and comming a shipborde vnto him, gaue hym to vnderstande what displeasure the King hadde conceyued against him: who perceyuing himselfe in what daunger he stode if he toke lande, returned backe into Denmarke, taking his wife with him. The King herewith was so offended, that he caused both the sayd Earle and his father to be attaynted of high treason, and sente for his sister backe into Scotlande, causing a diuorse in absence of hir husbande to be sewed and gote betwixt them, marrying hir afterwardes to the Lord Hamilton, to whome hee gaue the Earledome of Arrane, which hir former husband had in gift before. Of this marriage, those of the house of Hamilton are discended, & are neerest of bloud to ẏ Crowne of Scotland as they pretend.

The Earle of Arrane in the Kings displeasure.

The Lord Hamilton marieth the kings sister.

But nowe to shewe further what wee finde written concerning the manner and cause of the banishmente of the afore remembred Thomas Boyd, Giouan Ferrerio, in his appendix of the Scottish historie annexed vnto Hector Boetius lastly imprinted at Paris anno. 1574. agreeth not with that which ye haue red before, for as hee telleth the tale, the sayd Lord Boyd being one of the gouernours of the Realme, elected thereto (as before ye haue heard) within shorte time grewe so farre in fauoure with the King, that he might do all things with him at his pleasure, although hys associates in authoritie did neuer so much goe about to hinder his deuises, by reason whereof, hee seemed to vsurp the whole rule and administration of the Realme into his owne handes, sore to the greefe of those his said associates being ioyned with him in like office.

Giouan Ferrerio in hys appendix of the Scottish history.

The Lorde Boyd beareth all the rule about the King.

Hereof the state of the commō wealth through the dissention thus bred among the gouernours, was brought into a miserable plighte: for iustice in most places wāted hir due course, so as theeues and robbers taking boldnesse thereof not only vpon the borders, but also elsewhere, beganne to exercise greate outrage, to the breache of publike peace, and namely ẏ inhabitants of the out Iles fell to their wonted trade of pilfering, so that passing ouer in their long boates or Barges, and landing here and there on the shore, they toke prayes of Cattell and other goodes, greatly to their profite, and no lesse domage of the people that inhabited on the coastes ouer against thē.

Through default of agreement in the gouernors, euill disposed men ware bolde to work mischiefe.

In the North parts also, seditious tumults amongst the nobles gentlemen and people, were reysed, to the great disquieting of the whole countrey. Suche disorders continued no small time, and bycause the sayde Thomas Lord Boyd bare greatest rule about the King, the blame (as it cōmonly happeneth) was imputed to him. At length when the King was growen to ripe yeeres, and able to see to the administration of the common wealth him selfe, he was admonished by certaine graue personages to haue some regard, that suche misorders as disquieted the whole state of the Realme, might be reformed. Whereupon he called a Parliament, in the which whether through enuy that the Lordes had conceyued against the Lord Boyd, or for that his doings no lesse deserued such complaynte, was exhibited by generall voyces of the estates against him, that it was decreed by authoritie of the whole assembly, that he should come to aunswer in iudgemēt such crimes wherewith he was charged: but when hee refused so to do, and in contempt of the Kings authoritie gote togither a power of armed men, to defende him frō iniurie that might seeme (as he pretēded) to be offered him. At length the King was driuen of necessitie to make preparation for the leauying of an army to apprehende him by force. Whereof Boyd being aduertised, fled into England, bycause he perceiued himselfe not able to resist the Kings power. The King assured that hee was thus auoyded out of his Realme, banished him for euer, and seased vpon his lands and goods as forfeted. After this, when the sayd Boyd sawe no hope to returne againe into the Kings fauor, and finding no great comfort among the Englishmen, he passed from thence into Denmarke, where he remayned till the mariage was concluded betwixt the King and the Lady Margaret, daughter to the King of Denmarke, as yee before haue heard: and then in hope by occasion of thys

They that be in authorite be euer subiect to the spiteful blowe of enuies dart.

The Lorde Boyd is accused.

He refuseth to be tryed by way of arrainement.

He fleeth into England.

He passeth into Denmarke.

marriage

ope marriage to obtayne pardon, returned nowe in company of the Bride, and of thoſe Imbaſſadors that were ſent to haue the conueyance of hir into Scotlande: neuertheleſſe, vnderſtanding by hys wife that came to him a ſhipborde before he ſet foote on land, that the kings diſpleaſure continued ſtill towardes him ſo greatly, that if he came a land, he ſhuld be ſure to loſe his head, he returned into Denmarke, and toke his wife with hym (as before is mẽtioned.) Finally he went into Italy, where at length he was murthered by one, whoſe wife he went about to allure for the ſatiſfying of his ſenſuall luſt. Before he was diuorced frõ hys wife the kings ſiſter, he begate on hir a ſonne, the which in the dayes of king James the fourth, in a priuate quarrell that roſe betwixte him and an other noble mã, chanced to be ſlayne. This much touching the Lord Thomas Boyd of Kalmarnock out of Ferrerio: who alſo in report of ẏ matter touching the marriage betwixt the king and the daughter of Denmarke, ſomewhat varieth from and other that write thereof.

The Imbaſſadors ẏ were ſent vnto Chriſtren King of Denmarke and Norway in the yeere 1468. as ẏ ſaid Ferrerio affirmeth, were theſe, Androw Biſhop of Glaſgow, William Biſhop of Orkney, Androw Lorde of Iuandale, Chancellor of the Realm, Martine Wane the great aulmoner, and the kings Confeſſor, Gilbert de Kerick Archdeacon of Glaſgow, Dauid Creichton of Crauſton, and John Shaw of Haly. Theſe Imbaſſadors beeing diſpatched into Denmarke in July, in the yeere aforeſaid, came at length vnto Haffnen, where king Chriſtierne then remayned, and were of him ioyfully receyued and well heard concerning their ſuite, in ſo much at length after he had propoſed the matter to his counſell about the eighte of September, it was agreed in this ſorte, that the Lady Margaret, daughter to the ſayd king Chriſtierne, ſhould be giuen in mariage vnto king James of Scotland, and that ẏ Iſles of Orkney, beeing in number. 28. and likewiſe the Iſles of Shetland, of which there are. 18. ſhuld remayne in poſſeſſion of the kings of Scotland, till eyther the ſayd king Chriſtierne or hys ſucceſſors in name of the marriage money ſhould pay vnto King James, or to his ſucceſſors, the ſumme of. 50. thouſand Florens of the Rheine. This marriage was thoughte, by reaſon of thys engaging of thoſe Iſles, right profitable vnto the Realm of Scotland, becauſe of the controuerſie and variance whiche had continued long before thoſe dayes betwixt the Kings of Scotlande and Denmarke, about the righte of poſſeſſing thoſe Iſles. In the moneth of Nouember next enſuing, after the marriage had bin conſummate in July before, within the Abbey Churche of Holy Rode houſe (as before ye haue heard) or in Saint Giles Church in Edenburgh (as other write) the three eſtates were called to aſſẽble in Edenburgh, where the Queene was Crowned, and the Parliamente holden, the moſt parte of the Lordes remayning ſtill in Edenburgh all the next Winter: And in the Sommer following, the king and Queene made their progreſſe into the Northe partes, and were honorably receyued in the principall cities and townes where they came, & likewiſe by the Nobles of the countrey, to the greate reioycing of the whole Realme. After their returning to Edenburgh, the king called a Parliament in the moneth of May. 1471. in the whyche amõg other things it was ordeyned, that Lords, Barons, and the burroughes of the Realme ſhoulde builde Shippes and boates, and prouide nettes for fiſhing. Alſo it was ordeined, that none ſhould weare ſilkes in doublet, gowne, or cloake, except Knights, Miniſtrels and Heralds, excepte they might diſpende one hundred pounds in lands by yeere: and that ẏ footeball and other vnlawfull games ſhoulde be debarred, and the exerciſe of ſhooting mainteyned. James eldeſt ſonne to king James the thirde, was borne ẏ tenth day of March, in the yeere. 1472. who afterwards ſucceded his father, and was called James ẏ fourth. Chriſtierne king of Denmarke, to congratulate the happie birth of this yong Prince beeing hys Nephewe by his daughter, releaſed all the righte, title and clayme which he or his ſucceſſors might haue to the Iſles of Orkney and Shetland.

1470

1471

The like act for ſhooting was inſtituted by king James the firſt. Anno 1425. Iohn Maior.

1472

The right to Orkney and Shetlande reſigned.

A ſtraunge comete or blaſing Starre (as wee call it) appeared in ẏ South, from the ſeuententh day of Januarie, vnto the eyghteenth of Februarie, and was placed betwixt ẏ Pole and the Pleiades, that is to wit, the ſeuen Starres. A greate Ship built by the late Archbiſhop of Sainte Androws Kenedie, called the Biſhops Barge, brake and was loſt beſide Banburgh, being fraughte with marchandiſe, the twelfth of Marche. Many Merchant mens ſeruantes and other paſſengers wer drowned wt hir, ſome eſcaped by boate, and were taken by the Engliſhmen, amongſt whome was the Abbot of S. Colme, who was cõſtreined to pay vnto his taker one James Kar, 80. pounds for his raunſome ere he could be ſuffered to depart. The Abbacie of Dunfermeling being vacant, the couent chooſe one of their owne Monkes called Alexander Thomſon, and ẏ king promoted Henry Creichton Abbot of Paſlay therevnto, whome the Pope admitted, and Robert Shaw parſon of Minto, was preferred by ẏ king vnto the Abbacie of Paſlay, and thẽ in ſuch wiſe began promotings of Secular Prieſts vnto Abbacies at the Princes requeſt, and the laudable elections aunciently vſed, made voyd: becauſe the Court of Rome admitted ſuche as the Princes made ſuite for and named, getting greate re-

1473

A blaſing Starre.

A Shipwracke.

Abbayes giuen by vnlawful meanes.

wards and notable sūmes of mony therby, so that neither the bishops durst admit such as ẏ couents electēd, nor such as were electēd durst pursue their righte, & so the Abbeys were bestowed vpon such as followed the Court, & liued courtly, secularly, & voluptuously, to ẏ great slāder of religious mē, which by ẏ naughty ensāples of their gouernors, fel to the workes of wickednesse, wherupon daily much euil encreased, & vertue in al estates decayd.

The Bishop of Saint Androwes made Achbishop. 1474

This yere in Septēber, ẏ indulgēce of the sea of S. Androws was published by Patricke Grahā, Bishop therof, & the same sea erectēd into the dignitie of an Archbishops sea, at sute of the said Patrick, who gaue information to ẏ Pope, ẏ bicause ẏ archbishop of York was Metropolitan of Scotland, and ẏ ther was oftentimes war betwixt the realms of England & Scotlād, the Scottishmen could not haue accesse to their Metropolitan, specially in cases of appellation. And therefore the Pope (as som write) thought it reson to make S. Androws primate & Metropolitan of Scotlād, & ordeined ẏ the twelue other Bishops of Scotlād shuld be vnder his primacie, who would not agree therunto, but promised ẏ K. by way of a taxatiō xj. M. markes for his maintenāce against ẏ sayd Archbishop: & the Prelates sente to Rome about this matter.

Primate and Metropolitan. Twelue Bishops in Scotland.

1476

This yere was a greate death in the Realme of Scotland, so that where a Parliamēt was called in Septēber, it was prorogued vntil ẏ twelfth day after Chrisimas. In January ẏ Parliament was holdē at Edēburgh, in which John Lord of the Iles & Erle of Rosse, was attaynted partly for his own euil deedes, but most specially, for ẏ defaultes of his father Donald Lord of the Iles. In May in the yere. 1477. the king rayled a puissant army of the most able mē vpō the North side of the water of Forth, to pursue the Lord of ẏ Iles both by sea & land. The Erle of Crawforde was made Admirall of the army by Sea, and the Erle of Athole, the kings vncle by his father, was Lieutenant of ẏ Army by land. But such means was vsed by ẏ Erle of Athole, that the Lord of ẏ Iles humbled himselfe to the kings pleasure vpon certayn cōditions, & therupon in the beginning of July next ensuing, the said lord of the Iles came to ẏ Parliament vnto Edenburgh, & there was ẏ agreement made & confirmed betwixt the king & him: he resigned into the kings hands all his right which he had to the Erledom of Rosse, ẏ lands of Cantyre & Knapden, which Earledome the king annexed to ẏ Crowne, & pardoned him & his seruants of al offences & transgressions before ẏ day committed, & inuested him of new in ẏ Lordship & Seigniorie of the Iles, & other his lands not released, to holde ẏ same of the king by the seruice of warde and relieke. The king also gaue vnto the Erle of Athole for his diligence shewed, in reducing the said Lord of the Iles vnto order, the lāds and forest of Clouy. There was an Inquisitor

The king rayled an army.

The Lord of the Isles submitteth himselfe.

He resigneth Rosse, Cantyre and Knapden.

this yere sent by Pope Sextus into Scotland, to examine by vertue of his cōmission Patrick Graham Archbishop of S. Androwes, whose examination and proues being sent vnto the Pope, hee pronounced him an Heretike, Scismatike, & Symoniake, & declared him accursed, condemning him to perpetual prison: and so he was degraded from all orders, cure, & dignitie of Ecclesiasticall office, and William Schewes Archdeacō of the same sea, was promoted in his place, to whom he was also committed to see him safely kept in prison. He was first sent vnto Saint Colmes Ins, and from thence to Dunfermling, and lastly to Lochleuin, where he dyed, and was buried in S. Sarfis Ile in Lochleuin. The sayd William Schewes was consecrate Archbishop of Sainte Androwes on passion Sunday in Lente, within Holy Rode house, the king being present, & many of the nobles of the Realm. And there ẏ sayde Archbishop receiued ẏ pall, as a signe of his Archbishops dignitie, & so was cōfirmed primate & legate of ẏ Realm, notwithstāding ẏ impediment made against Graham before by the Bishops about ẏ same. This yere also, Alexander Duke of Albany was committed to prison by the king his brother, within ẏ Castel of Edenburgh, through euil counsel, but he brake out & escaped to Dūbar, wher he caused the Castel to be furnished with al necessaries, & leauing his seruants within it, passed himself into France, & was there of ẏ king honorably receyued and louingly intreated. In the beginning of May following, the king besieged ẏ Castel by his Lieutenant the Erle of Auendale, who lost at that siege. 3. good knights, the Lord of Lute, sir John Schaw of Sauche, & the Lorde of Cragiwallace, with ẏ shot of a gun, & John Rāsay was slain with a stone cast by hād. Whē they within saw they could not lōg endure, they left ẏ Castel & fled away by sea, & the Erle of Auandale entred & found it void of al things wherof any accōpt was to be made. Doctor Irelād being graduat in diuinitie at Paris, was sent from ẏ Frēch king vnto ẏ king of Scottes, to perswade him to make war into Englād, to ẏ end ẏ king Edward shuld not aid ẏ Duke of Burgundy. And moreuer, he had in charge to moue for the Pardon of ẏ Duke of Albany, and shortly after returned with answer. The Erle of Mar called John Steward ẏ kings yōger brother, this yeere in the moneth of December, was taken in the nighte within hys owne house, & conueyed vnto Cragmiller, where he was kept as prisoner by the kings commaundement, and after was conuict of conspiracie for witchcraft which he shuld practise against ẏ king: & herupon in Cannogate beside Edenburgh, hys baynes were cut & so he bled to death. Ther were many & diuers Witches & sorcerers aswel mē as women cōuicted of ẏ crime, & burnt for ẏ same at Edēb. The K. sent Imbassadors into Englād to

1477

An inquisitor sent from the Pope.

The Archbishop is not wel handled.

Deprived.

Put in prison.

1479

William Schewes is consecrated Archbishop.

The Duke of Albany imprisoned.

He escaped.

Edenburgh besieged.

Doctor Ireland sent vnto the king of Scottes.

1480

Iohn Steward a prisoner.

Was put to death.

make

make ſuite to haue the Lady Cicill daughter to king Edward, ioyned in mariage with his ſonne Iames ẏ Prince, which was grãted, and ẏ mariage concluded to be ſolemnizate, when ẏ prince of Scotland ſhould come to perfect age: as in the Engliſh hiſtorie it more playnely appeareth.

Doctor Irelande, with a knight, and another religious man, came againe to king James from the French king, to perſwade him to make warre againſt England: and at length, King James & his nobles condiſcended to breake the peace, wherewith Thomas Spens Biſhop of Abirdene that was full tenderly beloued of king Edwarde, and had bin euer a mediator for peace betwixte the kings of England, France, and Scotlãd, and the Duke of Burgoingne, when he heard that warre would folow, he dyed through griefe of mind and melancoly at Edenburgh, in the moneth of Apprill. The king ſente two Heraldes vnto King Edwarde, requeſting him not to ayde the Duke of Burgoingne, nor any other againſt ẏ King of France: for if he did, hee muſt needes ſupporte the Frenchmen by reaſon of ẏ league betwixt France & Scotland, but king Edward would not admit thoſe Heraldes to his preſence, but kept them ſtill without anſwer, till he had ſent forth a nauie of Ships into ẏ Forth before Lieth, Kingorne, and Pettenweme, & thẽ were the Heralds licenſed to returne. The Engliſhe fleete entring the Forth, toke eight great ſhippes which they found in that riuer, and landing at Blacknelle, brent ẏ towne, and a great Barge that lay there at rode, and ſo returned. The king aſſembled an army from all partes of the Realme, and amongſt other, ẏ Lord of the Iles came with a great cõpany: and nowe the king being ready to enter into England, there came to him a meſſenger of king Edward, ſente from a Cardinall Legate that was reſidente as then in England, commanding king James by authoritie apoſtolike, not to proceede any further in his purpoſed iourney, to the ende that peace being obſerued, all Chriſtian Princes might bende their powers againſte the Turke and Infidels. This commaundemente did king James obey, and ſo diſcharged his army, notwithſtandyng, that king Edwarde ſent forth his nauie agayne into the Forth, vnto the Ile of Ins Keith, but they did no hurt, for the countreymen kept them off. The Scottiſh borderers inuaded ẏ Engliſhe marches, deſtroyed townes, and led many priſoners away with them into Scotland. The king of Englande cauſed Berwike to be aſſieged both by ſea and lande all the winter ſeaſon, and ouerthrew a wall that was newly made about it for defence thereof: but the Scottes within it defended the towne for that time ſo ſtoutly, that the enimies might not winne it from them.

The Duke of Albany after his wife was dead which he had married in France, perceyuing him ſelfe not ſo well entreated as before, came ouer into Englande, where king Edwarde receyued him righte honorably, promiſing as ſome haue written, to make him king of Scotlande: & thereupon aſſembled an army of thirtie thouſand mẽ, with a great nauie by Sea to inuade Scotland, and appoynted Captaynes and leaders of the army by land, his owne brother ẏ Duke of Glowceſter, the Duke of Albany and others. The king of Scottes hearing of their approche to inuade his Realme, reiſed a puiſſant army to reſiſt them, and came forward with the ſame vnto ẏ towne of Lowder, where being encamped, the principall nobles of his Realme, as Archembalde Earle of Angus, George Erle of Huntley, John Erle of Lenox, Iames Erle of Buchquhã, Androw lord Grey, Robert Lord Lile, and diuers other, beeing armed, entred the kings lodging, where they accuſed him of diuers things done and practiſed by him contrary to his honor & the common weale of his Realme, and ſpecially, becauſe he vſed yõg counſell of lewde perſons, but worthy and baſe of birth, ſuche as Thomas Cochram, whome of a Maſon, he had made erle of Mar, through whoſe deuiſe and counſell, hee had cauſed to bee coigned certayne money of copper, not conuenient to bee currant in any Realme, which the people refuſed, and ſo great dearth & hunger was reyſed through the countrey. Moreouer, that he would not ſuffer the noble men to come neere his preſence, nor to take their counſell in gouerning the Realme, but geue himſelfe to voluptuous pleaſure, ſetting nought by ẏ Queene his lawfull wife, keeping a naughty hailot called the Dayſie in hir place.

Alſo they layde to his charge, ẏ he had put hys brother the Earle of Mar vnto death, & baniſhed his other brother the Duke of Albany, & therefore they could not ſuffer him and the whole Realme to be longer miſledde by ſuche naughty perſons. And herevpõ they toke Thomas Cochram Erle of Mar, William Roger, and Iames Hommill Taylor, who with others being conuict, were hanged ouer the Bridge at Lowder. Only John Ramſey a yong man of eyghteene yeeres of age, for whome the king made great inſtaunce, was pardoned of life. This done, they returned to Edenburgh, and appoynted the king himſelfe to bee kept in the Caſtel by the Erle of Athole, and in ẏ meane time, the ſecond of Auguſt, they ſente Androw Steward elect Biſhop of Murray, & John Lord Darneley, to the Engliſh army lying then at Tuyder, to take truce for three moneths: but ẏ Dukes of Glowceſter and Albany came forward vnto Reſtalrig, where they encamped without any reſiſtance. The Engliſh nauie lying alſo in the Forth, was readie to aſſiſt their fellowes by land. Herevpon certaine noble men of Scotland,

The Duke of Albany commeth into England.

The preſumptuous demeanor of the Scottiſh nobilitie.

Thomas Cochram.

Embaſing of coyne.

The kings concubine named Dayſie.

Cochram Erle of Mar and other hanged.

The king kept vnder arreſt.

as the Archbishop of Saint Androwes, the Bishop of Dunkeld, Colin Erle of Argyle, and Androw Steward Lord Auendale great Chancellor of Scotland, wente to the English camp, and treating with the two Dukes, agreed vpon certayne articles, whereby the Duke of Albany was receyued into his countrey againe in peaceable wise, and had giuen to him the Castell of Dunbar with the Erledomes of March and Mar. He was proclaymed also generall Lieutenant to the King: And so the Englishmen returned homewards, and came to Berwike where they hauyng wonne the towne as they passed that wayes into Scotlād, had left the Lord Stanley and sir John Eldrington with foure thousand men, to keepe a siege before the Castell, and nowe they enforced the same: but the Lorde of Halis then Captayne within that Castell, defended it right manfully, sending to the Duke of Albany and other the Lords of the counsell, for reliefe to reise the siege.

The Duke of Albany is reconciled.

The Castell of Barwike is taken.

The Duke in deede reysed an army, and came to Lamer More, but when they within perceyued that through dissention betwirte the King and the nobles of the Realme, they were not like to be reskewed, they yeelded the Castell into the Englishmens handes the. 24. of August in that yeere 1482. after it had remayned nowe at this time in the Scottishmens handes the space of. 21. yeeres.

1482

The king a prisoner.

The king remaynyng as prisoner in Edenburgh Castell, all things were ordered by the Duke of Albany, Androwe Stewarde Lord of Iuendale Chancellor, & others, till the sayd Duke, ẏ Archbishop of Sainte Androwes, the Chancellor, the Erle of Argile & diuers others wēt vnto Striueling to visit the Queene and Prince, where the Duke was perswaded by the Queene without knowledge thereof giuen to the other, to goe vnto Edenburgh, and to restore the king vnto libertie.

The king is set at libertie.

The Duke accordingly to the Quenes pleasure comming to Edenburgh, besieged the Castell & wanne it, remoued the Earle of Athole, and set ẏ king and all his seruants at libertie, for the which good turne, the king shewed great tokens of loue to his brother the Duke, although it lasted not long. The Earle of Argile, the Bishop of Sainte Androwes, the Chancellor and others which remayned at Striueling, when they hearde those newes, fled into their owne countreys: and shortly after, the Bishop of Sainte Androwes at request of the king, resigned his Bishoprike in fauor of master Androw Steward prouost of Glencloudon, and was content in recompence thereof, with the Bishoprike of Murray. This yeere there was great theft, reife, & slaughter in diuers partes of the Realme, by occasion of the variance betwirt the king and his nobles. The Duke of Albany for that he vnderstood there was poison giuen to him in drinke in the kings chamber, and therefore stoode in feare of his life, fledde from the Court vnto the Castell of Dunbar, whereby ensewed great discord. The king fearing the displesure of his nobles, gote him also into ẏ Castel of Edenburgh. The Erles of Angus, Buchquhan, and others left the king, and assisted the Duke of Albany. And the king through counsell of certain meane persons whome he had againe taken vnto him, summoned the Duke and others his assistantes to come to answer for such treason as hee had to lay against them, and withall prepared an army to beseege Dunbar, whereof the Duke being aduertised fled into Englande, & afterwardes being accompanyed with the Earle of Dowglas and a great nūber of Englishmen inuaded Scotland vpon the west marches, where many Englishmen were slaine and taken by the resistaunce of the Lards Cokpule, Johnston and others, the Duke was put to flight, and the Erle Dowglas taken and brought to the king, who bycause hee was an aged man and had bin long banished his countrey, was sente to the Abbey of Lundoris, where hee remayned the rest of his dayes, and at length, departing this life, was buried there. The Duke of Albany for the losse of that army, was blamed of the king of England, and therevpō taking a misliking, secretely departed ouer into France by the help of John Liddell, sonne to Sir Iames Liddell knighte, who afterwards lost his life for the same. The Duke was well entertayned in France by the King there: and finally rūning at tilt with Lewes Duke of Orleance, was hurt with the splint of a Speare and thereof died. He left behinde him two sonnes, John Duke of Albany, that was after gouernor and tutor to king Iames the fift, & Alexander that was after Bishop of Murrey and Abbot of Scone. Thys yere the Lords Hume, Torreklis, Oliphant, and Drummond, were made Lordes of the Parliament. In the yeere. 1484. the king sent the Archbishop of Saint Androwes vnto Rome for certayne priuileges which he obteyned. And ẏ same yeere, Pope Innocente the eighte of that name, sent the Bishop of Imola to treate of peace betwirt Richarde King of Englande and Iames king of Scotlād. Iames king of Scottes hauing not long before made diuers incursions & roades into England, and that to his profite, hee sewed therevpon for a truce, which came to passe euen as king Richarde wished, so that condiscending to haue a communication, commissioners were appoynted for both partes to meete at Nōtyngham ẏ seuenth day of September nexte ensuing.

Poyson giuen.

The king is forsaken.

Lords are summoned.

Scotland inuaded.

Erle Dowglas sent vnto an Abbey.

The Duke of Albany is blamed.

1484

The Archbishop is sent to Rome.

The Pope wrote to entreate peace.

Commissioners appointed on the behalfe of the king of England and Scotlande for a peace at Notyngham

For the King of Scottes there appeared Colin Earle of Argile, the Lorde Cambell, and the Lord Chancellor of Scotlād, William Bishop of Abirdene, Robert Lord Lyle, Laurence Lord Oliphant, John Drummond of Stubhall, Archybald

chybald Myrtclaw Archdeacon of Lawden, and Secretary to king Iames, Lyon king of armes, and Duncan Dundas. For king Richard, there came Richard Biſhop of S. Aſaph, Iohn Duke of Norfolke, Henry Erle of Northumberlande, Thomas Lord Stanley, George Stanley Lord Straunge, Iohn Gray Lord Powes, Richarde Lord Fitzhugh, Iohn Gunthorpe, keeper of the Kings priuie ſeale, Thomas Barrow maſter of the Rolles, ſir Thomas Bryan chiefe iuſtice of ẏ common place, Sir Richarde Ratcliſe Knighte, William Catesby, & Richard Salkeld Eſquires. Theſe counſellers in the latter end of September after ſundry meetings and communications had togither, concluded (as followeth) a peace to bee had betwixt both the Realmes for ẏ ſpace of three yeres, the ſame to begin at the riſing of the ſunne on the. 29. of September in the yeere. 1484. and to continue vnto the ſetting of the ſunne on the. 29. of September, in the yeere. 1487. during whyche tearme, it was agreed, that not onely all hoſtilitie and warre ſhuld ceaſſe betwixt ẏ two Realmes, but that alſo al ayde and abaitement of enimies ſhould be auoided, and by no colorable meanes or way in any caſe vſed. The towne and Caſtell of Barwike to remayne in the Engliſhmens hãds, for the ſpace of the ſayde tearme, with the ſame boundes as the Engliſhmen poſſeſſed it at that ſeaſon, when it was deliuered to the Scottiſhmẽ by king Henry the ſixt. It was likewiſe condiſcended, that all other Caſtels, holdes, and forteſſes during the tearme of the ſayde three yeeres, ſhould abide in the hands of thoſe that held them at that preſent, the Caſtell of Dũbar only excepted. This Caſtell of Dunbar was deliuered vnto the Engliſhmen by the Duke of Albany, when he fled into France, and ſo remained in their hãds at that time of concluding this truce. Herevpon (by reaſon the Scottiſh commiſſioners had not authoritie to conclude any ful agreement for that Caſtell, vnleſſe the ſame might be reſtored vnto ẏ king their maſters hands) it was accorded, that if the king of Scots within the ſpace of. 40. dayes next enſewing, did intimate his reſolute refuſall to be agreeable, that the ſayd Caſtell ſhoulde remayne in the Engliſhmens hands aboue ẏ ſpace of ſixe moneths, that then during that tearme of ſixe moneths, thoſe that kepte the Caſtell for the Engliſhmen ſhould remayne in quiet, and not be troubled nor moleſted by any kind of meanes by the ſayde King of Scottes, or any other by hys procurement, ſo that they within ẏ Caſtell likewiſe abſteyned from making any iſſues or reiſſes vpon the Scottiſhe people. And if after that the ſayd tearme of ſixe moneths were once expired, it ſhould chance, that any warre aroſe for defending or recouering the ſayd Caſtell, yet the truce ſhuld endure for all other rightes and poſſeſſions, notwithſtãding that it might be lawfull to do what lay in any of their powers, eyther for winning, or defending the foreſaid Caſtel, as though no truce had bene concluded. It was further agreed, that no traytor of eyther Realme ſhoulde be receyued by ẏ Prince of ẏ other Realm, and if any traytor or Rebell chanced to arriue in eyther Realme, the Prince thereof to deliuer him vpõ demaũd made. Scottes already abiding in England & ſworne to the king there, may remain ſtil, ſo their names be certified to ẏ Scottiſh King, within. 40. days. If any Warden of eyther Realm ſhuld inuade ẏ others ſubiects, he to whome ſuch Wardẽ is ſubiect, ſhal within ſixe days proclaime him traytor, & certifie the other Prince thereof within. 12. days. And in euery ſafeconduct this clauſe ſhoulde be conteyned. Prouided alwayes that the obteynor of this ſafeconduct be no traytor. If any of the ſubiects of eyther Prince do preſume to aide, help, mainteyne, or ſerue any other Prince againſt any of the contractors of this truce, then it ſhall be lawfull to him, to whome hee ſhewed himſelfe enimie, to apprehende and attach the ſayd ſubiect, going, comming, or tarying within any of hys dominions. Colleagues comprized in this truce (if they woulde aſſente thereto) on the Engliſhe part were theſe, the king of Caſtell and Leon, the king of Aragone, ẏ king of Portingale, ẏ Archduke of Auſtrich and Burgoine and the Duke of Britaine. On the Scottiſhe parte, Charles the French king, Iohn King of Denmarke & Norway, the Duke of Gelderlãd & the Duke of Britayne. The Lordſhip of Lorne in the Realme of Scotland, and the Iland of Lunday lying in the riuer of Seuerne, in the Realme of Englande, were not comprehended in this agreement. This concord, peace, and amitie thus concluded, was appoynted to be publiſhed ẏ firſt day of October, in the moſt notable cities and townes of both the Realmes. For ẏ ſure obſeruation, keeping & performance of this truce and league, there were appointed for conſeruators on ẏ Scottiſh ſide Dauid Earle of Crawford & Lord Lindley, George Erle of Huntley Lord Gordon and Badzenath, Iohn Lord Darnlye, Iohn Lord Kenedy, Robert Lord Lile, Patrick Lord Haleene, Laurence Lord Oliphant, William Lorde Borthwike, ſir Iohn Roſſe of Halkheld, ſir Gilbert Johnſon of Elphynſton, ſir Iohn Lundy, ſir Iohn Ogiluy of Irly, ſir Robert Hamilton of Fingalton, Sir Willam Balze of Lamington, ſir Iohn Kenedy of Blarqhone, ſir Iohn Wemes, ſir Rochewen, Edward Stochton of Kirke paty, Iohn Dũdas, Iohn Roſſe of Mountgrenan Eſquires.

An article for Trayters.

An article for Scottiſhmen already being in England.

An article for the Wardens of the marches

A clauſe to be put in ſafeconducts.

An article for ſuch as ſhould ſerue eyther Princes in warre.

Colleagues comprized in the truce.

Lorne and Lunday excepted.

It was further agreed, that Commiſſioners ſhoulde meete at Loughmaban the eyghteene day of November, aſwell for redreſſe of certayne offences done on the Weſt marches, as alſo for

Commiſſioners appointed to meete at Loughmaban.

declaring and publishing the peace. On ẏ Englisſh part, the Lord Dacres, the Lord Fitzhugh, ſir Richard Ratcliffe, ſir Chriſtopher Mowlebye, ſir Richard Salkeild, or three of thē. For ẏ Scots, the Lorde Kenedy, the Lord Mountgomery, the Lord Lile, John Maxwel Steward of Annandale, Robert Creichton of Sanquhan, or three of them. Alſo, there were aſſigned commiſſioners to meete at Roydenborne for the Eaſt marches, the firſt day of December, and at Haldan Stanke for the middle marches on the fourthe daye of the ſame moneth. At which two places for Scotlād there were aſſigned to appeare the Earle of Hūtley, the Erle of Angus, the Erle of Argyle Chācellor of Scotlād, the Lord Iuandale, the Lord Seyton, the Lord Oliphaunt, the Lord Stobhal with other. For Englād, the Erle of Northumberland, the Lord Greyſtocke, the Lorde Scrope of Mallan, ſir William Gaſcoigne, ſir Roberte Conſtable and other. The ſame Commiſſioners had authoritie to aſſigne certayn perſons, to view and declare the bounds and limits appertayning to Berwike, according to the true meaning of the league. For the battell grounde it was accorded, that the ſame ſhoulde remayne without ſowing, or earing, building, or inhabiting, as it had done before. Shortly after ẏ concluding of thys truce, King Richard entreated for a marriage to be had betwixte the Prince of Rothſay, eldeſt ſonne to king James and Lady Anne de la Pole, daughter to John Duke of Suffolke, and to the Lady Anne his wife, that was ſiſter to the ſayde King Richard. For the concluding of this marriage, both the Kings ſent their Ambaſſadours agayne vnto Notyngham, where their treatie had ſuche ſucceſſe for that time, that the marriage was agreed vpon, and writings therof drawen, engroſſed, and ſealed, and affiances made and taken by procurors and deputies on both partes. The foreſayd yong Lady was immediately called Princes of Rothſay; but by the ſhort life of King Richarde hir vncle, ſhe ſhortly after loſt that name.

Commiſſioners to meete at Roydenborne. And at Haldan Stanke.

The batable grounde.

A marriage concluded betwixt the Duke of Rothſay and the Lady Anne de la poole.

King James within a while after the concluſion of this league and marriage aforeſayde, for the expreſſing and declaring of his opinion touching the Caſtell of Dunbar, whether he woulde be agreeable that the ſame ſhould remayne onely ſixe moneths, or elſe during the tearme of ẏ whole truce in the Engliſhmēs poſſeſſion, he wrote vnto King Richard a louing letter, ſignifying vnto him, that he was not minded to ſeeke the recouerie of the ſayd caſtell by force of armes, but rather to leaue it in his hand, during the whole terme of the truce, neuertheleſſe, he inſtantly required hym for the bonde of that loue and familiaritie, which nowe by treatie and aliance was ſprong vp betwixt them, that he would redeliuer the ſaid Caſtell into his handes, according as reaſon might moue him thereto, conſidering the Engliſhmen had no right to it, being only deliuered to them by traitors of their natiue coūtrey, without any reaſonable cauſe, or commiſſiō lawfully authoriſed.

King James by letters ſignifieth hys minde touching the articles of Dunbar.

King Richard vſed in this matter with pleaſant letters & faire wordes, ſo feeding forth King James without minding to gratifie him in that ſuite, ſo that as long as king Richard liued, king James could neuer get it, for any thing he might do. In the yeere. 1486. Henry Erle of Richmont comming out of France with a power of men, of the whiche Bernard Stewarde a Scottiſhman was chiefe Captaine, landed in Wales, & paſſing through ẏ cuntrey into Englād, at lēgth encoūtred King Richard & ſlew him, ſo obtayning the Crowne of that Realm. And after he was ſomewhat quietly eſtabliſhed in the ſame, he came into the North partes where hee remayned the moſte part of the next ſommer, and regarding nothing more than to haue ẏ loue & friendſhip of his neyboꝛs, & to be confederate with the Kings & Princes ioyning next vnto him, he ſent from Newcaſtell one of his counſellors Richard Fore Biſhop of Exceter, and ſir Richard Edgecombe knight, Ambaſſadors vnto King James, to treat cōtract & renew the band of peace & truce betwixt the ſaid Kings and their Realmes. Theſe Ambaſſadors were gladly receiued of King James, who declared vnto them, ẏ he bare great fauor & loue vnto their maiſter, & woulde be glad to pleaſure hym in al he might: howbeit, that his ſubiects were not of ſo good a mind towards the Engliſh nation as he himſelfe wiſhed, & therefore he willed them to bee contented with a truce for ſeuen yeres, for further he could not do, for doubt to offend his nobilitie & ſubiects: but he promiſed ſecretly, that when thoſe ſeuen yeeres were expired, hee woulde renue the ſame for the tearme of other ſeauen yeeres, and ſo from ſeuen yeres to ſeuen yeres ſo lōg as he liued. This he did, becauſe he perceyued that his people had him in ſuch hatred, that they would not conſent to any band that he ſhuld make: the Ambaſſadors perceiuing his good meaning toward king Henry, confirmed the truce for thoſe ſeuen yeeres, and ſo returned home to King Henry, who was right glad of that they had done.

King Richard would not deliuer the Caſtell of Dunbar.

1486

King Richard ouerthrowen by the Earle of Richmond.

An ambaſſage ſente vnto Scotlande.

The Kings anſwere.

His promiſe.

Immediately after that this truce was thus concluded betwixt ẏ two Realmes, king James cauſed the three eſtates to aſſemble in Parliamēt at Edinburgh ẏ firſt of October in the yere. 1487. in the which order was take, ẏ iuſtice eares ſhuld be holden through all partes of the Realm, & that no pardons ſhuld be granted for any great crime that ſhuld be cōmitted for the ſpace of ſeuē yeres to coue, ſo that the king began to vſe ſharp execution of Iuſtice in all parts, which was right diſpleſant to many. The ſame time was an Ambaſſador ſent to the king of Romans, for the cal-

A Parliament.

1487

No pardons to be graunted to offendors for the ſpace of ſeuen yeeres.

Ambaſſadors ſent to the King of Romanes.

Ing

ling in of a letter of Marque, which had bin grãted againſt Scottiſh Merchants, at the ſuite and inſtance of certayne Hollanders & Burgonions, and was ſhortly after hereupon reuoked. After ẏ Parliament was ended, the King remoued vnto Striueling, leauing his wife the Queene, and his ſonne the Prince in Edenburgh Caſtell, whileſt he keeping perſons about him of meane calling, gaue himſelfe to take his pleaſure with women, and to gather vp golde and ſiluer, greatly to the offence of his ſubiects. Yet in the mean time now after the death of king Richarde, whether it was by treaſon or appoyntment, the Caſtell of Dunbar was deliuered to the hands of king James, & that to his greate ioy and high contentation: for he that ruled his kingdome more with rigor than with any tractable mean of fauorable iuſtice, ſtood euer in feare of ſome troubleſome tumult ẏ might be raiſed by his own people, if occaſiõ were miniſtred either through hope of forrayn aide or otherwiſe. So long therefore as this Caſtell was in ẏ Engliſhmens handes, he doubted, leaſt through practiſe ſome conſpiracie ſhould be contriued betwixt his own ſubiects and the Engliſh nation, greatly to the anoyance of his eſtate, and therupon he was the more deſirous to reduce the ſame Caſtell into his poſſeſſion. But the only mean to haue aſſured himſelfe from the handes of ſuch as ſought his life, had bin to haue changed his wilful maner of gouernemẽt, and to haue leaned vnto ſuch councell as would haue aduiſed him for ẏ wealth of his whole Realme, & not vpon deſire to pleaſe, haue maynteyned his vndiſcreet opiniõs to ẏ wronging aſwel of his commõs as of ẏ nobles & peeres of his Realm: for ẏ nobilitie of Scotlãd, namely, the Earles of Angus, Argile, & Lennox, the Lords Halis, Hume, Drowmound, Grey and others, perceyuing themſelues oppreſſed by ſuche as frõ baſe birth had riſen, (without worthy deſeruing) to the degree of counſellors, and therwith aduanced to ſo high authoritie, as al things were ordered at their appoyntment, conſpired togither, & determined by force of armes to ſee a reformation in ſuch a diſordred manner of gouernement: but yet bycauſe it ſhould not be thought that they minded the deſtruction of their countrey, but rather ẏ aduancement thereof, they made the Lorde James Duke of Rothſay ſonne to the King (a child borne to goodneſſe & vertue) the chiefe Captayne in this their enterpriſe, & that in maner againſt his wil, hereby openly proteſting, that they minded & purpoſed the ſuppreſſing & confuſion of an euil king, & not ẏ ſubuerſion of their native cõtrey. By which their craftie imagined inuention, they thought to remoue all ſuſpition of their purpoſed vntroth & ſhamefull diſloyaltie. They had ſente to the Earle of Dowglas, who remayned priſoner (as ye haue heard) in the Abbey of Lundoris, and required him to aſſiſt them in their begun enterpriſe, promiſing that they would reſtore him againe to his lands and former dignitie, and honor him as principall of their faction. But that noble, wiſe, & ancient Erle, being already ſchooled with troubles, and hauing learned by experience to his great griefe what ſuch matter meant, refuſed to breake his warde, or to aſſiſt them in any wiſe, diſwading them from their enterpriſe, bycauſe it ſeemed to him neither godly nor honorable, ſithence both himſelfe and his friends had taſted for ẏ like, great hinderãce, which might be an enſample to him & others to beware in time to come. The King being once enformed of this rebelliõ & conſpiracie againſt him, was ſore diſquieted in his mind, & to mete their miſchieuous attempts, gathered an army. Yet before the bring of any force, he ſent meſſengers to his ſon, & to the nobles w̃ him, to trie if he might come to ſome agreemente with them. He ſente alſo letters to the king of England, & to the French king, requiring thẽ to take ſome paines in ẏ matter, to procure an atonement betwixt him and his nobles. And beſides this, he wrote to Pope Innocent for ẏ ſame purpoſe, praying him to intermeddle his authorizie by ſending ſome legate into Scotlãd, to appeaſe the troubles thereof. But the Scottiſh nobilitie, & ſuch of the people as were vp in armour againſte him, were ſo deſperately ſet & wholly bent on reuẽge, that no wholeſom counſell nor medicinable aduice might appeaſe their furious rage, ſo that for anſwere to his meſſengers, they ſent him worde, that if he would reſigne the title of his Crowne & Realm, & depoſe himſelfe of his whole regall dignitie, then they would come to ſome cõmunication with him, or elſe not. The like anſwere was giuẽ to ẏ Ambaſſadors of England and France, that were ſente vnto them from ẏ Kings of both thoſe Realmes, which ſore lamented the fortune of their friend & alie the Scottiſh king. But Adrian ẏ Biſhop of Romes Legate came too late, as who ſhuld ſay, a day after ẏ fayre: for when their groũded malice & ſpiteful hatred cõceyued againſt him might not bee qualified by any manner of meanes, but ẏ they wer now cõming forward w̃ al their puiſſance to Striueling where he then remayned, he would not ſtay til ẏ Erles of Huntley Errole, Athole, Crawfort, Rothus, Sutherlãd, Cathnes, & Marſhall, the Barõs Forbes, Gilquy, Granth, Frayſer and other, were arriued with their powers, amounting to the number of fortie thouſand men with the which they were cõming forth of ẏ North partes to his aide, but raſhly, & without good aduice he iſſued out of the town, accompanied with the Erles of Glencarne & Montros, the Lordes Graham, Ruthuen, Maxwell, and certayne others, and forthwith ioyned battell with hys aduerſaries at Bannockes-

King Iames gathereth an army.

He ſendeth letters to the Kings of England & France

The anſwere of the Rebels to the kings meſſage.

burne, within two miles of Striueling: and ſo when nothing mighte quiet them, at length they met thus in a pitched fielde, where after greate ſlaughter and murder made of an huge multitude of people, the King beeing put to the woorſe fledde into a Mill, whither beeing fiercely followed and founde therein, hee was cruelly ſlayne, and vnreuerently left ſtarke naked: A notable mirror to all earthly princes, that calling to remembrance ſuch a miſerable and moſt dolorous ſight, they may take heede by what manner of perſons they ſuffer them ſelues to be led and abuſed. For if this Prince King James the third had not followed vpon a wilfull pretence and obſtinate minde the councell and aduice of vauntperlors, & ſuche as (being aduanced from baſe degree vnto high authoritie) ſtudyed more to keepe them ſelues in fauoure, than to giue true aduertiſementes, and faithfull aduiſe vnto their Prince, he myghte haue reigned longer by many dayes and yeeres, in great and high felicitie.

They meete in a pitched fielde.

The King is put to the woorſe.

He is ſlayne.

He was thus ſlayne neere to Sterling, on the eleuenth day of June, the yeere after the incarnation. 1488. being alſo in the. 29. of his raigne.

1488

Iames.



NOwe then, after that the Barons of Scotland hadde thus ſlayne their ſouereigne Lorde and liege King James, the third of that name: his eldeſt ſonne James the fourth was crowned King of Scotlande, and beganne hys raigne the. 24. of June, in the yeere. 1488. being not paſt ſixteene yeeres of age, who notwithſtanding that he had bin in the fielde with the Nobles of the Realme againſte his father that contrary to his mind was ſlayne, yet neuertheleſſe afterwardes, he became a ryght noble Prince, and ſeemed to take great repentãce for that his offence, and in token thereof, he ware continually an Iron chayne about hys middle all the dayes of his life. He was greatly giuen to deuotion and prayer, viſiting religious houſes, and beſtowing on them ſundry giftes.

The King was repentãt.

The King wore an yron chayne.

Was giuen to deuotion.

He gouerned his Realme in greate reſt, peace, Juſtice and quietneſſe, riding him ſelfe in proper perſon diuers dayes and nightes, to ſuppreſſe and take theeues, robbers, and oppreſſors of his ſubiects in all parts of the Realm, til he had brought the countrey to great quietneſſe.

He was a great iuſticer.

He was learned and liberal, and endewed with many other good vertues and qualities.

He was learned.

Anone after his Coronation, ỳ Earle of Lennor, and the Lord Lille, with diuers other theyr aſſiſtantes, notwithſtanding that they had bene with him at the ſlaughter of his father, ſeing that things went not as they wiſhed, reiſed an army, & cauſed the dead Kings bloudy ſhirt to be borne afore thẽ for a Banner: and comming forwards towardes Striueling againſte the yong King, were ouerthrowen at Tolymoſſe, where ỳ Lennor men, and ſundry other of the Barons ſide were ſlayne, as the Lorde of Kiltrucht and other taken and hanged for their offences.

The nobles rayſe an army againſt him.

They were ouerthrowen.

The King called a Parliament at Edinburgh, which was holden the ſixt of October, where hee being moued of clemencie, graunted a generall pardõ to al thoſe that came in field at Striueling wt his father againſt him, & appoynted euery one to haue ſpeciall pardons therupõ vnder his ſeales.

A Parliament.

A generall pardon.



He likewiſe diſpenſed with the heires of them that were ſlayne with his father there in field, appoynting thẽ their particuler diſpenſations vnder his ſeales, after the ſame manner. Further it was ordeyned, that all Juſtices, Sheriffes, Stewards, Baylifes, Lieuetenants, and other which had offices

ces in heritage, and had bene with his father at the fielde, shoulde bee suspended from the same offices for the tearme of three yeares: and those which had offices for life, or for tearme of yeares, should be vtterly excluded from the same.

Moreouer, he toke order that all such goodes as had beene taken from landed men and burgesses, should be restored to them againe, except that which was taken from such landed men and burgesses as were in the fielde agaynst him, for that was deemed a lawfull pray.

It was also iudged that the death of his father came vppon him through his owne default, and that king James the fourth then raigning, and al his adherents and partakers in that field were innocent and guiltlesse of all slaughter made there at that time, and clearely acquit of al pursuit and occasion thereof, the three estates graunting to giue their seales to testifie the same, with ỹ kings great seale of the realme to be shewed to the Pope, the kings of France, Spaine, Denmarke, and other princes their confederates.

And for the cealling of theft, reif, and such other great enormities, the king was appoynted to ryde in person once euerie yeare through all partes of the Realme. And certaine noble men were ordeyned to exercise iustice in euerie shire next adioyning to the places where they had theyr chiefe residence: and hereunto they gaue their othes to be diligent in the administration of iustice.

Those ordinances were right well obserued all the dayes of king James the fourth his life tyme, so that the realme was reduced to great tranquillitie, and gouerned in good peace and iustice.

Furthermore, all giftes made by his father in preiudice of the crowne, were reuoked, from the seconde day of Februarie immediately preceeding his death, to the day in which he was slaine.

Also an Esquier, and an Heralde were sente into Fraunce, Spaine, and other places, to learne where the king might bee a suter for some greate Ladie to ioyne with him in mariage.

Moreouer beside these, there were sent honourable Imbassadors into Fraunce, Spaine, and Denmarke, to renue the olde amities and leagues betwixt those Realmes and Scotland, as had bin vsed in the dayes of this kings progenitors.

His two brethren, the Duke of Rossay, and the Earle of Mar, he caused to be brought vp in good nuriture and vertuous exercise, appointing to them such liuings for maintenaunce of their estates, as his father had assigned them.

For his Counsell he chose a certaine number of the Prelates, noble men, and barons of his realm, such as were thought most meetest, taking thys order, that fiue of them at the least shoulde continually remaine aboute him, by whose aduise hee shoulde do all things that touched the affayres of the Realme: and in case anye thing was done without their aduice, the same shoulde be adiudged voyde, and not to be obeyed, and this was inviolably kept all his dayes.

When the Esquier and Heralde were returned againe into Scotland, which had beene to visite straunge Countreys, and made report of that they had seene, there was a Parliament holden, in which it was ordeined that the Bishop of Glasco, the Erle Bothwell, and others should go as Imbassadours to sue for the kings mariage in place where it shoulde be most expedient, and moste to the kings lyking. 1491

Great variance rose betwixt the Archbishop of Saint Androwes, and the Bishop of Glasco, touching the prehemineuce of theyr iurisdiction, which drewe the noble men into factions, tyll the king commaunded the same to ceasse, and that they should trie it by law afore competent iudges. Two Archbishops striue for the prehemineuce.

The king about the same time toke order for the encrease of some number of shippes to bee had in his Realme, and that euery hauen towne should build some aswel for fishing, as to transport marchandise from place to place. Prouision is made for shippes.

The Lordes and Barons, and such other as woulde, were commaunded to helpe the Marchantes towarde the buylding of suche shippes: and for good ensample, the king caused to make certain shippes at his owne charges, which might vse the trade of fishing.

Moreouer, the king considering the ignorance that was amongest the landed men of his realme when they should passe vpon Inquests, he ordeyned that euery landed man shoulde put his eldest sonne to schole, that he might learne perfitely the lawes of the realme, & this vpon great forfeyture. Prouision made for learning.

Thus in the beginning of his raigne, diuerse good lawes and constitutions were made for the aduauncement of the common wealth, which he caused to be duely obserued and kept during hys tyme.

The Pope sent a Protonotarie called Forman into Scotland, with a Rose and a Sceptre of gold, to be presented vnto the king, desiring him to persever in godlinesse, honour, and vertue, as he had begonne. A Protonotary sent into Scotlande with a Rose.

The most part of this yeare, the king spent in rydyng abrode through all partes of his realme to see iustice ministred, specially in the North parts, where the people are comonly furthest out of order. 1492 The king goeth on progresse.

There was shortly after some appearance of warres betwixt Englande and Fraunce, whereupon king Charles sent vnto king James, requiring him of assystance, if it came to passe that the English men did inuade France: and further declared, that he had one with him called Richarde Duke of Yorke, seconde sonne to king Edwarde the fourth, who had beene preserued now many

yeares secretely by his Aunt Margaret Duches of Burgoin, and therfore was iust inheritor vnto the realm of England, whō he would send into Scotlande, praying the king to assyst him to recouer his rightfull heritage, the said realme of England. And shortlye after herevpon, the sayde feyned Duke (whose ryght name was Perkin Warbecke as in the Englishe Hystorie it appeareth) arriued in Scotlande well and honourably accompanied, to trie what purchase he might make there for succours to attayne his pretended right to the crowne of Englande.

Perkyn Warbecke.

This Perkyn Warbecke did vse the matter in suche subtill wyse, that King James eyther gyuing, or seeming to gyue credite to his words, after aduise and deliberation had and taken wyth hys Counsell, receyued him in honourable wyse, naming and reputing him Duke of Yorke, and therefore promised him to ayde him in all that he myght, and shortlye after, hee maryed hym to his neare kynneswoman the Ladie Katheryn, daughter to the Earle of Huntley, and moreouer, raysed a great armie, specially of the borderers, and with the same hauing this pretensed Duke in companie wyth him, inuaded England, burnt townes, spoyled houses, toke great bootes and

Perkyn Warbecke marieth the Earle of Huntleyes daughter. 1495

King Iames inuadeth Northumberland. 1495



riche prayes both of goodes and prisoners, and allecked with the sweetnesse of such spoyle and gain, wasted al the Countrey of Northumberland, and had gone further, but that he coulde perceyue no ayde comming in vnto this new found Duke, cōtrarie to suche golden promises as he had made, that assone as they were entred into Englande, there would flocke vnto him both of the nobilitie and commons, and that in great numbers.

King Iames returneth without proffer of battaile.

King Iames perceyuing no suche matter, thought it better to returne with assured gaine, than to tarie this newe sprong Dukes doubtfull and vncertaine victorie.

And so hauing his people laden and pestered wyth spoyle and prysoners, he drewe backe into Scotlande.

A rebellion in Cornwale.

The king of England aduertised hereof, made preparation for the raysing of an armie, meaning to send the same against the Scottes: but the rebellion of the Cornish men which chaunced the same tyme about a taxe leuied then of the people, constrayned him to imploye that armye to represse the enterprise of those rebelles. Yet neuertheless he sent the Erle of Surrey to the borders,

The Earle of Surrey sent in to the north.

that with the power of the Countrey adioyning, he might defende the same from the inuasions of the Scottes, if they attempted to breake in. And so the Earle lay on the borders all that yeare.

King James then perceyuing that no maine armie came against him, inuaded eftsoones the borders of England, and layde siege to the Castell of Norham, sending hys lyght Horsemen abroade into Northumberlande, and the Bysshoprike of Durham, where they burned and spoyled all aboute in the Countrey: But hearing that the Earle of Surrey had raysed an armye, and was comming towardes them, they returned to the Hoste lying before Norham, where King James perceyuing he coulde not wynne the Castell, notwythstanding hee had done greate hurte and domage thereto, hee raysed hys siege, retyred into hys Countrey, and left greate companyes on the borders for defence thereof. And so before the comming of the Englishe armye, King James was returned.

1498

The Scots inuade the borders of England.

The Earle of Surrey rayseth an army.

The Scottes rayse their siege.

The Earle of Surrey yet (as the Englishe writers affyrme) followed into Scotlande, and toke diuerse Castels & towers remayning within the Countrey, the space of fiue or seuen dayes, and then came backe without battaile or any notable skirmish offered.

The Earle of Surrey went into Scotland.

About

Aboute the same time was one Peter Hialas sent Ambassadoz from Ferdinando K. of Spaine to treate as a Mediatoz foz the concluding of peace betwixt the kings of Englande and Scotlande, which Hialas trauayled so earnestly in the matter, that at length it was agreed, that certain Commissioners of both the realmes should meete at Melrosse, where foz the king of England, doctoz Fox, then Bishop of Durham, with this Hialas, and other graue personages met the Scottish Commissioners.

After long conference and much talke had, foz the conclusion of a generall peace, finally nothing but a truce might be accozded foz certaine yeares, though Hialas did what hee possible might, to haue agreed them foz all maner of matters, quarels, demaundes and causes, what soeuer the same had beene, that a perpetual peace might haue bene concluded, bycause he was cheifely sent foz that intent.

The king of Englande requyzed to haue the counterfeyte Duke of Yozke (otherwise named Perkin Warbecke) deliuered vnto him: but king James (esteeming his honour moze than anye earthly thing) woulde in no wise seeme to betray him that fled to him foz succoz, and with whome he had coupled one of his owne kinneswomen in mariage, but he was contented to couenant, that the same Perkyn shoulde be constrayned to depart out of Scotland, and not to be further ayded by him, oz by any other through his meanes oz procurement.

The king of Scottes to keepe promise made in the sayde treatie of peace, and knowing himself to be abused by the sayde Richarde, whom he had reputed to be verily Duke of Yozke, although hee was not so, called him befoze his presence, and declared to him the greate fauour and good wyll which he had bozne towardes him, putting him in remembzaunce that foz his sake he had taken warre in hande agaynst Englande, and inuaded the Countrey in hope of assystance by his friends within the lande, where not one resozted to him. And albeit he had maried his neare kinswoman, yet might he not keepe longer warre with Englande foz his sake onely, except he might be sure of some ayde through his meanes, wherof he could see no appearance.

He desired him therefoze to withdzaw fozth of his Realme, eyther into Flanders to his mothers sister the Ladie Margaret, oz into some other place where it pleased him to abide, and expecte some better time moze conuenient foz his purpose. The sayde Richarde gaue the king thankes, and obayed his pleasure, departing shortly after out of Scotland, and sayled into Ireland, from thence to transpoze into Flaunders. But finally making an attempt into Englande, he was taken prisoner in the Abbay of Beaulieu togither with his wife, whose beautie was such, as king Henrie thought hir a moze meete pray foz an Emperoz, than foz souldiers, and therefoze vsed hir right honourably, appoynting hir to remaine in the court with the Queene his wife: where shee continued so long as the sayde king lyued.

1499

This yeare the peace being well kept betwixt England and Scotland, the same was neare at poynt to haue beene broken, by reason that the English men which lay in garison within the castell of Noxham, did make a fray with certaine Scottish men that came ryding neare to the Castell as it had bene to haue viewed it, but although they ment no euill, yet diuerse of the Scottishmen were slaine, and many wounded and soze hurt, so that king James hauing information therof, was soze displeased therwith, thinking and saying that there was no moze vncertaine thing, than to haue peace with Englande. And hereupon he sent his Heralde Merchmount with sharpe and behement letters vnto the king of Englande, making great complaint foz this iniurie and wzong done to hys subiects by those within the Castell of Noxham, but receyuing moste reasonable letters foz excuse of that which was done, as well from the king of Englande himselfe, as from the Bishop of Durham owner of the Castell, hee was indifferently well appeased and satisfied, so that he requyzed to haue the Bishop to come into Scotlande vppon safeconduct to common with him, as well foz the full quieting of this matter, as foz other things which he had to talke with him of.

The Bishop by licence of the king his master accomplished the Scottish kings request, so that comming into Scotland, he was receyued by him right honourably at Melrose, where after certain talke had betwixt them foz the appeasing of thys last displeasure, the king brake with the Bishop foz the hauing of the Ladie Margaret, eldest daughter to Henrie the seuenth, as then king of England, to be giuen him in mariage: and further declared that he was minded to sende his Oratozs vnto hir father the sayde king Henry about the same matter.

And fozasmuch as he knewe that the Bishop was one that might doe much with king Henrie, who highly fauozed him foz his singular wisdom, and learning, he desired him to be a meane to further his sute, which if it were obteyned, he trusted should highly redounde to the honour and wealth of both the Realmes.

The Bishop considering herein as muche as the king was able to tell him, did not onely promise to doe all that in him lay, but also encouraged him to sende his Ozatozs with all speede, trusting that they should receyue a right towardly answere.

The truce like to be broken.

King Iames requireth to talke with the Bishop of Durham.

King Iames purposeth to be a suter fot mariage in England.

King

King James following the Biſhops aduiſe, anone after his returne into Englande, ſent certaine perſons Imbaſſadours vnto King Henry, to moue him to the effect aboue mentioned.

Ambaſſadors ſent into Englande.

1500

Theſe Imbaſſadors were highly welcomed, & verie well heard, ſo that to be briefe, their requeſt ſeemed ſo agreeable to king Henries minde, that the mariage was ſhortly thereupon concluded, (but not conſummate betwixt the foreſaid James king of Scotlande, and the ſayd Ladie Margaret daughter to king Henrie, in the. xvij. yeare of the ſayd king Henries raigne.

A mariage concluded betwixt king Iames and the Lady Margaret.

At the ſame time, when this mariage was ſo agreed vpon, a peace alſo was concluded betwixt the kings of Englande and Scotlande, for the tearme of theyr two lyues. And to auoyde that none of eyther of the ſayde kings ſubiects that had offended the lawes ſhould be receyued into any of theyr dominions, it was accorded that no Engliſh man ſhoulde come within Scotland without his Princes letters ſupplicatorie vnto the king of Scottes, nor any Scottiſh man to come within England without the like letters from his prince, deſiring ſafeconduct and paſſeport.

A peace concluded betwixt England and Scotland.

1501

In the yeare nexte enſuing, the Biſhoppe of Glaſgew, the Earle Bothwell, and other noble men of Scotlande, were ſent in Imbaſſade from king James vnto the king of Englande, for the perfiting of the foreſayde mariage betwixt King Iames, and the Ladie Margaret, eldeſt daughter to king Henrie, which Earle by letters of procuracie and Mandate, in the name of his maiſter king James, affied and handfaſted the foreſayde Ladie Margaret in all ſolemne wiſe, according to the maner: which aſſurance and contract thus made, was publiſhed at Paules Croſſe in London, on the day of the conuerſion of Saint Paule, in reioyſing whereof *Te Deum* was ſung, and Fiers made, with great feaſting and banketting throughout that Citie.

This was the yeare. 1501

This done, the Imbaſſadors returned into Scotlande, and then afterwardes was great preparation made in Englande for the conueying of the ſayde Ladie into Scotlande: and lykewyſe great purueyance there for the receyuing of hir.

The. xvj. of June, King Henrie toke hys iourney from Richmont with his daughter the ſayde Lady Margaret, and came to Colweſton, where his mother the Counteſſe of Richmont then lay. And after he had remayned there certaine dayes in paſtime and great ſolace, he toke leaue of hys daughter, giuing hir his bleſſing with a fatherly exhortation, and committed the conueyance of hir into Scotland vnto the Earle of Surrey and others.

The Erle of Northumberlande as then warden of the Marches, was appoynted to deliuer hir vpon the borders vnto the king of Scotland. And ſo this fayre Ladie was conueyed with a greate company of Lordes, Ladies, knightes, Eſquiers, and Gentlemen, vntill ſhe came to the towne of Barwike, and from thence vnto Lambert kirke in Lamermoze within Scotland, where ſhe was receyued by the King and all the Nobles of that realme, and from the ſayde place of Lamberton kirke, ſhe was conueyed vnto Edenbourgh, where the day after hir comming thither, ſhe was maried vnto the ſayde king with great and ſolemne



The conſummation of the marlage betwixt king Iames the fourth, and the Ladie Margaret.

tryumph, to the highe reioyſing of all that were preſent, and verily the Engliſhe Lordes, (as the Earle of Surrey and others, which gaue their attendance on the ſayd Ladie till the mariage and feaſt were ended) at theyr returne home, gaue greate prayſe, not onely to the manhode of the Scottes, but alſo to theyr maners and heartie intertainment. For aſwell the Noble men as the Ladies and gentlewomen of Scotlande at that preſent, were nothing behind the Engliſh Lordes

and

and Ladies in coſtly apparel, maſſie Chaynes, & other furniture, aſwel for themſelues as their horſes, and made great baukets to the Engliſh men, and ſhewed them ſuch Juſtes and other pleaſant paſtimes in honour of the mariage, ſo well as after the maner of the Countrey coulde be deuiſed. By reaſon of this mariage and aliance, men were in great good hope that perfite peace and ſincere amitie ſhould continue betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland a long time after: and verily during the life of king Henry the ſeuenth, no cauſe of breach was miniſtred betwixt him and his ſonne in law, but that they liued in great loue and amitie.

About this time, the king of Denmark through deuiſion that did riſe betwixt him and his Lordes, was conſtrayned to forſake his Countrey, and to come for ayde into Scotlande, where the king receyued him louingly, and vpon his earneſt ſute, for that he was both his couſin and confederate, and alſo the rather, at the contemplation of the French kings requeſt and perſwaſiõ, he prepared an armie of tenne thouſande men, the whiche vnder the conduct of the Erle of Arrane, he ſent with the ſayde king of Denmarke to aſſiſt him againſt his aduerſaries.

The Earle of Arrane according to his commiſſion, attending the Daniſh king into his coũtrey, reſtored him to his kingdom and former gouernment, and ſo leauing him in peaceable poſſeſſion thereof, returned with his armie againe into Scotland, with great honour both to himſelfe, the king, and realme.

Shortly after was a Parliament called, during the which the Queene was crowned, and many good actes and conſtitutions made, eſpecially touching the lymitting of places where iuſtice ſhould be miniſtred in the Iles and hie lands, whereby it came to paſſe, that the king was aſwel obeyed, and his lawes were as duely obſerued and kept by the hie lande men as by thoſe that dwelled in any part of the low land.

The king then being at peace with England, and iuſtice ſo miniſtred amongeſt his owne ſubiects, that they liued in greate reſt and quietneſſe, certaine of his counſell deuiſed wayes to winne the king great profit and gaynes by calling hys barons and all thoſe that helde any landes within his realme, to ſhew their euidence by way of recognition, and if they had not writings to ſhewe, (accõrding to the auncient inſtrumẽts & lawes of the realm ſufficient for their warrant, the landes ſhoulde remaine at the kings pleaſure: but when the king perceyued his people to grudge herewith, and not without cauſe, as with a thing deuiſed to diſquiet his people and the whole countrey, of his owne curteous and gentle nature, he eaſily agreed with the poſſeſſors of ſuch landes: for the whiche he purchaſed great loue amongeſt his people, and the deuiſors of that ordinaunce wanne paſſing great hatred and malice.

This yeare in May the king helde his court of Juſtice at Lowder, and remouing it to Edenbourgh, there continued the ſame, where the Lord of Thorneton was conuicted for killing his wife, and therefore loſt his head. 1506

There came an Imbaſſadour this yeare alſo from the Duke of Gelderland to renue the league betwixt the King and the ſayde Duke.

Alſo an Heralde came oute of Fraunce that brought newes which the king liked well.

This yeare alſo, the King cauſed a mightie Shippe to be made, the which was put forth into the road the ſeuenth of July, and the king ſayled himſelfe into the May, an Iſlande in the Forth, and was driuen in againe with tempeſt: but the ſame ſhippe was after appoynted forth, and ſent to the Sea with ſundrie valiant Gentlemen in hir to meete with the Hollanders whiche had taken and ſpoyled diuerſe Scottiſh ſhips, and throwne the Marchantes and other that were in the ſayne ouer boorde. For reuenge whereof Andrew Barton toke many ſhippes of the Hollanders and filled certaine Pypes with their heades, whiche he ſent vnto the king for a witneſſe how he had ſped.

A great ſhip made.

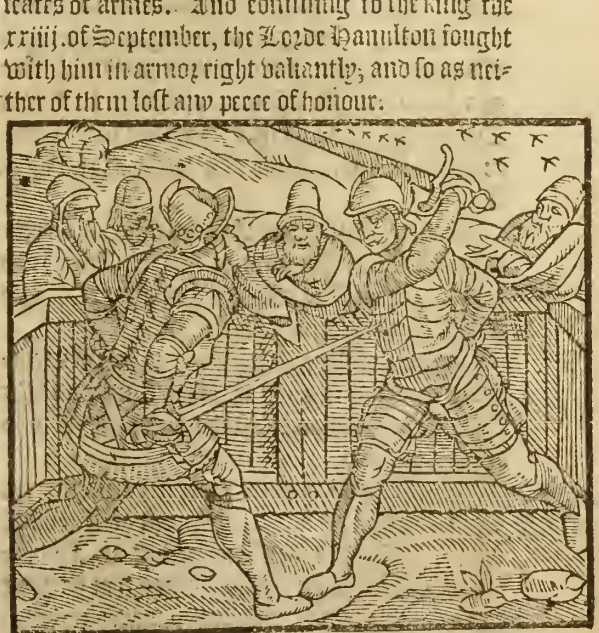
The Hollanders ſhips are taken.

A ſtarre like a Comet appeared the .x. of Auguſt, giuing great light in the night ſeaſon lyke to the Sunne beames.

A bright ſtarre appeareth in the Skie.

A Frenche man named ſir Anthonie Dareie knight, called afterwarde Le ſire de la Bawtie, came through Englande into Scotland to ſeeke feates of armes. And comming to the king the .xviij. of September, the Lorde Hamilton fought with him in armor right valiantly, and ſo as neither of them loſt any peece of honour.

Anthonie Darcy.



This yeare Iames Prince of Scotlande and of the Iles was borne in the Abbey of the holye Rood houſe, the .xxj. of Januarie, & on the .xviij. of ỹ ſame Moneth he was baptiſed in ỹ ſayd Abbay Church. His Godfathers were theſe, Robert Biſhop 1507

Prince Iames is borne.

shop of Glasgew, & Patrike Erle Bothwell, and the Countesse of Huntley was his Godmother.

The Queene after shee was brought to bed, was verie weake and troubled with great sickenesse, so that she lay in great danger: for recouerie of whose health the king went a foote vnto Saint Ninians in pilgrymage: and afterwards in July, both the King and the Queene went thither to visite that Saint.

The K. went on pilgrimage

The Pope declared K. Iames protector of the faith.

Pope Julius the second sent an Ambassador vnto king James, declaring him protector & defender of the fayth, and in signe thereof sent vnto him a purpure diademe or crowne wrought with floures of gold, togither with a sword, hauing the hylts & skabbert of gold set with precious stones, which were presented vnto him by the saide Ambassador, and the Abbot of Dunfermling, within the Abbay Church of holy Rode house, at what time the peace contracted betwixt the two kings of Scotland and England was there confirmed.

Horses presented vnto the king.

The Lorde of Tereuer or Camfire in Sealande (whose auncestors not long agone came forth of Scotland) sent his messenger the Baylife of Tereuer to the king, who presented vnto him certaine great horses and other riche presentes, in remembrance that he came of the Scottish race: and the king in recompence thereof, sent vnto the said Lorde his order, and made his Ambassadour knight, rewarding him at his departure (whiche was in August) with right honorable gyftes.

Peace and quietnesse in Scotlande.

The whole Realme remayned in such peace and quietnesse in these dayes, that the king rode one day himselfe alone in post from Sterling, by Saint Johns towne, and Aberden, vnto Elgin, and reposing a little part of the night in the house of maister Thomas Leslie then parson of Angus, went to horse againe, and came to Saint Duthois in Rosse, by that tyme they were readie to goe to Masse. This was on the .xxxj. day of August.

About the latter ende of September, the Archbishop of Saint Androwes, and the Erle of Arrane, were sent Ambassadors into France. They tooke ship the .xxvij. of September.

An Ambassage into Fraunce.

The .xvij. of Februarie, James prince of Scotlande departed this life at Striueling, and the Bishop of Galoway also, who was appoynted to be his governor.

1508.

An Ambassade sent vnto the king.

The .ix. of May in the yeare next ensuing, the Lord D'obigny, and the president of Tholous, came from Lewes the Frenche king as Ambassadors, to declare vnto king James, that he ment to matche his eldest daughter in maryage wyth Frances de Vallois Dolphin of Vien and Duke of Ingolesme, notwithstanding that Charles K. of Castel that was after Emperor, made suite for hir. Bycause therefore he ment not to conclude any thing in suche a weightie matter withoute consent of his confederates, of which he esteemed king James as chiefe: he required him of his aduise and counsell therein, who after aduisement taken, made answere, that albeit the King of France had sufficient Counsell about him, yet sith he had desired his aduise, he would friendly giue the same: which was, that he should rather marie his daughter within his owne Realme, vnto suche one as shoulde succeede him, than to bestowe hir vpon any forrayne Prince, sithe otherwise some clayme myght bee made in tyme comming vnto the Crowne by suche as shoulde match with hir. And so with this answere the president of Tholous departed, reporting ỹ same at his cõming home vnto the French king, who therupon followed his own determination therin, confirmed and allowed thus by his confederate the king of Scotland.

The king's answere.

The Lorde Obigny died.

The Lord D'obigny toke a sickenesse and died thereof at Corstorphyn, in the Moneth of June, and caused his heart to be sent vnto Saint Ninians in Galloway, bycause he had bowed a pylgrimage thither whilest he remayned the French kings lieutenant in Naples, where he had atchieued many high enterprises agaynst his enimies. His name was Bernard Steward, lieutenant of those men of warre whiche Charles the. viij. of that name king of Fraunce did send with Henrie Erle of Richmond into England, when ỹ same Erle came against king Richard, whom he banquished, and therby got the Crowne. And so after many noble victories and valiant acts atchieued, this Lorde D'obigny ended his life in his owne countrey of Scotland where he was borne.

This was the king himselfe.

This yeare also in May and June, there was kept great Justes and tourneys in Edenbourgh, by one calling himselfe the wilde knight, who counterfeyted the round table.

Ambassages sent.

There were diuers Ambassadors sent forth this yeare also, as the Archdeacon of Saint Androws, and sir Anthonie Darcie into France, and the Bishop of Murrey into England.

The .xv. of July, the Queene was deliuered of a daughter, which shortly after she had receyued baptisme deceassed, and the Queene in that childbed was againe in great perill of death.

The Archbishop of Glasgew died.

The Bishop of Glasgew died this yeare in his iourney to Jerusalem, the .xxix. of July. James Beton succeeded him in that sea.

A bickering.

The .xxx. of July, there was a great fray betwixt the Lord Maxwel, & the lord Creichton of Sanchar, where the Lord Creichton was chased with his company from Dunfreis, & the Laird of Daliel, and the yong Laird of Crauthlay with diuerse other were slaine.

An earthquake.

The .xix. of September was a great earthquake in many places both in England and Scotland, namely the same was perceyued in Churches.

The

The king of England ſent a Gentleman with horſes tryml trapped with bardes of ſteele to be preſented to king James, who thankfully receyued the, & right honorably rewarded ẏ meſſenger.

The Archdeacon of Saint Androwes returned forth of Fraunce in a greate ſhippe called the Thyealourer, which ſhip was caſt away on the coaſt of England, and the Archdeacon and foure C. perſons that were in hir, were brought to the king of England: but the Archdeacon in Nouember following returned home and came to Edenbourgh. Adam Earle of Bothwell and Lorde Hales departed this life at Edenbourgh the. xxij. day of Octobr, and Erle Patrick ſucceeded him.

Henrie the ſeuenth king of England, paſſed out of this world the. xxij. of Apryll, in the yeare. 1509. and his ſonne Henrie the eight ſucceeded him, after whoſe coronation king James ſent an honorable Ambaſſade of certaine Lordes, and a Byſhop to congratulate him at his firſt entrie into the rule of his kingdome, as to the maner in ſuch caſes appertayneth.

About the ſame time, John Barton & Androw Bartō, hauing letters of Mark of ẏ king againſt the Portingales, toke diuers of their ſhips laden with rich marchandiſe, which they brought into Scotland.

This Sommer the king went in pilgrimage vnto S. Duthois in Roſſe, & the Queene remayning at holy Rood houſe, was brought to bed of a ſonne, the. xx. day of Octobr, the which the third day after was baptiſed and named Arthur.

Two great ſhippes came forth of Fraunce to the king, fraught with Gunnes, Speares, and all other kinde of munition for warre.

Alexander, baſtard ſonne to the king, newly made Archbiſhop of Saint Androwes, who had bin long in Germany ſtudent there in the ſcholes with that famous Clearke Eraſmus Roterodamus, and had profited verie well, came from Flaunders by ſea into Scotlande, and was ioyfully receyued, becauſe he had beſtowed his time ſo well in vertues and learning.

The Laird of Faſtcaſtell came ouer with him, who had trauailed through a great part of Chriſtendome: and moreouer paſſing into Turkey, came to the Emperour of Turkey at the Citie of Caire, who retayned him in ſeruice, and gaue him good entertaynment, ſo that hee remayned with him, tyll he heard that the lying of Faſtcaſtell was fallen to him by lawfull ſucceſſion, notwithſtanding that when he departed oute of Scotland, there were. viij. ſeuerall perſons before him to ſucceede one after another, which in the meane time were all deceaſſed.

The. xiiij. of July, Arthur Prince of Scotlande and the Iles, departed this life in the Caſtel of Edenbourgh.

Two Scorpions were found, the one quicke and the other dead, in the Orchard of the Caſtell of Cragmyller, which thing was reputed for a maruelous great wonder, that any ſhoulde bee ſeene within the Ile of Brytaine. Two Scorpions founde in Scotland.

In the Moneth of September, an vniuerſall ſickneſſe raigned through all Scotlande, whereof many died. It was very contageous, and they called it Stoupe gallant. Stoupe gallig. A ſickneſſe.

There came alſo a paſſing fayre woman into Scotlande about the ſame time, naming hirſelfe Katheryn Gordon, wife to Perkin Warbecke, that had named himſelfe Duke of Yorke, but at length being brought to the king, ſhe confeſſed what ſhe was, and ſo auoyded the realme. In which meane while, the Lady Katherin Gurdon hirſelfe remayned in England, and had right good maintenance, ſo that ſhe liued there very well and honourably many yeares after. Katherin Gordon.

Furthermore, the king vpon the. viij. of Nouember comming from Edenbourgh to the water of Rule, toke diuerſe miſgouerned perſons, & brought them to Jedworth, where the principals of the Trumbils, with naked ſwordes in theyr handes, and wythes about theyr neckes met with him, putting thēſelues in the kings mercy, which were ſent to ſundry places to bee kept in warde, with diuerſe other of thoſe countreymen, whereby the marches were more quiet afterwardes: and from thence the king paſſed to S. Johns towne, where iuſtice was holden the reſidue of ẏ winter. The Trumbils with other are taken by the king.

The next yeare in the beginning of May, the Queene went from Dunfermling toward ſaint Duthois in Roſſe, and was all the way right honourably vſed and entertayned. 1511

About the. x. of July, ſhe returned to Edenbourgh, where ſhe founde the Lorde Dacres, and ſir Robert Drurie knight come thither as Ambaſſadors from the king of Englande hir brother, who were honourably receyued. An ambaſſage from the king of England.

In the yeare next enſuing, in June, Androw Barton being on the Seas to meete with Portingals (againſt whom he had a letter of marke) Sir Edmond Hayward Lord Admirall of Englande, and the Lorde Thomas Hawarde, ſonne and heyre vnto the Erle of Surrey, were appointed by the king of Englande to go likewiſe to ſea with certaine ſhippes, and meeting with the ſayd Androw as he returned homewardes neare to the Downes, hauing with him onely one ſhippe, and one Barke. The Engliſh men at the firſt made ſigne vnto the Scots as though they met none euil, ſaue only to ſalute thē as friends, but getting within them, they ſet vpon thē right fiercely, & the Scots for a while did as valiantly defend thēſelues, ſo ẏ many were ſlain on both ſides: but in the end the Engliſhmen got the vpper hand, woūded Androw Barton chiefe captaine of the Scots ẏ he 1512

Two ſhippes taken by the Engliſh men.

died

dyed of the hurtes which he there receyued, and his ſhip called the Unicorne, and the barke called Jenny Pyrwine, were both taken, with all the Scottiſh men that remayned aliue in the ſame, which were had to Londō, & ſtayed as priſoners in the Biſhop of Yorke his houſe for a time, and after ſent home into Scotland.

King Iames was ſore offended with thys matter, and therevpon ſent an Heraulde with letters, requyring redreſſe for the ſlaughter of hys people, and reſtitution of his ſhips, ſith otherwiſe it might ſeeme to giue occaſion of breach of the peace. But the king of England denyed that the ſlaughter of a Pirate (as he toke Andrew Barton to be) ought to breake any bonde of peace, yet neuertheleſſe he promiſed to ſend Commiſſioners to the borders that ſhould entreate of that matter, and other enormities chaunced betwene the two realmes.

The king of France requyred ayd againſt England.

The French King, and the Duke of Gelderlande perceyuing that the king of Englande was mynded through procurement of the Pope and others, to make them warres, eyther of them ſent Ambaſſadors into Scotlande vnto king Iames, requyring his aſſiſtance againſt England: but king Iames mynding to maynteyne peace and concorde betwixt the parties, ſent an Ambaſſador vnto the king of Englande, deſiring him in brotherly and moſte louing wiſe to liue in peace and quietneſſe, and not to make anye warres againſt his confederate friendes, offring himſelfe to take in hande to agree and compound any difference that was fallen betwixt the king of Englande and the ſayde Princes.

King Iames perſwadeth to peace.

The king of Englande who had alreadie ſent ayde vnto the Ladie Regent of the lowe Countreys againſt the Duke of Gelderlande, made ſuch fayre anſwere hereunto as he thought ſtode wyth reaſon, and ſo diſpatched the Ambaſſadour backe againe to his maiſter without any more a doe in that matter, aboute the which he came for that tyme.

The kings baſtard maried.

John Lorde Gordon, ſonne and heyre to Alexander Gordon Earle of Huntley, returned out of Fraunce, and was maried vnto the Kings baſtarde daughter in Nouember following in thys preſent yeare. 1512. of whom the houſe of Huntley is deſcended.

1512

A Sinode kept at Edenburgh.

There was aboute the ſame time a Synode holden in the blacke Friers of Edenbourgh, by the whole Clergie of the Realme, as Biſhops, Abbots, Priors and other Prelates, where there was a Legate of the Popes, who cauſed all the churches that were aboue .xl. pound to be taxed. This was called Bagimunts taſke, whereby the Pope and the king might knowe the value of the benefices, and to haue taxes of the ſame accordingly, as the Pope for his annates and Bulles, and the king when he ſtode in neede. This was conſented and agreed vnto by the Clergie.

Benefices were taxed.

The Biſhop Murrey came home.

Shortly after came the Biſhop of Murrey home, hauing bene at Rome, in Fraunce, and England, bringing with him from the Pope, and the kings of Fraunce and Englande, many good and pleaſant letters: and with him came a clerke of Spaine in Ambaſſade vnto the king.

A yong Prince borne in Scotlande.

This yeare the .xj. day of Aprill, the Queene was deliuered of a yong Prince in the Palace of Luithgo, who was ſhortly after baptiſed, and named Iames the fift Prince of Scotlande and of the Iles, that after ſucceeded his father in the kingdome.

The French king ſent to perſwade the king of Scotland to warres.

The Lorde Dacres, and Doctor Weſt, came in Ambaſſade from the king of Englande, and *Monſieur de la Mote* came wyth Letters from the French King, to perſwade king Iames to make warre againſt Englande, promiſing him mony, munition, and all other neceſſarie prouiſions of warre.

In his way as he paſſed the Seas towardes Scotlande, he had drowned three Engliſh ſhips, and brought ſeuen away with him vnto Lieth for preyes, in the which were but three Engliſhe men left aliue.

Fourteene priſes of Engliſh men taken.

Shortly after maiſter Iames Ogiluie Abbot of Dryburgh, came forth of France with letters of the like effect.

After this Robert Barton went to the Sea, and in July brought into Scotland .xiij. priſes of Engliſh men which he had taken.

About this ſeaſon, the Earle of Drumwedy was ſlain in Edenbourgh by two perſons, which toke ſanctuarie in holy Rode houſe, and ſo eſcaped. John Earle of Athole deceaſſed the .xix. of September, and Lion Harold king of Armes deceaſſed the firſt of October.

Miſrule exerciſed.

Great miſrule was exerciſed on the borders in this ſeaſon, and therfore the king aſſembled the Lordes in Edenbourgh for reformation thereof, & while they were there, the Queen was brought to bed of a childe, which dyed ſhortly after it was chriſtened.

The Queene brought to bed of a ſonne.

There came a great ſhip into Scotland which the king of Fraunce had ſent vnto the king, laden with artillerie, powder and wines, and then was the league and bande renued betwixt Scotlande and France. The ſame ſhippe landed at Blackneſſe the .xix. of Nouember.

The league renued with France.

King Iames ſent a Purſeuant called Unicorne into Fraunce, and another into Englande called Ilay, which Ilay requyred a ſafeconduct for an Ambaſſador to be ſent from the king hys maiſter vnto the King of Englande, but thys would not be graunted. Vpon the ſayde Ilayes returne, *Monſieur de la Mote* was ſent backe into France, and with him ſir Water Ogilup, and a meſſenger

Purſeuant ſent into England & France.

a meſſenger which the Pope had ſent into Scotlande. And the .xvj. of March next enſuing, Doctor Weſt came as Imbaſſador into Scotlande from the king of England, appoynting that certaine Commiſſioners ſhoulde meete on the borders for redreſſe of all quarels betwixt the two realms, in the Monthe of June next enſuing. And this appoyntment was kept: but no good could be done, as after ſhall appeare.

The King ſent the Biſhop of Murrey into France, to ſignifie vnto the French king the meſſage of the ſayde Doctor Weſt, and other thyings.

In the Moneth of May, there came certaine ſhippes out of Denmarke laden with Gunnes, powder, armour, and other kind of munition.

Alſo *Monſieur de la Mote* landed in the weſt part of Scotlande, the .xvj. of May, with foure ſhippes fraught with wine and flower, and returned againe the .xx. of the ſame Moneth.

The great Odoncll of Irelano came to king James at Edenbourgh, the firſt of June, offring his friendſhip and ſeruice to him before all other Princes, and ſpecially againſt the king of England: wherupon he was thankfully receyued, honourably entertayned, and richly rewarded. And ſo the band of friendſhip being with him concluded, he returned into his countrey.

The king prepared a great nauie of ſhippes, the principall whereof were the Michael, Margaret, and James. They made ſayle towardes the ſea the .xxvij. of July, and the king ſayled in the Michaell himſelfe, till they were paſt the Ilande of May, James Gordon ſonne to George Earle of Hūtley being one of the captains of the ſame ſhip.

The Commiſſioners met on the borders in June, according to the appoyntment: but becauſe the Engliſhmen would not conſent to make any redreſſe or reſtitution till the .xv. of October next, thinking by that delay and continuance of tyme, they ſhould vnderſtād the ſtate of their kings proceedings in Fraunce, and in the meane time reteyne in theyr handes the Scottiſh mens goodes whirh they had taken both by ſea and land (as the Scottiſh writers affyrme,) the king of Scottes being thereof aduertiſed, ſent Lion king of armes vnto king Henrie then lying at ſiege before Terwine with letters of complaint, commaunding him that if King Henrie refuſed to accompliſhe the contents of his ſayde letters, hee ſhoulde denounce warre vnto him. Wherevpon Lion arryuing in the Engliſhe armie with his cote of armes on his backe, about the middeſt of Auguſt, deſired to ſpeake with the king, and was within a ſhort ſpace by Garter chiefe king at Armes of England, brought to the kings preſence, hauing his nobles and counſellers about him, whert with due reuerence, and ſome good wordes firſt vttred, he deliuered his letters, the tenor wherof enſueth.

The tenor of the king of Scottes letter.

RIght excellent, right high & mightie prince, our deareſt brother and couſin, we cōmaund vs vnto you in our maiſt hartie maner, & receiued fra Raff herauld your letters, quharvntil ye appreue and allow the doings of your cōmiſſioners lately being with ours at the borders of bathe the realmes, for making of redreſſe quhilk is thought to you and your counſel ſhould be continuet & delaet to the .xv. day of October. Als ye write ſlaars by ſee aught not compere perſonally, but by their attourneys, & in your letters with our herauld Iſlay, ye aſcertaine vs ye will naught enter in the treux taken betwixt the maiſt chriſtian king and your father of Aragon, becauſe ye & others of the hale liege nether ſhould nor may take peace, treux nor abſtinence of warre with your cōmon enimy without conſent of all the confederates. And that the Emperor, King of Aragon, yea and euery of you be bounden to make actuall warre this inſtāt ſommer againſt your cōmon enimy. And that ſo to do is cōcluded & openly ſworne in Paules kyrk at London vpō S. Markes day laſt by paſt. And farther haue denied ſafeconduit vpō our requeſts; ỳ a ſeruitor of ours might haue reſorted to your preſence (as our herauld Iſlay reports:) Right excellēt, right high & mightie prince, our deereſt brother & couſin, the ſayd meeting of our & your commiſſioners at the borders was peremptorily appointed betwixt you & vs after diuerſe dietes, for reformation before continued to the cōmiſſioners meeting, to effect that due redreſſe ſhould haue bin made at the ſaide meeting, like as for our part our cōmiſſioners offred to haue made that time. And for your part no malefactor was then arreſted to the ſaid diet, & to gloſe the ſame, ye now write ỳ ſlaars by ſee need not compere perſonally, but by their attourneis quhilk is againſt law of god & mā. And gef in criminal action al ſlaars ſhuld naught compere perſonally, na punition ſuld follow for ſlaughter, & then vane it were to ſeke farther meetings or redreſſe. And hereby apperes (as the deed ſhewes) ỳ ye wil nouther keep gud ways of iuſtice & equitie nor kindnes with vs: the great wrongs & vnkindnes done before to vs & our leiges we pōderat, quhilk we haue ſuffred this long time in vbering, mainſwering noundreſſing of attemptates, ſo as the bil of the taken of inhalding of baſtard Herō with his cōplices in your contry quha ſlue our wardan vnder truſt of dayes of meeting for iuſtice, & therof was filat & ordeynt to be deliuered, in ſlaing of our liege noble mē, vnder colour by your folke, in taking of others out of our realm priſoner & chanet by the crags in your cuntry, withalding of our wiues legacie promiſt in your diuers letters for deſpite of vs, ſlaughter of Andrew Barton by your awn commaund, quha than had naught offēded to you nor your lieges vnredreſſt, and breaking of the amitie in that behalf by your

derd, and with halding of our schips and artillarie to your sie, quhar vpō ye desyrit our diuers requisitions at your Wardens, Commissioners, Ambassadors, and your selfe, ye wrate and als schewe by others vnto vs, that full redresse suld be made at the said meeting of Commissioners, and sa were in hope of reformation, or at the last ye for our sake wald haue desistit fra inuasion of our friendes and cousings within thayr awne Countreys that haue naught offendit at you, as we first requyred you, in fauour of our tender cousing the Duke of Gelder, quhām to destroy and disherite ye sent your folkes and dud that was in them. And right sa we lattly desired for our brother and cousin the maist christen king of France, quham ye haue caused to tyne his Countre of Millaigne, and now inuades his self, quha is with vs in second degree of blude, and hale bene vnto you kind without offence, and mair kindar than to vs: notwithstanding in defense of his person we mon take part, and thereto ye bycause of bathis haue geuen occasion to vs & to our liegis in tyme bypast, neuther doing iustly nor kyndely towardes vs, proceeding alwayes to the vtter destruction of our nerest frends, quha nion do for vs quhā it shall be necessarie. In euill example that ye will hereafter be better vnto vs quhā ye lightly fauor, manifestly wranged your sister for our sake incontrary our writtes. And saying vnto our herauld ȳ we gaue you fayre wordes and thinke the contrary, in deed such it is, we gaue you wordes as ye dudde vs, trusting that ye suld haue enclined to vs, or worthin kyndar to our frends for our sakes, & suld naught haue stopped our seruitors passage to labour peax that they might as ȳ Papes halines exhorted vs by his breuites to do. And therypon we were contented to haue ouerlene our harmes, & to haue remitted the same though other informatiō was made to our haly father Pape July by the Cardinal of York, your Imbassadors: & sen ye haue now put vs fra our gude belene thyough the premisses, & specially in denying of safeconduit to our seruants to resort to your presence as your ambassador Doctor Weft instantly desired we suld sende one of our counsel vnto you vpō great matters, & appointing of differences debatable betwixt you & vs furthering of peax if we might betwixt ȳ most christen king & you we neuer hard to this purpose safeconduit denied betwixt infidels. Therefore we write to you this time at length plaines of our minde, ȳ we require and desire you to desist fra farther inuasiō & vtter destruction of our brother & cousin ȳ maist christen king, to quhā by al confederation, blude & alie, and also by new band quhilk you haue compelled vs lately to take thyough your iniuries and harmes without remedie done dayly vnto vs, our liegis & subiects, we are bouden & oblist for mutual defence ylk of others, like as ye & your confederates be oblist for mutual inuasiōs & actual war. Certifying you we will take part in defence of our brother & cousin the maist christen king, and will do what thing we trust may cause you to desist fra pursute of him, & for dreit & postponit iustice to our liegis we mon giue litters of marque according to the amitie betwixte you and vs, quharto ye haue had little regard in time by past, as we haue ordaint our Herauld the bearer hereof to say, gif it like you to here him and gif him credence: right excellent, right highe and mightie prince, our derest brother & cousin. The Trinitie haue you in keeping. Geuen vnder our Signet at Edenbourgh the. xxvj. day of July.

King Henry hauing read the letter, & considered therof with aduice of his counsel, sent for ȳ herald again, and told him that he had read and wel perceiued the contents of the letters which he had deliuered to him, & wolde make him answere with condition, that he wolde promise to declare the same to his maister. Whereunto Lion made this answere: Sir, I am his natural subiect, and he is my chiefe Lord, and what he cōmaunds me to say, I may boldly say with fauor, but the cōmandements of others I may not, nor dare say vnto my souereigne Lorde, but your letters sent by me may declare your M. pleasure, albeit your answer requireth deings and not sayings, that is, that you immediately should returne home. Then said the king: I will returne at my pleasure to your domage, & not at thy maisters commonance. And herewith he caused an answere to be writtē vnto the king of Scots in forme as followeth.

The Herald is sent for.

The Heralds answere.

RIght excellent, right highe and mightye Prince. &c. and haue receyued your writing dated at Edenbourgh the. xxvj. day of Julye by your Heralde Lion this bearer, wherein after rehearsall and accumulation of manye surmysed iniuries, griefes and daungers done by vs and our subiectes to you and your liegis, the specialties whereof were superfluous to rehearse, remembring that to them and euery of them in effect reasonable answere founded vpō law and conscience hath tofore bene made to you & your counsell, ye not only require vs to desist from further inuasion and vtter destruction of your brother and cousin the French king, but also certifie vs that you will take parte in defence of the sayde King, and that thing which ye trust may rather cause vs to desist from pursute of him, with many contriued occasions & communications by you causelesse sought and imagined, sounning to ȳ breache of ȳ perpetuall peace passed, concluded, and swoorne betwixt you & vs, of which your imagined quarels causelesse deuised to breake to vs contrary to your othe promised, al honor & kindnesse, we cannot meruel considering the ancient accustomed maners of your progenitors, which neuer kept lōger fayth &

King Henrie his answere.

promise

promiſe then pleaſed them. Howbeit if the loue and dread of God, nighneſſe of bloud, honor of the worlde, lawe, and reaſon had bound you, we ſuppoſe ye woulde neuer haue ſo farre proceeded, ſpecially in our abſence. Wherein the Pope and all Princes chriſtened may well note in you, diſhonourable demeanour, when ye lying in wayte, ſeeke the wayes to doe that in our ſayde abſence, which ye would haue bin wel aduiſed to attempt we being within our Realme and preſent. And for euident approbation hereof we needs none other proues ne witneſſes, but your own writings heretofore to vs ſent, we being within our realm, wherein ye neuer made mention of taking part with our enimie the Frenche King, but paſſed the time with vs till after our departure from our ſayde Realme. And nowe perceaſe ye ſuppoſing vs ſo farre from our ſayde Realme to bee deſtitute of defence againſt your inuaſions, haue bettered the olde rancour of your mynde, whiche in couert maner ye haue long kept ſecrete. Nerthelesſe, we remembring the brittleneſſe of your promiſe, and ſuſpecting though not wholy beleeuing ſo much vnſtedfaſtneſſe, thought it right expedient and neceſſarie to put our ſayd realme in a readineſſe, for reſiſting of your ſayd enterpriſes, hauing fyrme truſt in oure Lorde God and the righteouſneſſe of our cauſe with the aſſiſtaunce of our confederates & Alies we ſhall be able to reſyſt the malice of Sciſmatikes and their adherents, being by the generall counſell expreſſly excommunicate and interdicted, truſting alſo in time conuenient to remember our friends, and requite you and our enimies, whiche by ſuch vnnaturall demeanor haue giuen ſufficient cauſe to the diſherſon of you and your poſteritie for euer from the poſſibilitie that ye thinke to haue to the Realme, which ye now atempt to inuade. And if the example of the King of Nauarre being excluded from his Realme for aſſyſtaunce gyuen to the Frenche King cannot reſtrayne you from thys vnnaturall dealing, we ſuppoſe ye ſhall haue like aſſyſtaunce of the French King as the King of Nauarre hath nowe: who is a King without a Realme, and ſo the French King peaceably ſuffereth him to continue, wherevnto good regarde woulde be taken. And lyke as we heretofore touched in this our wryting, wee needs not to make any further anſwere to the manifolde griefes by you ſurmyſed in your letter: foraſmuch as if any lawe or reaſon coulde haue remoued you from your ſenſuall opinions, ye haue beene many and oftentymes ſufficiently anſwered to the ſame: Excepte onely to the pretended griefes touching the denying of our ſafeconduct to your Ambaſſadour to be laſt ſent vnto vs: wherevnto we make this anſwere, that we had graunted the ſayd ſafeconduct, and if your Heralde woulde haue taken the ſame with him, like as he hath bin accuſtomed to ſolicite ſafeconducts for marchants and others heretofore, yee might as ſone haue had that, as any other, for we neuer denied ſafeconduct to any your lieges to come vnto vs and no further to paſſe, but we ſee well lyke as your ſayde Heralde had heretofore made ſiniſter report contrarye to the truth, ſo hath he done nowe in this caſe, as it is manifeſt and open. Finally, as touching your requiſition to deſiſt from further attempting againſt our enimie the French king, we know you for no competent Judge of ſo high authoritie to require vs in that behalfe: wherefore (God wylling) we purpoſe with the ayde and aſſyſtaunce of our cõfederates and Alies to proſecute the ſame, and as ye do to vs and our realme, ſo it ſhal be remembred & acquited hereafter by the helpe of our Lord and our patron S. George. Who right excellent, right high and mightie Prince. &c. Yeuen vnder our ſignet in our camp before Tyrwin, the xij. day of Auguſt.

This letter being delinered vnto the Scottiſhe Herald, he departed with the ſame into Flanders, there to haue taken ſhippe: but for want of readie paſſage he ſtayd and returned not into Scotland till Flodden field was fought, and the king ſlain. For king James perceiuing al the Engliſhmens doings to tende vnto warre rather than to peace, hauing taken order for the aſſembling of his people immediately after he had ſent forth his Heralde wyth commaundement to denounce the warre, he determined to inuade the Engliſh confines, and firſt before his maine force was come togither, the Lorde Hunnes that was Lord Chãberlaine and warden of Scotland, the. xiij. day of Auguſt, hearing that the Engliſh men had fetched a bootie within ẏ Scottiſh ground, aſſẽbled a power and followed them into Northumberland, but ere he could returne he was forlayd by ẏ Engliſhmen, which breaking out of their embuſhes, put the Scottiſh men to the worſe, and of them toke and ſlue many.

Engliſh men fetched a bootie in Scotlande.

In the meane tyme was the whole power of Scotlande aſſembled, with the which king James approching to the borders, and nothing abaſhed of the euill lucke thus at the beginning chaunced to his people, purpoſed with greater aduantage of victorie to recouer that detriment: and herevpõ he made ſuch haſt, that he would not ſtay for the whole power of his realme which was in preparing to come forwarde vnto him, but comming to the borders. he paſſed ouer the water of Tweed the. xxij. of Auguſt, & entred into Englãd, lodging that night nere to the riuer of Tuiſel: & the next day laid ſiege to the caſtel of Norham, & within ſhort ſpace wan the Brayes. ouerthrew the Barnkine, & ſlue diuers vpon the caſtel. ſo ẏ the captain & ſuch as had charge within it, deſired the

King Iames approched nere vnto England. with his power

The king of Scots made to much haſt.

Norham.

The Brayes.

Barnekyne.

king to delay the siege, while they might sende to the Earle of Surrey alreadie come with an army into the Nouth partes, couenanting if they were not rescued by the .xix. day of that Moneth, they should deliuer the castel vnto the king. This was graunted: and bycause none came within the time to the reskue, the castell was deliuered at the appointed day: a great part of it was ouerthrowen and beaten downe. After this he wanne the Castels of Fourd and Etell, and diuerse other places of strength, of which part were ouerthrowne. He also toke many prisoners, and sent them away into Scotland, and diuerse he assured: and thus he abode an .xviij. dayes within England, til two parts of his armie were scaled and departed home from him.

Fourd and Etell taken.

In which meane time the Earle of Surrey Lieutenaunt to the king of Englande hauing raysed all the power of the Nouth partes of Englande, came with the same towardes the place where he heard that king James was encamped, and approching within three myles of the Scottish campe in full sight of the Scottish men, pight downe his tentes, and encamped with his whole armie. Although king James had great desire to fight with his enimies thus lodged in full view of his campe, yet bycause hee was encamped in a place of great aduantage, so as the enimies could not approche to fight with him but with greate losse and daunger to cast themselues away, hee thought good to kepe his ground, specially bicause all those of the nobilitie which were knowne to be of experience, did not holde with their aduise that counsailed him to giue battaile (at what time the Erle of Surrey had sent an officer at armes vnto him, requiring him to come forth of his strength vnto some indifferent ground where he would be readie to encounter him) and namely the Erle of Huntley, a mã for his high valiancie ioyned with wisedome and policie, had in most reputation of all the residue, affyrmed in plaine words, that nothing could be either more fond or folish than to fight at pleasure of the enimie, and to set all on a maine chaunce at his wil and appoyntment, and therefore it shoulde be good for them to remayne there in that place of aduantage, and with prológing the time to trifle with the enimie, in whose campe there was alreadie great scarcitie of victuayles, neither was it possible that they should be victuayled from the inner partes of the realme, by reason of the combersome wayes for carryage to passe nowe after such abundaunce of continuall rain as of late was falle, & not like as yet to cease, so that in sitting still & attempting nothing rashly without aduisement, the K. should haue his enimies at his pleasure, as vanquished without stroke striken through disaduantage of the place, & lack of vitailes to sustaine their languishing bodies. And surely beside the want of vitails, ỹ foule and euill weather sore annoyed both parties: for there had not beene one fayre day, no scarce one houre of fayre weather of al the time the Scottish armie had lyen within England, but great colde, wind and rain, which had not only caused many of the Scots to returne home, but also sore vsred the English men, as well in theyr iourney thytherwards, as also while they lay in camp against the Scottish army. There was sending of messengers betwixt them to and fro, and the king had sent his quarell in writing vnto the Erle of Surrey by his herald Flay the night before the battail, cõteyning as followeth: Where it is alledged that we are come in England against our band & promise, thereto we answere: that our brother was bound as farre to vs as we were to him, & when we sware last before his ambassadors in presence of our counsel, we expressed specially in our oth, ỹ we would keepe to our brother if our brother kept



The power of the north countrey raysed.

The English campe in sight of the Scottish campe.

King Iames was minded to kepe his grounde.

Foule weather.

Paulus Iouius.

The Earle of Huntley his counsell.

His perswasions.

King Iames sent his quarell vnto the Earle of Surrey.

to

to vs, and not elſe: wee ſweare that our brother brake firſt to vs, and of his breach we haue required him diuerſe tymes of amendes: and lately we warned him, as he did not vs ere we brake: and this we take for our quarell, and by Gods grace ſhall defende the ſame at your aſſyred tyme, which with Gods help we ſhal abide. Thus was the K. verie deſirous to trie the matter by battail, although the wyſeſt ſort of his Nobles wiſhed not that he ſhould do any thing ouer raſhly.

There chaunced alſo many things taken (as ye woulde ſay) for warnings of ſome great miſchance to follow, which though ſome reputed but as vaine and caſuall happes, yet the impreſſion of them bred a certaine religious feare and new terrour in his heart. For as he was in counſell wyth his Lordes, to vnderſtande their opinions touching the order of his battayles, there was an Hare ſtart amongeſt them, which hauing a thouſand arrowes, daggers, and other kinde of things beſtowed at hir, with great noiſe & ſhowting, yet ſhe eſcaped from them all ſafe and without hurt.

The ſame night alſo Mile had gnawne in ſunder the buckle and leather of his helmet wherwith he ſhoulde faſten the ſame to his head. And moreouer, the cloth or baile of his inner tent (as is ſayde) aboute the breake of the day appeared as though the deawie moyſture thereof had bene of a bloudie colour. Herevpon the king keeping himſelfe within his ſtrength, the Erle of Surrey conſtrayned by neceſſitie to ſeeke all wayes whereby to traine the king downe from the hill where hee was lodged, remoued his campe towardes the hilles of Floddon, where the king of Scottes lay encamped: and on the .ix. day of September paſſed the water of Tyll at Twiſell bridge, the rereward going ouer at Wylford, putting themſelues as neare as they coulde betwixt the Scottiſhe campe and Scotlande.

King Iames perceyuing the Engliſh men to paſſe the water, iudged that they had ment to winne an hill that lay betwixt them & his campe, and therefore to preuent them, he cauſed his fielde to be rayſed, and fire to be ſet on theyr litter and cabans, which they had made of boughes, and ſo with all ſpeed remoued to the other hill being gotten thither ere the Engliſhe men coulde perceyue him to be remoued out of his former lodgings, becauſe the ſmoke of the fiers which the Scots had made, couered all the countrey betwixt the two armies. In the meane while were the Engliſhmē aduaunced to the foote of Floddon hill, hauing thereby gotten double aduauntage: for the Scottiſh ordynance coulde not muche annoy them in marching vpwards vnder the leuell thereof, and they again might gall the Scots in ſhooting of at them, as they came downwardes vpon them. For king Iames hauing diſappoynted the Engliſh men of the hill, thought verily it ſhould be an eaſie matter for him to ouerthrow them, which being put beſide the place where they intended (as hee thought) to haue camped, would neuer abyde the countenance of his puiſſant armie, if he might attaine to ioyne with them. Therefore the Scottiſh armie making downwards, encountred with the Engliſh hoſt neare to the foote of the mountaine called Brankton, and firſt ſir Edmond Hawarde leading one of the outwings of ỹ Engliſh armie, hauing with him three .M. men, being fiercely aſſayled by the Scottes on foot, hauing ſpeares and long weapons, & alſo by certain horſmen, was in the end diſcomfited, and his people beaten downe

The Scottes campe remoued alſo.

Aduauntage gotten by the grounde.

King Iames his practiſe.

Sir Edmonde Haward was fiercely aſſayled.



and put to flight, ſo that being of the forſaken, he was conſtrayned to follow. But yet he & diuerſe other which eſcaped, ioyned themſelues to the next battaile as well as they might. This ſo proſperous a beginning, who would thinke ſhould haue turned to the loſſe of ỹ Scots part & aduancemēt

A good beginning had an euill ending.

of the English side? But so it came to passe, for K. James no sooner saw that wing of the English host ouerthrowne and discomfited, but that he deemed how al the whole power of ỹ Englishmẽ had bin fleeing away: & therefore alighting beside his horse, & cõmanding those ỹ were about him to folow, prepared himself to pursue the chase. His captaines did what they coulde by wordes to remoue him from his purpose, declaring to him the dutie of a prince, which is not rashly to enter the fight, but to prouide and see that euery thing bee done in order: & where as cõming to trie the matter by hand blowes, he can do no more than an other man, yet keeping his place as apperteyneth to his persõ, he may be worth many thousands of other. The king nothing moued wt these exhortatiõs, breaking his array of battaile, with a cõpanie of noble men, rushed forward into the fore ward, where accomplishing the office of a footman, foũd the English men not fleeing, but manfully standing at resistance, so that there was a right harde rencoũter, and many arrowes shot on euery side, and great hurt done therewith. At length sir Edward Stanley with the reregard of the Englishe mẽ came fiercely downe frõ the hil of Brankston vpon the backe of the kings army, wherein they fought cruelly on both partes for a long space, but at length the victory inclined to the Englishmen, for the king himself was there beaten downe and slaine, with all that whole battaile which first entred the fight.

King James deceyued him self and alighted from his horse.

The Captains good counsell not regarded.

The kings hardinesse mared all.

Sir Edmond Stanley inuaded the backe of the reregarde.

King Iames slaine.

The other part of the Scottish host, whereof Alexander Hume Lorde Chamberlaine had the gouernaunce, although he sawe where the other Scottishmen were in daunger and closed in on euery side, yet would he not once remoue one foote forwarde out of the place (where he stood) to ayde them. Moreouer the lack of discretion in the king which would needes runne vpon his owne death, amazed the mindes of all men, and brought them into such a perplexitie, that they knewe not what to do, but looked one vpon another without styrring to or fro, as those that were in dyspayre now after the death of their king to recouer the victorie, which by so strange a chaunce, seemed as it were slipped out of their handes.

The Lorde Chamberlaine stood still.

Howbeit the Lorde Chamberlaine bare the most blame, for that he did not cause a new onset to be giuen. But it happened well for the Englishe men: for if king James had ordered himselfe wisely in this battaile, or that after he was slain, a newe furie had moued the Scottes to haue renued the fight in reuenge of the kings death, as had beene expedient, the victorie vndoubtedly had beene theirs (as was thought by men of great vnderstanding.) Whereupon the Englishe men remembring howe manifestly Gods goodnesse appeared towards thẽ in this battail, cõfessed themselues long after bounde to God for their safetie and deliuerance out of that present danger. The fight began about foure of the clocke in the after noone, and cõtinued three houres, in the which .xv. M. men were slaine on both partes: and of that nũber a third part at the least was of Englishmẽ, (as was credibly reported) but (as our Englishe writers affyrme) there died of English men not past .xv. hundred, but yet the Scottish men holde, that there died more of the English men than of their nation at this field, and that many thought it was not the bodye of King James whiche the Englishmen found in the field and toke it for his, but rather an other Scottish mans corps, called the Laird of Bonchard, who was also slain there. And it was affyrmed by sundry, that the K. was seene the same night aliue at Kelso: and so it was commonly thought that he was liuing lõg after, and that he passed the seas into other Countreys, namely to Jerusalem to visite the holy sepulchre, and so to driue forth the residue of his days, in doing penance for his former passed offences: but he appeared not in Scotland after as king, no more than Charles Duke of Burgoine did appeare in his coũtreys after the battail of Nancie, although his people had the like vaine opinion that he escaped from that discomfiture aliue.

The Lorde Chamberlaine beareth the blame.

The Englishmen thanked God for this noble victorie.

15000. men slaine.

But now to returne to the truth of the matter where we left. In the night following after this terrible battaile, the residue of the Scottish armie returned homewardes the same way they came, wasting & spoyling the English borders as they passed. At their comming home, euery man spake euil of thẽ, for that as cowards & naughtie persõs, they neyther sought to reuenge the death of their noble king, nor yet to succor their felowes ỹ were beaten downe and slaine before their faces. But namely Alexander Hume Lorde Chamberlaine was reproued, as cause of all that mischiefe, which behaued himselfe not as a captaine, but as a traytor or enimie to his countrey.

The Scottish men returne home again.

They were reuiled of their owne people.

Thus haue you heard how through rashnesse and lacke of skilful order, the Scottish army was ouercome, and that worthie Prince king James the fourth brought to his fatal ende, on the .ix. day of September, in the .xxv. yeare of his raigne, and xxxix. of his age, which was in the yeare from the incarnation. 1513. For his politike gouernment and due administration of iustice, which he exercised during the time of his raigne, he deserued to be numbred amongest the best Princes that euer raigned ouer the Scottish nation.

All theft, reife, murther, and robberie ceassed in his dayes, by such rygorous execution of lawes penall as he caused to bee executed through all the boundes of Scotlande: Insomuche that the sauage people of the oute Iles forced themselues through terror and dreade of due punishment to liue

The sauage people reformed themselues.

liue after the order of lawes and Juſtice, where otherwiſe of themſelues they are naturally inclyned to ſedition and diſquieting of eche other. To conclude, men were in great hope, that if it had pleaſed the high determinate purpoſe of almightie God to haue lente to him longer lyfe, hee ſhoulde haue brought the Realme of Scotlande to ſuche a flouriſhing eſtate, as the lyke in none of hys Predeceſſours tymes was yet euer heard of.

There died with him in that vnfortunate battaile, of noble men, beſide other of the meaner ſort: The Archbiſhop of Saint Andrewes his baſtard ſonne, the Biſhop of the Iles. The Abbots of Inchaffray and Kylwenny, the Erles of Montros, Crafford, Argile, Lenox, Glencar, Cathnes, Caſtelles, Bothwel, Arrel high Conſtable of Scotland, Addel, Athol, & Morton: the Lords Louet, Forbos, Eluerſton, Ros, Inderby, Saintcleare, Maxwel, & his three brethren, Daunley, Simple, Borthick, Bogony, Arſkil, Blackater, & Cowin: knights and gentlemen of name, ſir John Dowglas, Cutbert Hume of Faſtcaſtell, ſir Alexander Seton, ſir Dauy, maiſter John Grant, ſir Dunkin Cawfield, ſir Saunder Lowder, ſir George Lowder, maiſter Marſhal, maiſter Key, maiſter Ellot, maiſter Cawell clerke of the Chaunceric, the deane of Elleſter, Mack Kene, Mack Clene, with many other.



After the death of that worthy prince king James the fourth, ſlaine at Branxton (as before yee haue heard) his ſonne James the fifth ſucceeded him: for after the returne of thoſe that eſcaped from the fayde field, the Queene aſſembled the Lordes and eſtates of the realme togither at Striueling, where the .xxj. day of September. 1512. hir ſonne the forenamed James the fifth, a child of one yeare fiue Monethes, and tenne dayes of age, by vniuerſall aduice and conſent was crowned King, and his mother the Queene appointed Regent of the Realme, vſing the counſaile of the reuerend father James Betō Archbiſhop of Glaſgew the Erles of Huntley, Angus, and Arrane. But ſhortly after they fell at variance among themſelues about the beſtowing thoſe benefices which were vacant by the deaths of thoſe perſons which had beene ſlaine at the fielde, by reaſon whereof ſome of them writte letters ſecretely into France to John Duke of Albanie, willing him to come into Scotland to be tutor to the king, and gouernor of the Realme, as he that was next of bloud to the king, and neareſt to the crowne, in caſe the kings childre decealled without iſſue. He therfore ſent *Monſieur de la Bawtie*, into Scotland, who in company of the Erle of Arraue, the Lord Flemming, and Lion the Herald (which long had bene in France) landed on the weſt coaſt the thirde of Nouember, and ſhortly after the ſaid *Monſieur de la Bawtie* deliuered his letters to the Queene and Lordes, who therupon met at S. Johns towne, and there by vniuerſall conſent it was accorded, that the Duke of Albany ſhoulde be admitted tutor and gouerner to the king and realme, and that the ſame ſhoulde be confirmed in Parliament by ỹ three eſtates which ſhuld be kept at Edēburgh the .xiij. day of March next for the ſame intent.

Monſieur de la Bawtie is ſent into Scotland.

An aſſembly had at Striueling.

To reherſe the troubles and great diſquietneſſe that chaunced during the minoritie of this king, through lack of due adminiſtration of Juſtice, & by diſcord and variance dayly riſing amongſt the Lords & Peeres of the realme, a man might haue iuſt cauſe greatly to wonder therat, & in waying the ſame throughly, no leſſe lament the oppreſſion done to the poore commons in that wicked and moſt miſerable time when iuſtice ſeemed to ſleep, and rapine with all the other ſortes and rabble of inirious violence inuaded hir emptie ſeate, triumphing ouer all as a conquerour.

The great diſquietnes raigning in Scotland during the minoritie of Iames the fifth.

The Queene ſent louing letters vnto the king of England hir brother, requiring him of peace, wherupō a truce was take betwixt ỹ two realms of Englande & Scotland for the ſpace of one yere & a day. In the beginning of Februarie, the king of England hearing that a Parliament ſhould be holden in Scotlād for the bringing in of the duke of Albanie to be tutor, wrote to his ſiſter that ſhe ſhoulde in any wiſe impeach & ſtay his comming thither, declaring howe daungerous it was, not only for hir, but alſo for hir ſonne to haue him gouernor, which was to ſucceede if hir ſonne were once out of the way. But the chiefeſt cauſe that moued the king of Englande to labour that the Duke ſhould haue nothing to doe in Scotlande, was (as many thought) for that he knew how the Duke in fauour of the king of Fraunce woulde ſhewe himſelfe an enimie againſt Englande with all the force he might make or procure. And ſhortly after that the peace was cōcluded betwixt him and the king of Fraunce, he ſent a letter alſo, requiring him not to ſuffer the duke to paſſe into Scotland for the reaſon firſt alledged. But notwithſtanding the labor that king Henrie made to the contrarie, it was concluded by the eſtates in Parliament aſſembled in Edenburgh at the time prefyxed, that ſir Patrike Hamilton, and Lion king of Armes ſhoulde be ſent into Fraunce, to procure the Duke to come into Scotlande, being nowe confyrmed Tutor and Gouernour, according to the lawes of the Realme in ſuche caſes prouyded. Wherevpon in Apryll then next

The king of England wryteth to his ſiſter.

The Duke of Albanie confirmed tutor by Parliament.

following they toke the Seas, and paſſed into Fraunce accordingly as by the eſtates had beene deuiſed.

1514

A Legate from Rome.

This yeare came a Legate into Scotlande from the Pope, with certaine priuiledges granted to the king and realme.

The Queene deliuered of her ſecond ſon Alexander.

The .xxx. of Aprill was the Queene deliuered of a Prince in the Caſtell of Striueling, whiche was baptiſed by the poſtulate of Dunfermling, being Archedeane of Saint Androwes, and inſtantly confirmed by the Biſhop of Cathynes, by the name of Alexander. During the time that the Queene lay in childbed, great diſcord fell out betwixt the Lords of the weſt partes, and the other Lords of the realme: but ſhortly after the Queene called an aſſembly at Edenbourgh the .xij. of July, where they were all well agreed. And herewith two of the Cleargie were ſent into Englande for peace, and the .xxviij. of the ſame moneth maiſter James Ogilbie Abbot of Dryburgh, and ſir Patrick Hamilton, a Lion the Herald came forth of France with Articles in writing from the king there, and the Duke of Albanie, by the which the Dukes comming was excuſed, becauſe the king could not want him, till ſome ende were had touching the warres betwixt him and the King of England, which was concluded in October next enſuing.

The mariage of the Queene mother.

This yeare the .vj. of Auguſt, the Queene maried Archebald Dowglas Erle of Angus, and immediately after in Saint Johns towne toke the great Seale from the biſhop of Glaſgew that was Chancellor of the realme. Whereupon the ſayde Byſhoppe got him to Edenbourgh, where many Lords aſſyſted him, & kept out the Queene and hir new huſbande, ſo that they might not enter there, whereof greate diſcorde roſe within the Realme amongeſt the Nobles and Peeres of the ſame.

The great ſeale taken from the Biſhop of Glaſgew.

In the peace contracted betwixt Lewes the xij. of that name king of France, and Henrie the eight king of Englande, no mention was made of the Realme of Scotlande, for the whiche the Scottiſhmen thought great fault in the Frenche king, ſeeing that for his cauſe the warre had beene attempted betwixt them and England.

A peace concluded betwixt Englande and Fraunce.

The ſame yeare, about the .xxv. of October, William Elphingſton Biſhop of Aberdene, and Lord keeper of the priuie ſeale, departed this life at Edenbourgh. He had bene a faythfull Counſeller to James the fourth, by whoſe helpe he founded & endowed the Colledge in the olde towne of Aberdene, for the encreaſe of learning & vertue, which hath floriſhed with good wittes of ſtudents there euer ſithence euen vnto theſe our dayes.

The deceaſe of the Biſhop of Aberdene.

The .xx. day of Nouember *Leſire de la Baſtie* receiued the caſtell of Dunbar in the name of the Duke of Albany, at the handes of the Deane of Glaſgew brother to the Biſhop of Murrey, cleped Forman.

Monſieur de la Bawtie.

Alſo ſhortly after, the Prior of S. Androwes then elect Archbiſhop of that ſea, beſieged the Caſtell of Saint Androwes, and wanne it by force from the keepers of it, which were appoynted to defend it in the name of Gawin Dowglas, wherwith the Queene and the Earle of Angus were highly offended.



The .xij. of Januarie being a very myrke windie night, the Earle of Lenox, and the maiſter of Glencarne vndermyned the nether groundſoyle of the Caſtell gate of Dunbrytaine, and entred thereby into the caſtel, and ſo toke it, putting out therof the Lorde Erſkin.

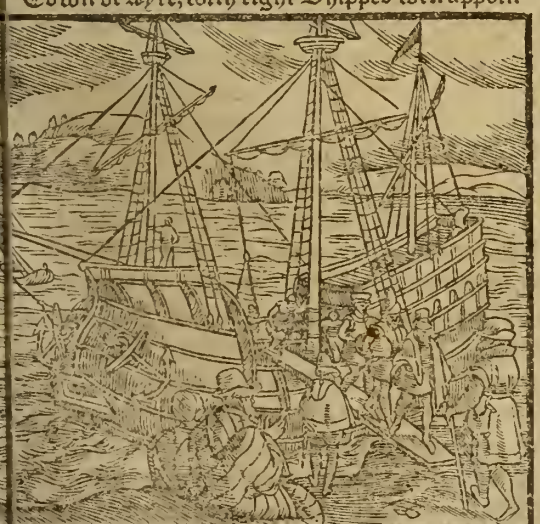
The Caſtell of Dunbrytaine taken.

Shortly after, to witte the .xv. of that Moneth, a greate aſſemble was made betwixt the Earles of Angus and Arrane, the one to haue fought with the other, which was the cauſe & beginning of great trouble that enſued.

The

The same day in Edenburgh were the Bulles published which the Bishop of Murrey Forman had purchased at Rome for the obteyning of the Archbishoprike of S. Androwes, the Abbacies of Dunfermeling, & Arbroeth, through supplication of the Queene and Duke of Albany: frō which the Bulles, the prior of Saint Androwes appealed, pretending title to the Archbishops See by election and generall gift of the Lordes of the Realme. And herevpon gote togither his friends in Edenburgh, as the Master of Hales and other. And on the other parte, the Lord Chamberlayne, and diuers of ẏ Bishop of Murreys frends gote the kings letters, by vertue whereof, they proclaymed the sayde Master of Hales, and the prior of Saint Androwes rebells, with al theyr assistants, putting them to the horne: whereupon they were costreyned to depart out of Edēburgh. And in May following, the Prior wente vnto Rome, there to iustifie his appeale.

The foure and twentie of Februarie, a Parliamente was assembled at Striueling, but bycause the Lordes coulde not agree amongst themselues, it was prorogued till the comming of the Duke of Albany, which was loked for to bee in Scotland, in Aprill, or at the furthest in May next ensuing, as he had sent worde by Sir John Sterling of the Keir, that was lately come from him with letters vnto the Lords and Peeres of the Realm. The fiftenth of May, truce was proclaymed betwixt England and Scotland to endure for three yeeres, but the same day at sixe of the clocke in the after noone, the Englishmen entred the borders of Scotland vppon the water of Rule, and forrayed the countrey, doing greate hurt therein, notwithstanding the truce. The seuententh day of May, John Duke of Albany, tutor and gouernor of Scotlande, arriued at the Town of Ayre, with eight Shippes well appoin-



ted and furnished with men and all kind of necessary prouision for his estate. From thence taking the Sea agayne, he sayled alongst the coast till he came to Dunbritaine, and there came a land, and on the next day passed forth to Glasgo, where all the Westland Lords receyued him with greate semblance of reioycing for his arriuall. The. 26. of May, he was receyued into Edēburgh, a great number of Lords meeting him on the way. The Queene also came from hir owne lodging and met him, to do him honor. Sundry Farces, Pageants, & playes were shewed by ẏ burgesses, for to honor his entrie in the best manner they coulde deuise. Shortly after his cōming to Edenburgh, there came thither forthe of all partes of the Realme, the Lords and Barons, where they being assembled in counsell, hee toke vpon him the gouernement of the Realme, which he promised to vse by their aduice, so that they woulde assist him in setting forthe of iustice and good orders, whiche they vndertoke to do. Herevpon was the Parliament which had bin prorogued till his cōming, summoned to be kepte at Edenburgh the twelfth of July, in the whiche, diuers Actes were concluded and made, and the Lord Drummond was adiudged in the Dukes mercie, for striking Lion King of Armes. The Duke pardoned him of life and honor, but his landes and goodes remayned in the kings hands: notwithstanding, he was afterwards restored to the same againe. In this Parliamente also the Duke of Albany was confirmed by the three states of the Realme tutor and gouernor to the King, the Scepter and Sword being deliuered to him, his oth also was taken by the Lords, and theirs giuen to him, that each of them should be faithful to others, & namely, to their King and soueraigne Lorde, and also should maintayn iustice to the vttermost of their powers, for the aduancemente of his honor, and suretie of the Realme. In the meane time, whilest this Parliament was in hand, the gouernour was aduertised, that the king should haue bin conueyed forth of the Realme secretly into Englande, whereupon he suddaynely departed in the nighte time from Edenburgh, with his men of warre in good order, and came to Striueling, where the King, with his brother Alexander lay in the Castell with the Queene, whiche Castell, togither with the Kings person, and the other within it, were deliuered to him the thirde day of August, whereupon hee committed them and the Castell to the keeping of foure Lordes of the Realme, whereof the Earles of Eglenton and Montrous were two. The Lord Hume, bycause he had assisted the Earle of Angus and the Queene against ẏ gouernor, was denounced a Rebell, & the Erles of Lennox and Arrane with many other, were sent to his houses to seaze the same into the kings hands. In ẏ Castel of Hume was layd gunpoulder by a trayne, whereby diuers of thē that entred fell into the same Castell were burnt. The Lord

The Duke of Albany receyued into Edenburgh.

A Parliamente summoned.

The king deliuered to the keeping of certayn Lords.

The Lorde Hume denounced a Rebell.

Hume himſelfe gote him into Englād, & ſore diſquieted the Marches, ſo that no day of truce was holden, neither on the Eaſt nor middle Marches. The twelfth of Auguſt, ẏ Quene, ẏ Erle of Angus, & his brother Georges Dowglas, went from Temptallon vnto Berwike, & frō thence paſſed to the Nunry of Caudſtreame, wherevpō aduertiſemente being giuen to the king of Englande, & his pleaſure therein knowne, the .xxvj. of that moneth, ſhe was receiued by the Lord Dacres, & cōueyed to Harbottell Caſtell, where ſhe remayned till ſhe was deliuered of a daughter, called Margaret Dowglas, afterwardes maried to the Erle of Lennor, (as in place conuenient it ſhal further appeare.) There was no Scottiſhman at this time receyued into Englande with hir. The gouernor perceyuing ẏ Rebellion of ẏ Lord Hume, paſſed to the bordures with his Frenchmē, where the firſt of Octobre, the ſayd Lord Hume came & ſubmitted him ſelfe to the gouernors pleaſure, and his brother ſhortly after did the ſame, and they were both deliuered to the Earle of Arane, who was appoynted to keepe them in ſafetie within the towne of Edenburgh. But the twelfth of October next enſewing, the ſayd Erle of Arrane departed from thence in the night ſeaſon, with thoſe his priſoners, ſtealing their wayes a forte. Herevpon, the gouernour cauſing the Parliamente to be holden that was ſummoned to begin the .24. of Octobre, the ſayde Lord Hume, Maiſter William Hume, and Dauid Hume, were conuict of treaſon by all ẏ eſtates, to loſe their liues, lands, & goodes. This Parliamente was prorogued till a fifteene dayes after, within which time, the Earle of Arrane was appoynted to make appearance, or elſe it was agreed, that they ſhoulde proceede againſt him in like manner. And in that meane ſpace, the gouernor wente to beſiege the Caſtell of Hamilton, where that noble aged Lady, ẏ olde Counteſſe of Arrane, daughter to king Iames ẏ ſecond, and Mother to the Earle of Arrane, and Aunt to the Duke by his fathers ſide, cauſed not only ẏ Caſtel to be ſurrēdred at the Dukes pleaſure, but procured alſo the Erle of Arranes peace, which Earle, the twelfth of Nouember next enſuing, came with the Biſhop of Glaſgo vnto Edenburgh, & there ſubmitted himſelfe to ẏ Dukes will. About the ſame time, certayne Lords toke part with the Erle of Murrey the kings baſtard brother againſt the Earle of Huntley, and reyſed a cōmotion, ſo that being gote into Edenburgh, there was muche adoe, and the Towne greatly diſquieted. The gouernor lying in ẏ Abbey, came into the towne, and toke the Erles of Huntley, Erroll, Murrey and others, and committed them to ward within the Caſtel while he tried ẏ cauſe, and finding that Maiſter William Hay beeing with the Erle of Murrey had rayſed ẏ ſturre, hee ſent the ſame Hay into France, there to remayne during his pleaſure, and forthwith ẏ ſayd Earles were ſet at libertie. Lion king of armes appointed to goe into England with letters to king Henry, was ſtopped at Caldſtreame by the Lord Hume, who toke his letters from him, & kept him priſoner, til Alexāder Humes mother, ẏ remained priſoner in Dunbar was exchāged for him. The .18. day of Decēber, Alexāder duke of Roſſey ẏ kings brother, departed this life at Striueling. The .17. day of January, a truce was take betwixt England & Scotlande, til the feaſt of Pentecoſt nexte. This truce was agreed vpon at Coldingham, by certayn Commiſſioners, apointed on eyther part there, to treate for peace. For the Realm of Scotland were theſe, *Monſieur de Planes* the Frenche Ambaſſador, Archdeacon of Saint Androwes, Maiſter Gawin de Dunbar, and Sir William Scot of Baluerie knightes. The Engliſh men compriſed for their part, ẏ Earle of Angus & the Lord Hume within ẏ compaſſe of this truce. In the meane time, the Erle of Arane departed frō ẏ gouernor again, & repaired to ẏ weſt parts, where hee confederate himſelfe with certayne Lordes, notwithſtanding that Sir James Hamiltō, and the Lorde of Cauder remayned pledges for hys good demeanor within ẏ Caſtell of Edenburgh. The Erles of Lenox, Glencarne, and other cauſed the Caſtell of Dunbertaine and diuers other to be furniſhed, and toke the Caſtell of Glaſgo with the kings great artillerie that lay within it, and ſpoyled the ſame. The gouernor aduertiſed thereof, rayſed an army & went to Glaſgo, where by the labor of the Biſhop an appointment was taken, ſo that ẏ Caſtel was deliuered into ẏ Biſhops handes. The Erle of Lenox came in to the gouernor, and toke a new reſpite, & about the beginning of March next following, the Earle of Arrane did the like. Forman ẏ Archbiſhop of S. Androwes, againſt whome the Priour of S. Androwes did ſtande as ye haue heard for that benefice, to the great vnquieting of ẏ Realme, by ſuch partakings as chanced therabout amōg ẏ Lords, came now to ẏ town of Edēburgh, & reſigned all ẏ three benefices wherof he had purchaſed Bulles of ẏ Pope, that is to ſay, the Archbiſhoprick of S. Androwes, ẏ Abbacies of Arbroth & Dunfermeling in ẏ gouernors hāds, to beſtowe the ſame at his pleaſure: who by the counſel of certayn Lords to ſatiſfye ſuche as claymed intereſt to the ſame, and pacifying of all debates, beſtowed thē as followeth. Firſt, the ſaid Archbiſhoprick he gaue vnto the forſaid Forman with ẏ Abbacies of Dūfermeling, & to maiſter Iames Hebborne, he gaue ẏ Biſhoprik of Murrey, & benefices worth a M. Markes by yere vnto ẏ Priour of S. Androws for a recōpēce: the Abbacie of Dryburgh, he gaue vnto maiſter James Ogiluy, and the Biſhoprick of Aberdene

The birth of the Counteſſe of Lenox.

The Lord Hume ſubmitted him ſelfe.

The Earle of Arrane ſtealeth away.

The Lord Hume and other conuicted of treaſon.

The olde Counteſſe of Arran purchaceth hir ſons pardon.

A commotion betwixt the Erles of Murrey and Huntley.

Lion king of Armes, ſtayed by the Lord Humes.

A truce concluded betwixt England and Scotland.

The Erle of Arrane eſtſoones reuoleteth from the gouernor.

The Earle of Lenox furniſheth Dunbertayne.

The Erles of Lenox and Arrane take a reſpite.

Forman reſigneth his title to the Archbiſhops See.

Beſtowing of benefices.

Aberdene then vacant, vnto Alexãder Gurdon, & to ỳ Archbishop of Glasgo called Beton, he gaue the Abbacie of Arbroth, assigning to the Earle of Murrey a large pensiõ out therof: one of ỳ Hamiltons was made Abbot of Kylwynning. And thus he bestowed the benefices which had bin vacant euer sithence Flodden fielde, vnto dyuers Lordes, or to their kinsmen, that by suche liberalitie vsed towards them, all debates and discords might ceasse which had happened amõgst them, specially, about the bestowing of the same benefices: this was done in the moneth of February. Shortly after, the gouernor by counsell of the Lords, to ỳ end the Realm might come to a perfect quietnesse, and the noble men vnited togither, receyued into fauor the Erle of Angus, and master Patrick Pantoun Secretary, who for hys cause had bin kept as prisoner in Insche gay. He likewise receyued the Lorde Hume, and his brother, pardoning them all their offences past. And in Parliament holden the fift of May, they were restored to all their lands, heritages, fees, and honors. About that time, the Lord of Strawen in Athole, cõmitted diuers great offences & crimes, for the whiche, hee was taken by the Earle of Athole, and beheaded at Logiraith by the gouernors commission.

All this while, the Parliament was not dissolued but vpon prorogation, and so the same began agayne the first day of July, at what tyme the king of Englande, at request of his sister the Queene of Scotland, wrote letters to the Lords now assembled in Parliament, requesting them to expell the gouernor forth of the Realme, but all the Lordes and estates with vniuersall consente, sente Albany the Heralde with letters to the sayd King, excusing them, that they myghte not in any wise satisfie his desire therein, the same beeing againste reason and the lawes of theyr countrey.

The Parliament began agayne.

The king of Englands letters to the Lords.

In the moneth of September, the gouernour commaunded the Lord Hume, with his brother Maister William Hume, & Dauid Kar of Fernihurst to be arrested and bestowed in seuerall places, that better rule might be kept vpon the borders, but they lying nowe in warde, sundry informations were giuen vp against them, and therevpon the eyght of October, the saide Lorde Hume and his brother were conuict of Treason, for assisting and maintenyng of the theeues vpõ the borders, and other crimes, for the whiche he was beheaded, and on the morrow after, his brother ỳ foresaid William Hume was likewise beheaded, and their heads were set vpon the Tol-

The Lorde Hume, and other arested, and cõmitted to warde.

The Lorde Hume beheaded.



buith in Edenburgh: Dauid Kar was spared. And shortly after, the Duke rode to Jedworth with a greate company of men, and stayed the greate robbing and reauing which had bin vsed on the borders, and left there good wardens to keepe good rule in those partes, and so returned to Edenburgh. The third of Nouember, another Parliament was holde, in which it was decreed, that the gouernor shoulde be deemed and reputed for second person of the Realm, notwithstanding the clayme made by his elder brother Alexander Steward, that was begotten on the daughter of the Erle of Orkney, which was alledged to haue bin first maried to their father ỳ Duke of Albany, before hee was maried to the Erle of Bullognes daughter, on whome hee begote the gouernor, wherevpon this Alexander made protestation to be heire to his father, but they were afterward agreed, and Alexander renounced his title in hys brothers fauor, and was made Bishop of Murrey, and Abbot of Scone. At this Parliament, the gouernor required licence to goe into Fraunce, and to be absent there .vj. moneths: but this suite was not graunted till Aprill following.

The gouernor asketh licence to goe into France.

The

The Erle of Lenox in warde.

The same time, was the Earle of Lenox put in warde within the Castell of Edenburgh, till he had caused the Castell of Dunbritaine to bee deliuered vnto one Allane Steward in the Cõstables name, and then he was set at libertie. In ỳ moneth of December, *Monsier de la Bautie* was made Warden of the East marches in steede of the Lord Hume, and kept dayes of truce, whiche procured him suche hatred, that it cost him afterwardes his life. In the moneth of Januarie, the gouernor wente to S. Johns towne, and there held his seat of Justice, where the Lord Fleming for the time, was made greate Chamberlayne of Scotlande, with all the fees thereof. In the yeere 1517. there came Imbassadors from Francis the new French king, to desire, ỳ the auntient league might be renued betwixt him and ỳ K. of Scotland, their Realmes, Dominions, and subiects: for the which cause, all the Lords of the Realme were assembled at Edenburgh, where by them it was concluded, that the gouernor himselfe shuld passe ỳ Seas into France, & also, that the Bisshop of Dunkeild, the secretarie, & the master of Glencarne as Imbassadors shuld goe thither, ỳ whiche the thirtenth of May, went a Shipbourde, and by the East seas sayled thither, and the gouernor toke Ship at Newmarke beside Dunbertayne the seuenth of June, taking his course by ỳ West seas, and so passed into France, where it was agreed, that he shoulde haue remayned but onely foure moneths, he hauing appointed the Bisshops of Saint Androwes and Glasgo, the Earles of Huntley, Argile, Angus, and Arrane, to gouerne in his place, whilest he was absent. Also he ordeined *Monsier de la Bautie* Lieutenante of the bordures. He also had caused the King to be brought into Edenburgh Castell, within the whiche hee shoulde remaine in the keeping of the Earle Marshall, the Lords Erskin, Boythwike, Rithuen: of the which, two at least shoulde be always present. The Queene that remayned as then in Englãd, after she vnderstode that the gouernor was departed towards France, returned to Edenburgh the seuenteenth of June, but she was not suffered to see the King till August following, at what time, for feare of the pestilence to be crept into the Castell, hee was remoued to Cragmiller, where the Queene oftentimes came vnto him, but at length, through some suspition conceyued, least the Queene might conuey him from thence into Englãd, he was eftsones brought vnto the Castell of Edenburgh, in whiche he was kept after, according to the order taken in that behalfe. The Lard of Wedderborne & other bordurers, hauing conceyued no small grudge for the death of the Lord Hume, and further to see *De la Bautie* exercise his office, and to rule ouer them, they conspired againste him, and thereupon besieged the house of Laughton, wherupon, whẽ *De la Bautie* came forthe of Dunbar, to assemble the men of the countrey to rayse the siege, as Lieutenant of the bordures, he was chased by the sayde Larde of Wedderborne & other so fiercely, that in the end he was slayne, and foure Frenchmen with him: his head was cut from the shoulders, and set vp in the towne of Duns the nineteenth of January.

Monsier de la Bautie slaine by the Lard of Wedderborne.



The Lordes regents were herewith maruellously offended, and chose the Earle of Arrane to be warden of the bordures in De la Bauties place, who was also chosen to be prouost of Edẽburgh: wherewith the Erle of Angus was highly displeased. But the Erle of Arrane, not seeming to passe muche thereof, toke George Dowglas the said Erle of Angus his brother, and Marke Kar, committing them to warde within the Castell of Edenburgh, bycause of the fauor he bare vnto the said Lard of Wedderborne and his complices.

Moreouer, for due punishmente of the murder of the foresayd De la Bautie, there was a Parliament called the nineteenth of Februarie nexte, in ỳ which, Dauid Hume Lard of Wedderborne, & his three brethrẽ, William Cokborne and John Hume, with diuers other their partakers, were indited for the besieging of the Castell of Laughton, the slaughter of Monsier de la Bautie, and for the setting vp of his head, intercomuning with the Englishmen, and diuers other misdoings. Immediately after the end of this Parliamente, the Erle of Arrane came into the Mers, with a great Army, and hauing with him the kings great Artillerie, meante to haue besieged suche places, as wold haue resisted him. But at his being in Louder, the keyes of ỳ Castell of Hume were brought vnto him, which on the next morow he receyued, and put men within it to keepe it as hee did in Laughton and Wedderborne, which he receyued at the same time. The master of Hales was also sought for at that time, that hee mighte haue bin apprehended to answere the slaughter of Dauid Hume, Prior of Coldingham, whome hee had slayne

1517

Ambassadors from France.

An Ambassage into France.

The gouernor goeth into France.

Gouernors appoynted to the kings petion.

The king remoued.

The doubte which the Scottes had in the Queene.

A Parliament called.

The Lard of Wedderborne indited.

The Erle of Arrane commeth into the Mers.

The master of Hales.

ſlayne traytcrouſly. A little before this Parliamente, the Biſhop of Dunkeld was returned frō ẏ French King with a bande of ẏ league renuid betwixt Scotland and France. And at that ſame time, was one Captayne Moyes a Frenchman ſent forth of France, with a certayne number of men, to receyue the Caſtell of Dunbar into hys keeping, which accordingly he did, ẏ ſame being deliuered vnto him.

The Scots euil vſed at the French kings hands.

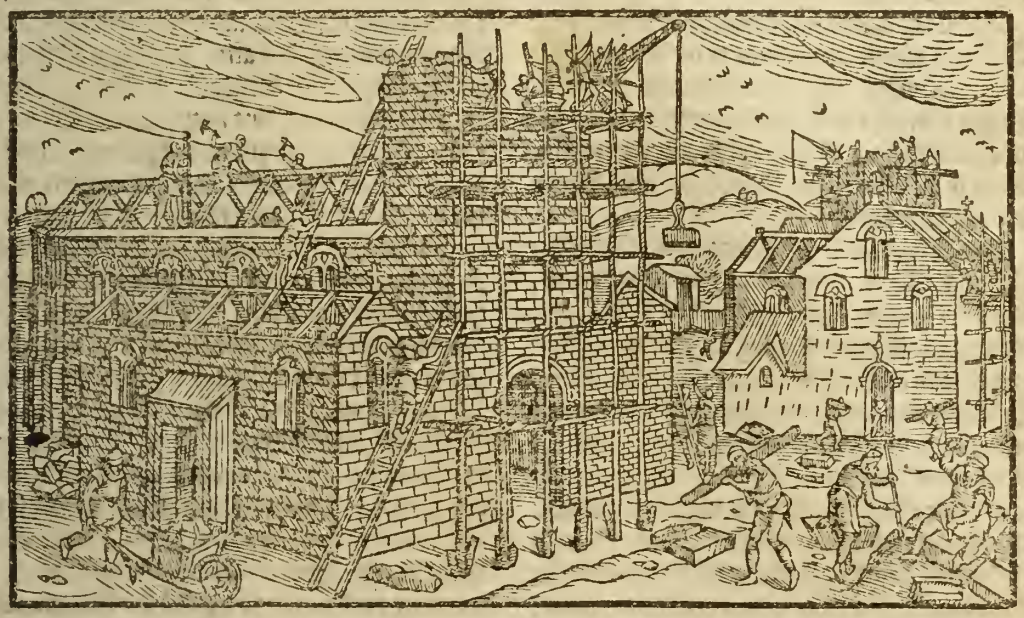
The Erle of Lenox, who had bin with ẏ gouernor in France, returned home into Scotland, and with him came a Frenche Herald from the king with letters, and maiſter Walter Stewarde Abbot of Glenluce came likewiſe from ẏ gouernour. And about that time, by cauſe the Queene and Lords were aduertiſed that the French king had contracted newe bandes of peace and amitie with the king of England, without making mētion of Scotlande, they thought themſelues euill vſed, being his confederate friends, and thereupon ſent ſharp letters to the King of Fraunce, and to the gouernour, by Albany the Herralde.

The Biſhop of Aberdine a builder.

Ye In the moneth of June, Maiſter Gawin Dūbar, Archdeane of Saint Androwes, and Clearke of the Regiſter, was preferred to the Biſhops ſeate of Abberdene ẏ was vacant by the death of Alexander Gourdon. This Gawin founded an Hoſpitall in Abberdene, and endowed the ſame with lands for ſuſtenance of twelue poore men, with a prouoſt to haue care ouer them.

He alſo builded a faire bridge, with ſeuen arches ouer the water of Dee beſide Aberdene, and purchaſed landes, for the perpetuall vpholding thereof.

He alſo builded two Steeples in the Cathedrall Church, with halfe of the croſſe Church and a faire Palace for the ſmall Prebendaries, called the Chaplaynes.



Moreouer, hee beſtowed many rich pretious ornaments vpon the ſame Church of Abirdene, as Copes, Chaſſes, and other ſuche like things, which remayned there long after.

Many right commendable works were accompliſhed by this diligente Prelate, greatly to his praiſe and high renowne, for he ſpent not the frutes of his benefice in vayne, but on ſuche maner of buildings.

The ſeuenteenth of June, there roſe greate ſturre in Edenburgh, by the falling out of the Erle of Rothes, and the Lord Lindſey, about the enioying of the Sherifwecke of Fife, by reaſon whereof, they were both put in warde, the one in Dunbar, and the other in Dunbertayne.

About the beginning of Auguſt, the Queene remayning in Edenburgh, vnderſtoode that the Erle of Angus hir huſband as then ſoiourning in Dowglas Dale, had taken a faire gentlewoman in thoſe partes, and kept hir as his concubine, for the which acte ſhe conceyued ſuch hatred againſte him, that there was neuer no perfect loue betwixt them afterwards. In the beginning of Februarie, there came a Clearke as Ambaſſador from the Frenche King with letters, concerning the concluding of the truce betwixt Scotland and England, whiche meſſage the Lords made ſmall account of, byeauſe the king had omitted to comprehend Scotlande in the league which he laſtly made with England.

The ſeuenth of June, a madde man in Dūdee ſlew in his wood fitte a Lady of inheritance, a Nunne, with two other women, the one of thē being great with Childe, and alſo two men. 1519

A mad man.

The king of England ſeeketh to keepe the Duke of Albany foorth of Scotland.

The king of England wrote letters vnto the Frenche King, deſiring him to ſtay the Duke of Albany, that he might not come into Scotland, and furthermore, he layde Ships of warre in the

pace

pace vpon the Seas to watche for his comming, and to take him by the way as he ſhoulde paſſe.

In September, the King was remoued forth of the Caſtell of Edenburgh vnto Dalkith, for doubt of the peſtilence, which was ſuſpected to be in the Caſtell of Edenburgh. And from Dalkith the Earle of Arrane rode to Edenburgh, to haue bin eſtſoones elected regent and prouoſt of that Towne: but he miſſed his purpoſe, for ẏ townemen woulde not ſuffer hym to enter, but repulſed hym backe, ſo that diuers were hurt on both ſides.

The Earle of Arrane.

Herebyppon, greate diſſention roſe betwixte the ſayde Earle of Arrane, and the Erle of Angus, byeauſe of his repulſe in that ſuite, whereby the whole Realme was deuided into partakings, ſo that ſundry ſlaughters thereof enſued, as of the Prior of Coldingham, and fiue of his men murthered, by the Lard of Wedderborne at Lamerton, the ſixt of October.

Diſſention betwixt the Earles of Arrane and Angus.

About the ſame time, the king returned to the Caſtell of Edenburgh, and in the towne there, were remayning the ſame tyme the Earles of Angus, Erroll, and Crawford, the Lorde Elames, and other the Biſhops of Saint Androwes, Aberdine, Orkney, and Dunblane, with diuers Abbots and other Prelates.

And in the towne of Glaſgo was the Biſhop of Glaſco Chancellor, with ẏ Earles of Arrane, Lenor, Eglentō, and Caſſels, the Lords Roſſe, Semphil, the Abbot of Paſley, the Biſhop of Galloway, and other noble men of the Weſt. Thus the Lords were deuided, and would not take any order for the good gouernemente of the common welth. In December, *Monſieur de la Fayot*, and a french Clearke called Cordell, with an Engliſhe Herrald called Clarenceaux, came frō the Kings of Fraunce and Englande, with an Imbaſſador alſo from the gouernor, with a concluſiō of peace, taken for one yeere, betwixt Scotland and England, who comming to Edenburgh, were receyued by the Earle of Angus and the other Lordes there with him, the whiche ſent for the Chancellor and the Earle of Arrane to come thither, but they wold not come any nerer, thā to Linlithgo. The Imbaſſadors therefore toke in hand to perſwade, that an aſſemble might be had in Striueling, but the Earle of Angus woulde not come there. Neuertheleſſe, the ſaid Imbaſſadors wente thither, where the Erle of Arrane and his partakers, as the Chanceller and others, receyued them thankfully, and proclaymed the peace, accordyng to the treatie which they had brought, and ſo with courteous anſwer and great rewards licenced thē to depart.

Monſieur de la Fayot.

The peace proclaymed.

But in their returne towarde Englande, the Earle of Angus with a greate number of menne met thē at Carlauerok, reprouing them ſharply for their demeanor, and for taking their anſwere of the Chancellor, ſo that they were not a little afraid, leaſt ẏ Erle in his diſpleaſure, would haue vſed ſome outrage towardes them, which otherwiſe than in words it ſhould appeare, he did not.

In January, about the keeping of a Courte at Jedworth, there was reiſing of people betwixte the Earle of Angus on the one part, and the Lorde of Fernihurſt, in whoſe ayde, James Hamilton came with foure hundred Mers men, but the Lorde of Sellefordе then Warden, aſſiſting the Erle of Angus his part, met Hamilton at Kelſo with a greate company, and when they were light to fote, and ſhoulde haue foughten, the Mers men left ſir James Hamilton in al ẏ danger, with a fewe of his owne men about him, ſo that with muche payne he was holed, and eſcaped in greate daunger vnto Hume, with loſſe of foure of his ſeruantes which were ſlayne, and on the other parte, there was an Engliſhman ſlayne called Rauſe Car, that came in aide of the Warden. On the morrowe after, the Lorde of Fernihurſt, as Bayly to the Earle of Arrane, of that regalitie helde his Court at the principall place of the forreſt of Jedburgh, and the Earle himſelfe helde his Courte likewiſe in an other parte of the ſame lande three miles diſtant from the other.

1520

Variance betwixte the Erle of Angus, and the Lord of Fernihell.

The thirtie day of April, the Lorde of Wedderborne, and Maiſter William Dowglas, newly made Prior of Coldingham, with their partakers in greate number, came to Edenburgh to ayde the Erle of Angus, who was within the Towne agaynſte the Earle of Arrane and the Chancellor, who were alſo there. But nowe by the comming of theſe ſuccours, whiche entred by force at the neather bowe, and ſlewe the Maiſter of Mountgomery, and Sir Patrick Hamilton Knighte, the Earle of Arrane, and the Chancellor, were conſtreyned to forſake the Towne, and to paſſe through the North loch.

The one and twentie of July, ẏ Erle of Angus beeing in ẏ Towne of Edenburgh, George Hume, brother to the late Lord Hume beheaded, came thither with the Abbot of Coldinghā, brother to the Earle of Angus, and Dauid Hume of Wedderborne, & a great company of Gentlemen & others, and paſſed to the Tolbuith, where they remayned till the heads of the Lorde Hume & of his brother William were taken downe beſide the place where they were faſtned on a gavil; and this was done in preſence of the prouoſt for the time being.

The Lorde Humes head taken downe.

The next daye they went to Linlithgew, and from thence to Striueling, in hope to haue found the Chancellor, and ſome other of that faction there, but miſſing of their purpoſe, they returned to Edenburgh agayne, and cauſing ſolemne funerall obſequies to be kepte in the blacke Friers, for

for them that ought thoſe heads, with offerings and banquets; they afterwards returned home to their owne dwellings, without attempting any other thing for that preſent.

In November, the Duke of Albany arriued in Scotlãd on the weſt parties, at an Hauen called Crawtach, the nineteenth of the ſame moneth, and on the three and twentie he came to Edenburgh, accompanyed with the Queene, the Archbiſhop of Glaſgo Chancellor, the Earle of Huntley, and many other Lords, Knights, Barons, and Gentlemen, and within fiue dayes after their cõming thither, the Prouoſt and Bayliffes were depoſed, becauſe they had bin choſen in fauour of the Earle of Angus, and other appoynted in their roomthes. Then was there a Parliament ſummoned to be kepte at Edenburgh, the fyre and twentie of Januarie nert folowing, and on the ninth of Januarie, a generall ſommonance of forfalture was proclaimed at ẏ market Croſſe in Edenburgh, wherein were ſummoned ẏ Earle of Angus & his brother, the Prior of Coldingh̃, the Lorde of Wedderborne, the Lorde of Dalehouſy, John Sommerwell of Cawdſtreme, and William Cockborne of Langton, with theyr complices, to make their appearance in the ſayde Parliament, to be tried, for ſundry great offences by them committed. Maiſter Gawin Dowglas Biſhop of Dunkeld, hearing of this Proclamation, fledde into England, and remayned in Lõdon at the Sauoy, where hee departed this lyfe, and is buried in the Church there. He was a cunning Clearke, and a very good Poet: he tranſlated the twelue bookes of the Eneidos of Vergill in Scottiſh Metre, and compiled alſo the Palace of honor, with diuers other treatiſes in the Scottiſh language, which are yet extant. The Earle of Angus, fearing the ſentence of forfalture to bee layd againſt him at the Parliament, procured his wife (although there was ſmall liking betwixte them) to labor for his pardon vnto the gouernor. Whereupon it was agreed, that the Earle, and his brother George Dowglas ſhoulde paſſe out of the Realme into France, and there to remayne during the gouernours pleaſure: and ſo they departed into Fraunce, and remayned there all the next yeere following. The king of England hearing that the Duke of Albany was arriued in Scotlãd, and had taken the rule vpon him, doubting leaſt he ſhoulde perſwade the Scottiſhmen to aſſiſt the French king, againſt whome, by perſwaſion of the Emperour, he meante ſhortly to make warre, ſente this Herrald Clarentieux into Scotlande, to require the Duke to departe from thence, alledging, that it was promiſed by the K. of Fraunce at the laſt enterview betwixte them, which chanced the Sommer before, that he ſhuld not come into Scotland. And moreouer, whereas the king of Englande was vncle vnto ẏ King of Scots, he conſidered with him ſelfe, that by nature he was bounde to defend his Nephew as hee ment to do, & therefore he thought it not reaſon ẏ the Duke being next to ẏ Crowne to ſucceede, if ought came to ẏ yong king, ſhould haue the gouernement of him, leaſt he might be made away, as other yong kings had bin. He further complained, that ẏ Erle of Angus ſhould be ſent forth of ẏ Realme, ſo ẏ he could not enioy ẏ company of his wife, ſiſter to the ſame K. of England. Clarentieux had therefore commandement, that if ẏ Duke refuſed, to depart out of ẏ Realm of Scotland, he ſhould intimate a defiance with open warre againſt him, which the ſaide Clarentieux did, declaring his meſſage vnto the Duke from point to point at Holy Rode houſe, as he had in commandement. To whom ẏ Duke anſwered, that neyther ẏ king of France, nor the king of Englande ſhoulde ſtay him from comming into his countrey, and as touching the King, who was as yet yong in yeeres, hee loued him as his ſouereigne Lord, and woulde keepe him & defend both him & his Realm againſt all other that would attempt to inuade ẏ ſame, according to his conſcience, honor & dutie. And as touching the Erle of Angus, he had vſed towards him all clemencie & mercie, notwithſtãding his euil demerites, and that principally for the Queenes cauſe, whom he woulde honor as mother to his ſouereigne Lorde. Theyr anſwer being reported to the king of Englande, cõtented him nothing at all, and therefore prepared to make warre. The tenth of Aprill, there came fiue great ſhips into ẏ Forth, vnto Inchkeith to haue ſpoyled ẏ Ships, & inuaded ẏ coaſt there. But they were ſo ſtoutly reſiſted & kept off, ẏ they were not ſuffered to do any great exploit, & ſo they returned without pray or priſe. In this ſeaſon, Andrew Forman Biſhop of S. Andrews deceaſed, and Biſhop James Beaton Archbiſhop of Glaſgo, Chancellor of Scotlãd was remoued to S. Andrews, & made Abbot alſo of Dũfermeling, & the Archbiſhoprike of Glaſgo was giuẽ to a yong man one Gawin Dunbar, that was the kings Scolemaſter. In the moneth of May, there was a great adoe in Edenburgh, by ẏ falling out of ẏ ſeruants of ẏ Erles of Murrey & Errol with the ſeruauntes of the Earle of Huntley, by reaſon whereof, the whole towne fell to partakings, but the Duke comming ſuddenly from the Abbey of Holy Rode houſe, ſtayed the matter, & committed the ſaid Earles vnto warde within ẏ Caſtell. The Emperour came into Englãd & perſwaded ẏ K. there to moue warres againſt ẏ French K. and ſo not only ẏ Frenchmen but alſo the Scots were commanded to auoide out of Englãd, their gooddes confiſcated, & they ſhipped forth of ẏ land, w a white croſſe ſowed vpõ their vppermoſt garmẽt

The King of Englãd doubteth to haue the Duke of Albany gouernour to the king his Nephewe.

Warre denoũced by Clarẽtieux againſt the Duke of Albany.

The Dukes anſwere.

1522

The death of the Archbiſhop of ſaint Andrewes.

Iames Beaton ſucceeded him.

A ſturre in Edenburgh.

The Emperor commeth into Englande.

Scottes and Frenchmen baniſhed forth of Englande.

In

The Earle of Shrewesburie inuadeth Scotland.

In July, the Erle of Shrewesburie was sente by the king of England vnto the bozzures, with commission, to rayse the power of the Northe partes to inuade Scotlande, who vpon the suddayne entred and came to Kelso, where he burnt one parte of the towne, but the bozdurers of the Mers and Teuidale not being halfe so many in number as the other, set vpon them, slewe, & toke many prisoners, and so constreyned them to returne into Englande with small honor.

The Duke of Albany, hearing of the greate preparation that ỹ Erle of Shrewesburie made, to raise an army of fourescore thousande men to inuade Scotlande, hee likewise sente vnto all the Earles, Lozds, and Nobles of the Realme, willing them to raise all suche power as they coulde make in defence of their coũtrey, which they did, and so being assembled, the Duke with a mighty army of Scottishmen and certayne Frenchmen, with greate artillerie, marched forwarde, till hee came to the water of Eske foreanenst Carlile, and perceiuing that the English armie came not then forwarde, he did what he could to perswade the Noble men to enter into Englande, but as they were in counsell togither about that earnest motion made to them by the Duke, a certayne graue personage sayde to them in this manner: My Lozds, hither be we come by the commaundement of my Lozd gouernor Duke of Albany, & albeit we be ready to defende our owne native Realm, cõtraire ỹ inuesiõ of our auld enimies of Englande, yet neuerthelesse it seemeth not guid, nor for the weale of our realme of Scotlande to passe within England with our army to inuade the same at this time, and the earnest perswasiõs whilke the gouernoure makes to vs to doe the same, proceedes alanerly for ỹ pleasure of Frãce, it appeareth to be sufficiẽt ynough for vs so lang as the king our soueraigne Lozd is within age to defende our owne Realme, and not to inuade: otherwise, we may put the hayle countrey, and nobilitie therof in hazard of Tinsall, for K. James the fourth brought the Realme of Scotlande to the best that it euer was, and by the warre, it was brought to the worst almost that might bee: for by that warre, was hee and his nobilitie tinte, whilke Scotlande sare laments. Wherefore by mine aduice, let vs goe to the gouernor, & knowe of him the cause why he wauldo perswade vs to inuade England.

The Duke of Albany reyseth an Army to inuade Englande.

The words of a Counseller.

Then they all came to the gouernours tente, and the Earle of Arrane, an auncient wise man spake for them al, and sayd. My Lozd gouernor, by your will and commandement, here is assembled the maist of the nobilitie of Scotlande with their power, vpõ a pretẽce to enter within England, my Lozds here wauld know the cause and quarrell why this warre is begun, gif it myghte please your goodnesse it should well satisfie their myndes. The Duke studied a little space, and sayde, this question wouldo haif bin demaunded ere now, for well you know, that I for very luse I beare to the Realme of Scotland of ỹ whilke I haue my name, honor and lignage haise passed the Seas from the noble Realme of Fraunce, into this Realme of Scotlande, and great cause there was for me so to do, to bring you to a vnitie, when ye ware in diuision, by reason wherof, youre Realme was like to haue bin conquered and destroied. And also the king of France, by my suites & intercession, will ioyne with you in aide against ỹ English nation: and when this warre was determinate in the Parliamente, you made me Captayne, authorising me to inuade England with Banner displayde. Then was no demaund made of the cause or quarrell, and that I haif done, is by your assente and agreemente, and that I will iustifie. But to answere youre demaund, me thinke you haise iust cause to inuade England with fire, sworde, and bloud, gif ye bee not forgetfull, and without you will beare dishonor and reproch for euer. For yee knowe, that this Realme of Scotland is our inheritance, as a portion of the worlde allotted to our nation and aunceslors whome we succeede, then where may there bee better warre, than to maintayne thys our naturall inheritance? Is it not dayly seene, the greate inuasions that the Englishmen on vs make, the greate manslaughter and murders, with thefts and spoils that they do daily? Is not this one cause of warre? to defend the countrie is the office of a king, the honor of noble men, and the very seruice of chiualrie, and the dutie naturall of the communaltie: for I thinke it a iust quarrell, gif we might conquere the Realme of England, and annex it to our owne Realme, for the great iniuries and wrongs done by that Nation to vs and our predecessors: for seene the beginning of our habitation in this Ile of Brytayne, the Englishmen and we haue euer bin ennemies, and vs haif they euer hated, and yet haue we euer withstand them. Suppose, we at the last battell of Flodden by chance, lost our soueraigne Lozde, and diuers noble men, whilke was rather by treason of the Lozde Chamberlayne than otherwise, who wouldo not relieue the kings army when he might. And yet I thinke we wanne the field, whilke murder all we noble men ought to reuenge. Therefore I wouldo that you shoulde courageously aduance your selues in this quarrell to get honor, and to be reuenged. Then one wise man that was president of the counsell answered the gouernour, saying. My Lozd, fortune of weir is led by him, that all leydes, and he strikes the strake, we can warke na miracles, and beare are the Lozds of England ready to encounter vs.

The Earle of Arrane declareth to the gouernor the mind of the Lordes.

The Duke answere to the Erle of Arrane.

The reply of a wise Counseller.

And

And gif wee inuade their Realme, ſurely they will fighte, for their power ſall encreaſe dayly, and ours will diminiſh. And gif God graunt vs the victory (as I truſt he ſhall) yet haue we not wonne the field, for ready comming is the Earle of Shrewesbury ſa mikell dread in Fraunce as ye knawe wel, with an great puiſſant army, and there is na doubt, but the King of England wil ſend or bring another army gif we ſhould chance to get the firſt battayle, and gif we get the ſecond field, that will not be without great loſſe of many nobles, by reaſon whereof, the Realme ſhall be weaker, and gif we be ouercommen, how many ſould be ſlayne, God knawes. They that flie are worthy to be reputed as Traytors to the K. and ſo by wilfulneſſe and ſule hardineſſe, the Realme may be in ieoperdie to be vndone. I ſay, while the king is within age, we aught to mone na weir, leaſt by weir, we maye bring him to deſtruction. Then ſayd the valiant gouernour, here is an puiſſant army of Scotland, gif we returne, we ſall encourage our eniinies. Therefore ſeene you thinke it not gude to inuade, my counſel is, that we camp ſtill on the bordures, while we ſee what the Engliſhmen pretends to doe againſte our Realme, to the which, the nobles conſented, and lay ſtill there in camp certayne dayes after. After this conference had betwixte the Nobles, and the gouernour, the Queene as then beeyng not with them, but aduertiſed of all the proceedings and determinations, ſent word to the gouernour, and deſired him, that there might bee a treatie of peace had, and ſhee promiſed to get the Warden of the Engliſh marches to come to the gouernours camp, vpon pledges, whereunto the gouernour condiſcended. Herevpon the Lorde Dacres, Warden of the Weſt Marches of England, came vnto the gouernours camp, and thither alſo at that time, was the Queene hir ſelfe comen, & ſo vpon the eleuenth of September, an abſtinence of war was taken and conenanted, ẏ in the meane time, ẏ Duke and Queene ſhould ſend Ambaſſadors into England, to treate and conclude a reſolute peace.

In the moneth of October next enſuing, there were three Ambaſſadors ſent into England, according to the agreemente in the laſt treatie, but there were ſo hard and extreame conditions proponed on the King of Englands behalfe, that the ſame could not be accepted, as being contrary to the honour & weale of ẏ Realme of Scotlande, as the Scottiſhmẽ toke the matter. And ſo thoſe Ambaſſadors returned, withoute agreemente or concluſion of peace, whereuppon folowed greate trouble betwirte them of the borders of bothe Realmes. The Earle of Northumberland was made Warden of the whole marches, but ſhortly after, he began to make ſute to bee diſcharged of that office, and ceaſſed not til he obteyned, and then was the Earle of Surrey made generall warden, & the Lorde Marques Dorſet, warden of the Eaſt and middle marches, the Lord Dacres continuing ſtill in his office of Wardenſhip ouer the Weſt marches. Aboute the ſixth day of March, the ſayd Lordes came to the borders, about which time, the Duke of Albany cõſidering that the warres betwixte Scotlande and Englande were yrkeſome to the nobles of the Realm, becauſe the ſame warres were taken in hande, chiefly to ſerue the Frenche Kings turne, therefore he paſt by the Weſt Seas into France, and in the beginning of March where he was ryghte hartily and gladly receyued of the King, his requeſt was only to haue fiue thouſand horſemen, and ten M. footemen of Almaynes, to bee tranſported into Scotlande, and doubted not, if hee might haue this graunted, but that with that power, and the aſſiſtance of the Scottes, he ſhuld be able to ouerthrow the K. of England in battel, or elſe to driue him out of his Realme. But the French K. neyther beleued this vayne brag, nor yet mygbte ſpare anye ſuch power, hauyng warre at that time both againſt Englande, and the Emperoure, neuertheleſſe, he promiſed hym ſome ayde, wherevpon the Duke abode & wayted for the ſame a long ſeaſon. In the meane while, the Lordes of Scotland cauſed certayne noble men to lie vppon the borders monethly in defence of the ſame againſt the Engliſhmẽ, dayly loking for ſupport from Fraunce. Euery cõpany remayned their monethes, and then departed home as the cuſtome is, and thus they continued ſtill till September following. Much hurt was done on eyther part, and diuers houſes were ouerthrowen and deſtroyed both in Englande & Scotland. During whiche time, the King of Fraunce prepared certayne ſhippes, with men, and munition, to paſſe with the Duke of Albany into Scotland, but the King of England to catch him by the way, had layde a greate nauie of Shippes in the paſe on the Seas, as he ſhould make his courſe: but the Duke embarquing him ſelfe with his people at Breſt in Britayne, ſayled by the Weſt parts of Englande, and the one and twentith of September, landed at Kirkowbre in the Weſt partes of Scotlande: hee broughte with hym beſide a good number of Frenchmen, Richard de la Pole, a man of great parentage, borne in England, and baniſhed hys Countrey. Whileſt the Duke was on the ſea, making ſayle towarde Scotlande, the Earle of Surrey, with an army of twentye M. men, entred Stotlande, and comming to Edenburgh, brenned the Towne and the Abbey. It was thought they meant to haue paſſed further, but the Scottiſhmen aſſembling themſelues againſt

The Earle of Surrey.
The Lorde Marques Dorſet
The Lorde Dacres.
The Duke of Albany goeth ouer into Fraunce.
His requeſt.
His vayne bragge.
1523
The borders watched.
The Duke of Albany returneth into Scotlande.
The Earle of Surrey inuadeth Scotland

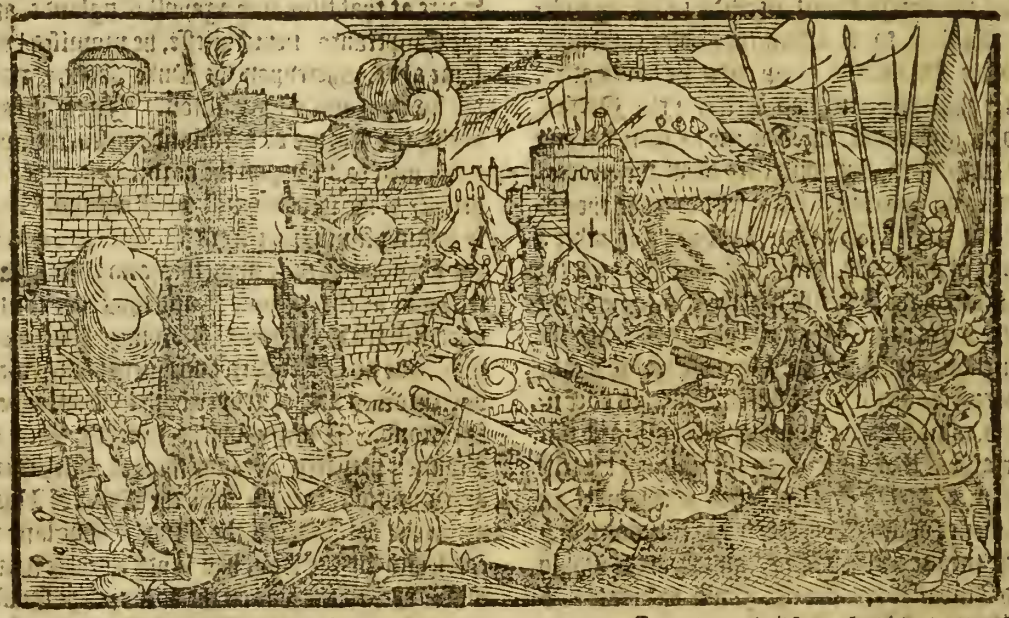
theyr inuasions, they were constreyned to returne with losse (as some Scottishmē haue written.) The D. immediately after his arriual came to Edenburgh, where he caused all the Lords of the Realme to assemble in that towne, where he declared the great loue and affection that the K. of Fraunce bare to the Realme of Scotlande, in so muche, as hearing of the slaughters, murthers, and brennings, practised by the Englishmen, he thought that he felt the same done vnto him, reputing himselfe one of their members, and for reuenging thereof, he wouldbe partner with them as their member, for more credite whereof, he shewed the Kings letter, confirming his declaration. Hee therefore exhorted them to assemble an armie, in reuenge of iniuries and wrongs done to them and their Countrey, for he had brought with him money, men, and artillerie, to the furtherance thereof. Herupon it was concluded, ỹ the army shuld assemble at Dowglas dale the eyghteenth of October, the whyche conclusion they kept, & from thence they marched to Caldstreame vpon Twede, and sent ouer the water certayne of their greate artillerie, with a company of frenchmen and Scottes, by ỹ guyding of Dauid Car, and being got ouer, they lay siege to the Castel of Warke, which was kept by sir Wil. Lisle Captaine therof, hauing with him a strong garrison of Englishe souldiers, & greate prouision of artillerie, and all things necessarie, yet at the firste assault, the vtter Barnekin was wonne, and the saide company of Scottishmen and frenchmē lay within the same, endomaging the Castell in all they might. The Earle of Surrey and diuers other of the Englishe nobilitie, with an army of fortie thousande men, were at Inwyke, not farre distante from Warke, and the Marques Dorset was sente with a greate companye to keepe the Towne of Barwike, for doubt least the same shuld haue bin besieged. Also in the meane time, a newe assaulte was made to the inner barnekin of Warke, and the same won like wise as the other had bin before. After thys, was the Castell assayled, and parte of it beaten downe, with the artillerie lying on the Scottish side of the water of Twede. At which breach, the assault was giuen, and the same continued, till that through mirkes and lacke of light, the assaylants were driuen to retire.

Dauid Car Warke Castell besieged.

The Earle Surrey was an army of fortie thousand men.

The Marques Dorset appoynted to kepe Barwike.

Warke assaulted.



Greate slaughter was made at that assaulte on both sydes, but especially of them within the house. The assaylantes meante to haue geuen a freshe assaulte the nexte day, beyng the fourthe of November, but a sore and vehemente storme and tempest of rayne chanced that nighte, that they were constreyned to leaue off that enterprise, and to get themselues ouer the riuer again vnto the army, least by the rising of the water of Twede, they myght haue bene cutte off by theyr enimies, before they coulde haue bin succoured.

The Scottes and French retire back ouer the water.

In the meane time, whylest this siege continued, a number of Scottishmen made a roade into the Countrey of Glendale within the Englishe marches, and brente and spoyled diuers Townes, cast downe sundry pyles, and returned without anye resistance: for the Earle of Surrey would suffer none of his people to depart from the army, nor breake order, for feare of more inconuenience.

Glendale burned by the Scottes.

The Duke of Albany lying on the Scottishe syde of Twede, sent an Herrault vnto the Earle of Surrey, willing him to call to remembrance, howe in his absence he had inuaded Scotlande with fire and sworde, for the whiche cruell dealing, he required him vpō his honor to come forward, & he would meete him in ỹ cōfines of both ỹ realmes, & giue him battel, to which the Earle

An Herrault sent.

answe-

gine him battell, to the which message the Earle aunswered, that he had no commission to inuade Scotland at that time, but only to defend, and (as some haue reported) hee caused a secrete messenger to passe to the Queene, as then lying a good way distant from the army, to moue for some abstinence and truce, and further to perswade the Duke to retire home, which hee did, so that by his labour, a truce was taken for that instant, and afterward confirmed for a longer time: and thus the Duke returned with honour (as the Scottish men report.) This truce was wel kept all the next Winter following, and no inuasion made, till the moneth of May. And then was the Earle of Surrey sente agayne to the Englishe borders, and the Lordes of Scotlande on the other parte monethly lay on their borders by quarters, for defence of their Countrey as the vse is.

On Trinitie Sonday, being the one and twentith of May, a fiue hundred Scottes entred Englande, to surprise the Englishe Merchantes, and others, going that daye vnto Berwike, where yearely on that daye the fayre is kept, and so by reason thereof, they met with diuers of them that went to this fayre, and toke to the number of two hundred prisoners, whome they ledde with them into Scotlande, but Hall sayeth, that by the comming of the yong Lorde of Fulbery to the succours of the Englishmen, the Scottes were chased, and lost two hundred of their numbers.

The fifth of July, Sir William Fenwicke, Leonarde Mulgraue, and Basterde Heron, with diuers other, to the number of nine hundred Englishmenne, entred into the Mers, and began to spoyle and robbe the Countrey, but they were shortly compassed about with Scottishmen, and so hardly assayled, that although they fought valiantly a good while, yet by fyne force they were compelled to giue grounde, and seeke to saue themselues by flight, in whiche, a two hundred of them were taken prisoners, and Basterd Heron with diues other slayne.

Englishmen inuade Scotlande.

Englishmen discomfited. Basterd Heron slayne.

Amongst the prisoners, were Sir Rauf Fenwike, Leonarde Mulgraue, and diuers other Gentlemen of good calling.

The seuentenih of July, the Lord Maxwell, and Sir Alexander Iordeyne, with diuers other Scottishmen in great number, entred England at the West marches by Carleile, with displayed banners, and began to harrie the Countrey, and brente diuers places. The Englishmen assembled on euery side, so that they were far more in number than the Scottishmen, and therupon set fiercly vpon their enimies, in so muche, that for the space of an houre, there was a sore fighte continued betwixt them, but the Lord Maxwell like a righte politique Captayne (as of all that knewe him hee was no lesse reputed) ceased not to encourage his people, and after that, by the taking of Alexander Iordayne and diuers other, they hadde bin putte backe, hee broughte them in aray agayne, and beginning a newe skirmishe, recouered in a manner all the prisoners, toke and slewe diuers Englishmen, so that hee returned with victorie, and ledde aboue three hundred prisoners with hym home into Scotlande.

Four thousand saith Hall.

The Lorde Maxwel inuadeth England.

After this iourney, there was an assemble of

An assemblye of the Lordes.



the Lordes in Edenburgh, with the Duke of Albany, where some of the Lordes were of mind that the warre shoulde continue: other thought it not reason, that for the pleasure onely of Fraunce, the Realme should sustayne suche damage, as it had done by those three last yeares warre now passed, and therefore they perswaded peace.

Moreouer, there was also muche debating of the matter, touching the age and gouernemente of the King, some of the Lords holding, that he was now of age to take the rule vpon himselfe, and that the gardenship or tutorie of a King expired, sooner than of another priuate person.

The Duke of Albany perceyuing howe the Lordes were deuided amongst them selues, and neyther content with his gouernement, nor willing to mayntayne the warres which hee had so earnestly perswaded for the pleasure of Fraunce, he declared to them that hee would returne into Fraunce, and so taking his leaue of the nobilitie, wente to Striueling, where the King was, of whome hee toke leaue, also giuing vnto hym suche louing and faithfull counsell, as to hys knowledge seemed expedient, and so wente into the West Countrey, where hee toke the Seas in September, and sayled forth into Fraunce.

The Duke of Albany returneth into Fraunce.

The King of Englande hauing in the moneth of June sente ouer into Fraunce, vnto Archimbald Earle of Angus, that remayned there vpon commaundement of the Duke of Albany, perswaded him to come from thence secretly into England, which accordingly he dyd, and being safely arriued in Englande, Kyng Henrye procured hym to passe into Scotlande, that with the assistance of suche Lordes as would bee ready to take his part, he myghte reyse warre against the Duke of Albany, which sought by all meanes (as the Kyng of Englande was enformed) to destroy hym and his, but ere the Earle could come into Scotlande, the Duke was departed toward Fraunce.

The Earle of Angus commeth into England.

The fyre and twentith of July, the Kyng by aduice of his mother, and certayne yong Lords, came from Striueling vnto Edenburgh, and a three dayes after, the Queene toke the whole gouernement of the King vppon hir, and entred into the Castell of Edenburgh with the Kyng, where they soiourned the most parte of the nexte Winter.

The Queene taketh the gouernement into hir hands.

The Prouost of Edenburgh was discharged, whome the Towne hadde chosen, and the Lorde Marwell was appoynted by the Queene, Prouost in his place.

There was a Parliament also sommoned to be holden at Edenburgh the third day of Februarye nexte ensuing.

A Parliament sommoned.

The King of Englande glad to heare that the Duke of Albany was departed into France, sent into Scotlande in Imbassage one maister John Magnus, and Roger Ratclife Esquier, to declare vnto the Queene and Lordes, that hee would bee content that a truce might be accorded betwixte the two Realmes of England and Scotlande, nowe that the Duke of Albany was returned into Fraunce, who had bin the onely procurer of the warres: hereupon, they agreed to take truce to endure for one yeare, and in the meane tyme, they appoynted to sende Imbassadors into Englande to treate vpon a continuall peace, aliaunce, and amitie to be hadde betwixte both the Realmes.

A truce tak for one ye

In this meane whyle, the Earle of Angus came into Scotlande, and bycause of the displeasure whiche the Queene bare him, there ensued occasion of greate diuisions within the Realme, notwithstanding the Queene by aduice of certaine Lordes, sente the Lord Gilbert Earle of Cassels, Robert Cockburne Bysshoppe of Dunkeld, and the Abbot of Cambuskenneth, Imbassadors into Englande, in the moneth of December, the whiche were receyued at Grene-

Ambassad into Eng



wiche by the King of Englande the foure and twentith of the same moneth, where the Bysshop of Dunkeld made an eloquent oration in latine, declaring the cause of theyr comming, the whiche in effect was for intreatement of peace, loue, and amitie betwixte the two Realmes, and for the more sure establishment thereof, they required that a mariage might be concluded betwixte theyr King and the Ladye Mary, daughter to the King of England.

This request was well heard by the Kyng, who thereyppon appoynted commissioners to common thereof with the sayde Imbassadors, diuers articles were proponed by the sayd Commissioners on the King of England his behalfe, and in especiall one, whiche was, that the Kyng of Scotlande shoulde renounce the league with the King of Fraunce, and that further, he should come into Englande, and remayne there till hee came to perfect age to bee maried: bycause the Imbassadors had not commission to conclude so farre, the Earle of Cassels returned into Scotlande, to vnderstande the myndes of the Lordes and Counsell in these poyntes, the other remayning at London till his returne to them agayne.

When

When the day of the Parliament appointed to be holden in the Tolbuith of Edenburgh was come, the king, Queene and Lords fearing some tumult in the Towne to be raysed by the Earle of Angus, would not passe forth of the Castell, but kept the Parliament within the same.

The Earle of Angus and Lennox and divers other to the number of two thousand men, came in the night season unto Edenburgh, bycause they durst not enter the towne in the daye time, for feare of the gunnes that lay in ỳ Castell.

The next day, being the fourteenth day of Februarie, the saide Earles with the Archbishop of Saint Andrewes, the Bishop of Aberden, that by the Queenes appointment had bin kepte before in warde, the Bishop of Dunblane, the Erle of Argile, and diverse other Lords and Barons being in the Towne, sente to the Castell, alledging, that the King was kepte as prisoner by the Queene, and iustice suppressed, with great pomage of the common wealthe, and therefore hee desired, that the King might bee delivered unto them to be governed by the advice of the three estates, and if they refused to deliver hym, they would besiege the Castel, and if they wanne it, all their lives within should reskat their pleasures, the kings only excepted.

The Queene by the counsell of the Earles of Arrane and Murrey, refused not only to deliver the King, but sente them worde, that except they did depart the Towne, they would surelye discharge all the artillerie of the Castel againste them.

Herebypon, greate feare rose in the towne, specially among the burgesses, but by the diligence of certaine persons that travelled betweene the parties, an assurance was taken on eyther side for certaine dayes. In the meane time, the Earle of Angus caused the Castell to bee forsette, that neyth. victuale nor other thing might be suffered to be conveyed into it, except so muche as might serve for the sustentation of the Kings owne person. At length, all the parties were agreed, so that the fourte and twentith day of Febuary, the King came unto the Parliament holden in the Tolbuith in most honorable wise, with the assistaunce of all the estates, having the Crowne, Scepter, and sword borne before him, and from thence hee was brought to the Abbey, where he remayned.

In this Parliament, there were eight Lordes chosen to bee of the Kinges privie counsell, the whyche toke the Gouvernemente of the Kyng and Realme upon them, as these: The Archbishops of S. Andrewes and Glasquho, the bishops of Aberdin and Dunblane: The Earles of Angus, Argyle, Arrane, and Lennox: the Queene was adioyned to them as principall, without whose advice nothing should be done. From this Parliament also was the Erle of Cassils sente, with answere unto the King of Englande: hee came to London the nineteenth of Marche. But bicause the king had knowledge, that the French King was taken at the battaile of Pauie, hee would not proceede in the treatie of marryage betwixte the kyng of Scotlande and his doughter, till he had the Emperours advice, whome he affirmed to bee his confederate friend, and so renuing the truce for three yeares and syxe monethes, the Ambassadours returned into Scotland about the beginning of Aprill next ensuing, without any contract of mariage at that time. The Argument betwixt the Queene and Lords continued not long for anone after died the Bishop of Dúkeld, whose benefice the E. of Angus obtained of the king for his brother M. Dowglas, without the advice of the Queene and other Lords, wherupon the Q. departed and went unto Striueling, leaving the king ẅ the Erle of Angus, who togither ẅ the Erle of Lennox toke the whole rule and government of ỳ Realme and K upon him, & made his Uncle Archimbald Dowglas, treasourer of the Realme, and then the saide Earles of Angus and Lennox bestowed benefices, offices, and al other things, by the advice of George Dowglas brother to the saide Earle of Angus and others of that faction.

Truce renued.

The King not in his owne power.

In this meane time, the Archbishop of Saint Andrewes, and the Earles of Arrane, Argile and Murrey, remaining with the Queene at Striueling, alledged that the king was withholden frō them by the E. of Angus, sore against his wil, and therefore they sente unto the Earle, requiring him to deliver him: but ỳ Erle causes the K. to give the answere himself, that he would not come from the Erle of Angus, albeit he wold gladly have bin out of his hands if he might, as by secret message sent to sundry of the lordes, likewise at that time it appeared, for he willed the by privie meanes to assemble an army, and to come & fetch him out of their handes that thus detained him. Herebypon shortly after, they raysed a power, and comming therewith to Linlithgew, purposed to passe unto Edenburgh, ỳ they might get the K out of the Erle of Angus his handes: the said Erle ẅ the Earle of Lennox & other his assistants being thereof advertised, came to ỳ fields ẅ the kings banner displayed, & brought the king with him, although partly against his will.

The Queene mother in armes.

The Queene with such Lords as were with hir there in the armie, for the reuerence they bare to the Kyngs person, and fearing the daunger that might chaunce unto them, if they buckled togither in a foughten field, they withdrew themselves to Striueling, and from thence the Queen went into Murrey lād [illegible] of Murrey,

and

and there remayned a long time after.

The Earles of Arrane and Argaile went into the Weste Countrey, and the Bishoppe of Saint Andrewes to Dunfermeling, and then the Earle of Angus toke vppon him more boldly the gouernement of the King and Realme, and sent to the Bishoppe of Saint Andrewes (who was chauncellour) for the great seale, which was deliuered to them that were so sent for it.

The great seale deliuered.

The nobles of the Realme remaining thus at variance, and deuided amõg themselues, there was small obedience of lawes and iustice, diuers slaughters in sundry parts were committed, great thefties and robberies made by the borderers vpõ the Inland Countries.

Moreouer, this yere ỹ displeasure still continuing betwixt the Queene the kings mother and hir husband the Earle of Angus, she secretly forsooke him and so vsed the matter that she was married to Henry Stewarde, brother to Andrew Stewarde Lorde Auendale to whome she had borne good will (as hath bin reported) long before which Henry was after created by the king Lorde of Methwen.

1526. The foure and twentith of July, the King being accompanied with the Earle of Angus, ỹ Lorde Hume, the Karres and others, roade vnto Jedburgh, in purpose to haue reformed the misgouernaunce of ỹ borderers, but after that they had remained there three dayes with little obedience shewed towards them, they returned, and on the fifte and twentith day of July, at the Bridge of Melrose, the Lard of Bocclough, accompanyed wt aboue a thousand horsemen, began to shew himselfe in sighte, whose principall purpose was to haue taken the King from the Earle of Angus & his assistantes, being requested and commaunded by the King himselfe so to do.

The Lard of Bocclough his enterprice, to take the king from the Earle of Angus.

The Erle of Angus incontinently sente an Herrault vnto the Lorde of Bocclough, to know what his intention was to doe, who answered, that he came to do the King honour and seruice, and to shewe his friendes and power as the vse is of the borderers.

The Earle of Angus wt the Lorde Hume, and the rest, not being contente wyth hys answere, bicause of the great feude betwixte hym and the Humes and the Karres, sente vnto him a commaundemente in the Kings name to departe, and not to approche neere to the kinges presence, vnder paine of high treason, whereunto he answered, that he knew the kings mind wel ynough, and would not spare for his commaundemente to come to his graces presence, whyche answere receiued from him, incontinently the Earle of Angus, the Lordes Fleming and Hume, the Karres, the Lorde of Sessefoord, with theyr friendes, alight[illegible] the King remayning on horsebacke, accompanied with the Erle of Lenox, the Lord Marwel, George Dowglas, and Ninian Crechton Tutor of Sanquhar.

The Lard of Bocclough lighted also on foote, but bicause the most parte of his men were of the theeues and outlawes of the borders commonly called broken men, vppon their firste approche to the toyning with their speares, they fledde, leaning the Lorde of Bocclough with a smal number of his owne seruauntes aboute him in all the daunger yet they defended themselues right manfully, and slewe the Lorde of Sessefoorde and diuers other on the Earle of Angus his side, but finallye, ouerpressed with multitude, they were put to flight, and foure score of Bocclughes men slaine in the chase.

The Sessel slaine. The Bocclo to flig

After this, the King returned to Jedburgh, and remained there the space of foure dayes, and then returned to Edenburgh.

All this while, the King was gouerned and holden against his will, by the Earle of Angus and his assisters, although he did not outwardly shewe so in countenaunce, but dissembled the matter as well as hee might, yet perceiuing two enterprises to haue quapled that hadde bene attempted for his deliueraunce, he thought to assaye the thirde: and hereuppon, procured the Earle of Lennox to assemble an armye wyth assistance of the Queene and hir frendes, to helpe to deliuer him from the handes of his enemies. The Earle of Lennox did so, and came with such power as he could raise frõ the West partes vnto Linlithgew.

The noxe pary

The Erle of Angus being aduertised, that the Earle of Lennox was gathering men, sente to the Earle of Arrane for ayde, requiring him to come with suche power as he could make, and to meete him at Linlithgew.

The Earle of Arrane immediatly heerewith, gathered a power, and with the same came to Linlithgewe before the Earle of Lennox, who shortelye after comming wyth hys people, approched that Towne, vnto whom the Earle of Arrane sente a messenger, requiring hym to tourne and saue his enterprise, assuring him, that albeit hee was hys systers sonne, hee would not spare him, if hee helde forwarde vppon his journey.

The Arrareth:

The Earle of Lennox heerewith answered in a great rage, that hee would not stay, till hee came to Edenburgh, or else dye for it by the way.

The Earle of Arrane therefore not staying for the Earle of Angus hys comming from Edenburgh, issued forthe of Linlithgewe at the West ende of the Towne, and encountred the Earle of Lennox and his companie where there was a cruell onsette geuen on both sides,

flodes, but suddaynely the Earle of Lennox hys company fledde, and he himselfe with the Lorde of Hunston and diuers other Gentlemen, were slayne.

In the meane time, the Erle of Angus bringing the King with him arriued, and had come to the battell, but that the King was not willing to come forthe of Edenburgh in that quarrell (as some haue written) and therefore made excuses, as he did also by the way, sayning himselfe sicke, but George Dowglas droue and called vppon his horse very sharpely, and constreyned hym to ride forth with faster pace than hee would haue done, giuing him many iniurious words, which hee remembred afterwards, and would not forget them. They went that night to Striueling, and shortly after, passed through Fife, searching for the Queene, and the Bishoppe of Saint Andrewes, and because they were kept secretely in their friendes houses, so that they could not bee heard of, they spoyled the Abbey of Dunfermeling, and the Castell of Saint Andrewes, taking away all the monables which the Archbyshoppe had within the same.

This done, they returned to Edenburgh.

In this season by reason of this discord, diuers and sundrye murthers and heynous ryots were committed in many parts of the Realme, namely, the Earle of Cassels was slayne by the Sheriffe of Ayre, and greate spoyle done on the borders. This yeare, the Kyng by counsell of the Earles of Angus, Arrane, and others, went with eight M. men vnto Jedburgh, to set some order amongst the borderers, for the keeping of better rule, and so on the eight of June, the principals of al the surnames of the clannes on the borders, came to the King, binding themselues, and deliuering pledges for their good demeanours.

The seuententh of July, there was a greate assembly of the Lordes at Holirod house, at what time, there came a simple fellowe to loke vpon, seruaunte sometime to the Earle of Lennox, and in the middes of a greate companye of people in the Abbey close, strake Sir James Hamilton Knight right desperately with a shorte prage or dagger in the bellie three seuerall stripes vp to the haft, and yet the same Sir James dyed not of those hurtes. The man beeyng taken, straight wayes confessed the deede without repentance, why on the feeble hand quilke wald not doe that thing the hart thought, and was determinate to doe: beeyng enquired what he was, and who caused him to doe the same, he aunswered, that hee was an seruant of God, sent by him to doe that deede: and albeit he was put to great torture and paines daily by ỹ space of a moneth, yet would hee neuer giue other aunswer, and so he was hanged, and hys head set ouer one of the gates of Edenburgh Towne.

About the same time, there came out of Germany master Patrick Hamiltō, Abbot of Ferne, brother sonne to the Earle of Arrane, who hadde bin scholler to Martin Luther, and others there.

Thys man beeyng conuented and examined vpon certaine articles, as of iustification, predestination, of free will, and suche like, contrarye to the doctrine taught by the Churche in that time, because hee did affirme, and constantlye defende them, hee was declared an Heretike and burned. The Abbot of Ferne burnt.



The eyghteenth of March, the Kyng beseged the Castell of Edenburgh, the Queene and hir husband Henrye Steward, with James hys brother beeing within it. But as soone as the Queene vnderstode, that hir sonne the Kyng was there in person, she caused the gates to be set open, and vpon hir knees, besought him of grace for hir husband and his brother, and would not rest, till shee hadde obteyned the same, but yet they were kept in warde within the Castell, tyll the King afterwards released them. Edenburgh Castell beseged.

In the yeare following, the King being now come to the age of seauenteene yeares, and of good discretion and witte for his time, would not longer remayne vnder the gouernemente of the Earle of Angus and his company, and thereupon assembled diuers noble men at Striueling, and by their counsell, sent an Herraulte vnto the Earle of Angus and his assisters resident as then in Edenburgh, commaundyng them on payne of high treason, that they shoulde departe forthe of that Towne, and that none of them shoulde come within foure myles of the Courte, wheresoeuer the same chanced to bee: and shortly after, the Kyng hymselfe with two thousande menne, followed the Herraulte, whereupon, the Earle of Angus, both beeing charged by the Herraulte, and aduertised of the Kynges commyng towarde the Towne, departed thence immediately. The Kyng beeing seuentene yeares of age, refuseth to bee longer vnder gouernement.

And shortly after, the same Herrault was sent vnto him againe with commaundement frō the K. that he should remayne prisoner within ward in the Countrey of Murrey, till the Kings pleasure were further knowen: whiche he woulde not obey: wherefore both he and his adherents were commoned to appeare in Parliament to be holden at Edenburgh, in September nexte following. In this Parliament begun at Edenburgh the sixth of September in this yeare. 1528. ẏ Erle of Angus, with his brother George Dowglas, his Uncle by his father Archembald Dowglas, Alexander Drommond of Carnok, and dyuers other, were by decree of Parliament attaynted, and forfalted for diuers offences, and especially, for assembling the kings people to haue assayled the kings person, and because he had deteyned ẏ king against his will with him the space of two yeres and more, al which time he stood in feare of his life. In this Parliament, Henry Steward ẏ Quenes husband, was created L. of Methwen, and made master of the ordinance. In October following, the K. assembled a great company of men, with artillerie, and diuers kind of munitiō, to beseige the Castell of Tantallon, whiche the Erle of Angus held, who aduertised of the preparatiō made for ẏ same siege, furnished the Castell with mē, & al kind of necessaries, & went himself into England. When the siege thē was laid about the Castell, it was so strong and so well prouided, that it might not be wonne for all that coulde bee done at that season, in somuch, ẏ after Dauid Fanconer, principal gunner of the kings side was slayne, the K. caused ẏ siege to be reised: yet at lēgth (though not til a lōg time after this) it was deliuered to the King by appoyntmente.

The eightenth of May, in the yeare. 1529. the Earle of Cathnes and the Lord of Sincler with a greate armye by Sea, passed into Orkeney to haue taken that Isle into possession, but the people of the Countrey assembled at the commaundemente of Janies Sincler of Kirkewall theyr Captaine, who gaue battell to the Earle and his army with such courage, that he discomfited the enimies: the Earle with fiue hundred of his men was slayne, and drowned in the Sea, vnto the



which they were driuen.

The L. Sinclar and all the residue wer take.

The Orkney men held opinion, that their patrone S. Magnus was seene that day to fighte in the field on their side against their enimies.

The same moneth on the fiftenth day, there was a greate assemblye of the Lordes in Edenburgh, where the K. himselfe sate in iudgement. The Lard of Hinderlād called Cockeborne, and one Adam Scot of Tushlaw, who was named king of theeues, were accused of theft, and of receiuing and mainteining of theeues, slaughters, and other crimes, of the which being conuict, they lost their heads, which were set ouer ẏ Tolbuith of Edenburgh. The same day, ẏ Erle of Bothwel was also cōuict for maintaining thē & their crimes, & his life, lands & goodes wer in the kings hands. He was therfore kept in ward within Edenburgh Castell, and after sente into Murrey land, and lastly banished the Realme during the kings dayes. Also, the Lord Marwell, the Lorde Hume, the Lards of Balglueth, Fernyherst, Pollort, Johnson, Marke Kar, and other principall men of the borders, were conuict by assise, and putte in warde, by reason whereof, the borderers kepte better rule euer after during the Kinges raigne.

About this season, a landed man named John Scotte, that had trauelled abroade in the world, and nowe beeyng returned into Scotland, & because it was bruted in other Countreys bee had fasted. xl. dayes without either meate or drinke, was

The Castell Tantallon beseiged.

Dauid Fawconer slayne.

1529

The Earle of Cathnes passeth ouer into Orkeney.

The Earle of Cathnes slain.

Banished the Realme.

Other Lordes conuict, and put in ward

John Scotte fasted fortie dayes, with out receyuing of foode.

The Earle of Angus forfalted.

The Earle of Angus attainted by Parliament.

Héry Steward created Lorde of Methwen.

The blindnes of the Orkney men.

An assembly of the Lords.

King of Theeues.

Execution.

The Earle of Bothwell conuict.

was for tryall thereof put in Dauids Tower in Edenbourgh Castell, and diligent watch set vpon him to see that hee had no sustenaunce to relieue him withall, and so kept for fortie dayes, hee fasted all that tyme wythout any kinde of nourishment, to the greate wonder of the people.

In the Sommer of this yeare. 1529. Archimbalde Dowglas, that had beene forfalted (as yee haue heard) came alone to the king while he was a hunting in Striueling Parke, and besought his grace of pardon, which he had obteyned fully at his handes, bycause he fauoured him more than any of that surname, if hee had not beene (as hee was in deede) altogither determined that none of them shoulde remaine wythin the land at that tyme, and so he banished him into France, where shortly after thorough griefe of mynde he departed this life.

In the Moneth of June, the King with an armie, went to the borders to set order there for better rule to be kept, and to punishe such as were knowen to be most culpable, & hereupon he caused xlviij. of the most notable theeues, with their Captaine John Armstrong to bee apprehended, the which being conuict of murther, theft, and treason, were all hanged on growing trees, to the ensample of others.

There was one cruell theefe amongest the rest, which had burned a house with a woman and hir children within it, he was burned to death.

George Armestrong, brother to John, was pardoned, to the ende he shoulde appeache the residue, which he did, so that they were apprehended by the Kings commaundement, and punished for their misdoynges according as they had deserued.

In August following, many marueylous sightes were seene about Striueling, as Candels burning vpon the toppes of hilles in the nightes, and in the morning aboue Sunne rysing: diuerse armed men appeared fighting vpon the ground, which was taken to be a foretoken of some trouble to ensue in those parties.

The. xv. day of August, a greate number of people being assembled at the Market in Campscenneth. lij. persons were drowned in the Ferrie boate: amongst the which were diuerse honest men and women of the countrey.

The first of Marche, in the yeare. 1530. the Abbot of Culrose called Inglis, was cruellye murthered by the Lorde of Tulliallan and hys seruants, amongest whome there was a Priest called sir William Louthien, for the which they were apprehended, and the sayde sir William the xxvij. of the same moneth, vpon a publike skaffolde in Edenbourgh was degraded, (the King, Queene, and a great companie of people beeing present) and after his degradation, he was deliuered to the Earle of Argile high Justice, and the next day the sayd Tulliallan, and the same priest were beheaded.

This yeare the Colledge court of Justice called the Sessions, was instituted in Edenbourgh by the King, with consent of the three estates in Parliament assembled, and after confirmed in Rome, in the which are fiftene Counsaylers ordinarie, eight of them being spirituall persons, of the which the most auncient is president, and seuen tempozall men, but so as by this number the Chancellor of the realme is aboue the president, when he is present. There are also foure counsaylers extraordinarie, remouable at the princes pleasure. The Sessions instituted.

In the yeare. 1531. I finde little done to make account of, for the Earle of Angus remaynyng in Englande, coulde not perswade the King of England in his fauour to breake the peace wyth Scotlande, though the same Earle earnestly laboured to bring that to passe. 1531

But in the yeare. 1532. sir Arthure Darcy was sent to the borders, who being at Barwike, by the counsaile of the Erle of Angus then being there, they made a roade into Scotlande, and burned certaine places, wherupon the Scots assembling themselues to defende their Countrey, made towardes the Englishmen, who retyred themselues to Barwike againe. 1532. Sir Arthure Darcie sent to the borders. He maketh a road into Scotland.

After this were diuerse inuasions made on euery side vpon the borders, and shippes likewise taken by Sea, and yet no warre was proclaimed.

In September, in the yeare. 1533. certaine Commissioners of either Realme were at Newcastell to treate for redresse, and recompence to be made for the burning of townes and villages, taking of goodes, downe casting of pyles, taking of ships, slaughters of men, and diuerse other spoyles and iniuries done, as well by the Sea as by the lande, from the. xxiij. day of Aprill in the yere 1532. vnto the day of the meeting of the same commissioners, which doings were little lesse in effect than had bene vsed in tyme of open warre, although the same was not proclaimed. Bycause therefore that the skath and iniuries fell out to be so greate on both sides, that particuler redresse coulde not bee had, the order thereof was referred to the pleasure of both the Princes. 1533

Further it was agreed, that for a perpetuall peace to be concluded, certaine Commissioners should be appoynted to treate thereof at London. as afterwardes they did. For the king of Scotlande there were sent as Commissioners about this treatie, William Stewarde Bishop of Abardine, the Abbot of Kinlos, & sir Adam Sterburie knight, the which accompanied with diuers other knightes, barons, and gentlemen, came to

London, and were there right honourably receyued the .xxv. of March, after they had beene before the kings presence, there were certaine Commissioners appointed by him to treate with them of peace, the which agreed vpon certaine conditions and articles for a peace to continue betwixt both kings during their naturall liues, and one yeare after the decease of that prince, which first chaunced to depart this worlde, and so the Commissioners returned into Scotland in the moneth of May next ensuing. 1524

A peace concluded.

About the same tyme, were sent into France Dauid Beton Abbot of Arbroith, and James Gillyn Secretarie as Ambassadors to require the Duke of Vandosmes sister in mariage for the King, with which motion the Ladie and hir friendes were verie well contented, neuertheless (as afterwardes shall appeare) the King himselfe passing secretely into Fraunce in proper person, when he had once seene the Ladie, he liked hir not; and so became a suyter to the French king his eldest daughter Magdalen, whome hee obteyned, wherefore the duke of Vandosmes sister woulde neuer after match hirselfe with any other in mariage, but professed hirselfe in a house of Religion, where she remained the residue of hir life time.

Ambassadors into France.

The king himselfe passeth secretely into Fraunce.

The king of Englande sente Ambassadors into Scotlande, the Bishop of Durisme, Sir Thomas Clifforde, the Prior of Durelme, and one Doctor Magnus, who were honourably re-



ceyued in the Moneth of Julie, and then was the peace before concluded by the Ambassadours at London, confirmed by the king himselfe, and the charter thereof interchaungeably sealed, with the great Seales of both the Realmes during the lyues of both the Princes, (as before yee haue heard.)

The peace concluded wyth England.

The same yeare, the king passed through the north partes of his realme, and holding Justiceers, caused Justice, dulye to be ministred in places where he came against offenders.

Iustice ministred.

Moreouer in Edenbourgh was great inquisition made, and punishment exercised against such as were detected to holde opinions against the religion then vsed, the king himselfe assistant thereto. Maister Normand Gozley that was abiured before, and Andrew Stratton that woulde not renounce his opinion were burned.

The Sheriffe of Linlitgow and diuerse other that were fled for feare of punishment, were conuict of heresie.

Diuerse English men that holde against the deuorce betwixt king Henrie, and the Lady Katherin dowager, fledde this yeare into Scotlande, and were receyued.

English fugitiues receyued into Scotland.

In the yeare. 1535. the Pope sent a messenger into Scotlande requiring king James to assyst him against the King of Englande, whome hee had decreed an heretike, a Scismatike, a wedlock breaker, a publike murtherer, and a sacrileger, and therefore he had declared him to be depriued of the sayd kingdome, the which he would bestow vpon him, and other catholike Princes. 1535

The Pope sendeth into Scotlande.

In the yeare. 1536. the King toke the Sea, with fiue shippes, without knowledge of the most part of the Lordes of his Realme, and sayled aboute the Iles of Skie and Lewes, and the other Iles, and by storme was driuen to take lande at Saint Ninians in Galoway, and so returned to Striueling from whence he passed a foote in pylgrimage vnto our Ladie Chapell of Lauret beside Muskelbourgh, and afterwarde sent for diuerse of his Lordes, and by their counsaile toke his voyage againe by sea with fiue ships to passe into Fraunce, as he was minded to haue done the first time, but what caused him to alter his purpose then, we find not. 1536

The kings voyage about the Iles.

This second time he embarked at Kirkcaldy the last of August, and with good and prosperous winde, he shortly after arriued in Fraunce, there being with him in companie the Earles of Argile, and Arane, the Lordes Boyd and Fleming, with diuerse other barons, knights, & gentlemen, and before him there were in Fraunce the Erles of Murrey, Lennor, and Cassils, the Lorde Erskyn, the Abbot of Arbrothe and other.

He sayleth to Fraunce.

Immediately after his arriuall, he roade in secrete maner disguised vnto Vandosmes in Picardie, taking with him but one seruaunt named John Tennent, whom he caused to take vppon him as he had beene maister, and so comming to the Duke of Vandosme his place, got sight of the Ladie who shuld haue bin his wife, but not liking hir, hee returned againe without talking eyther with hir or hir friendes, and comming to Rouen where his companie were abyding for him, hee passed from thence towarde Paris, where the Dolphin of Fraunce was appoynted by the king his father to meete him seuen leagues from the Citie, who brought him to the King, who receyued

He rydeth to Vandosme.

ned him in such heartie maner, as if he had beene his owne sonne, and with as muche honour as might haue beene shewed to the greatest Prince in earth.

There were Justes, Tourneyes, and other princely pastimes practised and set forth, in which Justes and other exercises of warrelike feates, hee shewed himselfe as hardie, cunning and valiaunt as any other person within all the Realme of Fraunce, for the which hee wanne passing great prayse.

In the meane tyme he caused his Ambassadors and the noble men that were with him, to declare vnto the king of Fraunce, that the cause of his comming was for maryage to be had betweene him and the Ladie Magdalen, eldest daughter to the King, whome he loued and fauoured aboue all other within his realme. The French king being glad hereof, that the auncient bande betwixt Scotland and France might thus with new alliance be confirmed, and therfore declared that hee woulde willingly giue him hys daughter in mariage, but herewith he let him vnderstand that his daughter was much subiect to sickneſſe, and therefore he referred that to the king of Scotland his owne pleasure, whether he would haue hir, or his yongest daughter the lady Margaret, whiche was after maried to the Duke of Sauoy, which offer of choise being reported to the king of Scotlande, hee continued in his former purpose, whiche was to matche with the Ladie Magdalen, who was in deede a pleasant yong Ladie, beautifull, of good fauour, louely countenance, and louely maners aboue al others within that Realme. Whereupon the mariage was contracted betwixt them, and an hundred thousand crownes of the same promised with her in dower, with xxx. thousande frankes of pension during the life of king James, which money was deliuered vnto him at his returne homewardes, besides many rich hangings, Cupbordes of plate, sumptuous apparell, and riche Iuels giuen to him and his wife, farre aboue the summe of an other hundred thousand crownes, with two great ships (the one called the Salamander) and greate plentie of Artillerie, powder, and other munition.

The mariage contracted betwixt the king of Scottes and the Lady Magdalen.

Moreouer all his charges and expences were borne by the French king during his being within the realme of France.

The same time also was the auncient league and bande of amitie betwixt the two realmes of Scotland and France renued, and the day of the solemnization of the mariage appointed to bee holden the first of Januarie.

In the meane time great preparation for the same was made, and all the Nobles of Fraunce sent for to be there at that day. On the whiche within the Church of Nostre dame in the Citie of Paris, the King of Scotlande openly maried the sayd Ladie Magdalen, in presence of the king hir father, the king of Nauarre, seuen Cardinals, and dyuerse great Dukes, Marquises, Earles,

1539

The mariage solempnised.



Lordes, Barons, Bishops, and other.

After the solemnization of the Mariage, king James remayned in Fraunce, till the Moneth of May, passing the time with all kinde of pleasure and disport that might be deuised for his honourable entertainment.

Finally, the king and his wife Mudent Magdalen toke their leaue of the king of France their father at Paris, about the latter ende of Aprill, and so roade to Rouen, where they were receyued with great triumph, and from thence they passed downe the ryuer to Newhauen where they embarked, being accompanied by the Admirall of France, and many other noble men of the realme appointed by the French king to attende vpon them into Scotlande, and so they sayled forth with

The king with his Queene returneth into Scotland.

with pleasaunt winde and prosperous weather, throughe the Seas, untill they came into the Forth, and there landed at the peare of Lieth Haven, the .xxix. of May, in the yeare .1537. where a great number of Earles, Bishoppes, Barons, and other Noble men and Gentlemen of Scotlande were readie to receyue them with passing ioy and gladnesse, and from thence with greate tryumph they were conueyed to the Abbey of Holyrode house.

This noble Ladie with hir louely countenance and seemely demeanour, at hir first arriuall wanne the loues and heartie good willes of all the Nobles and people of the Realme, with all contented so highly the minde and fantasie of the king hir husband, that there was neuer more hope of wealth and prosperitie to succeede within the realme, than at that present: but fortune enuying so greate felicitie, would not suffer them to continue any long tyme togyther: for about the ende of June shee fell sicke of a vehement Feuer, whereof shee departed thys lyfe the tenth of Julye nexte ensuyng, and was buryed in the Churche of holye Rode house, for whose death the Kyng was ryghte sorrowfull, and syzred not abroade of a long time after.

Queene Magdalen departeth this life.

The Ladye Glames and hir husbande conuict of treason.

In the Sommer of this yeare, the Ladie Glames, Syster to the Earle of Angus was apprehended, and likewyse hir Husbande Dauid Lion, and both of them brought to Edenbourgh, where they were accused and conuict by an assise, for conspiracie of the kings death: the sayd Lady was burned, and hir husband hanged, hir sonne the Lord Glames, was also conuict for misprision and concealement of that crime, and therefore forfalted of his landes, and condemned to die: but bycause he was yong and of tender yeares, the king pardoned him of life, and commaunded him to perpetuall prison, in the whiche he remayned so long as the king liued.

The master of Forbes beheaded.

Shortly after John maister of the Forbes, and eldest sonne to the Lord Forbes, who had maried a sister of the sayd Ladie Glames, was at Edenbourgh likewise indyted and conuict by an assise for the like conspiracie of the kings death, for the which he was beheaded and quartered, and hys heade and quarters set aloft vppon the gates of Edenbourgh. His father the Lorde Forbes vpon suspition of the same conspiracie was long after kept in prison within the castell of Edenbourgh, but at length when nothing might be proued against him, he was released and set at libertie.

Iustices appoynted to sit in diuerse partes of the realme.

This yere the king in September caused Iustices to sit in the north partes of the realme, and likewise in October, and in the winter following he caused the like to bee done in the South and west parts.

The king himselfe was oftentymes present, assysting the Lordes which he had appoynted his Commissioners for the furtheraunce of Iustice, and maintenance therof throughe all partes of his realme.

The king by the aduice of these noble men of his realme, thinking it necessary for him to match againe in mariage with some noble princesse, sent into France vnto the Erle of Murrey, and Dauid Beton Abbot of Arbroth, his Ambassadors there resident, willing them by the aduice of the French king, to treate for a mariage to bee had betwixt him and the Ladie Marie de Lorraine, dutchesse of Longuile, widdow, daughter to the Duke of Guise, and being aduertised from his sayde Ambassadors, that the King of France, the Lady hir selfe, and hir friendes, were well contented therewith, he sent in the beginning of May the Lorde Marwell, and the maister of Glencarne, well accompanied into Fraunce, to ioyne with hys other Ambassadours for the contracting of that maryage, the which according to their Commission treated thereof, and concluded vpon resolute articles, and so espoused hir by procurators, as the vse is among such estates, with great triumph in the Citie of Paris, whereat the king and many noble men were present.

The king is suter for mariage to the Dutchesse of Longuile.

After this she was conueyed to Newhauen, and there taking the Seas, passed throughe the same, till she came to Carell in Fife, where shee landed the tenth of June, and from thence shee was conueyed to the new Palace in the Abbay of Saint Andrewes, being honourably prepared for the receyuing of hir. And there the King accompanyed wyth manye Noble menne, openlye solemnized and confyrmed the foresayde mariage with the sayd Ladie in the Abbay Church, with great ioy and triumph.

The mariage solemnized.

The King with hys Queene remayned there the moste part of that Sommer. And wythin a fewe Monethes after the maryage, she conceyued wyth childe, to the greate comforte of the King and the whole Realme, for the hope of succession thereby, and therefore generall Processions and publike prayers were made throughe all partes of the Realme for the prosperous successe of the same.

After that the king had pacified the borders and all other parts of his realme by exercising of Iustice, and trauailing about the same in his owne persone throughe all places (where neede required) so that there was as greate quietnesse, rest, and policie vsed in Scotlande, as euer was in anye Kings dayes before him: Yet neuertheless there were certaine disobedient persons in the Iles.

Great quietnesse in Scotla

The King therefore to bring them to order, caused to prepare a good nauie of shippes, and in the

the Moneth of May went abourde the same in the road of Leith, hauing with him the Earles of Arrane, Huntley, Argile, and diuerse other Erles, Lordes, and Barons, with whom he sayled forth by the coastes of Fife, Angus, Aberdin, by Murrey forth, Southerlande, and Cathenes, till hee came to Orkeney, where he landing and all hys companie with him, were receyued right honourably by the Bishop Robert Maxwell. Here they furnished themselues with fresh victailes, and other such things as were necessarie, and taking the seas againe, sayled to the Iles of Skie, and Lewis, where Mac Clewd of the Lewis, a principall clan of his kin, was brought vnto the king, who sent forth also a cõpanie vnto Mac Clewd haugh, who came likewise out of his Ile, and presented himselfe to the king.

From thence the king sayled by the coast of Rosse by Kyntaile, to the Ile of Tranternes, where diuerse of the Maconiles, such as the Lord Olagarry, John Moydart and others, (who alledged themselues to be of the principall bloud, and Lords of the Iles) were brought also to the kings presence.

From thence trauayling through the residue of the Iles, Maclane, and James Maconile of Kinter, being the two principal Captaines of the small Iles, came likewise to the king, who at length landed at Dunbretaine, and sent the captayns and ships with prisoners to passe the same, way he came rounde aboute the coast so to come to Edenbourgh, where the same prisoners being arriued, the chiefe heades of them were kept in ward as pledges for good rule in their Countries, and were not suffred to depart so long as the king liued, whereby there followed greate quietnesse, and as good obedience to the lawes throughout al the Iles, as there was in any part of the realm, and as good account and payment made to the kings Comptroller in his Exchequer, for the lands of the same Iles pertayning to the crowne, as for any part of the reuenues belonging thereunto within the maine land.

Whilest the king was in this voyage, the Queene was deliuered of a sonne at Saint Andrewes, whereof the king being aduertised at hys landing, hasted with all possible diligence to the Queene, and shortly after was the childe baptised, and called James. The Archbishop of S. Andrewes, and the Earle of Arrane were Godfathers, and the Queene the Kings mother was Godmother. For the byrth of this Prince, there were bonefires made through all partes of the Realme, with greate triumph and ryuing of thankes vnto God for the same.

After this the Queene, mother to the K. returned vnto Methwen, where after she had remayned a certaine tyme, a sickenesse tooke hir, of the which shortly after she departed this life, and was buried in the Charterhouse Churche of Saint Johns Towne, by the Tombe of King James the first. The king himselfe and many Nobles of the Realme were present at the funerailes, which were kept in most solemne and pompous maner. The Queene mother departed this life.

The same yeare, were burnt at Edenbourgh for hereſie, as it was then taken, a regular Chanon, two blacke Friers, and a secular man. Certaine persons burnt for religion.



Also two Priestes were degraded, and condemned to perpetuall prison.

The same time there was a gray Frier in the Citie of Glascew burnt for the like cause, and many other summoned, and because they would not appeare, they were denounced heretikes.

About the same tyme, James Beton Archbishop of Saint Andrewes, a man of great age, departed this life, and was buried in Saint Andrewes. Before his departure, he had prouided successors to all his benefices, first to his Archbishop his sea, and to the Abbay of Arbroth, maister Dauid Beton, afterwards Cardinall, and to the Abbey of Dunfermling maister George Dury, that was Archdeane of Saint Andrewes. These men without any gainsaying of the King entred with his good will into the same benefices, immediately after his decease. The death of James Beton Archbishop of S. Andrewes.

This James Beton buylded a great part of the new Colledge of Saint Andrewes, and left great summes of money & treasure to go through to make an ende of the same worke.

This yeare in the moneth of August sir James Hamilton of Finhart knight, remayning as then in the towne of Edenbourgh, was arrested by Dauid Wood Comptroller to the king, who charged him in the kings name to go vnto ward within the Castell of Edenbourgh, which commaundement he willingly obeyed, thinking himselfe sure enough, as well by reason of the good seruice he had done to the king specially in repayring the Palaces of Striueling & Linlitgew, as also for that the king had him in so high fauour, 1540 Sir James Hamilton arested

that

that he stode in no feare of himselfe at all. Neuertheleſſe shortly after he was brought forth to iudgement, and conuict in the Tolbuith of Edenbrough, of certaine poyntes of treason layde
Sir Iames Hamilton beheaded. agaynst him, which he would neuer confeſſe, but that notwithstanding, he was beheaded the day of September next ensuing.



This Sommer the Queene remayning at Striueling, was deliuered of an other Prince,
The Queene deliuered of another sonne. which was baptised in the Chapel of Striueling, and cleped Arthure, but within eight dayes after,
The two yong princes departed this life. the same Prince deceassed at Striueling afore-sayde, and the verie same daye, Prince Iames the kings eldeſt sonne being at Saint Andrewes departed this life also, in such wise that there was but onely fiue houres betwixt the time of their departures out of this worlde: which caused no leſſe lamentation through the whole Realme, than there was ioy at their byrthes.

After this, the Queene went vnto Saint Johns towne, where she was honourably receyued with great triumph made by the towne. She
The King and Queene at Aberdine. was accompanied with the principall men of the Countrey, and from thence shee roade to Aberdine, the king being then come vnto hir, where by the Towne and Vniuerſitie, they were receyued with great ioy, triumph, Pageants, verſes, and playes, set forth in ỹ beſt maner for their paſtime. They remayned there the space of fiftene dayes, and were highly entertayned by the Bishop of that place. There were exercises and disputations holde in all kinde of sciences in the Colledges and Schooles, with diuerſe Orations made in Greeke, Latine, and other languages, to the high prayse and commendation of the maiſters and students in that Vniuerſitie.

From thence the king with the Queene returned to Dundee, where a coſtly entrie was prepared for them also, after they had bin right princely entertained there, they came to Falkeland.

In the Moneth of May, Sir John Borthwike, commonlye called Capitayne Borthwike, ſuſpected, defamed, and accuſed of hereſie,
Captain Borthwike accuſed of hereſie. was commoned to appeare in Saint Andrewes before the Cardinall, and diuerſe other Bishops and Prelates there present, where notwithſtanding his abſence, the same being proued by ſufficient witneſſe agaynſt him (as was thought) hee was conuict and declared an heretike: An ymage was made to reſemble him, and at the Market croſſe of the sayd Citie, as a signe and a memorial of his condemnation, it was burned, to the feare and example of other, but he himſelfe escaped their handes and got into Englande, where he was receyued.

This yeare the King of England aduertiſed of the meeting of the Emperor, the French King, and Pope, at the Citie of Nice, doubting some practice to be deuiſed there agaynſt him, ſent to the king of Scotland, the L. William Howard, deſiring him as his moſt tender kinſman and nephew, to meete him at the citie of Yorke in Englande, where he would communicate ſuch things with him, as ſhoulde be for the weale of both the realmes: and therewith the King of Englande truſting that the king of Scotlande would haue fulfilled his deſire, cauſed great preparation to be made at Yorke for the receyuing of him. But albeit the king of Scotlande was willing of himſelfe to haue paſſed into Englande, to haue met and seene his Vncle, yet after long reaſoning and deliberation of his Counſaile and Prelates aſſembled for that purpoſe, caſting in their minds (as they toke it) what daunger might fall to him and his realme, if he ſhould paſſe into Englande, in caſe he ſhould be ſtayed and holden there, contrarie to his will, as king Iames his predeceſſor was, hauing no ſucceſſion of his bodie: and againe, for that it was certainly knowne, that the principall cauſe why the King of Englande required this meeting or enterview, was to perſwade the king of Scotlande to vſe the like order in Scotlande, as he had done within his realme of England, in aboliſhing the Popes authoritie, making himſelfe ſupreme heade of the Churche, expulſing religious perſons oute of their houſes, and ſeaſing the iewels of their houſes, their lands and rentes, with ſuch like information: and if it chaunced their king ſhould attempt the like, they thought he ſhould loſe the friendſhip which was betwixt him, the Pope, the Emperor and French king, that were his great friendes and confederates. Herewpon they perſwaded him to ſtay, and by their aduiſe ſent pleaſant letters and meſſages vnto the ſayd king of Englande, deſiring him to haue him excuſed, for that he could not come into Englande at that time, hauing ſuch lettes and cauſes of abyding at home, as ſhortly he ſhoulde vnderſtande by his Imbaſſadors, which he ment to ſende to him, as well for this matter as other

1541
The king of Englande ſendeth to the king of Scotles.

causes.

ceules. And shortly after sir James Leyzmouth was appoynted to go as Imbassadoz into England, as well to make the kings excuse foz his not comming to meet the king of England at Yozk, as also to make complaint vpon certaine inuasions made by the bozderers of Englande into Scotland, and also foz the vsing of the debatable ground betwixt the two Realmes But the king of England soze offended that the king of Scotlende: woulde not satisfie his request, to meete him at Yozke (as before is recited, would admitte no excuse. but determined to make warre into Scotland; albeit as the Scottishmen alledge, hee would not suffer the same to be vnderstood, till he had prepared all things in a readinesse: and in the meane time sent Commissioners to meete with the Scots cõmissioners vpon the debatable groũd to talk foz redzesse to be made of harmes done vpon the bozders, but no good conclusion coulde be agreed vpon by these commissioners, neither touching the debatable land, noz yet foz reparing of wzongs done by inuasions.

But that the truth concerning the causes of this warre moued at this present by that noble Prince king Henrie the. viij. may the better appeare, I haue thought good here to set downe the same as they were drawne foxth and published in print to the whole wozlde by the sayde king in a little Phamplet vnder this title.

A declaration conteyning the iust causes and considerations of this present warre with the Scots, wherein also appeareth the true and right title that the kings most royal Maiestie hath to his soueraintie of Scotlãd, and thus it beginneth.

BEing now enforced to the warre which wee haue alwayes hitherto so much abhozred and fled, by our neighboz & nephew the king of Scots, one who aboue al other foz our manifold benefits towarde him, hath most iust cause to loue vs, to honoz vs, and to reioice in our quietnesse: we haue thought good to notifie vnto the wozlde his doings and behauioz in the pzouocatiõ of this war, and likewise the meanes and wayes by vs to eschew and auoyd it; and the iust and true occasions wherby we be now pzouoked to pzosecute the same, and by vttrãce and demulging of that matter; to disburden some part of our inwarde displeasure and griefe: and the circumstaunces knowne, to lament openly with the wozlde the infidelitie of this time, in which things of suche enozmitie do burst out and appeare. The king of Scottes our nephew and neighbour, whom wee in his youth and tender age preserued and maintayned from the great daunger of other, and by our authozitie and power, conducted him safely to the royall possession of his estate, he now compelleth and enforceth vs foz preseruation of our honour and right, to vse our puyssaunce and power agaynst him. The lyke vnkindnesse hath beene heretofore shewed by other in semblable cases agaynst Gods lawe, mans lawe, and all humanitie: but the oftner it chaunceth, the moze it is to be abhozred, and yet in the persons of Pzinces, foz the raritie of them can so happen but seldome, as it hath now come to passe. It hath bene verie rarely and seldome seene before, that a king of Scottes hath had in maryage a daughter of Englande. We cannot, ne will not reprehende the king our fathers acte therein, but lament and bee sozie it toke no better effect. The king our father in that matter mynded loue, amitie, and perpetual friendship betwene the posteritie of both which how soone it fayled, the death of the King of Scottes, as a due punishment of God, foz his vniust inuasion into this our Realme, is and shal be a perpetuall testimonie of theyz reproch foz euer, and yet in that present time coulde not the vnkindnesse of the father extinguish in vs the naturall loue of our nephew his sonne, being then in the miserable age of tender youth: but we thẽ forgetting the displeasure that should haue worthily pzouoked vs to inuade that realm, nourished and bzought vp our nephew, to atchieue his fathers possessiõ & gouernmẽt, wherin he now so vnkindly vseth and behaueth himselfe towards vs, as he cõpelleth vs to take armoz & warre agaynst him. It is specially to be noted, vpon what groundes, and by what meanes we be cõpelled to this war, wherein among other is our chiefe griefe and displeasure, that vnder a colour of faire speech & flattering wozdes, we be in deed so iniuried, cõtemned and despised, as we ought not with sufferance to permit, and passe ouer: wozdes, wzitings, letters, messages, ambassades, excuses, allegations, could not moze pleasantly, moze gently, ne moze reuerently be deuised & sent, than hath bin made on the king of Scots behalfe vnto vs, & euer we trusted the tree would bzing foxth good fruit, that was of the one part of so good a stocke, and cõtinually in apparance put foxth so fayze buddes: and therfoze would hardly belieue oz giue eare to other, that euer alledged the deedes of the contrarie, bring neuertheless the same deeds so manifest as we must needes haue regarded them, had not we beene so loth to thinke euill of our nephew, whom we had so many ways boũd to be of the best sozt toward vs, and therefoze hauing a message sent vnto vs the yeare past from our sayde nephew, and a promise made foz the repayzing of the sayde King of Scottes vnto vs to Yozke, and after greate pzeparation on our part made therefoze, the same meeting was not onely disappoynted, but also at our being at Yozke in the lieu therof, an inuasion made by our sayd nephew his subiectes into

our

our lande, declaring an euident contempt and dispite of vs: we were yet gladdc to impute the default of the meeting to the aduise of his counsaile, and the inuasion of the lewdnesse of his subiectes, and accordyng therevnto gaue as benigne and gentle audience to such Imbassadours as repayred hither at Christmasse afterwarde, as if no such cause of displeasure had occurred, specially considering the good wordes, sweete wordes, pleasant wordes, effsones proponed by the sayde Imbassadors, not onely to excuse that was past, but also to perswade kindnesse and perfite amitie to ensue.

And albeit the king of Scottes hauing contrarie to the article of the league of amitie receyued and interteyned suche rebels as were of the chief and principal, in sturring the insurrection in the North agaynst vs, with refusall before time, vpon request made to restore the same, yet neuertheless, vpon offer made, the sayde Imbassadors to sende commission to the borderers, to determin the debates of the confines in the same with so great a pretence of amitie, and so fayre words as coulde be in speech desired, we were content for the time to forbeare to presse them ouer extremely in the matter of rebels. Albeit we neuer remitted the same, but desirous to make triall of oure sayde nephew in some correspondence of deedes, condiscended to the sending of Commissioners to the borders, which to our great charge wee did, and the king of Scottes our sayde nephew the semblable: where after great trauaile made by our Commissioners, this fruite ensued, that being for our part chalenged, a peece of our grounde plainly vsurped by the Scottes, and of no greate value, being also for the same shewed suche euidence, as more substantiall, more autentique, plaine and euident, cannot bee brought forth for any part of grounde within our Realme: the same was neuertheless by them denied, refused, and the euidence onely for this cause reiected, that it was made (as they alledged) by Englishmen. and yet it was so auncient, as it coulde not bee counterfeyt now, and the value of the ground so little, and of so small weight as no man woulde haue attempted to falsifie for such a matter. And yet this denial being in this wise made vnto our Commissioners, they neuertheless by our commaundement departed as friends from the commissioners of Scotlande, taking order as hath beene accustomed, for good rule vpon the borders in the meane time.

After which their receasse, the Lorde Maxwell warden of the west Marches of Scotland, made Proclamation for good rule, but yet added therewith, that the borderers of Scotlād should withdrawe their goodes from the borderers of Englande, and incontinent the Scottish men borderers, the fourth of July entred into our Realme sodainly, and spoyled our subiectes contrarie to our leagues, euen after such extremitie as it had beene in the time of open warre, whereat wee much marueyled, and were compelled therefore to furnish our borders with a garnison for defence of the same. Wherevpon the king of Scots sent vnto vs James Leyrmouth maister of his housholde, with letters deuised in the most pleasaunt maner, offring redresse and reformation of all attempts. And yet neuertheless, at the entrie of the sayd Leyrmouth into England, a great number of the Scottes then not looked for, made a forrey into our borders, to the great annoyaunce of our subiects, and to their extreme detriment, wherewith, and with that vnseemly dissimulation, we were not a little moued, as reason woulde wee should: and yet did we not finally so extremely prosecute and continue our sayde displeasure, but that we gaue benigne audience to the sayd Leyrmouth, and suffred our selfe to bee somewhat altered by his wordes and fayre promises, tending to the perswasion that we euer desired to find the king of Scottes such a nephew vnto vs, as our proximitie of bloud, with our gratuitie vnto him did require.

In the meane time of these fayre wordes, the deedes of the borderers were as extreme as might be, and our subiects spoyled: and in a road made by sir Robert Bowes for a reuenge thereof, the same sir Robert Bowes, & many other were taken prisoners, & yet detayned in Scotlād without putting them to fine or raunsome, as hath beene euer accustomed. And being at the same time a surseyance made on both sides, at the suyte of the sayde Leyrmouth for a season: the Scottes ceased not to make sondry inuasions into our realm, in such wise, as we were compelled to forget faire wordes, and onely to consider the king of Scots deedes, which appeared vnto vs of that sort, as they ought not for our duetie in defence of oure subiects, ne could not in respect of our honour, be passed ouer vnreformed: and therefore put in a readinesse our armie as a due meane whereby we might attaine such a peace, as for the safegarde of our subiects we be bound to procure.

After which preparation made, and knowledge had thereof, the king of Scottes ceased not to vse his accustomed meane of fayre wordes, which in our naturall inclination wrought effsones their accustomed effect, euermore desirous to finde in the King of Scottes such regarde and respect to be declared in deedes, as the correspondence of naturall loue in the nephew to suche an vncle as we haue shewed our selfe towarde him, doth requice. Wherefore vpon new request and suyte made vnto vs, we determined to stay oure armie at Yorke, appoynting the Duke of Norfolke

folke our Lieutenaunt, the Lorde privy seale, the Bishop of Durham, & the Master of our horses, there to commen, treate, and conclude with the Imbassadours of Scotland, for an amity and peace, upon suche condition, as by reason and equitie were indifferent, wherby the warre might be eschewed, being by sundry invasions of the Scottes then opened and manifeste. In this communication betweene our and their commissioners, after diuers degrees of commission shewed by the Scots, and finally one that was by our Commissioners allowed, matters were proponed for conclusion of amitie, nothing difficile or harde of our parte, but so agreeable to reason, as the commissioners of Scotland sayde they doubted not but if it might be brought to passe that the King of Scottes our Nephewe might haue a meeting with vs, al matters shuld easily be componed and determined: whereupon they left speaking of any articles of amity, and the Imbassadours of Scotlande made muche outwarde ioy in cõmunicatiõ of meeting. They shewed themselues in wordes, fashion and behauiour much to delight in it, to reioyce in it, and therewith, thought it easie and facile to bee concluded and accomplished, and for their parte they toke it then for a thing passed, a thing concluded, and most certayne to take effect, and only desired fiue dayes to obtayne answeare from their Master, and our army from that time to stay and goe no further: whereunto our Commissioners then agreed. After these fiue dayes was sent a commission out of Scotland, with power to conclude a meeting precisely at such a place, as they knew wel we should not, ne could not in Winter obserue and keepe, wherewith when our Commissioners were miscõtent, the Imbassadours of Scotlande to releue that displeasure, and to temper the matter whereby to winne more tyme, shewed forth their instructions, wherein liberty was giuen to the Imbassadours to exceede their commission in the appointment of the place, and to consent to any other ẏ by our commissioners should be thought conuenient: which manner of proceeding when our Cõmissioners refused, alleaging that they would not conclude a meeting with men hauing no commission therevnto, the Imbassadours of Scotland vpon pretence to sende for a more ample and large commission, agreeable to their instructions for appoyntment of the place, obtayned a delay of other fiue dayes to sende for the sayde ample commission without restraint of place: And after these fiue dayes they brought forth a newe commission, made in a good forme and without exception: but therewith also they shewed newe instructions, contayning suche a restraynt as the former commission did cõtaine, so as the liberty giuen to the Commissioners in the commission was now at the laste removed and taken away by the instructions, with addition of a speciall charge to the Imbassadours, not to exceede the same. And thus first the Imbassadours of Scotland seemed to haue a will and desire to conclude a place seemely and conuenient, whiche for want of commission they might not do, and at the last might haue concluded a meeting by vertue of their commissiõ, and then for feare of the commaundement in their second instructions they durst not. And so they shewed their first instructions partly to excuse their King, who should seeme secretely to will more, than in the commission he did openly professe. And then with an ample commissiõ from the King they shewed their secrete instructions for defence of themselues, why they proceeded not according to their commission, not caring how much they charged therin the king, whose faulte they disclosed, to discharge themselues, trusting that by benefite of the Winter approching, and the time lost in their communicatiõ, their Master should be defended against our power for this yeere, without doing for their parte that by honour, right, lawe, and leagues they be obliged and bounde to do. And in this meane time our subiectes being taken prysoners in Scotlande, coulde not be deliuered vpon any raunsome, contrary to all custome and vsage of the borderers in the time of peace and warre. And in this meane tyme stayed a great part of our army already prested, and in our wages to go forwarde. In this time Imbassadours (as ye haue heard) assembled to talke of an amitie, but cõcluded none. The treating of amity was put ouer by communication of a meeting. The communication of meeting was so handled by alteration of commission and instructions on their behalf, as it appeareth a playne deuice only inuented for a delay, whiche hath giuen vs light, wherevpon more certaynely to iudge the King of Scottes inward affection towarde vs, whose deedes and wordes well waied and considered, doth vs plainely to vnderstande how he hath cõtinually labored to abuse vs with sweete and pleasant wordes, & to satisfie the appetites of other at home and abrode with his vnkinde & displeasant deedes. In his wordes he professeth an indissoluble amity, he alledgeth kinred, he knowledgeth benefites, onely the faulte is, that hee speaketh an other language to all the worlde in deedes, and thereby so toucheth vs in honour and denegation of Justice, as we be inforced and compelled to vse the swoorde whiche God hath put in our handes as an extreme remedy, whereby to obtayne bothe quietnesse for our subiectes, and also that is due vnto vs by

right, pactes and leagues. Wee haue pacientlye
suffered many delusions, and notably the laste
yeere, when we made preparation at Yorke for
his repaire to vs. But should we suffer our peo-
ple and subiectes to be so oft spoyled without re-
medy? this is done by the Scottes what so-
euer their wordes be. Should wee suffer our re-
bels to be detayned cõtrary to the leagues with-
out remedy? this is also done by them what
soeuer their wordes be. Should wee suffer our
lande to be vsurped contrary to our most plaine
euidence, onely vpon a will, pryde, & arrogancie
of the other party? this is done by them whatso-
euer their wordes be. And all these be euer pre-
sumptuously done agaynst vs, and giue suche
signification of their arrogancy, as it is necessa-
ry for vs to oppresse it in the beginning, least
they should gather further courage, to the grea-
ter displeasure of vs and our posterity hereafter.
And yet in the intreating of this matter, if wee
had not euidently perceiued the lacke of such af-
fection as proximity of bloud should require, we
would much rather haue remitted these iniuries
in respect of proximity of bloud to our Nephew,
than we did heretofore the inuasiõ of his father.
But considering we be so surely ascertayned of
the lacke thereof, and that our bloud is there
frozen with the colde ayre of Scotlande, there
was neuer Prince more violently compelled to
warre, than we be by the vnkind dealing, vniust
behauiour, vnprincely demeanor of him that yet
in nature is our Nephew, and in his actes and
deedes, declareth himselfe not to be moued ther-
with, ne to haue such earnest regarde to the ob-
seruation of his pactes and leagues, ne such re-
spect to the intertaynement of the administra-
tion of Justice, as naturall equitie bindeth, and
conseruation of equity doth require: whiche wee
much lament and be sory for, and vse nowe our
force and puissance against him, not for reuẽge-
ment of our priuate displeasure (beyng so often
deliuered as wee haue bene) but for recouery of
our right, the preseruation of our subiectes from
iniuries, and the obseruation of suche leagues as
haue passed betweene vs, firmely trusting, that
almighty God vnder whome we raygne, will
assist and ayde our iust proceedings herein to the
furtheraunce and aduancement of the right,
whiche wee doubte not shall euer preuayle a-
gainst wrong, falshood, deceyte, and dissimula-
tion. Hitherto it appeareth howe this present
warre hath not proceeded of any demaũd of our
right of superiority, whiche the Kings of Scots
haue alwayes knowledged by homage & fealty
to our progenitors eũe from the beginning: but
this warre hath bene prouoked & occasioned vpõ
present matter of displeasure, present iniury, pre-
sent wrong ministred by the Nephewe to the
Uncle most vnnaturally, & supported contrary
to the desertes of our benefits most vnkindly, if
we had minded the possession of Scotland, and
by the motion of warre to attayne the same,
there was neuer King of this realme had more
opportunitie in the minority of our Nephew,
ne in any other realme a Prince that hath more
iust title, more euident title, more certaine title,
to any realme that he can clayme, than we haue
to Scotland, not deuised by pretẽce of mariage,
nor imagined by couenant, nor contriued by in-
uention of argument, but lineally descended
from the beginnyng of that estate established by
our progenitors, and recognised successiuely of
the Kings of Scotlãd, by deedes, wordes, actes
and writings continually almost without in-
terruption, or at the least intermission, till the
raigne of our progenitor King Henry the sixte,
in whose time the Scots abused the ciuil warre
of this realme, to their licence and boldnesse, in
omitting of their duetie: whiche for the proxi-
mity of bloud betweene vs, we haue bene slacke
to require of them, beyng also of our selfe incli-
ned to peace, as we haue euer ben alwayes glad,
rather without preiudice to omitte to demaund
our right if it might conserue peace, than by de-
maunding thereof to be seene to moue warre,
specially agaynst our neyghbour, agaynst our
Nephew, against him whom we haue preserued
from daunger, and in such a time as it were ex-
pedient for al Christendome to be in vnitie and
peace, wherby to be more able to resist the com-
mon enimy the Turke.

But for what considerations we haue omit-
ted to speake hitherto of the matter, it is neuer-
theless true, that the kings of Scottes haue al-
wayes knowledged the Kings of England su-
perior Lordes of the realme of Scotlande, and
haue done homage & fealty for the same. This
appeareth first by History written by suche as
for confirmation of the truthe in memory haue
truly noted and signified the same. Secondly
it appeereth by instruments of homage made by
the Kings of Scottes and diuers notable per-
sonages of Scotlande, at diuers sundry tymes
sealed with their seales, and remayning in our
Treasory. Thirdly it appeereth by Registers
and Recordes iudicially & autentiquely made,
yet preserued for confirmation of the same. So
as the mater of title being moste playne, is furni-
shed also with all manner of euidences for de-
claration thereof. First as concernyng Histo-
ries which be called witnesses of times, the light
of truth, and the lyfe of memory, and finally
the conuenient way and meane, whereby the
thinges of antiquity may be brought to mens
knowledge, they shewe as playnly this matter
as could bee wyshed or requyred, with suche a

consent

consent of wryters as coulde not so agree vpon an vntruth, contayning a declaration of suche matter as hath moste euident probability and apparance. For as it is probable and likely, that for the better administration of Justice amongst rude people, two or moe of one estate might be rulers in one countrey, vnited as this Ile is: so it is probable and likely, that in the beginnyng it was so ordered for auoyding dissention, that there shoulde be one Superiour, in right of whome the sayd estates should depend.

Accordyng whereunto we reade, how Brute of whome the Realme then called Brytayne toke first that name, (beyng before that tyme inhabited with Gyaunts, people without order or ciuility) had three Sonnes, Locrine, Albanact, and Camber, and determining to haue the whole Ile within the Ocean sea to bee after gouerned by them three, appoynted Albanact to rule that now is called Scotlande, Camber the parties of Wales, and Locrine that now is called England: vnto whome as beyng the eldest Sonne, the other two brethrene should do homage, recognysing, and knowledging him as their superior.

Nowe consider if Brutus conquered all this Iland, as the Hystory sayth he did, and then in his owne tyme made this order of superiority as afore: howe can there be a title deuised of a more plaine beginning, a more iust beginning, a more conuenient beginnyng, for the order of this Iland, at that time specially when the people were rude, whiche cannot without continuall stryfe and variaunce contayne two or three rulers in all poyntes equall without any manner of superiority, the inwarde conscience and remorse of whiche superiority shoulde in some parte dull and diminishe the peruerse courage of resistence and rebellion.

The first diuisiō of this Ile, wee finde written after this sorte, without cause of suspition why they shoulde write amisse. And accordyng hereunto wee finde also in Hystory set forth by diuers, how for transgression against this superiority, our predecessours haue chastised the kings of Scottes, and some deposed & put other in their places: we will here omitte to speake of the rudenesse of the antiquity in particularity, whiche they cared not distinctly to committe to writing, but some authors, as *Anthonius Sabellicus* amongs other diligently enserchyng what he might truly wryte of all Europe and the Ilandes adioyning, ouer and besides that whiche he wryteth of the natures, maners, and condicions of the Scottes, whiche who so liste to reade, shall finde to haue bene the very same in times passe, that wee finde them nowe at this present, he calleth Scotland, parte of England, whiche is agreeable to the diuision aforesayde being in deede as in the lande continuall without separation of the Sea, so also by homage and fealty, vnited vnto the same, as by particular declarations shall most manifestly appeere, by the testimony of suche as haue left wryting for proofe and confirmation thereof.

In whiche matter passing the death of king Humber, the actes of Dunwald King of this realme, the diuision of Belyn and Brenne, the victories of king Arthur, we shall beginne at the yeare of our Lorde D. CCCC. whiche is a D.Cxlij. yeares passe, a time of sufficient auncienty, from which we shal make speciall declaration & euident proofe of the execution of our right and title of superiority euermore continued and preserued hitherto.

Edwarde the firste before the conquest, Sonne to Alured King of England, had vnder his dominion and obedience the king of Scots. And here is to be noted, that this matter was so notorious and manifest, as Maryon a Scot writyng that story in those dayes, graunteth, confesseth, and testifieth the same: and this dominion continued in that state xxiij. yeares.

At whiche tyme Athelstane succeeded in the crowne of Englande, and hauing by battayle conquered Scotlande, he made one Constantine king of that party, to rule and gouerne the country of Scotlande vnder him, addyng this Princely worde, that it was more honorable to him to make a King, than to be a King. Xxiij. yeares after that, whiche was the yeare of our Lorde, 947, Eldred King our progenitour Athelstanes brother, toke homage of Irise then King of Scottes. Xxx. yeares after that, which was in the yeare of our Lord 977, King Edgar our predecessour toke homage of Kynald kyng of Scots. Here was a little trouble in England by the death of Saint Edward kyng and Martyr, destroyed by the deceyte of his Mother in lawe: but yet within memory, xl. yeares after the homage done by Kynald to kyng Edgare, that is to say, in the yeare of our Lorde 1018, Malcolme king of Scottes did homage to Knute our predecessour.

After this homage done, the Scottes bitered some peece of their naturall disposition, wherevpon by warre made by our progenitour Saint Edwarde the Confessor, xxxix. yeare after homage done, that is to say, the yeare of our Lorde 1056, Malcolme king of Scottes was banquished, and the realme giuen to Malcolme his Sonne, by our sayde progenitour S. Edwarde: vnto whome the sayde Malcolme made homage and fealty, within eleuen yeares after that William Conquerour entred this realme, whereof hee accompted no perfect con-

quest, vntill hee had likewyse subdued the Scotts, and therefore in the sayde yeare which was in the yeare of our Lorde, 1068, the sayde Malcolme King of Scottes did homage to the sayde William Conquerour, as his superiour by conquest King of England. xv. yeares after that, whiche was in the yeare of our Lord, 1094, the sayde Malcolme did homage and fealty to William Rufus, sonne to the sayde William Conquerour, and yet after that was for his offences and demerites deposed, and his sonne substitute in his place, who likewise fayled of his duetie: and therefore was ordeyned in that estate by the sayde William Rufus, Edgar brother to the last Malcolme, sonne to the first, who did homage & fealty accordingly.

Seuen yeares after, that was in the yeare of our Lorde, 1100, the sayde Edgar King of Scottes did homage to Henry the first our progenitour, xxvij. yeare after that Dauid King of Scottes did homage to Mathild the Empresse, as daughter and heyre to Henry the first. Wherefore beyng after required by Stephen, then obtayning possession of the realme, to make his homage, he refused so to do, because he had before made it to the sayde Mathild and therevpon forbare. After which Dauids death, whiche ensued shortely after, the Sonne of the sayde Dauid made homage to the sayde King Stephen. viij. yeares after that, which was in the yeare of our Lorde. M.Cl. William king of Scottes, and Dauid his brother, with all the nobles of Scotlande, made homage to Henry the secondes sonne, with a reservation of their duety to Henry the second his father. xxv. yeres after, which was in the yeare of our Lord, 1175. William king of Scotlande after muche rebellion and resistence, accordyng to their naturall inclination, King Henry the second then beyng in Normandy, William then king of Scottes knowledged finally his errour, and made his peace and composition, confirmed with his great seale, and the seales of the nobility of Scotland, makyng therewith his homage and fealty.

Within. xv. yeares after that, which was the yeare of our Lorde, 1190. the sayde William kyng of Scottes came to our Citie of Cantorbury, and there did homage to our noble progenitour kyng Richarde the first. viij. yeares after that the sayde William did homage to our progenitour king John, vpon a hil besides Lincolne, makyng his othe vpon the crosse of Hubert then Archbishop of Canterbury, beyng their present, a maruelous multitude assembled for that purpose. xvj. yeares after that, whiche was in the yeare of our Lorde, 1216, Alexander King of Scottes maried Margarete, the daughter of our progenitour Henry the thirde, at our Citty of Yorke, in the feaste of Christmasse, at whiche tyme the sayde Alexander dyd his homage to our sayd progenitour, who raigned in this realme lvj. yeares. And therefore betweene the homage made by the sayde Alexander kyng of Scottes, and the homage done by Alexander, sonne to the sayde king of Scots, to Edwarde the first at his Coronation at Westminster, there was aboute fifty yeares, at whiche tyme the sayd Alexander king of Scots repayred to the sayde feast of Coronation, and there did his dutie, as is aforesayd. Within xxviij. yeares after that, whiche was the yeare of our Lorde, 1282, John Baliol Kyng of Scots made his homage and fealty to the sayd king Edwarde the first our progenitour.

After this beganne Robert Bruse to vsurpe the crowne of Scotlande, and to moue sedition therefore, against them of the house of Bellioll, whiche made for a season some interruption in the sayde homage, but yet no intermission without the termes of memory, for within. xliij. yeares after, which was the yeere of our Lorde, 1326, Edward Baliioll after a greate victory had in Scotland agaynst the other faction, and enioying the crowne of Scotlande, made homage to our progenitour Edwarde the thirde. And twenty yeares after that, which was in the yeare of our Lorde. 1346, Dauid Bruse, who was euer in the contrary faction, did neuertheless in the Title of the crowne of Scotlande, wherof he was then in possession, make homage to our sayde progenitour Edwarde the thirde.

Within, ix. yeres after this, Edward ỹ third, to chastise the infidelitie of the Scottes, made warre agaynst them: when after greate victories, Edward Baliioll hauing the iust and right title to the realme of Scotland, surrendred clearly the same to our sayde progenitour, at the towne of Rokesborough in Scotlande, where our sayde progenitour accepted the same, and then caused himselfe to be crowned Kyng of Scotlande, and for a tyme entertayned it, and enioyed it, as very proprietary and owner of the realme, as on the one party by confiscation acquited, and on the other part by free will surrendred vnto him. And then after the death of our sayde progenitour Edwarde the thirde beganne sedicions and insurrections in this our realme, in the tyme of our progenitour Richard the second, whiche was augmented by the alteration of the state of the sayde Richarde, and the deuolution of the same, to Henry the fourth, so as the Scottes had some leysure to play their vagues, and follow their accustomed manner. And yet Henry the fifth for recouery of his right in Fraunce, commaunded the kyng of Scottes to attende vpon him in that iourney. And in this

time

time the realme of Scotlande beyng discended to the house of the Stewardes, of whiche our Nephew directly commeth.

James Stewarde kyng of Scottes in the yeere of our Lord. 1423, made homage to Henry the sixte at Windsore, whiche homage was distaunt frō the time of the other homage, made by Dauid Bruse. lx. yeares and more, but farre within the freshe memory of man.

All whiche homages and fealties as they appeare by story to haue bene made and done at times and seasons as afore, so do there remayne instruments made therevpō, and sealed with the seales of the kings of Scotlande testifyng the same. And yet doth it appeare by story, how the Scottes practised to steale out of our treasury diuers of these instrumentes, whiche neuertheless were afterwarde recouered againe.

And to the intent ye may knowe of what fourme and tenour the sayd instrumēts be, here is inserted, the effect in word and sentence as they be made, whiche we do, to meete with the cauillation and contriued euasion of the Scots, alleging the homage to haue bene made for the Erledome of Huntington, whiche is as true as the allegation of him that is burnt in the hand, to say he was cut with a sickle. And therefore the tenour of the homage is this.

I John M. king of Scottes shalbe true and faythfull vnto you Lord Edwarde by the grace of God king of Englande, the noble and superiour Lorde of the kingdome of Scotlande, as vnto you I make my fidelity of the same kingdome of Scotlande, the whiche I holde and clayme, to hold of you, and I shall beare to you my fayth and fidelity of life and limme, and worldly honour agaynst all men, and faythfully I shall knowledge, and shall do to you seruice due vnto you of the kingdome of Scotland aforesayde, as God so helpe and these holy Euangelies.

Now for the thirde part touching Recordes and Registers, we haue them so formall, so autentiquall, so seriously handled and with suche circumstaunces declaryng the matters as they be and ought to be, a great corroboration of that hath bene in Stories written and reported in this matter. For amongs other things we haue the solempne acte and iudiciall processe of our progenitour Edwarde the first, in discussion of of the Title of Scotland, when the same was chalenged by twelue competitours, that is to say,

Florentius comes Holandiæ.
Patricius de Dunbar comes de Merchia.
Willielmus de Vesci.
Willielmus de Ros.
Robertus de Pinkenl.
Nicholaus de Soules.
Patritius Galighely.
Rogerus de Mundeuile.
Ioannes de Comyn.
D. Ioannes de Hastings.
Ioannes de Balliolo.
Robertus de Bruse.
Ericius rex Norwegiæ.

And finally, after a great consultation and mature deliberation, with discussion of the allegations proponed on all parties, sentence was giuen for the Title of Bailiol, according wherevnto, he enioyed the realme, but for confirmation of the dutie of the homage before that time obserued by the Kings of Scottes, it appeareth in those Recordes, howe when those competitours of the realme of Scotlande repayred to our sayde progenitour, as to the chiefe Lorde for discussion of the same, in as much as the auctorite of the iudgement to be giuen depended therevpon: it was then ordered that the whole Parliament of Scotlande. spirituall, temporall, and of all degrees assembled for that purpose, and considerying vpon what grounde and fundation the Kings of Scotland had in times past made the sayde homages and recognition of superiority, the said Parliament findyng the same good and true, should if they so deemed it, yeelde and giue place, and by expresse consent recognise the same.

At whiche Parliament was alleged vnto them, as appeareth in the same Recordes, not onely these Actes of the Princes before those dayes, and before rehearsed: but also besides the testimony of stories, the writings and letters of forreyne Princes at that tyme reciteyng and rehearsing the same: whereupon the sayd Parliament dyd there agree to this our superiority, and ensuyng their determination did particularly and seuerally make homage and fealty with proclamation, that who soeuer withdrew himselfe from doing his dutie therein, should be reputed as a rebell.

And so all made homage and fealty to our progenitour Edwarde the firste. And the realme of Scotlande was in the time of the discussion of the Title ruled by Gardias deputed by him, all Castels and holdes were surrendred to him as to the superiour Lorde, in the time of vacation, benefices, offices, fees, promotions passed in that tyme from the mere gifte of our sayde progenitour, as in the right of this crowne of Englande, Shyriffes named and appoynted, writtes and precepts made, obeyed and executed: and finally all that we do now in the Duchie of Lancaster, the same did our progenitour for the tyme of the contention for that Title in the realme of Scotlande, by the consent of an

agreement of all estates of the realme assembled and consulted with for that purpose. At whiche tyme the Bishops of S. Andrewes and Glasqno, were not as they now be Archbishops, but recognised the Archbyshop of Yorke, whiche extended ouer all that country.

Now if the Scottes will take exception to the homage of their Princes as made in warre, and by force whiche is not true: what will they say: or can they for shame alledge agaynst their owne Parliament, not of some but of all confirmed, and testified by theyr writings & seales: whereunto nothing enforced them but righte and reason, beyng passed in peace & quiet without armour or compulsion. If they say they did it not, they speake lyke themselues: if they say they did it, then do they now lyke themselfe, to withdrawe their duetie, not so much to be blamed, as to be amended.

Thus appeareth unto you the beginnyng of the right of superiority, with a perpetuall continuance, without intermission within memory, certayne omissions and forbearyngs upō the grounds and occasions before specified we denie not; whereby they haue many tymes sought and taken their opportunities, to withdrawe the doing of their duety in knowledge of our superiority ouer them, whiche to auoyde, they haue not cared what they sayde or alledged, though it were neuer so untrue, lying alwayes in a wayte when they might annoy this realme, not without theyr owne greate daunger and perill, & also extreeme detriment. But as they detracted the doing of their duety, so God graunted unto this realme force to compell them thereunto within memory, and notwithstandyng any their interruption by resistaunce, whiche unto the tyme of our progenitour Henry the fifte, neuer endured so long as it made intermission within tyme of minde, whereby the possession might seeme to be empayred: from the time of Henry the fifte unto the seuenth yeare of our raygne, our realme hath beene for a season lacerate; and torne by diuersitie of Titles, till our tyme, and sithence by warre outwardly vexed and troubled, the story is so lamentable for some part thereof, as were too tedious to rehearse.

Sithence the death of our progenitour Henry the fifte, our Grandfather Edwarde the fourth raygned, who after greate trauayles to attayne quietnesse in his realme, finally in the tyme of preparation of warre agaynst Scotland died.

Richarde the thirde, then usurped for a small tyme in yeares, whom the King our father by ỹ strength of Gods hande ouerthrew in battayle, and moste iustly attayned the possession of this realme; who neuertheless after the great tempestuous stormes, findyng all matters not yet brought to perfect quiet and reste, ceassed and forbare to requyre of the Scottes to do their duety, thinkyng it policy rather for that time to assay to tame their nature by the pleasant coniunction and conuersation of affinity, than to charge them with their faulte, and requyre duety of them, when opportunity serued not by force and feare to constraine and compell them.

And thus passed ouer the raygne of our Father without demaunde of this homage. And beyng our raygne nowe. xxviij. yeares, wee were. xxj. yeares letted by our Nephew his minoritie, beyng then more carefull how to bring him out of daunger, to the place of a kyng, than to receyue of him homage, when hee had full possession of the same. Wherefore beyng nowe passed, sithence the laste homage made by the King of Scottes, to our progenitour Henry the fifte 122. yeares, at whiche tyme the homage was done at Windsore by James Steward, then King of Scots, as afore. fiftie fiue of these yeares the Crowne of this realme was in contention, the trouble whereof engendred also some businesse in the tyme of the King our Father, whiche was. xxviij. yeare: and in our tyme, xxj. yeares hath passed in the minority of our Nephew. So as finally, the Scottes resorting to their onely defence of discontinuance of possession, can onely alledge iustly but. xiij. yeare of silence in the tyme of our raygne beyng all the other times sithence the homage done by James Stewarde, such, as the silence in them (had they beene neuer so long) could not haue engendred preiudice to the losse of any right that may yet be declared and proued due. For what can be imputed to King Edwarde for not demaundyng homage beyng in stryfe for that estate, whereunto the homage was due? What shoulde Richarde the thirde searche for homage in Scotlande, that had neyther right ne leysure to haue homage done unto him in Englande? who can blame our father, knowing the Scots nature neuer to do their dutie but for feare, if he demaunded not that of them, which they would eschew if they might, beyng his realme not clearly then purged from all seede of sedition, sparkled and scattered in the cruell ciuile warres before?

Lawe and reason serueth, that the passing ouer of tyme not commodious, that the purpose is not alledgeable in prescription for the losse of any right. And the minority of the King of Scots hath endured. xxj. yeares of our raigne, whiche beyng an impediment on theyr parte, the whole prescription of the Scots, if the matter were prescriptible, is thus deduced euidently to. xiij. yeare, whiche. xiij. yeare without excuse

we

we haue ceassed and forborne to demaunde our dutie, lyke as the Scottes haue lykewise ceassed to offer and tender the same, for which cause neuerthele we do not enter this warre ne minded to demaunde any suche matter now being, rather desirous to reioyce and take comforte in the frendship of our Nephew as our neighbour, than to moue matter vnto him of displeasure, whereby to alienate suche naturall inclination of loue as he shoulde haue towarde vs: but suche be the workes of God superiour ouer all, to sucker occasions to be ministred, whereby due superiority may be knowne, demaũded & required, to ỹ intent ỹ according thereunto al things gouerned in due order here, we may to his pleasure passe ouer this life to his honour and glory whiche he graunt vs to do, in suche reste, peace, & tranquillity, as shall be meete and conuenient for vs.

When therefore the kyng of England had set forth this declaration of the causes that moued him to make warre agaynst Scotlande, he prepared to prosecute the same bothe by sea and lande, and hauing rigged and furnished diuers ships of warre, he sent the same forth to the sea that they might take such Scottishe shippes as were to returne from their voyages made into Fraunce, Flaunders, Denmarke, and other countreys, whether they were gone for trade of Marchandize, with whiche the Englishe shippes encountred, to ke. xxviij. of the principal shippes of all Scotland fraught with all kinde of Merchãdize & riche wares, which they brought with them into the Englishe portes.

The king of Scotland aduertised therof, sent with all speede an Herrault, desiring restitution of his shippes as he thought stode with reason, seing no warre was proclaymed, but the King of England thought it no reason to departe with them so soone, till a perfect agreemẽt might be had, and sir Robert Bowes deliuered: who (as ye haue heard before in the premitted declaration set forth by the King of England) to reuenge the inuasiõs by the Scots violently made into ỹ English borders, with. iij. M. mẽ roaded into Scotland, & began to burne and to spoyle certayne small townes, whereupon the fray being reysed in the countrey, the Erle of Huntley who was appointed to remaine as Lieutenant vpon the borders, for doubt of such sodden inuasiõs; immediately gathered a number of borderers, and set vpon the Englishe men, and put thẽ al to flight, Sir Robert Bowes and his brother Richard Bowes with diuers other to the number of vj. hundred were taken prisoners, and the said sir Robert Bowes & other ỹ principal lãded men were kepte still in Scotlande till after the kings death. This victory chanced to the Scots at a place called Halden Rigge in the Mers, vpõ S. Bartholomewes day. Whiche is the. xxiiij. of August. After this the king of England sent the Duke of Norffolke with the Erles of Shrewsbury, Derby, Cumberland, Surrey, Hertforde, Angus, Rutland, & the Lords of ỹ North parts of England, with an army of. xl. thousand men as the Scots esteemed them, though they were not many aboue. xx. thousand, who entred into Scotland the. xxj. of Octobre, & brent certayne townes vpon the side of the water of Tweede, but the Erle of Huntley hauing with him a ten thousand of the borderers and other, so wayted vpon them, giuing them now & then skirmishes and allarms, that they came not past two miles from the water of Tweede within the Scottish bounds at that season. In the meane time the king of Scotlande beyng aduertised hereof, gathered a greate army throughe all the partes of his realme, and came to Sowtray hedge, where they mustered, & were numbred to be a. xxxvj. thousand men, with the which he came to Falla Hure, & there encãped, determining to giue battel to the Englishmen, as he pretended: howbeit if ỹ Duke had taried longer, as it was thought he would haue done, if the time of ỹ yeere & prouision of vitailes had serued, the Scots would yet haue bene better aduised before they had ioyned wt him in a pight field: but true it is that after ỹ Duke had remayned there so long as vitayles might be had & recouered frõ any part, he retyred with his army backe into Englãd, not without some losse of mẽ, horse, & spoiles, which ỹ Scots vnder the Erle of Huntley & others toke fro the Englishmẽ in that their retire, specially as they passed ouer the riuer of Tweede. After the Englishmẽ were thus departed & withdrawẽ home forth of Scotlãd, king James being of an high & manly courage, in reuenge of the harmes done by the Englishmẽ within his countrey, thought good ỹ his whole army should passe forwarde & inuade England, himself to go therwith in proper person. And herein he requested the cõsent of his nobilitie, who after long reasoning & good aduisement take in the mater, gaue answere to the king in this sort, ỹ they could not thinke it good that they should passe within Englãd, & to seeke battayle, ỹ king himself being with thẽ, considering ỹ his. ij. sonnes were lately deceased, so ỹ he had no successiõ of his body: for in case that they lost the field, as the chaũce of battell is most vncertaine, then the king of England hauing great substance, might therewith folow the victory & put the realme of Scotlande in greate hazarde. Therefore they thought it sufficiently to defend their owne boundes, & to constrayne the enimie for feare to leaue the inuasion therof, as presently they had done and declared that they were

determined to haue giuen battayle to theyr enimies if they had cõtinued within the realme, and doubted not by the helpe of God, they hauing so iust a cause, and being inuaded in theyr countrey, but that they shoulde haue obteyned the victory. The King hearyng theyr determination, albeit his high courage pressed him to inuade, yet the approued witte of his nobles and Coũsellours caused him to follow their aduise, and so returned with his army backe againe the first of Nouember, the army of England being first discharged, and the Duke of Norffolke in his returne towardes London.

The king breaketh vp his army.

Shortly after, the kyng of Scotlande went himself in person vnto the West marches of his realme, where the Lord Maxwell was Warden, whom togither with the Erles of Cassels, and Glencarne, and certaine other Lordes there with him, the king appointed to inuade the English marches on that side, taking with them the power of the borderers, and sente also with them Oliuer Sincler, & the residue of the Gentlemen of his household. These Erles & Lordes entring into Englande on S. Katherines euen beyng the .xxiiij. of Nouember, began to burne certayne townes vpõ the water of Eske: but as

The king goeth to the west borders.

Oliuer Sincler.



soone as the scrye was raysed in the countrey, the Lord Muharton Warden of the west marches of Englande, sodenly raysed the power of the countrey, and came to a little hill, where they shewed themselues in sight vnto the Scottishe army. The Scottishe Lordes perceyuyng the Englishmen gathered, assembled theselues togither, and enquired who was Lieutenaunt generall there by the Kings appointmẽt, and incontinently Oliuer Sincler was holden vp on twoo mennes shoulders, where he sheweth forth the Kings commission, instituting him Liuetenant to the kyng of that armie: but how soeuer that was redde, the Erles and Lordes there present, thought themselues embased too much to haue suche a meane Gentleman aduaũced in authoritie aboue them all, and therefore determined not to fight vnder suche a Captayne, but willyngly suffred themselues to be ouercome, and so were taken by the English men, not shewyng any countenaunce of defence to the contrary, and without slaughter of any one person on eyther side.

The Lorde Wharton.

The enuy the Lordes gayost Oliuer Sincler.

The Scottes discomfited by the Englishmen.

This rode was called Soloway Mosse, at the whiche were taken prysoners men of name, these persons followyng: The Erles of Cassels and Glencarne, the Lorde Maxwell, the Lord Flemyng, the Lord Somerwel, the Lord Oliphãt, Oliuer Sinclare, the Lord of Cragy, and sundry other Gentlemen, the whiche were ledde prysoners to London, where they remayned till after the King was dead.

The kyng being in Carlauerocke vpon the borders not farre from Soloway Mosse, when this misfortune fell vpon his men, after he heard thereof he was maruellously amased, the more in calling to remembrance the refusall made by his Nobles, assembled with him in campe at Fala vpon his request to inuade Englande. Herewith such an impression entered his minde, that he thought with himself that all his whole nobilitie had conspyred agaynst him, and therevpon toke such a behement and high displeasure increased with a melancolious thought, that he departed sodenly from thence to Edenburgh, and after remoued to Faulkeland, where he remayned as a man desolate of comforte, beyng sore vexed in spirite and bodie, and would not permitte any maner of person to haue accesse vnto him, his secrete and familiar seruants only excepted. And as he was thus vnquieted, newes was brought him that the Queene his wyfe was brought to bedde of a fayre yõg Princesse the .viij. day of December, the whiche newes he lyked very euill, and added the griefe thereof to his former displeasantnesse, in so muche that he perceyued the ende of his lyfe to approche, and withall sayde, that hee sorsawe great trouble to come vpon the realme of Scotlande, for the pursuit whiche the King of England was like to make therevpon agaynst the same, to the ende hee might bryng it vnder his subiection eyther by mariage or by some other meane. It was reported that he was disquieted with some vnkindly medicine: but how soeuer the matter was, he yeelded vp his spirite to almighty God, & departed this worlde the .xiiij. of December, in the yeare of oure redemption .1542. the .xxxiij. yeare

The griefe of the king for the ouerthrow of his men.

The birth the Scot Queene.

yeare of his age, and .xxxij. of his raigne.

Shortly after hys departure, hys body was conueyed from Falkeland vnto Edenburgh in moſt honorable wiſe, the Cardinall, the Erles of Arrane, Arguile, Rothes, Marſhall, and dyuers other noble men being preſent, and with all funerall pomp as was requiſite, it was buried in the Abbey Church of Holy Rode houſe, beſide the body of Queene Magdalene, daughter to the King of Fraunce, his firſt wife. There was greate lamentation and mone made for his death throughout all parts of his Realme, for hee was very well beloued among hys ſubiectes.



THe Eternall God calling to his mercy Iames King of Scotland, the fifth of that name, Mary his only daughter and heire began hir raigne ouer the Realme of Scotland the eyghteenth day of December, in the yere of our Lord. 1542. Frauncis the firſte of that name then raigning in Fraunce, and Henry the eyght ouer the Engliſhmen.

She was not paſt ſeuen dayes olde when hir father departing this life, left vnto hir his kingdome, hir mother lying in childbed in the Caſtel of Lithquo, of which place, ẏ Lord Leuingſton being Captayne, had the charge committed to him, both of the daughter and mother, with the mothers good agreement and free conſent.

Moreouer, immediately after the Kynges death (bycauſe he deceaſſed without making any will, or taking any direction for the gouernemente eyther of the Realme, or cuſtody of the yong Queene hys daughter) Dauid Beaton, Cardinall and Archbyſhop of S. Androwes, the ſpeciall miniſter and factor of the Frenche cauſes, to the aduancement and continuaunce thereof, inuented and forged a will and Teſtament of the late King now departed, in whiche among other things, hee eſtabliſhed hymſelfe chiefe regent, adioyning with him the Earles of Murrey, baſe brother to the Kyng deceaſſed, Huntley and Argile, not once mentioning the Earle of Lennor, then abſent in Fraunce, nor yet Iames Earle of Arraine his Couſin, beeing there preſent in Scotland. Thoſe that profeſſed the reformed Religion, being then called Proteſtantes, to whome the ſayde Cardinall was euer a cruell enimie and ſherp ſcourge, eſpyed forth his vniuſt dealing in this behalfe, and truſting by the gentle nature and good inclination of the ſayd Earle of Arraine, to haue ſome libertie to imbrace the Goſpell, ſet him againſte the Cardinall, ſo that by the helpe of his owne and their friendes, he remoued the Cardinal and his adherents from the vſurped rowmth and authoritie, and therewith was the ſayde Earle of Arraine proclaymed gouernour and protector of the Realme.

The Proteſtants eſpyed the Cardinals craftie iugling.

This Earle of Arrane made a title to haue and enioy that office and rowmth, as nexte in bloud to the yong Queene, as diſcended from a ſiſter of King Iames the third, married to his Grandfather Lord Hamilton in the yere. 1475. by reaſon of whiche marriage, hee was created Earle of Arrane, as by acte of Parliament holden the ſame yeare at Edeburgh, it was agreed and ordeyned.

The King of Englande that noble Prince Henrye the eyght, aduertiſed of the death of the King of Scottes, conſidered with good aduiſe, that now there was offered a moſt ready meane and iuſt occaſion, whereby the two Realmes of Englande and Scotland might be brought into one entier Monarchie, without warre or bloudſhed, by the marriage of his ſonne Prince Edwarde, beeyng then little paſt fiue yeares of age, with the yong Queene of Scotlande. Hee therefore being reſolued fully to bring the ſame to paſſe eyther by quiet meanes or by force, and ſending for the Erles of Caſſill and Glencarne, the Lordes Maxwell, and Fleming, and other Priſoners ẏ had bin taken at Solowaye Moſſe, cauſed them to bee conueyd vnto Hampton Court, where the ſeauen and twentith of December they being right curteouſly enterteined, hee made vnto them an ouerture of his purpoſe and whole intent, propouning the whole matter vnto them, requeſting them for their partes to help with their conſents, that a contract of marriage might bee made betweene his ſonne the Prince, and their yong Queene, promiſing to them libertie without raunſome, beſydes other pleaſures and benefytes, if they would doe their indeuour to perſwade the Gouernoure, and other of the nobilitie of Scotland to be agreeable hereunto.

The King of England talketh with the Lords of Scotland priſoners, for a marriage betwixt his ſonne, and their Queene.

The Scottishe Earles and Lords accepted the Kings offer, and withall promised to doe their diligence to perswade the rest of the nobilitie in Scotland at their coming home: whereupon they were licenced to depart, and so comming to Newcastell, remayned there with the Duke of Suffolke, then the Kings Lieutenant of the North partes, till he had receyued for the of Scotlande certayne pledges of the chiefest of these Lordes, for performance of their promises.

The Earle of Angus sente home into Scotlande.

Likewise the King of England sent wyth them the Earle of Angus, and his brother Sir George Dowglas with his letters to the Gouernoure, requesting effectuously, ẏ they might be restored to their rowmthes, lands, and possessions in that Realme. These Lords arriuing at Edenburgh aboute the middes of January, declared to the Gouernoure their message and proposition made by the King of Englande, with such efficacie, that the Gouernour beeyng perswaded thereto by their wordes, sente for the Lords and nobilitie of the Realme to come vnto Edenburgh to a conuention, there to be holden the seauen and twentith of that present moneth, where they concluded that a Parliamente shoulde bee kepte in Marche next ensuing, and doubting least the Cardinall (beeing there present) should goe about to perswade the nobilitie not to consent to their desires, they caused hym to be put in warde within the Castell of Dalketh, the Lord Seton being appoynted to haue the custody of him.

1542

A conuention of the Scottish nobilitie.

The Cardinall committed to warde.

Aboute the same time, Sir Robert Bowes, and all other the Englishmen that were prisoners, and had bin taken at Halden rigge on S. Bartholmewes day (as before ye haue heard) were sente home by the Gouernoure into Englande, and Sir Raufe Sadler was sente Imbassadour from King Henry, vnto the saide Gouernoure, and other the Lords of Scotland, and came thither before the Parliamente, to perswade the Lordes to agree vnto the Kyng hys maisters motions, trauelling so diligently in the matters whereabout he was thus sent, that it was concluded by acte of Parliament to send Imbassadours into Englande, for the better satisfaction of King Henries desires, and so the Earle of Glencarne, Sir George Dowglas, Sir William Hamilton, Sir James Leyzmouth, and the Secretary being named and appoynted thereto, departed in the moneth of March, and comming into England vnto the King, remayned there till the latter end of July, in which meane time, suche couenants, contracts, and promises were had and concluded, passed and sealed interchangeably, as stood with the pleasure and good liking of King Henry, so as the marriage was fully contracted, and a peace concluded for tenne yeares, by authoritie of the afore sayd Parliament. Herewith also the Lorde Gouernour shewed himselfe to embrace the reformed Religio, causing one Frier Guilham to Preache agaynst Images, and frute-

Halden rig.

Sir Raufe Sadler.

Ambassadors sent into Englande.

The Mariage confirmed



lesse ceremonies, and gaue libertie that ẏ Bible, called the new and old Testamẽt, should be had in Englishe, and vniuersally published through the Realme of Scotlande.

Also hee commaunded not onely the Cardinall (as before ye haue heard) but also ordeyned that the Queene mother should remayne in Lithgow with the yong Queene hir daughter, vnder some manner of safe custody, and the Cardinall to be remoued vnto his owne Castell of Saint Androwes, with warders about hym to see him safely kept.

The Realme beeing thus brought in quiet, and vnder good gouernement, the French King fore misliking this new coniunction of ẏ Scots with England, and doubting least the olde former bond of aliance betwixt France and Scotland might therby be vtterly dissolued and shaken off, he sent for Mathew Earle of Leuenor, then abrode in his seruice in the warres of Italy, and vppon his comming backe from thence to the Court, hee declared to him the decease of the late King of Scottes, the intrusion of Arrane, and the attemptes in that Realme begun, with all the circumstances from poynt to point as he knewe, and further discoursed with hym what wrong hee had to be sette aside, and displaced from hys ryghte of gouernemente, and therefore exhorted hym to repayre home to recouer the same, offering not only to assist him with men, money, and munition, but also to ioyne hys friendes in Scotlande with hym in ayde to attayne the place of regimente, and to remoue Arrane and others from it. The

The French King misliketh of the match with Englande.

Mathew E. of Leuenor

Earle

Earle of Leuenor hereupon with commission and instructions deliuered to him by the French King, had also letters from him directed to the Lordes that were of the French faction, wherein the sayde Kyng requested them to remaine and continue in their former good meanings towards him, and to assist the Erle of Leuenor in all things, as should be thought expedient.

The Earle therefore fully instructed by the Frenche Kyng, howe to deale and proceede, tooke his leaue, and with all speede taking the Sea, directed hys course into Scotlande, where after his arriual, he came to Edenburgh, in which towne all the Lords being assembled togither with the Gouernoure, hee declared to them the effect of hys commission from the French Kyng, his request to them, and good affection to mayntayne them against England, if in case they would continue the olde league with him, and not seeke to make any new alliance with the King of Englande: but perceyuing that the Gouernour and his friends were minded to satisfie the Kyng of Englandes desires, he would not tarrie for a resolute answer, but by the counsell of the Earle of Argile, William Earle of Glencarne, and others of the French faction, he suddaynely departed forth of Edenburgh towarde the West Countrey, highly displeased as should seeme with the Gouernoure, and taking Lithgow in his way, hee conferred with the Queene Dowager (as they termed hir) deuising how to assemble the noble men of the Frenche side, to bring hir and hyr daughter to libertie, out of the daunger of the Lorde Gouernoure, bycause it was supposed that hee meante to conuey hyr into Englande.

About the same time, through practise of the Abbot of Paisley, brother to the Gouernour, and others, the Castell of Edenburgh was gote out of the hands of Sir Peter Chreichton, and the keeping thereof committed by the Gouernours appoyntment, vnto James Hamilton, Lard of Stanehouse: but the Earle of Lennox, with the assistance of the Earles of Huntley, Argile, and others of the Frenche faction in August following, conueyed the yong Queene with hir mother from Lithgew vnto Sterling. The Cardinall also was there with them lately before, hauing corrupted his keepers, & gotten abroade at libertie. Herewith was a day appoynted and proclaymed for the Coronation of the yong Queene. The Earle of Arrane then gouernour, with the Erles of Angus, Cassils, the Lordes Marwell, Somerule, and diuers others, called the English Lords, remayning stil at Edenburgh, aduertised the King of Englād of all the drifte of Leuenor, and other of that faction, requiring his aduice and counsell howe to deale for the disappoynting of their purposes, that sought to continue the amitie still wyth Fraunce, to the preiudice of peace with England.

The King of England aduertised hereof, as wel thus from the Gouernour, and other the Scottish Lords, as also from Sir Raufe Sadler, his Maiesties Ambassadoure there, doubted greatly least these Lordes, in whose handes the Queene then was, in respect of the fauour whiche they bare to the Frenche King, should conuey hir ouer into Fraunce, whereupon, he requested the Gouernour, and the other Lordes that fauoured his side, so to deale, that she might bee sente into Englande, there to remayne, till the marriage mighte bee consummate betwirt hir, and his sonne Prince Edwarde: hauing in the meane time such Lordes of hir Countrey about hir to attende vppon hir, and to see to hir brynging vp, as should be thought expedient. To conclude, his Maiestie not only sent his princely comfort by way of counsell and good aduice, but also accordyng to their desire (and as by the Duke of Suffolke his highnesse Lieutenaunte then in the North it was thought expedient.) Thomas Lorde Wharton with two thousande menne from the West marches, and the Lord Ebers with other two thousand from the East bordures, were appoynted to enter Scotland, and to ioyne themselues with the Gouernour and hys friendes, to assist them againste their aduersaries, but as they were in a readinesse to marche, through the secret labour of the Cardinall, wishing the aduaunceme̅te of the Erle of Arrane his kinsman (whom he thought hee shoulde well ynough frame to be at his appoyntmente) rather than Leuenor that was knowen to be of a greater stomacke, the matter was so handled, what by the Cardinall and the Erle of Huntley of the one part, and ỹ Queene Dowager on the other, that the Earle of Arrane reuolting from the Kyng of Englande, came in to the Dowager, and ioyned himselfe with the Cardinall, and other the Lords of the Frenche faction, by reason whereof, they all concluded to mayntayne him in the estate of Lorde Gouernour, and not to place Leuenor as their purpose was to haue done, if Arrane hadde continued faythfull to the King of Englande.

The King of Englandes doubt.

The Lorde Wharton.

The Lorde Eures.

The Earle of Arrane a faith breaker.

Shortlye after, the yong Queene was Crowned at Striueling, the Cardinall taking vpon him to order things as hee thought good, appoynting the Gouernour to beare ỹ Crowne as chiefe person, & next in blond to the Queene, and the Erle of Lennox to beare the scepter. After ỹ Coronatiō, a Parliamēt was called and holden

The Coronatiō of Queene Mary.

A Parliament.

holden at Edenburgh, at the whiche in presence of the Patriarche of Apulia the Popes Agent, and of the Frech Kings Imbassadours, Monsieur la Brosse, and Monsieur Menage lately before come into the realme, the Erle of Arrane was newly confirmed gouernour: and for the sure preseruation (as they pretended) of the yong Queene, it was agreed by the gouernour and the estates, that she shoulde remaine with the olde Queene hir mother in Sterlyng Castell, during her mynoritie, and certayne rentes of that Seigniory was assigned for the mayntenaunce of suche trayne as was thought expedient to bee attendant aboute hyr: and further the Lordes Lennigston, Erskin, and Fleming, were apoynted to abide continually with hyr, for the better saueguarde of hyr person. Thus was euery thing ordered as seemed to stand with the pleasure of the Cardinall: wherupon the Erle of Lennox perceyuyng how vncurteously he was vsed, to haue his aduersary thus confirmed in authoritie by the Frenchside, and himselfe reiected, he first sente to the Frenche King, informyng him throughly of the iniuries to him done, putting him in remembrance of the promises made to him when hee departed from him: also the constantnesse of his seruice, the hasarde he had put himselfe in for his sake, and notwithstandyng howe hee was yet vnkindely dealte with, that through truste of his promised ayde and assistaunce, he was brought out of credite in his countrey, and subiected vnder the commaundement and authoritie of his enimie, and wrongfully disappoynted of his right, whiche he loked to haue recouered, and to haue bene mainteyned therein, by his suppoyte.

The Patriarke of Aquileia.

Order for the custody of the Queene.

The Erle of Lenoox his displeasure.

He renoūceth his seruice to the French kyng.

In consideration whereof, he renounced his seruice, willing him from thencefoorth not to loke for the same any more at his handes. Herewith Leuenar ioynyng himselfe with the Erles of Angus, Cassilles, and Glencarne, the Lordes Maxwell, and Somerville, the Sheriffe of Ayre, the Larde of Drumlanrig and other of that side, called the English Lordes, set himselfe agaynst the Gouernour, the Cardinall and others of that faction, so that the residue of this yeare was spente in ciuill dissention betweene them.

Ciuill dissentiō in Scotlād.

And here is to bee noted that a little before that the Erle of Arrane reuolted to the French parte, there were arryued in the mouth of the riuer of Cloyde on the west coaste fiue shippes which the Frenche King had sent to the ayde of his frendes in Scotland, vnder the conduction of Iames Stewarde of Cardonold, and of the forenamed Monsieur de la Brosse, and Monsieur Menage, the French kings Imbassadors.

French ships arriuyng in the riuer of Clyde.

There came with them also the Patriarke of Apulia, of whome ye haue lykewise hearde before, they had brought aboorde in these shippes fifty thousande Crownes, and munition to the value of twne thousand Crownes. The Erle of Lennox therefore when he first resolued to turne to the Englishe parte, with the aduise of his confederates, seysed vpon those shippes, got the fiftie thousand Crownes, and the most parte of the munition into his handes: and brought it to the Castell of Dunbertayne, reteyning it to his owne vse, where it was sente to haue bene employed to the maintenaunce of the Frenche faction, agaynst the King of England and the Lordes that leaned to his side.

The Erle Lēnox ſe vpō the F shippes.

The Erle of Lennox therefore, raysing a power of menne of warre with the assistaunce of the Lordes of his faction, came with them vnto Leith agaynst the Gouernour, that was then in Edenburgh: but through the diligent trauayle of the Cardinall, the Erles of Huntley, Murrey, and Argyle, the matter was taken vp and an appoyntment accorded: so that sir George Dowglas was deliuered as a pledge for his brother the Erle of Angus, the Master of Glencarne, for his father the Erle of Glencarne, the Abbot Cassaghole, for his brother the Erle of Cassilles, to remayne in safe keepyng where it pleased the Gouernour to appoynt.

The Erle of Lennox hath an ar

An appoi ment tak

Pledges uered.

The Erle of Lennox came vnto Edenburgh to ỹ Gouernor, but within fiue dayes after they went bothe to Lithquo, from whence the Erle of Lennox secretely departed from the Gouernour without biddyng him farewell, and comming to Glasquo, fortified both the Castell and Steeple there with menne and munition. The Gouernour aduertised thereof, passed thither with the power of the whole realme, entred the towne, assieged the Castell and steeple whiche he wanne, hanged certen Gentlemen whiche he toke there to the number of sixtene, and pardoned the other inferiour Souldiours. The Erle of Lennox withdrewe into Dunbertayne. The Erle of Angus, and the Lorde Maxwell hearyng of thys sturre, came vnto the Gouernour vnto Glasquo before the siege was layde, to intreate of some accorde betwirte him and the Erle of Lennox. But the Gouernour caused them both to be secretly conueyed frō the counsell by the backside of the blacke Fryers of Glasquo, vnto the Castell of Hamilton, and from thence the Erle was sente to Blacknesse. The Lorde Maxwell was kepte still in holde at Hamilton, and George Dowglas, and the Master of Glencarne in Edenburgh Castell: these persons thus imprysoned stoode in greate doubte of theyr lyues as some supposed, but as diuers other did suspect, they were rather committed

The Erle of Lennox ſeth to gouernor

He depa from hin gayne.

He ſorti Glaſquo.

Glaſquo by the gouernour.

The Erl Angus, the Lor Maxwel mitted warde.

mitted for a colour than for any euill that was meant towarde them.

How soeuer it was with them, the Erle of Lennox by the aduise of his friendes, sent the Erle of Glencarne, & a Gentleman called Thomas Bishop, vnto the king of Englande with offer of his seruice, and request to haue in mariage the Lady Margarete Dowglas daughter to the Erle of Angus, and neece to the sayde Kyng. They that were sente so solicited the Erles cause, that in the ende the King beyng perswaded that Leuenor ought of right to haue the gouernement of the realme of Scotlande, and to be seconde person in the same, and herewith in consideration how vniustly not onely his Maiestie had bene dealt with, but also how vnthankefully and discourteously Lennor had bene vsed both at the handes of the Frenche king and also of his adherentes in Scotland, by the Cardinall and others, he bothe thankefully receyued his gentle offer of seruice, and also promised to ayde him in his Title and all other lawfull causes: and herewith prepared an army to passe into Scotlande by sea, appoynting the Erle of Hertforde, and the Lorde Lisle to haue the conduction of the same, who shippyng at Tynmouth with theyr people, arriued in the Forth vnder Wardis Castell, a myle and a halfe aboue Leith the thirde of May, the whole naule conteyning aboue the number of two hundred shippes. Here at Newhauen a quarter of a myle from the sayde Castell they landed theyr armie of twelue thousande men of warre, with great artillery and all kinde of munition.

The Lorde Gouernour beyng at that present within the towne of Edenburgh, hearyng of their arriuall wente forth of the towne accompanied with the Cardinall, the Erles of Huntley, Argyle, Bothwell and others, purposing to stoppe theyr landing, but perceyuing the puysaunce of the aduersaries to be suche, as they coulde not resist the same, they returned to Edenburgh agayne, and sente Maister Adam Otterburn prouost of Edenburgh, and two of the Baylifes to the Erle of Hertforde, to vnderstande the cause of his comming, and withall offered, that if there were any iniuries or wrõgs done by any of the Scottes nation, hee woulde appoynt Commissioners to talke with suche as by him shoulde be authorized thereto, for the full answearing thereof, and to that effect he woulde gladly receyue them into the towne of Edenburgh. The Erle of Hertford answeared that he had no commission to talke of any suche mater, but rather to take reuenge of the vniust dealing and breache of promise on those that had falsified their fayth. And therfore minding to burne the towne of Edenburgh as wel as other within that realme, hee willed the inhabitantes and all those that were within the same to come forth, and submitte themselues before him the kings Lieutenant, to stand vnto the Kings will and pleasure, or els he would not fail to proceede in execution thereof. The Prouost answeared that he would rather abyde all extremities than to accomplishe his request and desire in that behalfe, and therevpon returned to the towne.

After the Gouernour had heard what answeare was made to the Prouost, he caused the Castell to be furnished with all things necessary for defence, and departed straight wayes to Striuelyng. The English army lodging that night in Leith, marched the nexte day towarde Edenburgh, passing vp the Cannogate streete to enter at the nether bowe, where they founde some resistaunce made by Scottes, so that diuers were slayne on bothe partes. Towardes night, the Englishmen after they had continued long in skirmishyng that day with the Scottishmen retyred to Leith. The nexte day the whole army with the great Artillery came forwarde towardes the towne, and breakyng open the Cannogate, they entred the towne by the same, bryngyng their ordinaunce within sight of the Castell, purposing to plante the same in battery agaynst it, but the Capitayne of the castell caused the Artillery within to shoote of at them in so great aboundance, and so good measure, that they slew diuers Englishmen and dismounted one of their peeces, so that in the ende they were constrayned to drawe backe their ordinaunce and retyred, but yet in the meane time they set fire on the towne, and brente the moste parte of all the houses in the same. They brent also the Cannogate streete, and the Abbey of holy rode house. The Gouernour at that present released out of prison the Erle of Angus, the Lorde Maxwell, the Master of Glencarne, sir George Dowglas and others.

Edenburgh entred by force.

See more hereof in England.

Edenburgh brent.

Prysoners set at liberty.

In this meane time also there came from the Bordures by lande fower thousande of English horsemenne, vnder the conduction of the Lorde William Eures, & his sonne sir Rauf Eures, who ioyning with the army at Leith, skoured the countrey on euery side the towne of Edenburgh, finally after that the English army had layne in Leith a certayne space, they brent that towne also, and sent their shippes away fraught with pillage & spoyles (got aswell in that towne as in Edenburgh, and abrode in the countrey) backe towardes England. And therewith the Erle of Hertford, the Lord Admirall and others returned by land through the coũtry vnto Barwike, as in the Englishe historie more at large appeareth. Whylest the Englishe army was thus occupied in that part of Scotlãd the Erle

Leith brent.

of

The Erle of Lennox.

of Lennox with an army of menne whiche he had rayled was ready to come on the backes of the Gouernour and his adherentes, if they had assembled their forces and come forewarde to haue gyuen the English men battayle. For all this season the ciuill contention still continewed, and sundry conflictes and skirmishes chaunced betwixt the parties.

The English army hauing brente Edenburgh and harried the countrey aboute, departed from Leith (whiche towne they also brent) and drew homewardes, brenning and spoyling sundry Castelles, Piles, Villages, & Townes in their way. Also where the Lorde Maxwell came in to the Erle of Hertforde, for his double dealyng hee was stayed and brought into Englande. Shortly after the returne of the English armie the Gouernour, and the Lord Boyd came with an army to besiege the Castell of Glasquo, which ỳ Erle of Lennox had lately againe recouered. The Erle of Glencarne, and other of the Erle of Lennox his friendes, being at that present within Glasquo, issued forth, & vpon Glasquo Howe gaue the Gouernour battayle, in the whiche the Larde of Campsketh mayster of the houshoIde to the Gouernour, and vij. score others, of the surname of the Hamiltõs losse their lyues, but the victory yet remayned vpõ the Gouernours side, Andrew Coningham sonne to the Erle of Glencarne, & James Coningham, with George Tullough Captaine of the Erle of Lennox his shotte, being slayne on that parte, besides others of the meaner sorte.

The battayle of Glasquo wonne by the Gouernour.

Shortely after this ouerthrow, the Erle of Lennox accompanied with Alexander the master of Glencarne, otherwise called Lord of Kilmawse, Walter Graham brother to the Erle of Montrose, sir John Boythwike knight, and sundry other Gentlemen toke the sea to passe into England, & arriued at Westchester aboute Midsomer: passing from thence to the Court, he was ioyfully receyued, and immediatly thereupon was the mariage celebrated betwixt him and the Lady Margaret Dowglas daughter & heyre to the Erle of Angus, & to Margaret his wife queene of Scottes, sister to king Henry the eight, at what time there was assured to him by way of inheritaunce, Landes to the valewe of xvij. hundreth markes of yearely rent of assise, in consideration of this mariage with the Kings neece, & in recompence of landes losse by him in Fraunce, to the whiche he was inheritour after the decease of Robert Steward Lorde Obenie, one of the foure Marshals of Fraunce.

The Erle of Lennox goeth into England.

He marrieth the Lady Margaret Dowglas

Lord Obney.

Moreouer kyng Henry beyng now vpon his iourney towards Bullongne, aswell for the annoyance of his highnesse enimies in Scotland, as for recouerie of the sayde Erles right in that realme, appointed the sayd Erle to enter Scotland in the moneth of August, accõpanied with sir Rise Mauncfield, sir Peter Mewtas knights M. Thomas Audley, M. Thomas Brookes, old M. Winter cõptroller of the Kings shipps, & his sonne sir William Winter that now is, & sundry other Capitaynes, hauing vnder their charge two hundred hakebutters, two hundred Archers with long bowes, and two hũdred armed pikes, beside the Mariners belongyng to those shippes, that were appoynted to goe forth in this iourney, beyng in number aboute xij. or xiiij. sayle, belonging to Bristow, and other of the West partes.

The Erle of Lennox retyreth into Scotland.

Upon their arriual on the coast of Scotland they brent the Ile of Arrane, and rased the gouernours Castell there to the grounde. And afterwards arriuing at the Ile of Bute, they entred the same, and toke the Castell of Rosey standing therein, from whence the Stewardes kings of Scotland had theyr originall) the Capitaine they had away prisoner with them into England. Here also they toke twoo Frenche shippes laden with wines, and this done they entred the Firth of Clyde, thinking to find none but their frendes in the Castell of Dunbertane: but the truth is, that in this meane time the Erle of Glencarne with sundry gentlemen being left in that Castell, with the Capitayne thereof called Houlon, to keepe it in the name and to the behoufe of the Erle of Lennox, were in his absence perswaded through practise of the queene Dowager, not onely to renounce theyr promised faith to him, in defrauding him of that Castell, but also to entrappe and winde him within their daunger to take him prysoner.

The Ile of Bute taken.

For whiche purpose they so dissembled the matter, that they had gotte him a lande onely with three hundred menne, and so farre forth they were growen in talke, that the Erle of Lennox beyng entred into the Castell with a fewe other with him, the money was layde downe on the bowde, to be payde to the Capitayne for his satisfaction.

The Erle of Lennox in daunger to betrayed & taken.

But in the meane tyme the Erle of Lennox and suche as were with him, perceyuing some treasonable practise in hande, gotte forth of the house againe vnto theyr companie below, leauing the money behinde them, and after made shifte to gette to theyr shippes, and not before it was high time, for if they had stayed that night, they had bene entrapped by George Dowglas, who with foure thousande menne was secretely drawen thitherwardes and entred the towne of Dunbertane, shortly after ỳ the Erle of Lennox was thus departed, and got to his shipps lying there at hande in the riuer of Clyde, downe the whiche he retyred to the sea, not without

daunger

daunger to haue loſt the ſame ſhippes by reaſon of the narrowneſſe of the water: for the Erle of Argyle beyng gotten betwixte him and the ſea, with a great power of men: with Baners diſpleyd hailed the ſhippes with ſhotte of ordinãce from the caſtel of Dynnune, annoying the Erle of Lennox his paſſage as much as he coulde. But he eſcaping with the Engliſh gentlemen, and the ſhippes out of daunger, toke aduiſe togither at the Ile of Bute what they had to do. The Erle ſore moued to haue bene thus repulſed frõ Dunbretayn, & ſtomaking the matter ſore, to be ſo contenanced by his enimy the Erle of Argyle, with the aduiſe of the Engliſh Gentlemen, he returned with them, and with great ſhew of manhood taking lande beſide the Caſtel and towne of Dynnune, where the Erle of Argyle with ſeuen hundred men was ready to encounter him, and to keepe him of from landyng, but by the helpe of the ſhotte out of the ſhippes, and great ſtore of boates, the Engliſhmen landed, ſlew lxxx. of the enimies moſt part Gentlemen, & put the reſidue to flight, with the loſſe of three men onely on the Engliſh ſide. This done the towne of Dinnune was brente and the Churche ſpoyled, that was full of goods and ornamentes. When the night approched, by reaſon the Engliſhmenne had no pouder nor other prouiſion a lande, the Erle with his people returned to ſhippebord in ſafetie, though not without offer of ſkirmiſhe made by the enimies though to their loſſe, namely of thoſe that aduaunced themſelues moſte forwarde. Abonte foure or fiue dayes after the Erle of Lennox with fiue hundreth menne landed in an other parte of Argyle, and remaynyng on lande a whole day togither, brent, ſpoyled, and waſted the countrey: the Erle of Argyle with two thouſande men giuing the loking on and not ones offering the ſkirmiſhe, ſo that the Erle of Lennox with his Souldiers retyred to his ſhippes without encounter.

After this they inuaded the Ile of Kinter where James Macconell dwelled, brent many places in that countrey, toke and caried away great bootes of cattayle and other goodes. All the coaſtes of Kile, Carrike, and Coningham, and likewiſe of Galloway remayned in continuall feare; ſo that oftentimes their beakons were fyred, and many of the Noble menne conſtrayned to come to the Erle of Lennox, ſeeking to him for aſſurance.

In theſe exployctes the Erle had with him Walter Macfarlane of Tirbatt, and ſeuen ſcore men of the head of Lennox, that ſpake bothe Iriſhe and the Engliſh Scottiſh tongues, light footemen well armed in ſhirtes of maple, with bowes, and two handed ſwordes, and beyng ioyned with the Engliſh Archers and ſhotte, did muche anayleable ſeruice in the ſtreyghts, marriſhes, and mountayne countreys.

To conclude, after the Erle of Lennox and his company had atchieued theſe enterpriſes afore mencioned, he returned towards England, and ſente ſir Peter Mewtas knight, and Thomas Biſhoppe a Scottiſh gentleman, to aduertiſe the King of Englande of his proceedings, who found him at the ſiege of Bulloigne, where they declared to him the whole circumſtance of euery thing as the ſame had paſſed in the Erles iourney, which the king toke in very good part. And vpon his returne into England, after the cõqueſt of Bullongne, the Erle of Lennox was alſo called home to the Courte by letters to him directed, he beyng then at Bryſtow. Abont the middeſt of Februarie, Syr Rauf Eure commonly called Euers, Lorde warden of the Engliſhe middell Marches, entred Scotland with a power of foure thouſand Engliſhmen, Iriſhmen, and aſſured Scottes, and comming firſte vnto Jedworth, lodged there that night, and therewithall vnderſtanding that the gouernour and the Erle of Angus were at the Abbey of Melros, aboute an eight myles diſtaunt from thence, the nexte morneyng he was gotte forth ſo early, that he was almoſte vpon the enimies in ſuche wiſe on the ſudden, that they fledde out of their lodgings, and lefte their beddes and all their houſeholde furniture which they had there with them, not hauing time to conuey it away at their departure, their warning was ſo ſhort. Syr Rauf Eure at his comming thyther finding them fledde and gone, ſpoyled the towne and Abbey, vtterly defacing the Tumbes and Monumentes of the Erles of Dowglas, greatly to the diſpleaſure of the Erle of Angus, and thoſe of his linage.

The Gouernour and the ſayde Erle ſore agreeued to be thus foyled at the Engliſhmens handes, aſſembled togither all ſuche forces as they might recouer, ſo that they had quickly got vnto them aboue fiftene hundred menne, whereof eight hundreth at the leaſt were Gentlemen, and hearyng that the Engliſh men were retyring towardes Jedworth, they mette them at a place called Pannyer Hugh, where bothe the parties alighting on foote, ment to trie the quarell by playne force of hande; but as they were ready to ioyne, the aſſured Scots to the number of ſeuen or eight hundred reuolted vnto the parte of their countrey men, by reaſon whereof after a right ſharpe and fierce conflict the Engliſhe menne in the ende were conſtreyned to flee, whome the Scottes right egrely purſewed, ſlewe Sir Rauſe Eure, the Lorde Ogle, Sir Bryan Layton, and other Gentlemenne and Soul-

Sir Peter Mewtas.

1545.

Sir Rauſe Euers inuadeth Scotland.

He defaceth the Monuments of the Dowglaſſes.

Sir Rauſe Eure and others ſlayne.

Souldiers to the number of eight hundreth, they toke also about a two thousand prisoners, with certayne pieces of Artillery and other munition. This victory fell to the Scottes the xvij. of February, the report whereof was right displeasant to the English nation, but specially the losse of that worthy Gentleman sir Rauf Eure, was greatly bemoned, and that euen of the King himselfe, for the noble prowes and great loyaltie whiche at all times had bene founde in him.

His seruice a-gaynst the Scottes.

His seruice had ben such in these warres against Scotland, that he had brought the more parte of all the Scottes within xx. miles space of the English borders, vnto the obeysance of the king of England, although at length they holpe to worke his confusion as before you haue heard: and here I haue thought good (although out of place) to say somewhat further in the dew commendation of this noble Gentleman.

His seruice in the rebellion tyme.

In time of the great rebellion in the North partes, whiche chaunced in the xxviij. yeere of King Henry the eight, when many other the Noblemen and Gentlemen of those parties had conspired togither with the commons by leuying warre to resist the Kings proceedings, this Sir Rauke Eure beyng then within Scarborough Castel, accõpanied onely with his friends, seruants and tenants, whiche of very good will were contented to serue vnder him, was besieged in the same Castell, and kept from all relefe & succours that might come or be brought vnto him from any parte, during the terme of fiue weekes or there about, so that for the space of xx. dayes after their prouision was spent, they liued onely with bread and water, hauing little or no other sustenance, whiche extremitie not withstanding, he kept the fortresse in safetie to the Kings vse vnto the ende of that dangerous rebellion, and then to his high prayse and commendation deliuered it like a faithful Gentlemã into the Kings hands. This I should haue set downe in place where mencion is made of that rebellion, but the note came not to my hand till that parte of the booke was paste the presse, and so rather here than not at all, I haue thought good to imparte it to the Reader. But now to returne to the purpose for the doings in Scotlande. About the same time that the victory before mencioned chanced to the Scottes, Robert Comerse bishop of Rosse departed this life, to whome succeeded Dauid Pantane, Secretary to the gouernour and Priour of S. Mary Ile.

He is besieged in Scarborough Castell.

Death of Byshops.

In April William Steward bishop of Aberden likewise deceased, and maister William Gordon Chãcellor of Murray, vncle to George Erle of Huntley, was by the Cardinals suyte promoted to that see, greatly to the displeasure of the Erle of Angus that laboured to haue preferred an other thereto. For this & other causes the Cardinal was greatly in hatred of ỹ Dowglasses. This yeere also Montgomery otherwise called Monsier de Lorges, knight of the order of S. Michael, was sent by the French king with iiij. thousand Frenchmen into Scotlande to assist the Scottes against England, he landed at Dunbertayne, and came in good order to Edenburgh the xiij. of May: he brought with him from the French king the order of S. Michaell, to inuest therewith the Lord gouernour, the Erles of Angus, Huntley, and Argile. Herwith also was an army of Scottes reysed, and ioyning with the Frenchmen, they approched ỹ boundures where they lay for a season, but the Erle of Hertford Lieutenant generall of the North partes comming downe, toke such direction for the safe keeping of the English boundures, that after the Scottes had layne there in campe a certayne space without atchieuing any great enterprice, though some notable exploit was looked for to haue bene attempted by them at that present, they brake vp their armie and returned home.

Monsieur de Lorges sent into Scotlan

Knightes of Michaels order.

An army of Scots lieth the borders

The .xvj. of September about three or foure hundred Scottes and Frenchmen, attempted to enter into England on the east boundures, but the Englishmen perceyuing where they were aboute to passe by a certayne streyt, they set vpõ them with their Archers, discomfited them, sleying, and taking to the number of seuen score of them. Amongst other that were taken, one of the Sonnes to the Lord Hume, with a French capitayne, and George Elphinston Archer of the corps to the French king, were accompted chief. Also on the West boundures Robert Maxwell eldest sonne to the Lord Maxwell, was taken in a roade made by him & others into the English confines on that side, although at an other time certaine Englishmen making a roade into Scotlande were distressed, the more parte of them beyng taken or slayne. At a Parliamẽt holden at Linlithqhuo, begon there the. xxviij. of September, and continued til the first of October, Matthew Erle of Lennor, & Thomas bishop of Utheltree, were forfalted, & al their lãds and goodes giuen away and annexed to the Crowne. In this meane time the king of England desirous to haue the seruice of the Iles of Scotland for sundry great causes and respects, moued the Erle Lenor to deale with them to ỹ ende, whiche her did, and his trauell toke suche effect, that the Iland men were cõtented to rest at the king of Englande his deuotion, partely for that they were in a maner swoorne enimies to the Erle of Argyle and his family, and partly for that they doubted the king of Englands puyssance if he shoulde attempt to inuade those parties:

French men and Scots ouerthrowen

The Lorde Maxwelles sonne taken prysoner.

The Erle of Lennox procureth the Iles to serue the king of England

parties: and againe, bearing an olde speciall fauor to the Earle of Lennox and his house, hauing an auntient bonde of alliance and amitie with the same, they were the more ready to satisfie his motion. Herevpon, they elected amongst them a Lorde of the Iles, nexte of the bloud, a title long sithence right odious to the state of Scotland, and by the inducement of the Earle of Lennox, hee was contented as the Kyng of Englands pentioner, to receyue two thousand Crownes of him yeerely, with certayne riche apparel of cloth of golde and siluer from the said Earle.

The first proofe he attempted to shew of hys seruice in the King of Englands behalfe, was this, hauing instructions thereto from the Erle of Lennox, vnder colour of a conference, for matters touching the estate of the Countrey, he had suborned one of his aliance and seruantes, called ỳ Clane Reignald, to entrappe the Erles of Arguile and Huntley, and although they escaped very narrowly, the Lord Louet an auntient Baron, and greate friende to those two Earles, was slayne by the sayd Clane, togyther with seauen hundred of his kinsmen and frends, in so muche, that there remayned not but one yong boy of that lignage to succeede in that Lords lands.

After this, the L. of the Iles with fyue M. mẽ embarqued in certayne vessels, passed ouer into Carrike, harried and brent the lands of the Erle of Cassels, then a great enimie to the Kyng of England. In this voyage he got great spoiles, and slew many of the enimies: after which enterprise so atchieued, he came with his power by Sea, and landed in Irelande, where the Earles of Lennox and Ormonde were, with twelue hundred Irishmenne, appoynted to ioyne with him, that with their whole power they myghte inuade the Earle of Irguiles Countreys, and consequently the mayne lande of Scotlande at the brode syde. But before the preparation could be made ready for that iourney, the newe Lord of the Iles deceassed, whose buriall in Irelande to honor the Earle of Lennox, stode the Kyng of England in foure hundred pounds sterling. But now to returne vnto ỳ doings on the bordures betwixt England and Scotland in thys season. Ye shall vnderstand, that after the army of Scotland was broken vp, the Earle of Hertford by vertue of his cõmission reysed an army in the Countreys of the further side of Trente Northwardes, so that when the same was assembled togither with such straungers as were then in the Kynges wages, they were in all of horsemenne and footemen twelue thousande fighting men. With thys army garded with great store of artillerie, munition, and all manner of furniture necessary, the Earle of Hertford entred Scotlande, and marching to Coldingham, past vp by the water of Tweed, and brent a great part of the Mers and Tiuidale, the Abbeys of Kelsey, Melros, Dryborne, and Jedworth, with Townes and Villages, to the nũber of fiue score, but yet he entred not farre within the countrey beyond the said water, but kept alongst neere to the same, & returned back without any encounter: for after the Scottish armye was broken vp, it was not like they woulde assemble agayne, and so the Earle of Hertford taking the time that serued hys purpose, sore endomaged the Scottish bordures at that present. Many other final inuasions were made, as wel by the one parte as the other, and some skirmishes fell out betwixt them, sometime to the losse of the Scottishe, and sometime of the Englishe, according to the course of warre. In the Lent season the Cardinall of S. Andrewes caused al the Bishoppes and Prelates of the Realme to assemble at the towne of S. Andrewes, where a learned man, named M. George Wischart, that had bin in the Schooles of Germany, was accused of Heresie, which he had (as was alledged against him) publiquely preached and priuately taught in Dundee, Brechin, and dyuers other parts of Scotlãd, since hys returne home. This matter was so vrged against him, that he was conuict, and brente there in the Towne of Saint Andrewes during the time of that conuention and assembly.

The Earle of Hertford inuadeth Scotlande.

George Wischart a learned man brent.



The thirtith of May the Cardinall beeyng within his Castell of S. Andrewes, certaine of his owne friends as he toke them, to wit, Norman, Lord Leslie, William Kirkaudie, ỳ yong Lard of Grange, with sixteene chosen men, entred the Castell very secretely in the morning, toke the Porter, and all the Cardinals seruãts, thrusting them out of the place by a posterne gate, and that done, passing to hys Chamber

The Cardinall of S Andrewes murthered.

where he lay in bedde, as hee gote vp, and was opening his Chamber doze, they slew him, and seised vpon the artillerie and munition, wherewith that foztresse was right plentifully furnished, and likewise with rich hangings, houshold stuffe of all soztes, apparell, copes, iewells, ozornaments of Churches, great stoze of golde and siluer plate, beside no small quantitie of treasure in ready coyne. Sir James Leiremonth Pzouost of Saint Andzewes, assembled all ỹ people of that Towne foz the rescue of the Cardinall, after he heard that the conspiratozs were entred the Castel, but they shewed the dead body of the Cardinall ouer the walles, as a spectacle to the people, and so they made no further atttempte, sith they sawe no meane how to remedie oz reuenge the matter at that present. The cause that moued the conspiratozs thus to kyll the Cardinall, was thought to be partly in reuenge of the bzenning of M. George Wilchart, fearing to be serued with the same sause, and in the ende to bee made to dzinke of the same cuppe. Partly also it was thoughte they attempted it through counsell of some greate menne of the Realme, that hadde conceyued some deadly hatred against him.

The same euening, the olde Lard of Grange, Maister Henry Balnauis, one of the Counsell of the Realme, and sundzye Gentlemen of the surname of the Mzluines, John Knockes and others, to the number of seuen scoze persons, entred the Castell to their suppozte, taking vppon them to keepe it against the gouernour and hys partakers.

The Gouernour hearing that his deere cousin the Cardinall was thus made away, assembled the greate Lozdes of the Realme, as the Earles of Angus, Huntley, Argyle, and others, by whose aduise hee called a Parliamente, and

The slayers of the Cardinall forfalted.

forfalted them that had slayne the Cardinall, and kept the Castell of Saint Andzewes: herewith also hee reysed a power and besieged the same Castell, planting diuers peeces of greate

The Castell of Saint Andrews besieged.

artillerie against it, but it was so strongly furnished with all manner of artillerie and munition by the Cardinall in his life time, that they within cared little foz all the enfozcements that their aduersaries withoute coulde aduaunce against them, wherevpõ, after that the siege had

The siege reised.

continued the space of thzee monethes, the Gouernour was glad to take an appoyntmẽt with them within, to the end he might get out of their handes his eldest sonne, who was remayning with the Cardinall at the time when hee was murthered, and so kepte by them that dyd the murther, tyll nowe they agreed to delyuer hym to his father, with condition that hee shoulde reyse his siege.

They deliuered also the dead bodye of the Cardinall, after it had layne buried in a dunghill within the Castell, euer sithence the daye in which they slew him.

In the yeare next ensuing, King Henry the eyght departed this life, after whome, succeeded his sonne Edward, the syrst of that name King of England, France and Ireland. 1547

The Kyng of Englande deceased.

Shoztly after, to witte, the last of Marche, Francis the Frenche King deceassed, and hys sonne Henry, the second of that name succeeded him, who at ỹ desire of the gouernour of Scotland, appoynted Leone Strozzi Pzioz of Capoa, a Knight of the ozder of Malta, with a nauie of sixteene Galleys fraughte with menne of warre, and munition, to passe into Scotlande, to help to winne the Castell of S. Andzewes.

The death the Frenche

The Gouernour in the meane time with an army past to the West bozdures to besiege the Castell of Langham, the whiche was kepte at that presente by Michaell Wharton, hauyng then with him but sixteene Englishmenne, who neuertheleste abid thzee oz foure dayes siege, and seauen Canon shottes, and so yeelded the house to the Gouernoure, and heereby was the peace bzoken, sirste by the Scottes, euen as the Englishmen could haue wished.

Mozeouer the same time, the Earle of Rothous was acquit by an assise as they call it of Earles & Lozds, of an accusation wherewith he was charged as confederate and partie with thẽ that had murthered the Cardinall.

Whilest the Gouernoure was thus passed with his armye to the West bozdures, hee was aduertised that the Pzioz of Capoa was arriued, and entred into the Towne of Sainte Andzewes, wherevppon the Gouernoure, with all the Nobilitie that were then about him, hasted thyther to assist the Pzioz, and so the siege was strongly layd aboute the Castell there.

The Castell of Saint Andrewes besieged by the Frenche

The Pzioz caused certaine peeces of artillerie to bee dzawen vppe, and mounted on the toppe of a Churche, whiche was higher than the Castell, so that those peeces shot plump into the Castell, that none durst shewe themselues on the walles, oz abzode in the yarde within the Castell.

Hee caused also certayne Canons to bee dzawen with ingins, neere to the verye walles of the Castell, whyche battered the same in suche sozte, as the ditches were neere hand filled with the rubbishe and stones of the walles that fell downe.

Mozeouer, the Galleys at an high water appzoched on the Riuer side so neere to the Castell, that with shot of Cannons and other artillerie, they sore annoyed them within, and slew diuers.

The

The defendants perceiuing themselues thus besieged on all sides, and not able long to holde out, put forth a token vpon a speares poynt, to signifie that they desired parlee, whiche was graunted, and certaine of them comming forth, were admitted to talke with the Gouernoure, the Queene, and the Prior of Capoa. They offered to render the Castell, so they might depart, and haue their liues saued with bagge and baggage, but this would not bee graunted, the Gouernour vtterly refusing it, at length he was contented to pardon the of their liues, if the french King should thinke it good, else to stande to hys pleasure. The spoyle of the Castell was giuen to the Frenchmen, who vpon the surrender entring the same, lefte nothing behinde them that might serue them to any vse in taking it away. All the principall men within it were led to the Galleys, and conueyd away into France prisoners at the Frenche kings discretion. Diuers of them were committed to sundry prisons on the coast of Britaine, and others were appoynted to rowe in ỹ Galleis till ỹ yeare. 1550. in which the prisoners were set at libertie, and the others that were in the Galleis were redeemed by their friends for certayne summes of money.

Thus was the Castell of Sainte Indrewes rendred the nine and twentith of July, fourteene dayes after the arriuall there of the Prior of Capoa; whereby his greate baliancie, well knowen afore that time, was so renued, as hys prayse for his speedie dispatch and good successe therein was much aduanced.

Shortly after the Duke of Somerset, heeretofore in this Booke named Earle of Hertford, Uncle by the mother vnto the yong Kyng of England, and admitted gouernour of his person, and protector of all his Realmes, dominions and subiects, minding the aduancement of the yong King his nephew, thought good with all speede to procure the consummation of the marriage, betwixte him, and the yong Queene of Scottes, but perceyuing that the same could not be brought to passe without force, hee seemed loth to let passe the opportunitie of time the offered (as hee tooke it) to serue his purpose: and thereupon by aduise of counsell leuied an army with all expedition, & came to Berwike, aboute the later ende of August, and in the beginning of September entred Scotlande with the same armye, conteyning a seauentreene or eyghtreene thousande men, whiche was deuided into three principall wardes, a vantgard led by the valiant Erle of Warwike, the battayle by the D. of Somerset himselfe, and the rerewarde by the Lord Dacres of the North. There were certaine wings and troupes of men of armes demilances, and light horsemen, and also of harquebuters, that attended vpon these .iij. wards, garded with diuers peeces of great artillery: the lord Grey of Wilton high marshall of the army, had the generall conduction of the men of armes and demilances. Sir Frauncis Bryan, lieutenaunt of the light horsemen, with .viij.C. of them was appoynted to the vantgarde, Syr Peter Mewtas captaine of .v.C. haqbutters, and sir Frauncis Fleming, maister of the ordinaunce with a .M. light horsemen were appointed to the battaile, and sir Richarde Manners, with .vj.C. light horsemen attended vpon the rerewarde. In this order marchyng throughe the Mers, and Louthian, they came at lengthe vnto a place called Buckling Brayes, neere to the Fourth side, in which riuer ỹ English fleete was arriued, and laye before the Towne of Leith, but now by order giuen came backe from thence, and lay neerer to the army. The gouernour of Scotland aduertised of the comming of this army of Englande thus to inuade Scotland, with al diligẽce sent abrode solemne summonance for the leuying of a newe army forth of all partes of the Realme, the which being assembled togither, hee encamped therewith neere to Muskelburgh water, within lesse than two miles of ỹ place where the English army came now to encamp.

The English fleete.

The Gouernour raiseth an armye.

Heere we haue to vnderstãd, that the Scots light Horsemen oftentimes woulde come pricking almost within theyr staues length of the Englishmen as they marched, whooping & shouting, to the ende they might trayne them forth frõ their strẽgth, and with rayling words would stil be in hand to prouoke thẽ therto, but the D. of Somerset doubting the goodnesse of those Scottish prickers, gaue secret cõmandmẽt that no offer of skirmish by the Scottish Horsemen should be taken: but at length the L. Grey of Wilton, not well able to beare such bold presumption in the Scots, aduenturing as he tooke it ouer rashly, & more thã stood with their owne suretie, made sute to the D. of Somerset, that if they continued in such brauerie, it might bee lawfull for him to set them further off. The D. at the first would by no meanes assent thereto, telling the L. Grey, that hys desire proceeded more of a lolitie of courage, than of any knowledge of the enimie, and seemed to defende the goodnesse of the Scottish Horsemen, but when the L. Grey persisted in his sute, and the Earle of Warwike assisted his request, the Duke in the ende yeelded thereto. Heerevpon when the Scottes the next time, whiche was on the Friday the ninth of September came forth to offer the skirmish after their wonted manner, the L. Grey taking with him certayne bands of Horsemenne both menne of armes, Demilaunces,

The goodnes of the Scottish horsemen feared of the Englishemenne.

The Lorde Grey desireth to encounter the Scottish horsemenne.

and also lighte Horsemenne, deuided them in troupes, appoynting the Spanish and Italian hagbutters on horsebacke to keepe on a wing, and to gard the hindermost troupe of the English Horsemenne, giuing order to the leaders of euery troupe, that to which so euer the enimie should once offer, in any wise that no aunswer by skirmishe were made them, but after they had drawen them to their accustomed play, and proffer of charge, that troupe that it was offered vnto, presently vppon the enimies wheeling about should throughly gyue it them, and that so giuen, the nexte troupe presently to giue it in the face, and so as occasion required, both those troupes wholly togyther to help other without breaking. The Scottes comming forward, pricking and whowping after their olde wont, the Englishmen forbare a great whyle, tyll at the last, four or fyue hundred of them comming skattered vppon the spurre, with a maruellous shoute within their staues length of the foremost troupe, and thinking then to haue wheeled about, Maister Nicholas Gaynesford, the leader of that troupe, and Lieutenant of the Lorde Greys band of his men of armes of Bulloigne, cryed a charge, whyche as speedily on the English parte as vnlooked for of the Scottes beeing giuen, from charging at that time in sport, the Scottes wer driuen to gallop away so fast, as theyr Horses myghte beare them, losing of their companyes that were taken and slayne to the number of an eyght hundred or more (as some haue written) but yet as dyuers of the Englishmen aduentured too farre in following the chase, they were distressed, and sundrye of them taken prisoners, among the whiche were some of theyr Captaynes, as Sir Raufe Bulmer, Thomas Gower, and Robert Crouche, eache of them hauing in charge the leading of seuerall bandes of lighte Horsemenne. Thus muche for this Fridayes skirmish, wherein the chiefest force of the Scottish Horsemen was defeated, to the great discouragement of the rest. But nowe to proceede to the chiefest poynt of the Scottes infortunate proceedings. True it is (as the Scottes haue reported) that the Gouernoure, and the nobilitie of Scotland meant not to hazarde battayle within theyr owne Realme, but rather to lye styll and defend their ground, if the Englishmenne shoulde come forwarde to gyue them battayle there.

Order gyuen by the Lorde Grey.

Nicholas Gaynesford.

The Scottes Horsemen put to flight.

English Captaynes taken.

The Scottes meant not to haue gyuen battayle.

The Englishmen aduertised therof the morrow after this great skirmish, reysed theyr field verye earely, purposing to take an hyll called Pinkhill, where they myghte place their ordinance, and to shoote into the Scottish Campe, whereby they shoulde force the Scottes to dislodge from theyr ground of aduantange.

The purpose of the Englishmen.

The Gouernour and the Scottishe Lordes beholding their enimies thus marching forewarde, thoughte best to stay theyr enterprise, and therefore suddaynely notwithstandyng theyr former determination, rushing forthe of theyr camp, passed forwarde to encounter theyr enimies.

They were deuided into three battayles, the Earle of Angus wyth certayne Lordes with him, leading the vantgarde, the Earle of Huntley and his friendes the rerewarde, and the Gouernoure accompanyed with the Earle of Argile and the rest of the noble menne, were in the maine battayle. The Englishmen hauyng gote the hyll, and perceyuing the Scottes to come forwardes with greate hast, stayed for their comming, but the Scottes were so rashe and hastie passing firste through the water in their armour, and so vp towardes the hill, that continuing their marche with suche speede as they seemed, rather to trotte than to keepe anye ordinarie marching pace, before they coulde come to ioyne with the Englishmen, they were almost out of breath, yet the Earle of Angus & the other in the vantgard boldly abid the charge of al the English horsemen, & so rigorously rencountred them, that slaying & beating downe no small nūber both of mē and horses, they put the rest to flight, so that no small part of them retired backe in such disorder, that they ran thorough the rankes of ỹ footemen in the forewarde, wherewith suche feare entred among the Englishmē, that as hath bin reported, they had vndoubtedly fledde, if the manfull courage of the Earle of Warwike had not bin shewed at that present, according to the wonted valure of hys often approued prowes, wherby he caused them to stay, and relie themselues agayne. In the meane time, the battayle & the rerewarde of the Scottes aduaunced forwarde with great courage, but ther was a Galley, and two pinesses of the Englishe fleete which from the sea shotte so terribly at the Scottish army, that ỹ same was not only sore galled and endomaged therby, but also stayed, that they could not come easily forward, and herewith the English vantgard encouraged with the comfortable wordes and behauiour of the Earle of Warwike, and other the Captaynes, made towards the Scottishe vantgard agayne, the whyche not able of it selfe to resist, retired in good order to the greate battayle of Scotlande, whereuppon the multitude fearing, by reason they sawe them in the forewarde thus retire (albeit in good order) that all hadde bin lost, gaue backe, and toke them to flight, whome the Englishmenne followed amayne, slaying the Scottishmenne downe on heapes in passing great numbers.

The order of the Scottish battayle

The English Horsemen beaten back

The valiantnesse of the Earle of Warwike.

The Galley and two pinesses.

Many

Many were also drowned in the water of Undercske, through the whiche they toke their flight.

The Earle of Huntley and the reregarde stoode still with their ensignes and bannees, tyll the chase was past by them, but at length were driuen to make away as well as the rest, and the Earle himselfe in the retire beeing taken a foote, well clad in gilte armour enameled, was leadde prisoner to the Lorde Protectour. Diuers other menne of name, Barons, and Knightes, were taken prisoners. There were slayne no small number of personages of good accompte. Among other, the Lorde Fleming, the Maister of Erskin, the Maister of Graham, the Maister of Methyne, the Maister of Ogiluy, the Maister of Leuingston, the M. of Ros, the Larde of Lochinwar, the Larde of Glencarnocke, and others. The next day, the English army remoued to Leith, where the prisoners were put into a Church, diuers of them beeing sore wounded, but the Earle of Huntley entring bond for them that they should well and truely pay their raunsomes agreed vpon betwixt them and their takers, or else to come and present themselues prisoners in England by a certaine daye, they were suffered to depart. The Gouernour escaping from the battayle, came to Striueling, where the Queene Regent was, togyther with hir daughter the yong Queene. Here by the counsell and aduise of the Earle of Ingus, and diuers other Lords that were also withdrawē thither after the battayle, they were conueyd to the Countrey of Menteith, where they remayned in the Abbey of Inch Mahome, til the English armye was departed out of the Realme, and then they remoued agayne, and came to Striueling.

The Englishe nauie wanne the Isle of S. Colmes Ins, and did sundry other exployts by Sea, as in the English Historie it may appere.

Moreouer, the Earle of Bodwell, whome the Gouernour had before kepte in prison, and was the night after the battayle set at libertie, repayred to the Duke of Somerset with diuers other Lords and Gentlemen of Louthian, whilest he lay at Lieth, offering themselues to be at the King of Englands commaundement, and so were assured from receyuing hurte or domage by the English power.

The Duke of Somerset hauing remayned at Leith an eight dayes, and demaunding the Castell of Edenburgh, could not obteyne it, departed from thence the eyghtenth of December homewardes the nerte way, ouer the Mountaynes of Soutrey, comming the thirde day before the Castell of Hume, where they dyd so muche by countenancing to win that fortresse, that within three or foure dayes after their comming thither, it was surrendred. Hume Castell rendred to the Englishmen.

This Castell beeing wonne, and a garnison left therein to keepe it, they remoued to Rockesburgh, where within the compasse of the ruinous walles of an olde Castell they builte a forte, and after returning into England, lefte a conuenient garnison to keepe it.

They gote also about the same time a strōg fortresse, called Fast Castell, standing neere to the Sea syde, and placed a garnison within it. Fast Castell wonne by them.

And moreouer in this meane tyme, they? Fleete by Sea wanne the Castell of Brought tie Crag, and putte in like manner a garnison within it to keepe the same (as in the Englishe Historie it may further appeare:) and in what sort also all the chiefest Lords and Gentlemen of the Mers and Tiuidale, came in, and submitted themselues to the Duke of Somerset, vpon assurance had and giuen. Broughtie Crag wonne.

Furthermore, whilest the Duke of Somersette with hys armie dyd thus inuade Scotland on the East parte, it was ordeyned by the sayde Duke, and other of the Counsell to the Kyng of Englande, that Mathewe Earle of Lennor, and Thomas Lorde Wharton, then Warden of the West Marches of Englande, should with a power inuade Scotlande on the West syde, to the end that there should not any of the West borders nor Countreys come to assist the Gouernour, against the Duke of Somersettes armye, but bee driuen to remayne at home to defend their owne Countrey. Hereupon, there was an army leuied to the number of fiue thousande fotemenne, and eyghte hundred light Horsemen, with whiche power, the Earle of Lennor and the Lorde Wharton entring Scotlande the eyght of September, encamped the firste night vpon the water of Eske, & marched the nexte daye through the nether parte of Annandale, till they came to the Castell of Milke, a fortresse of good strength, ỹ walles being fourteene foote thicke. Captain of this Castell was one Jo. Steward, brother to the Lard thereof, who vppon the approch of the Earle of Lennor, yeelded the house vnto him, without any shewe of resistance, whereuppon Fergus Graham, brother to Richie Grahame of Eske, was appointed with a garnison of Souldiers to keepe that Castell to the vse of the yong King of Englande, and was afterwards confirmed Captayne there with fiftie light Horsemen, by appoyntmente of the Duke of Sommersette, and the Counsell, so that during the warres, he remayned there to the great annoyance of the Scottes, enimies to Englande, and preseruation of the Countrey thereaboutes, to the King of Englands vse. The Castell of Milke yeelded

The twentith of September, the Earle of Lennor, and the Lorde Wharton encamped neere to the Towne of Innande, and the morrow after approching neerer to the same, gaue commonance vnto the Captaine thereof, called Lion, of the house of Glames, who with an hundred Scottes kept the Churche and Steeple of Annand, keeping peeces of themselues verye strong and mightily reenforced with earth: they within therefore refused to yeelde, and valiantly defended themselues.

The greatest peeces of artillerie whych the Englishmen hadde there at that time, were certayne double and single Falcons, wherewyth they beate only the battlements, till they myght with certayne engines approche harde to the walles, and vndermine the same, so as the roofe of the Church was shaken downe, and a greate number of them within the Church slayne and crushed to death. Suche as escaped fledde into the Steeple. Two of the Englishmen that wroughte aboute the mynes were slayne, but at length, the Captayne moued by perswasion of the Erle of Lennox, to whome hee claymed to bee of kynne, rendered the Steeple vnto hym, with hymselfe, and .96. Scottes Souldyers, with condition to haue their lyues onely saued, and the Captayne to remayne prisoner, and to goe into England. Immediatly vpon theyr comming forth of the Steeple, fyre was giuen to the traines of powder in the mynes, and so both the Church and Steeple were blowen vp into the ayre, and rased downe to the grounde. Thys done, they brente the Towne (after they hadde sacked it) and left not a stone standing vppon an other, for that the same Towne hadde euer bin a right noysome neyghbour to Englande. The Englishmen had conceyued suche spite towardes thys Towne, that if they sawe but a peece of timber remayning vnbrente, they would cutte the same in peeces with theyr billes. The Countrey heerewith was striken in such feare, that the next daye all the Kilpatrickes and the Iordeynes, the Lards of Kirkmichel, Apilgirth, Clolbourne, Howmendes, Muby, and ẏ Irrewings, the Belles, the Rigges, the Murrayes, and all the clanes and surnames of the nether part of Innerdale, came in, and receyued an oth of obeysance, as subiectes to the King of Englande, deliuering pledges for their assured loyaltie.

The Church of Annand vndermined.

The Steeple yeelded.

The Church and Steeple of Annand blowen vp with powder.

The Scottes that came to assure them selues.

The residue that woulde not come in and submitte themselues, hadde theyr houses brent, their goodes and cattell fetched away by the Englishe lyghte horsemen, that were sente abrode into the Countrey for that purpose.

These things thus executed, the Earle of Lennox, and the Lorde Wharton returned backe into Englande wyth theyr prisoners, bowties and spoyles, receyuing greate thankes and commendations by gentle letters, of the fyue and twentith of September, from the Duke of Somerset, then lying at Rockesburgh, aboute fortifying of that place.

The gouernour perceyuing thus that without the assistance of Fraunce hee should not be able to resist the Englishmen, hauing now gote such foote hold within the Realme of Scotland, required the Queene Dowager, and Monsieur Doysell, Liger Ambassador for the Frenche Kyng to perswade with him by letters, to send an army into Scotland, to the aide of his frends there. The Queene, and Monsieur Doysell, perceyuing a ready way prepared to bring that to passe which they most desired, which was, to haue the Queene of Scotlande ordred in all things by the Frenche Kyngs aduice, they vndertooke to procure an army out of Fraunce, according to the gouernours desire, if hee wyth the states of the Realme woulde agree that the Queene myght bee sente into Fraunce, and a contract made for hir bestowing in marriage, as stoode with the French Kings pleasure. The Gouernour condiscending heereunto, assembled the states, and by their aduises, passed certayne couenantes to the effect aforesayd, and sente the same in writing by certayne messengers into Fraunce.

The Gouernours suite to the Queene Dowager, and to the French Ambassador.

The Queene Dowager promiseth ayde out of Fraunce with condicions.

The Frenche King gladly accepting thys message, prepared a nauie of Shyppes and Galeys to transporte an army into Scotland the next Sommer. In the meane time, the Gouernour laid siege to Broughtie Crag, and the D. of Somerset as well for meane to cause the Scottes to retire that siege, as also for the annoyance of Clidesdale, appertayning to ẏ Gouernour and ẏ Erle of Angus, and other Scots ẏ would not come in to the obeysance of the K. of England, appoynted the Earle of Lennox to make a new inuasiō into Scotland, & to vse for triall of their fidelities, the help of two thousand Scottish light horsemen, that were already assured and sworne to serue the Kyng of England in all such exployctes in which they should be employed. The Earle of Lennox desirous to aduaunce the King of Englands affayres, & hauing receyued letters from William Earle of Glencarne, with promise of hys assistance, and likewise of his father in lawe the Earle of Angus, the Lorde of Drumlanrig, and those Lordes and Gentlemenne of the Countreys of Kile, Cunningham, Renfreu, & Lennox, entred Scotlād about the twelfth of Decēber, accompanyed with Henry Wharto, second son to the L. Wharton, with two C. light horsemen, of the garnisons in Scotland, and comming first

The Gouernour sendeth into France for aide.

Broughtie Crag besieged by the Gouernour.

The Earle Lennox entreth into Scotland

to

to Dunfreis, where the generall assemblie was appoynted of the two thousande assured Scottishe lyght Horsemen, when the musters should bee taken, hee founde vnneth three hundred, and those for the more part of the broken countreys of Annãdale, Ewisdale, Eldale, and Liddesdale. The Earle of Glencarne came thither indeede, but vnder a counterfeit shewe of good meaning, where in trueth hee meante nothyng but craft to discouer all the Earle of Lennox hys purposes, who perceyuing his double dealing, and fyndyng no suche forces ready to assist hym as he looked for, and moreouer mistrusting the loyalties of the master of Maxwell, & the Ettlemẽ of Nidesdale, meaning as he toke it, to entrappe hym, and delyuer hym to the Queene Dowager, and the Lorde Gouernour, stode in some perplexitie what way should bee the best for hym to followe, thinking it not to stande wyth hys honor to returne, without atchiuing some enterprise.

The Earle of Glencarne had shewed to him two letters written by the Lorde of Drumlanrig, signifying, that if the Earle of Lennox came, accompanyed onely with Scottishmen, he woulde both serue him and honor h m in the best wise hee myghte, but if hee broughte those Englishmenne in his company, he would not onely refuse to ayde hym, but also reyse all the power hee myght make, eyther by his friends or otherwise to resist him.

The Earle thus perceyuing that hee was in daunger to bee betrayed among them, and that there was all the deuises practised that myghte bee to slay those that shoulde come to the deuotion of the King of Englande, dissembled the matter with Glencarne and other that were suborned to betray hym, pretendyng to them, that hee would followe the course of theyr deuises, but in the meane tyme hee gote togither the Englishe Captaynes that were appoynted to attende hym, and also suche Scottishmen as hee knewe hee myghte trust, and meaning to scourge Drumlanrig, and to cutte hym shorte, for that hee was the chiefe instrument to slay all the Scottishmenne in those parties from entring friendshippe wyth the Englishmenne: hee gaue secret warning to all the Captaynes and leaders aboute nine of the clocke at night, that they should be ready wyth theyr men to mount on Horsebacke at the firste sounde of the Trumpette, and keeping wyth them the Erle of Glencarne, the M. of Maxwel, the Lardes of Closburne, Kirkmichel, and others the Gentlemenne of Nidesdale and Annandale, hee sente forthe syxe hundred chosen Horsemenne vppon sounde of the Trumpette, at twelue of the clocke at nyghte, vnder the leadyng of Henrye Wharton, and other the Captaynes of the garnisons, who in the dawning of the nexte morrowe, arriued neere the place of Drumlanrig, where they appoynted foure hundred of theyr Horsemenne to passe to the forrey, who reysed fyre, and brente two

The Earle of Lennox dissembleth with dissemblers.

Horsemen sent forth to scourge Drũlanrig.

They harry the Countrey aboue Drumlanrig.



myles in length, both Townes and Villages on each side, euen harde to the gates of Drumlanrig, spoyled the houses of goodes and riches, worth to the value of two thousande markes, gote three thousande Sheepe, two thousande heard of great Cattell, beside nine score horses and mares. The Annandallers laden wyth spoyle and Cattaile, beeing in number a foure hundred men, departed with their pray homewards. The Lard of Drumlanrig lying al thys while in ambush with seauen hundred men, forbare to breake out to giue anye charge vppon his enimies, doubting least the Earle of Lennox hadde kepte a stale behynde, but nowe

after he perceyued that the moſt part of the enimies were departed, and that the reſidue of the Gentlemenne and Captaynes of the Engliſhe Hoꝛſemen were withdꝛawing towards Dunfreys, being not paſt a fiue ſhoꝛe men, he fiercely followed after them with hys power, in hope not onely to ouerthꝛowe and diſtreſſe them, but alſo to take the Earle of Lennox at Dunfreys.

Drumlanrig purſueth the Engliſhmen.

Maiſter Henrye Wharton and thoſe fiue ſcoꝛe Hoꝛſemen, retiring beyonde the water of Nith, and perceyuing that Dꝛumlanrig and his mẽ entred the water raſhly to purſue them, returned, and gaue ſuch a deſperate charge vpon them, that Dꝛumlanrig and his company were ſcattered and putte to flighte, yet Dꝛumlanrig himſelfe, although there were ſome ſpeares bꝛoken vppon hym, thꝛough the goodneſſe of hys Hoꝛſe eſcaped.

He is put to flight.

Two Gentlemen of his ſurname and traine, that were in no ſmall eſtimatiõ with him, were ſlayne, and fiue ſcoꝛe pꝛiſoners taken, and ledde to Dunfreis.

The terrour of this ouerthꝛowe, and ẏ bꝛuite of the Earle of Lennox hys entrie thus made into Scotland, cauſed the Gouernoure to leuie his ſiege frõ Bꝛoughtie Crag, and with ſpeede to come from thence, the better to defende hys Countreys of Cliddeſdale, and Dowglaſdale.

The ſiege of Broughtie Crag reyſed.

Sir Andꝛew Dudley, Captayn of Bꝛoughtie Crag, bare himſelfe right vãliantly, in defending the Caſtell during thys ſiege, ſo that the Scottes certeſſe loſt diuers hardy perſonages, and among other Eawen Hamilton, the Gouernoures kinneſman, was ſlayne at the ſame ſiege.

Moꝛeouer, the Pꝛioꝛ of Whiterne by hys letters and meſſengers, offered himſelfe to obey the King of Englande: and the inhabitantes of the burroughe and hauen townes of Wigton and Kirckowbꝛe, the Knightes of Loghinwar and Garleis, the Laird and tutoꝛ of Bomby, ẏ Lairde of Cardines, and all the Gentlemen of Annandale, Nideſdale, and Galloway, euen to Whiterne, beeyng. 80. myles in length from Carelile, thꝛough the inducemente of the foꝛeſayd Pꝛioꝛ, and of the Knightes of Loghinwar and Garleis (foꝛ the fauoꝛ they bare to ẏ Earle of Lennox) within two dayes after the diſcomfiture of Dꝛumlanrig, came vnto Dunfreis, and there receyued an oth to be true to the Kyng of Englande, and afterwardes wente with the Earle vnto Carelile, leauing the Countrey in good quiet, and the King of England acknowledged foꝛ Lozde of Galloway, Nideſdale, and Annandale by the inhabitants thereof.

The Prior of Whiterne.

And after that the foꝛenamed perſons hadde remayned foꝛ a ſpace at Carelile, they deliuered pledges, and returned home into their Countreys, as aſſured men and ſubiects to the Kyng of England.

The Scottes deliuer pledges.

In thys meane whyle, the Gouernoure hauing holde ſiege befoꝛe the Caſtell of Bꝛoughtie Crag, by the ſpace of thirtie daies, and nowe retiring from thence (as befoꝛe yee haue hearde) by the aduice of the principall Lozdes aboute hym, hee cauſed Maiſter James Halibourton, tutoꝛ of thoſe parties, to reyſe certaine companies of Hoꝛſemen, and appoynted hym wyth Captaine Leiremouth, whome he left in Dundee with certayne ſoꝛtemenne) to defende the Countrey againſte the Engliſhmenne, if they iſſued foꝛthe of Bꝛoughtie crag, to atchieue anye enterpꝛiſe anye where neere thereaboutes.

James Hollburton. Captayne Leirmouth.

The Duke of Somerſet by aduice of the reſidue of the counſell in England, mynding to bꝛidle the Scottes that refuſed to come in and ſubmit themſelues to the King of Englande, toke oꝛder foꝛ the building of one Foꝛte at Lawder, and an other at Hadington, as in the Engliſhe hiſtoꝛie it may appeare.

Forts built.

And further it was appoynted alſo that about the ende of Febꝛuary, the Earle of Lennox and the Lozde Wharton with fiueen hundꝛed Engliſhe hoꝛſemenne, beſyde the aſſured Scottes Hoꝛſemenne, and aboute a foure oꝛ fyue thouſande Engliſhe ſoꝛtemenne, ſhoulde by the Weſt boꝛdures inuade Scotlande: they accoꝛdyng to theyꝛ commiſſion ſette foꝛward, and the fyꝛſte nyghte came to Lochmaben, and there lodged.

1548

The Earle of Lennox and the L. Wharton inuade Scotland.

The nexte daye they marched to Dunfreis, and whyleſt they remayned there, the Earle of Angus beeyng come to Dꝛumlanrig, by meſſengers entred ſome talke wyth hys ſonne in lawe the Earle of Lennox: but ſyth it was perceyued that thys was done, rather to entrappe the Earle of Lennox, oꝛ at the leaſtwiſe to dꝛiue tyme, vppon conſultation hadde wyth the Maiſter of Maxwell, the Larde of Cloſeboꝛne, and others the Gentlemen aſſured of Nideſdale and Annandale, it was concluded, that the Townes of Moꝛton, Duſdere, and others, neere adioyning togyther in thoſe parties, ſhoulde bee bꝛente, to the ende, that the Earle of Angus myghte ſo bee dꝛawen to the fielde, and caughte by ſome one meane oꝛ other.

The diſſimulation of the Earle of Angus.

Aboute midnighte therefoꝛe the foꝛrey beeyng ſette foꝛthe, vnder the leading of Maiſter Henry Wharton, to the number of twelue hundꝛed lyght Hoꝛſemenne, the Maiſter of Maxwell, nowe Lozde Herries, and the reſidue of the aſſured menne beeyng amongſt them, kept

Maiſter Henry Wharton

kept forewarde, and in the morning the Erle of Lennor, and the Lorde Wharton marched forth with the fotemen, till they came tenne miles beyond Dunfreis: And where the Erle of Angus was drawen to the Castell of Drumlanrig vnder pretence to commune with his sonne the Erle of Lennox (but meaning to entrappe him) if it wer possible he was so enuironned by the Englishe fotemen ere he coulde haue sufficient warning, that he was forced to flee onely with fiue persons in his company. But nowe the Englishe horsemen beyng come to Dulcere.xlviij.miles within ỹ realme of Scotland, hauing passed sundry great riuers, they set that towne on fire. But the master of Maxwell with the other Scottish gentlemen & light horsemen borderers, to the nũber of foure hundred, beyng in company of the Englishe horsemen, as before ye haue heard, had continued the destruction of the Englishmen afore hande, and the better to worke their feate, they had procured as ye haue hearde, the Erle of Angus to come vnto Drumlanrig with a chosen power of men for that purpose. There were also vpon euery hil about, great numbers of fotemen Scottes, with speares and lance staues to assist the Erle of Angus and his complices agaynst the Englishmen. The Lairde of Drumlanrig with a number of chosen horsemen was aduaũced forward in sight of the Englishmen as they were busie in fyring the towne of Dulcere. The assured Scottes therefore thinking the enterprice to be surely mough conueyed for their continued purpose, openly vpon the field neare to Dulcere, hoysting vp a blacke penfill vpon a speare point for a token, reuolted wholy, and ioygned themselues to the Laird of Drumlanrig & other their coũtrey men, and thrust in betwixt the Englishe horsemen and fotemen, to the great perill of distressing aswell the one as the other: for making towardes the place where the Erle of Lennor, and the Lord Wharton were cõming forwarde with their fotemen, neere to the olde castell of Dauswynton, sometime the house of the Cumynes, they brupted it abroad that the Englishe horsemen were quite ouerthrowen.

The reuolting of the assured Scottes.

A false rumor spred.

The Erle of Lennox beholding the manner of his aduersaris, a lighted afote from his horse willing the Lorde Wharton to do the like: for this day (sayd he) I will die a true Englishman. At length the Englishe horsemen fetching a cõpasse in retyring backe frõ Dulcere, came neare to the place where the Erle & the lord Wharton were ranged in order of battell, and thinking no lesse but that theyr horsemen had bene ouerthrowen, were ready to marche backe towardes Dunfreis. But theyr horsemen thus comming in, and perceyuing how the matter stode, gaue a right valiant charge vpon the Scottes that stode countenauncyng the fotemen, and ready to take the aduantage if they might haue dryuẽ them through shrinkyng backe into any disorder: but such was the violence of the shocke giuen at that instant with great manhode vndoubtedly by the Englishe horsemen, that the Scottes were therewith put out of array, scat-



tered & quyte put to flight: the Lairde of Drũlanrig beyng taken prysoner corrupted his taker and so gotte away. The maister of Maxwell escaped in great daunger of life, for he had sundry speares broken on him in the chase as he fledde away. There were yet taken that day of the Scots to the number of. 400. beside sundry that were drowned in the water of Myth. Amõgst the prisoners were these men of name, the Abbot of new Abbey, Christy Irrewyng of Bonshaw, a brother of the Laird of Hẽpsfield, and many other Gentlemen of name. Dunfreis

Dunfreys spoyled.

was rifled and spoyled: as the Erle of Lennox and the Englishmenne returned thither, and a Marshall courte appoynted there for execution of pledges, but yet suspended and stayed, till the Counsels pleasure might bee knowen in that behalfe.

There were at the first euill newes spredde abrode, and certified to the court of England of this iourney, howe the Erle of Lennox and the English army was ouerthrowē, so that it was by order appoynted, that the Erle of Derby, the Lords Scroupe, & Coniers, with their powers should repayre to the West borders to garnishe the same for defence agaynst the enimies: but vpon the true report how the mater had passed, made by Master Henry Wharton, and one Bishop a Scottishman, sent in post for that purpose, that appoyntment was stayed, and master Wharton was at that time made Knight, and the sayde Bishop richely rewarded for bringing so good newes. Herewith were letters directed downe from the counsell to the Lorde Wharton, for the executiō of certaine pledges, to witte the master of Maxwels pledge, beyng one of his nearest kinsmen, of the house of the Herries, also the Warden of the Grey friers in Dunfreis, the Vicar of Carlauerock, and diuers other whiche were executed at Carlile.

Pledges executed.

In this meane time were the fortes at Lawder, and Hadyngton buylte, the castels of Pesket and Dawkithwonne, al the Milles brent with in foure myles of eche hande of Edenburgh, and other exployctes atchieued by the Englishmen, as in the History of Englande is more at large expressed.

But now the French King hauyng prepared an army ready to come into Scotland, caused the same to draw downe to Brest in Brytayne, where the shippes and Galeys were rigged & made ready to passe therewith into Scotland. The chiefe leaders of whiche army were these, whiche had charge chiefly to commaunde in the same, Monsieur de Desse Lieutenant generall, Mōsieur Dandelot Colonel of the Frēch fotemen, the Counte Reingraue colonel of the Almaynes, Monsieur de Malleray, Monsieur Doysel, Pietro Strozzi Colonel of the Italiās, Monsieur de Etauges Capitayne of the horsemen, sir Nicholas de Villegaignon a knight of the Rodes, or rather Malta Capitayne of the Galeys, and Monsieur Duno Commissarie of the artillery, with diuers other worthie personages and men of approued valiancy. These Capitaynes with theyr powers beyng embarqued at Brest, sayled alongst by the East seas, and at length aboute the middest of June came into the Rode before Leith, where they landed theyr people and ordinaunce, and afterwardes

A nauy prepared at Brest in Brytayne.

The chiefe capitaines of the French army that came into Scotland.

with the aduise of the Gouernour, and other of the Scottish Lordes, they went to beslege Hadington, and comming thither, encamped thē selues in places of aduantage about the towne, caste trenches, planted their ordinaunce, battered the rampyres, and kept them within straytly besieged on eche hande, vsing all the wayes they coulde deuise to cōstrayne the Englishmen to yelde: they forbeare yet to giue a generall assaulte, bycause they would not hazarde (as they haue reported) the losse of so many menne, as might haue bene slayne and maymed thereby, to the greate weakenyng of their power there, hauyng not meane to supply it whā they would, and yet they had a great army of Scottes with them for a season, and had made the breaches so reasonable, that with small payne they might haue entred by the same, if the force of the defendants had not sufficed with handeblowes to haue beaten them backe, as no doubte there was no want of good willes in them so to haue done, if the Frenchmen had put the matter in triall: yet during this siege, they within stoode in great necessitie of things behouefull for the defense of the towne. Wherevpon sir Henry Wharton with a band of light horsemen of the West borders and others, came and put into the towne a certayne number of men with powder, & other necessaries, greatly to the relefe of the besieged, and no lesse displeasure of the Frenchmen and Scottes, that were not aware of this enterprice till it was done in the night season, by the good and fortunate conduction of them that had the conueyance thereof.

Hadyngton besieged.

Why the Frenchmen forbare to giue an assaulte.

But after this, there came a power of English horsemen to the number of little lesse than two thousande demie lances, light horsemen, and arquebusiers on horsebacke, vnder the leading of sir Robert Bowes, sir Thomas Palmer, sir Henry Wharton, Capitayne Gambo'a Spaniarde, and others, the which aduenturing ouer rashly within daunger of the whole Frēch power, were ouerthrowē, and chased, sir Robert Bowes, and sir Thomas Palmer, with a great number of other Capitaynes, Gentlemen and Souldiers beyng taken prysoners, beside those that were slayne. Yet after this ouerthrow of those horsemen, the French remoued theyr siege from the places where they had first planted it, and lodged further off from the towne, continuyng there till at length by an army sent forth of Englande vnder the conduct of the Erle of Shrewsbury, the Lorde Grey, and others, they were constreyned to retyre from thence, as in the English history ye may finde more largely expressed, to the whiche for further report of the euentes chanceyng duryng that siege, I referre the reader.

The English horsemen ouerthrowen.

The Erle of Shrewsbury remoueth the siege from Hadington.

But

But this is to be remembred, that whyleſt the ſiege remayned at Hadyngton, by a conuention or aſſemble of the Lordes it was decreed, that the Queene ſhoulde be ſente into Fraunce, and therevpō Monſieur de Villegaignon with foure Galleys departing from Leith, made ſemblance as though he would haue ſayled into Fraunce, but hauyng paſſed the mouth of the Fourth, he turned his courſe on the left hand to paſſe alōgſt the ſhoare Northward by the Germayne ſeas, ẏ compaſſing the lande on the Eaſt ſide, he might paſſe about by the Iſles of Orkney, and ſo by the Weſt Iſles till he came to Dunbretayne where the yong Queene lay.

This iourney he fortunately atchieued, the ſame neuer afore that tyme to mans remembrance beyng made or attempted with Galeys. At his arriuall at Dunbretayne, he founde all things ready prouided neceſſary for the embarquyng of the Queene, that he might conuey hir into Fraunce, for the accompliſhment whereof he had taken that iourney in hande. Herevpon ſhe beyng brought aborde into the Kings owne Galey, wherein Monſieur de Brezze was alſo appoynted to be abourde with hyr, as hee that had bene ſent with expreſſe commaundement to ſee hir conueyed into Fraunce, who togither with Villegaignon ſhewed ſuch diligēce in atchieuyng that enterpriſe, that finally they arriued with proſperous winde and weather in the hauen of Breſt in Brytaine with that yong Queene, beyng as then betwixte fiue and ſixe yeares of age.

But now to the doyngs in Scotlande concerning ẏ warres there, after that ẏ ſiege of Hadington was reyſed by the Engliſhe armie as before ye haue hearde, the Frenchmenne thereupon retyred themſelfes vnto Muſkelbourgh, and chooſing forth a plot of grounde for theyr aduātage, kept themſelfes within the ſame, and herewith there came to them a fiftene thouſande Scottiſhmen to aſſiſte them: ſo that when the Engliſhmen came forewardes to aſſayle them, they found them ſo ſtrongly embattayled, that whether their cōmiſſion did not ſo farre extend, or whether they had no likyng of the matche, they forbare to ſet vpon them in that ground of ſo great diſauantage for the aſſaylantes, & ſo returned backe to Hadington, & after homewards, hauing furniſhed the towne with newe ſupplies of men, munition, and vitayles ſufficient.

Here is to be noted ẏ the engliſh fleete entring into the Fourth was ready to haue ayded ẏ army by lande as occaſions might haue bene offered, but the Lord Admirall perceyuing no likelyhood of battayle by lande, toke vpon him to atchieue ſome other enterpriſes, and firſt comming to Brent Yland ſet certaine ſhippes a fire there, of the chiefeſt in the riuer, and ſaluting the towne of Leith as he paſſed by, with Canon ſhotte, he determined to lande ſome of his men on the North ſide of the Fourth, to make ſome ſpoyle within the countrey of Fife. But Iohn Erſkin Laird of Dun, as then ſomewhat diſeaſed and returned home from the campe, cauſed ſuch dayly and nightly watche and warde for to be kept, that this enterpriſe could not be ſo ſecretely cōueyed by the Engliſhmen, but that the ſame was perceyued, & ſo preuented, that vpon theyr landyng they were forced to retyre with loſſe, and happy was he that might firſt get agayne to ſhippeborde. The Laird of Dun. The Engliſh men repulſed at S. Menettes.

The Erle of Shrewſbury beyng come backe from Hadington vnto Dunglas, order was giuen for the buylding of a forte there, as in the Engliſh hiſtory further may appeare, and in the meane tyme Mōſieur de Deſſe remayning in campe at Muſkelbourgh, hearing that the Engliſh armie was remoued homewardes, & how diuers newe bandes of horſemen and footemen, beyng lefte in Hadington, were ready to come forth to ſkirmiſh abroade vpon ſight of the enimy, he toke aduiſe to trie if he might drawe thē forth to their loſſe, and therevpon was Monſieur Dandelot & the Reingraue appoynted to chooſe forth a thouſande of their luſtieſt footemen, the whiche with three hundred horſemen were conueyed and layde cloſely in ambuſhe, behinde a litle hill not farre from the towne. This done, a few horſemē were ſent forth to draw the Engliſhmen out of the towne to ſkirmiſh with thē. The Engliſhmē wer no ſoner aduiſed that the enimies were there at hand in the field, but that all their horſemen iſſued out of the towne backe with certayne footemen, and ſtreight had the Frenchmen in chaſe, who retyring, maintayned the ſkirmiſh, of purpoſe to make the Engliſhmē more earneſt to come forewarde: but immediatly as Mōſieur de Deſſe ſaw his time, he gaue ſigne by ſounde of Trumpet to the footemen to breake forth, who togither with the horſemen gaue ſo fierce an onſet vpon the enimies, that they were incontinently diſcomfited, and fleyng toward the towne, were followed by the French euen harde to the Walles, diuers were ſlayne, and aboue an hundred taken priſoners. The Engliſh mē put to the worſe at a ſkirmiſh neare to Hadington.

After this Monſieur de Deſſe reyſed from Muſkelbourgh, and commyng to Lieth ſette in hande to fortifie that towne. The Marſhall Strozzi, and Monſieur Dandelot, with diuers other Capitaynes embarqued themſelfes in the Galey that yet remayned, toke their courſe to returne into Fraunce, one of the ſame Galeys (they beyng eight in number, beſide a foyſt and a Brigandine) was taken by an Engliſh ſhippe called the Faucon, as ſhee paſſed thyough the narrow Leith fortified. A galley take.

narrow seas at a place named the Southfurlong, she beyng alone as it chanced the hindermost of all the companie.

After the departure of Monsieur Dandelot, Monsieur de la Chapelle de Biron remaigned Coronell of the French fotemen in Scotland. As to the furniture on the water there remained now but foure Galeys vnder the guiding of one capitayne Bache an Italian, a man of great experience and approued skill. For ye must vnderstand, that before the arriuall of the English nauie and armie to the succours of them in Hadington, Monsieur de Mallerie vice Admirall of Fraūce returned home with the fleete of ships ẏ had brought the French armie into Scotlād.

Capitayne Bache.

Monsieur de Mallerie vice Admirall of Fraunce.

In what sort the Lord Grey of Wilton afflicted the countreys of Tiuidale & Liddesdale, after the returne of the Erle of Shrewsbury, is partely touched in the history of England.

About the same time, there chāced a mutinie to ryse betwixt the Scottes and Frenchmen in Edenburgh, by reason that a French souldier fel a quarelling with two or three Scottishmen, & falling together by the eares, diuers Scots that came to departe the fray, would haue had the Frenchman to prison, but other Frenchmē beyng there also present, would not suffer the Scottes to take him away. Wherevpon arose a great tumult and hurle amōg them, in so much that there were diuers slayne on bothe partes, namely James Hamilton Lard of Stanhouse knight, capitayne of the Castel, and Prouost of the towne of Edenburgh with his sonne, and M. William Steward one of the Queenes seruants beside sundry others. For the Frenchmen doubting some continued commotion agaynst them, assembled togither in order of battayle in the streetes, so that before the mater might bee appeased by the Capitaines that shewed theyr diligent endeuors therein, they had inough to do to bryng it to passe as they wished.

An affray betwixt the frēch souldiers, and the townesmen of Edenburgh.

The beginner of this businesse was hanged the same day in the market place of Edēburgh, where he began first to pyke the quarrell.

Monsieur de Desse to shew that this variāce had not proceeded so farre as the bruyte thereof gaue forth (for it was rather increased ye may be sure than diminished) vndertooke an enterprise in hand to winne the towne of Hadington by a camisado, but in what sorte they missed theyr purpose, and howe they were well beaten backe, and seute away by the valiant manhood of the English capitaynes & souldiers thē within that towne, ye may reade further thereof in the Englishe history. There were seuen score, some say three hundred slaine in the base court.

The Frenchmē giue a camisado to Hadington, & are beaten backe.

Vlpian Ful.

But now for somuche as I haue sayde nothing of Broughtie cragge, sithēce the Lord gouernour rayled his siege from thence, ye shall vnderstand, that (as some haue written) shortly after the Erle of Argule came thither with an armie of his Prithe Scottes and beliegeid it: but when he saw that he could not preuaile, he toke truce with them within for a tyme, and before the same was expyred, there came new succours to the Englishmen, so that the Erle of Argule (by reason his people had remayned there the full terme of their bounden & ordinary seruice) was constrained to leaue his siege, and suffer the Englishmē to become Maisters of a litle hill, where afterwardes they buylded a forte, and nowe in the later end of this yeare, they purposed also to haue fortified Dundee, & to haue kepte the same with a garrison of Souldiers, but hearing that Monsieur de Desse with his Frenchmen was cōming thitherwardes, they auoyded the towne of their owne accorde, hauing firste spoyled the houses and after set them on fire.

Broughtie crag beseged by the Erle of Argyle.

He rayseth his siege.

The fort buil by the Englishmen at Broughtie crag.

Dundee abandoned of the Englishmen.

The Reingraue with two bandes of his Almaignes, and Monsieur de Etauges with his company of horsemen were sent before, who cōming to Dundee and finding the Englishmen gone, encamped there, staying till Monsieur de Desse was come that followed at hande with the French fotemen.

Within two dayes after, they goyng forth to bew the forte, were in daunger to haue bene caught ere they coulde get backe againe, for the Englishmen and Lanſquenetz that were there with them (parte of Conrad Phennings bādes) issued forth, & droue them to retyre, not without danger to haue bene distressed, if the Reingraue had not vsed the greater policie in retyring the troupe. To be short, Monsieur de Desse to stop the Englishmen from entring any further into the countrey on that side, lefte .iij. enseignes of Frenchmen, & two enseignes of Scottes within Dundee, with artillerie & Pioners to fortifie the town, & to keepe it in safetie frō the Englishmē.

The Reingraue.

Dundee fortified by the Frenchmen.

This done he returned to Edenburgh, & sent the residew of his people abrode into the coūtrey to lodge in townes and villages here and there as was thought moste expedient, for the better refreshyng of them after their long trauell.

On S. Stephens day at night the castell of Hume was skaled & wonne out of the Englishmens hāds. One of the surname of the Humes a man of .lx. yeares of age was the first that entred on the wall, sleayng one of the warchemen that kept his walke on that side. About the same time the Reinsgraue returned into France, leauing his fiue enseignes of Almaynes behind him vnder the charge of Capitayne Retouze a good man of warre and of great experience.

Hume castle recouered by the Scots.

1549.

The Reingraue returneth into Fraunce.

Also Mōsieur de Etauges was take in a skirmish at Broughtie crag, as I haue noted in the

Monsieur Etauges taken prysoner by the Englishe

English

English history, and about the same tyme there landed at Dunbrytaine foure bandes of Souldiers, Prouancois and Gascoignes, bryngyng money with them to pay the Souldiers theyr wages behinde as then for the space of three monethes.

Sir James Wilsorde also was taken about the same tyme by the Frenchmen in a skirmishe at Dunbar, as I haue also noted in the history of England.

Not long after Monsieur de Desse was appointed by the Queene Dowager, to go vnto Jedworth to preuent that the Englishmenne shoulde not fortifie there, whereof thee stode in some doubte.

Immediatly vpon his commyng thither, the Lard of Fernihirst requested him to helpe to recouer his Castell of Fernihirst out of the Englishmens handes, whiche they had taken from him and kepte, greatly to the annoyance of all the countrey thereaboutes. Monsieur de Desse taking with him Mõsieur de Dysel, and Monsieur de la Chapelle de Biron, hasted thither with the chiefest parte of his army, sendyng before certayne Capitaynes with their bandes to survey the house, who at theyr cõming thither, vsed suche diligence in followyng the offered occasiõ, that they both repulsed theyr enimies that came forth to giue them the skirmishe, and pursuyng them with great rigour, wanne the lims of the house vpon them, forcing the capitayne & souldiers to retire within the dongeon, and kept them so shorte therein, that they had opportunitie to mine an hole through the wall, of such largenesse as a man might easily enter by the same. Herewith a greate number of Scottes hauyng broken open the gate of the base court, where the Frenchmen were busie to assaulte the dongeon, brust in on heapes vpon desire to be reuenged vpon the Englishmen, and namely of their capitayne, who as they sayde, had done them many great displeasures. The Capitayne perceyning this, and doubting if he fell into the Scottishmens handes he should die for it, he presented himselfe at the hole, whiche the Frenchmen had made, and yeelded himselfe to Monsieur de Dussac, and la Mouthe Rouge, who mindyng to vse him as became mẽ of warre, would haue ledde him out of the presse, but sodenly a Scotte comming behinde him, whose wife (as was reported he had rauished) smote of his head so iust from the shoulders, that it leapt a foure or fiue yeardes quyte from the body.

Many other cruell partes the Scottes seemed to shewe against other Englishmen taken here at Fernihirst: but they excused the matter by the euill dealyngs of the Englishmen to the wardes before that time.

Monsieur de Desse returnyng to Jedworth ayded by the furtherance & counsell of the Scots ceassed not in occasions of aduantage to attẽpt newe enterpryses agaynst the Englishmen, as time and opportunitie serued, and among other exployctes the castell of Cornewall an old house buylte after the auncient maner of fortifyng was taken by the Frenchmen, and spoyled of al things worth the bearyng away. The castel of Cornewall wonne.

Also Capitayne Cobios a Frenchman hauing a bande of fiftie light horsemen Scottes serupng vnder him, one night had a fayre hande against a number of English horsemen, whom he charged so on the sudden, as he saw them out of order, that he easily discomfited them, & toke mo prysoners (whom he brought to Jedworth) than he had persons in his company to assayle them. Capitaine Cobios.

Monsieur de la Chapell de Biron, was sent forth by Monsieur de Desse, with the company of horsemen that belonged to Monsieur de Etauges then prysoner, and fiue hundred footemẽ beside Scottes, to make a roade into England, whiche enterprise hee atchieued in brennyng townes and villages, and returned without any great losse sustayned at that time. A roade made by Monsieur de la chapelle de Biron.

Within twoo dayes after his returne to Jedworth, Monsieur de Desse dislodged frõ thence, and taking with him foure fielde peeces and all his men of warre, entred into Englande, toke the castell of Fourd, and brent it with ten small villages in the coũtrey thereabout, situate within halfe a myle eche of other. There was one tower yet parcell of that castel of Fourd, which was kepte by Thomas Car, so that the French men could not winne it, for they had no time to stay long about it, remouing that night ouer the water, and encamped there within the Scottish grounde. An other made by Mõsieur de Desse. Fourd castell wonne. Thomas Car.

As the Scots and Frenchmen executed these enterprises, they were coasted by certayne light horsemen, but neuertheless the Frenchmen returned in safetie to Jedworth, hauyng sore endomaged the Englishe borderers by that roade, in so much as it was thought the Scots (which were with them at that roade) gayned at that time, by pillage and bowties to the valew of .ix. thousand crownes. Scottes gayne by spoyle.

The Englishmenne sore agreeued, that the Frenchmen lyng thus in Jedworth, shoulde in such wise addresse one enterprice after an other against them, so greatly to theyr annoyance, assembled a power togither at Roxburgh, purposing to haue assayled the Frenchmen in theyr campe at Jedworth: but Monsieur de Desse hauyng warning thereof, departed from thence first to Melrose, and after further off within the countrey, fearing to be constreyned to giue bataile Monsieur de Desse fleeth out of Jedworth, for feare of the Englishmen.

tayle, whiche he coulde not haue done without manifest losse of his feeble army, hauyng not past xv. hundreth fotemen, and fiue hundred horsemē able to haue done seruice: for such was the miserie whiche they had in maner continually sustayned through want of vitayles, and other necessary helps duryng the time of their encamping at Jedworth, that what through sickenes and hurtes receyued in assaultes and skirmishes, no smal number of them were dead, and many other so feeble, that they were not able to ayde themselfes, in so much that now being got out of daunger, they thought themselues happily escaped.

The miserable state of the Frenchmen in Scotland.

Shortly after, in the beginning of the sōmer, the Englishmen armed a. xxv. sayle of men of warre, the which arriuing at the Basse, neare to the mouth of the Fourth, assayed by fayre and pleasant wordes to haue perswaded the keepers of the castell there standing on the height of a great rocke to haue yelded the place into theyr hands, but perceyuing their perswasions would not be regarded, they toke their course vp into the Fourth, & finding in their way. iiij. shippes of Frenchmen & Scottes, seased vpon them as a wished pray, & the morrow next ensewyng at the very breake of day they came before Leith, & saluting the towne with Canō shot, remayned there at ancre. x. or. xij. dayes, in which meane while they landed their people at Inskith, and beganne to fortifie with all diligence, but before the place coulde be put in any strength, the ships departed frō thence backe towards the sea, & left in the yland iiij. enseignes of Englishmē, & one enseigne of Italians to defende the pioners and the Iland against the Scots and Frenchmen, if they should attempt to assayle them.

Inskith fortified by the englishmen.

After the English nauie was thus departed, Monsieur de Desse & the Queene mother being at Edenburgh, determined with all diligence to employ all suche forces as they might make about the recouering of the yle before the fortifications begonne by the Englishmen should be brought to any perfection.

Herebyō Monsieur de la Chapelle de Biron enbarqued in the Galley of Monsieur de Villegaignon, rowed forth to view the maner of the Englishmens dealing within the Ile, whiche he did in such effectuous wise, that approchyng within Harquebuse shot, he brought knowledge with him not only of the state & whole circumstances of their buyldings, but also of the perfect number of their ensignes, & the qualitie of the mē of warre that serued vnder the same. At that present also Mōsieur de Thermes lately before arriued at Dunbrytane with an hundred men of armes, & ij. hundred light horsemen after the maner of Fraunce, & one thousand fotemē was

La chapelle de Biron.

come to the Queene, busie nowe to further this enterprise. She had got togither within Leith haue all the boates that belōged to al the creekes and hauens of the Fourth, so that on thursday after Trinitie sonday euery thing beyng prepared ready for the purpose, in the morning by the breake of day the Queene was come to Leith to see the embarquing of the men of warre appoynted that day to trie what successe fortune would sende them.

The dilig of the Scot Queene.

There was no diligence wanting, neither among the Scottes nor Frenchmen to bestowe themselfes aborde, & the cōfortable wordes of ỳ Queene greatly encouraged thē thereto beholding them, & deuising with Mōsieur de Desse & the other capitaynes til they were al set forward.

The forwardnesse of the souldiers.

Villegaignon with his galleys passed on before to keepe the Englishmē occupied, so as they should not perceyue the Frenchmens meaning: but they discouering the vessels at their settyng forth, conceyued streightwayes what was intended, & therupon prepared to keepe the enimies off from landing, so that vpon the Frenchmens approche, they saluted them with arrowes and Harquebuzeshot very hotely: at length yet by fine force the Scots and Frenchmen got a land, and drout the Englishmen and Italians backe frō the sea stronde vp to the higher grounde, where they stode at defense on a plompe togither, doyng their best to defende the place agaynst the assaylantes: but finally their generall named Cotton, being slaine with George Applebie Esquyer a Capitayne of an enseigne of fotemen sent forth of Derbyshire, & one Gaspar Pizoni, that was capitaine of the Italians beside diuers other gentlemen and the most principall men of warre and souldiers among them: the residue were cōstreyned to retyre vnto a corner or point of the Iland, where they were taken without further resistāce, although before they had made right stoute defense, hurte & slayne diuers Scots & Frenchmen, both at their landyng, & also after they were entred on lande. Among other Mōsieur de la chapelle de Biron was strikē through the hand with an harquebuzeshot, and his burguenet beaten so into his head, that his frendes that were about him, were fayne to conuey him into one of the Galleys to be dressed of his hurtes by a Chirurgian. Also a Gentleman named Delbozies, whiche bare the sayde Monsieur de la Chapelle, his Coronell enseigne was slayne with a pike by the hands of the forenamed Cotton the English generall.

Inskith is recouered out the French

Thus was Inskith recouered out of the Englishmens hands, after it had bene in their possession by the space of. xvij. dayes, the more to the highe contentation of Monsieur de Desse, for that the same time he stode vpon his discharge

and

and returne into Fraunce, beyng appoynted to surrender vp his place to Mõsieur de Thermes, lately before arriued (as ye haue heard) with cõmission to receiue the same. So that Monsieur de Desse to ende his charge with the glory of this atchieued enterpryse, esteemed it muche to stande with his honour.

Shortly after he returned into Fraunce with the Galleys, and Monsieur de Thermes succeeded in his place for the generall conduct of the French army in Scotland. Who by the aduise of the gouernour and other of the Scottish lords determined with a siege volant to keepe the Englishmen in Hadington from vitayles and all other relefe. First therefore after that Desse was departed towardes Fraunce, Monsieur de Thermes with his Frenchmẽ and some Scots encamped at Abirladie, where they beganne the fundation of a forte, so to impeach the Englishmen from setting a lande any victuals there, to be conueyed from thence to Hadington as before they had done.

In this meane tyme the Englishmen had increased theyr nũbers of Almaignes and other straungers, and not onely furnished their fortes with new supplies of men, but also had an army in the fieldes whiche lay most an ende at Dunglas, and one while besieged Hume castell, but after they sawe themselues disappointed of the meane, whereby they supposed to haue recouered it, they reysed from thence and spoyled the most parte of Tiuidale and other the Marches thereabout, in reuenge as they alledged, of the disloyaltie and breache of promise proued in the assured Scottes. Generall of this army was the Erle of Rutland, Lieutenant at that present of the North partes, a noble man right valiaunt, wise, well aduised, and stayed in his dealings, very honorable & courteous in al his demeanor. He was accompanied with Capitaynes of good estimatiõ and approued prowes, as sir Richard Maners, sir Frauncis Leake, sir John Sauage, sir Thomas Holcroft, sir Oswald Wulstroppe and others. He so behaued himselfe in that daungerous time of the vprores and rebellious commotions of the commõs, through the more parte of the realme of Englande, that although the appoynted forces agaynst Scotlande were stayed, and turned to the suppression of the rebelles, to the encouragement no doubte both of Scottes and Frenchmen in Scotland, yet they were so fronted and kept in awe by that army vnder the sayde Erle of Rutland, that they rather lost than gayned in this season at the Englishmens handes.

At one tyme the same army vnder the conduct of the sayde Erle, passing forth with a conuoy of vitayles vnto Hadington, came so suddenly vpon the Frenchmen where they lay in campe, that whether through defaulte of theyr skowtes or other negligence vsed by them, or through the great diligence and prouident forewardnesse shewed by the Englishmẽ, the Frẽch men were in suche hazarde to haue bene vtterly distressed, that if the Englishmen had not doubted more than by many was thought needefull, they might haue ouerthrowen, taken and slaine the Frenchmen, as was supposed at theyr pleasure. But the Englishmen at theyr first comming in sight of them (as it stoode with the reason of warre, sith by aduenturyng rashly oftentimes in such cases to late repentance easily ensueth) stayed, the better to cõceyue of that which they had to do: whereby the Frenchmenne had leasure to marche their wayes a mayne pace, till they were got out of daunger: for after they ones beheld the troupes of the English horsemẽ almost at their elbowes, and herewith the battayle of the Almaignes suddenly appearyng on the hill toppe ready to come downe vpon them, it was no neede to bidde them packe away.

The French men in danger to haue bene distressed.

The French men retire.

The Scottes light horsemen commyng on the backe of the English army, perceyued where the Almaignes (to make them ready to giue battayle) had throwen of their clokes and lefte the same with all other their baggage and stuffe whiche they had aboute them in the keepyng of none, but of their women and boyes, whereupon those Scottes horsemen not minding to suffer such a pray to escape theyr handes came galloppyng in, and toke all the beste stuffe they coulde lay holde vpon, and returned in safetie before any enimy might come backe to the reskew.

The baggage of the English lanſquenetz spoyled by the Scottish horsmen.

The Almaignes were in no small chaufe for the losse of their garments and other necessaries, but there was no helpe then to seeke remedy in that behalfe, for the Scottes were withdrawen, and got quite out of daunger.

The English army after that the Frenchmen were thus fledde and gone, passed forth to Hadington with their cariages laden with vitailes, to the great comforte of them within that fortresse, standing in great necessitie before this cõuoye came. This summer also and a litle before the victellyng thus of Hadington, vpon knowledge had that Iulian Romero with his bande of Spaniardes, wherof he was Captaine seruyng the king of Englande, was lodged in Coldingham a fyue miles distant frõ Berwike, certaine bandes of Almaignes and Frenchmen came thither vpon the sudde, and surprising the Spanyardes before they were aware of theyr approche, set vpon them in their lodgings, toke and slew in maner the whole number of them. Moreouer about the same time Fast castel was recouered by a trayne out of the Englishmens handes

Hadington victayled.

Iulian Romero distressed.

Fast castell recouered by Scottes.

handes, certayne Scottishmen fayning themselues to bryng prouision of victayles to them that kepte it, and getting entrie within the gate, first slewe the porters that warded at the gate, and after assayling the other within the house, slew the most parte of them, & toke the residue, obteyning thereby possession of the Castell.

Things passing in this wise in Scotland in ý sommer of this yeare. 1549. the Englishmē were not onely in the meane time sore troubled with commotions raysed by the commons of that realme, but also with the warres which the Frenche king made agaynst them, within the countrey of Boullongnoys, so that they had not meane to imploy their forces against Scotland as they had determined to haue done, as partely before and more largely in the hystory of England is mentioned, by reason whereof, anone after Michaelmas they gaue ouer ý keeping of Hadingtō, & rasing their fortificatiōs there, they returned into England to the great reioysing of the inhabitantes of Louthian, to whome that towne had giuen occasion of greate troubles & calamities. Vpon the giuing ouer thus of Hadington, the Gouernour & the Queene Dowager were aduanced, in hope to recouer againe al that the Englishmē helde within the boundes of Scotland, but first it was thought good to assay the winning of Broghtie Crag, for it sounded (as was thought) greatly to the diminishing of the estimation, aswell of the Scots as Frenchmen, that the Englishmen should keepe sote so farre within the realme, in dispite of their whole puyssance.

Hadington rased and left by the Englishmen.

1550.

Herevpon Monsieur de Thermes about Cādelmas, hauing all things in a readinesse for the siege, came thither, and did so much, what with shot of Canon, to make batterie, & other meanes of enforcements, that giuing the assault both with Scots & Frenchmen, they entred the forte the .xx. of Februarye by fine force, so that al those within were eyther taken or slayne, whereupon those Englishmen also that kept the castel, rendred vp the same without further resistance, amongst other prysoners sir John Luttrell the Capitayne was one.

Broughty crag wonne by the Frenchmen.

In this meane time there were certayne cōmissioners appointed betwixt the two kings of England and Fraunce to commune of a peace, but bicause they continued long in their treatie ere they could agree, the Scots and Frenchmen surceassed not in occasions of aduantage to pursue the warre, so that comming before Lowder they besieged that fortresse, & skirmishing with the Englishmen that issued forth, to encounter them, droue thē in at the gates with some losse on either parte, and this done, the French helde them within so straytly besieged, that if the peace had not ben the sooner cōcluded, sir Hugh Willoughby capitayne of that forte, muste needes haue yeelded through lacke of shotte, & other necessary things seruing for defence: whiche were spent so, that they were constrayned to vse theyr pewter vessell in steede of bullets. But as it fortuned, a peace was accorded, passed & confirmed, that very selfe time betwixte the twoo kings of England & Fraunce, through the diligent & orderly trauell of the Cōmissioners appoynted to deale therein, whose names ensue: first for ý king of England, the right honorable John Erle of Bedford, knight of the Garter, and Lorde priuy seale: Williā Paget lord of Beaudesert, knight also of the Garter: sir William Peter knight, chief secretary to the sayd king: & sir John Mason knight, secretary to him for ý French tong. For the French king were appoynted Frances de Montmorance, Lord of Rochepot, knight of the order of S. Michael, and Lieutenant for the same king of Picardie, in absence of Monsieur de Vandosme: Gaspar de Colignie, Lorde of Chastillon, knight also of the order, and Capitayne generall of the footemen of Fraunce, & the sayde kings Lieutenant generall in the countie of Bullongne: Andrew Guillard lord of Myrtier, knight also of the order, and one of the same kings priuy Counsell: & Guillaume Bouchetell lord of Sally, knight likewise of the order, and Secretary of the estate of the finances.

Sir Hugh Willoughbie.

A treaty for peace.

A peace concluded.

The names of the commissioners appointed to treate of peace.

Among other articles cōprised in this peace, it was couenanted, that all such fortes, castels & places as the Englishmē held in any part within the Scottish dominions, shoulde be deliuered & restored to the Scots: & that the fortes of Dūglas, Rorburgh, and Aymouth, which the Englishmen had buylte & reysed out of the groūde, should be rased and throwen downe, to auoyde all occasions of new controuersies, that might growe by reason of keeping or defending the same, so as the peace nowe concluded, might in all poynts be firmely and truly kept & obserued, aswell betwixt England and Scotland, as England & Fraunce, and betwixt all and euery the subiectes of the same realmes, bothe by sea & lande. Monsieur de Mourret was sente into Scotland with the copie of this peace, by whose meanes it was proclaymed anone after Easter about the beginning of Aprill, and euery thing vsed and ordered according to the articles of the agreement concluded.

The article of the peace

Monsieur de Mourret.

In May the Frenchmen & Almaignes were enbarqued at Leith in .xvj. French shippes, and certayne Scottish shippes, and departing from thence returned into Fraunce. A fewe there were as Nigropellice and S. Faleise, Capitaynes of light horsemen, with others that passed through Englande, and so home into theyr coun-

The Frenche returne hom

countrey. Moreouer the Marques de Maine, after Duke Dammalle cõmyng ouer into England about the same time for an hostage, passed afterwardes through the realme into Scotland, to visite his sister Queene Dowarier, and shortly after returned. They mourned both for the death of theyr father Claude de Lorayne, ỹ first Duke of Guyse, who deceassed the .xviij. of Aprill this present yeare 1550.

In Septẽber following, the queene Dowarier accompanied with the Earles of Huntley, Cassils, Marshall, & Southerlande, and diuers other of the Scottish nobilitie toke the sea, and sayling to Fraunce landed at Dieppe: she was conueyed thither by the Prior of Capoa, Leone Strozzi, sent and appointed with .vj. Galeys to haue the conduction of hir. From Dieppe she remoued to Rowen, where the king then lay, of whome shee was right courteously receyued. The master of Erskin, & master Henry Sinclar Deane of Glasgow sayled into Flaũders, where they passed & confirmed a peace betwixt Scotlande and the lowe countreys. After that the Queene Dowarier had remayned aboute a. xij. monethes or more in Fraunce, this yeare in Octobre, she returned homewardes to passe thorow Englãd: she landed at Portesmouth, and the second of Nouẽber she came frõ Hampton courte by water, and landed at Powles wharfe in the after noone, and from thence roade to the Bishop of Lõdons palace by Paules, and there lodged. The .iiij. of Nouember she roade in hir charet to the kings palace of the white Hall, accõpanied with the Ladie Margaret Dowglas, the three Dutchesses of Suffolke, Richmont, & Northumberland, & diuers other great Ladies & Gentlewomen both Scots and English. At the courte gate the Dukes of Northumberland and Suffolke, & the Lord Threasorer were ready to receyue hyr, and at hir entring into the Hall, the king stood in the vpper ende therof, & the Erle of Warwike holding the sworde before him. She at hyr approching to him, kneeled downe, & he courteously toke hir vp, kissed hir, & taking hyr by the hand, ledde hir vp into his owne chamber of presence, & after into the Queenes chamber of presence, where he kissed al the Ladies of Scotlande, & so departed for a while. She dined on the Queenes side that day with the King, his seruice & hirs cõming both togither, the kings being placed on the right hande of the table, and hyrs on ỹ left. What plẽty of all maner of costly meates and drinkes there was, & what riche furniture of plate & all other things was shewed to set forth the feast it wer superfluous to write. All the Ladies both of England and Scotland dined in the Queenes great chamber. After diner the king shewed hyr his Galerie and gardens, with all other commodities of the place. And about foure of the clocke he brought hyr downe agayne by the hand into the Hall, where he first receyued hir, & there kissing hir, she toke hir leaue & returned to the Bishops palayce frõ whence she came. The .vj. of Nouẽber she departed towardes Scotlande, riding frõ Poules through the citie, passing forth at Bishops gate. The Duke of Northumberlande, the Earle of Pembroke, & the Lord Threasorer brought hir to Shoredich church, & there toke their leaues of hir. The Duke of Northũberland had an. 100. men on horsebacke with Jauelins, whereof .xl. were gẽtlemen clad in blacke velnet coates, garded w̃ white, & hattes of blacke velues with white feathers, & chaynes of gold about their neckes. The erle of Pẽbroke had .vj. score men well apointed also, with blacke Jauelins & hattes with fethers, & the Lord Threasorer had an. 100. gentlemẽ & Yemen with Jauelins, in like maner wel apparelled: which three companies of horsemen furnished the streetes on either side, frõ the crosse in Cheap, to Birchẽ lane end as she passed ỹ way. The Sherifes of Londõ had the conduction of hir to Walthã towne end, where she lodged that night: & in euery shire through which she passed ỹ Sherife with the gentlemẽ of the same shyre receiued hir, & gaue their attendãce on hir, till she came to enter into the next shire, where ỹ Sherife & gentlemen there, receyued hir, & that order was obserued till she came to the borders of Scotland, & al hir charges for meate, & drinkes, aswell for hir selfe, and whole trayne, as also the prouision for theyr horses, was borne & allowed by the King. The erle of Huntley & diuers other of the Scottish Lordes returned home by sea, the sayde Earle landing at Montros, aboute the later ende of December.

Doctor Wanthope a Scottishman borne, Archbishoppe of Armachane, so nominated by Pope Paule the thirde, and after created *Legatus à latere*, by Julius the thirde, deceassed this yeere in Paris the .x. of Nouember. This man was blynde from his infancie, but yet gaue himselfe so vnto studie, that he was first made Doctor of Diuinitie in the vniuersitie of Paris, and after attayned to such estimation in the court of Rome, that he was by the forsayde Popes aduaunced as before ye haue heard.

The Archbishop of Armachane.

1551.

1552.

This yeere in the moneth of June the queene Dowarier, and the Gouernour, went into the North partes of Scotlande, and at Innernes, Elgin, Banf, Aberdene, and Perth, the Gouernour satte in Justice for redresse of wrongs and administration of righteous lawes and orders. And afterwardes they repayred to the Weste partes, and satte likewise in Justice at Dunfreis, and in other places in that

Wrongs done are by iustice redressed.

countrey, where diuers were put to their fines for transgressing the lawes, but fewe or none touched by corporall punishment. In this iourney the Queene secretly trauayled with the Lordes, bothe spirituall and temporall, to haue their consentes to be regent of Scotland, immediatly after hir doughter the Queene came to sufficient yeres, and that the time of hyr Tutorishyp were accomplished, or sooner if the lawes of the realme would so permitte: and to assure hir selfe of their good willes in this behalfe, she contracted sundry priuy bandes with the, making large promises of great rewardes vnto euery of them.

The Queene mother seketh to be gouernour.

To conclude, this matter was so handled by hir & others to whom she committed the doings therein, that in the yeare following the Gouernour agreed to surrender vp the gouernance into hyr handes, hyr doughter the young Queene beyng not yet full. xij. yeares of age. The Gouernour was promised not only a full discharge and a *quietus est* of al his doynges, aswell for receipt of money, iewels, and other things duryng the time of his gouernment, but also a confirmation of the heritable gifte of the Dukedome of Chatelerault, likewise an other confirmation of all giftes and restitutions by him made, during the time he had exercised the office of Gouernour. And forthwith the Queene Dowarier sent into Fraunce to get all these things dispatched with suche assurances of writyngs vnder hands and seales as was expedient, & to be sent home into Scotlād for his securitie in al things.

1553. The gouernment is resigned vnto the Queene.

This yeare the sixte of July Edwarde the sixte of that name kyng of Englande departed this life, and after him succeeded his sister Marie, eldest doughter to King Henry the. viij.

In the lente all the Lordes of the realme of Scotlande assembled at Striueling, where all the couenaunts and articles of agreement, betwixte the Queene and the Gouernour were perfected and fully concluded, and thereupon a Parliament appoynted to be holden in Edenburgh, the. x. of Aprill nexte ensewyng: and in the meane time ỳ gouernour deliuered the castel of Edēburgh, vnto the Lord Erskin to keepe as it were by way of assurance for his parte, that al things at that Parliament should be accōplished accordyng to the pointes of the agreement.

The couenāts & articles are perfected.

1554.

A Parliament.

Edenburgh castell deliuered to the Lorde Erskin to kepe

The Lordes then assemblyng in Parliament at Edenburgh on the sayde twelfth day of Aprill, all the couenants of agreement had and made betwixte the Queene Dowarier and the Gouernour, were presented and redde, touching the dimissiō and giuing ouer of the Gouernours authoritie confirmed by the Queene hir selfe in Fraunce, with consent of the King of Fraunce hir husband, the Duke of Guyse, and the Cardinall of Lorayne hir curators, with a gifte of the Dukedome of Chatelerault vnto the Gouernour, vnder the greate seales of Fraunce, and others to whom it appertayned. After this there was redde a confirmation of the three estates of Scotland touching the premisses, in which they bound themselues to warrant the Queenes discharge made to him, & to establish him as secōd person of the realme, with other things conteyned in the contract, to the whiche there in open Parliament all the estates subscribed & put thervnto their seales: whiche done, the Gouernour gaue vp his office of Tutorishyp, in presence of the sayd estates, the Queene mother, & Mōsieur Doysell beyng there present, who receyued the same in the Queenes name at that time remayning in Fraunce: and herewith presently was a cōmission shewed, ginē by the Queene of Scotlande in Fraunce with consent of hir curators, making the Queene Dowarier hir mother, regent of hir realme, whiche office she toke vpon hir, & was thereto admitted by the estates of the realme. Then was the Parliament newly authorized in the Queenes name, with consent of hir curators, & in name of the Queene regēt.

The gouernour made Duke.

The gouernour resigneth his office vnto the Queene.

The Queene grueth the gouernāce of the realme vnto the Queene mother.

The Queene regent sent the Erle of Huntley to ỳ Hie lād, to take John Mwdyeart, who returned without him, wherupon Huntley was called before the Queene, & Counsayle, & put in warde in the castell of Edenburgh, the. xj. day of Octobre. The Queene chaunged al the officers, & made the Earle of Cassels threasorer, and Ueilmort a Frenchman cōtroller: also an other Frenchman called Mosieur Rubie, keeper of the great seale, in place of the Erle of Huntley, who was Chauncellour and then in warde. These twoo mens counsell and Monsieur Doysels she vsed principally in al things. The Earle of Huntley to be deliuered out of warde, renounced his title to ỳ Erledome of Murrey, wherof he had a gift in heritage. Also he renoūced his interest to the fermes of Orkney & Shetland, & to the Erledome to Mar, & of the queenes lādes of Straits Dic. And further was cōtented to go ouer into Fraūce, there to remaine for ỳ space of. v. yeres. But yet afterwards ỳ Queene was cōtented, ỳ he should stil remaine within the realme, for the which he gaue to hir. v. thousād pōd in money.

The Erle of Huntley is prysoner.

Officers are chaunged.

The Earle of Huntley renounced many things.

In ỳ moneth of July there was a Parliamēt holdē at Edēburgh, in ỳ which many acts and statutes were made, right profitable as was thē thought for the cōmon weale of ỳ realme. The same yeere there came an Ambassadour forth of englād, to cōfirme ỳ treatie of peace before takē.

1555. A Parliament.

An ambassadour sent.

In the moneth of July ỳ queene went northward to Inuernes, accōpanied wt the Earles of Hūtley, Argile, Rothes, Cassils & Marshal ỳ B. of Abirdene & Rosse, M. Doysel, Rubie & others holding iustice ayres (as they terme it) first at

The queene made gouernour by Parliament.

1556. The queene regēt make a progresse

Inuer-

Inuernes afozesayd, & after at Elgine, Bamfe, Aberden, and Saint Johns towne.

In the meane time there were sent commissioners to the bozders, as the Bishop of Dunblane, the Lard of Lethyngton, and master James Macgill, where Doctoz Tunstall Bishop of Duresme, and certayne others foz England mette them, and remayned there till the Queenes cõming backe fozth of the Nozth in September following.

This yere was a Parliament holdẽ in which the Lardes of Bzimston, Dzmiston, & Grange, with M. Henry Balnaues & others, which were fozfalted in the gouernours time, were restozed. The same time the Queene by counsel of Mõsieur Doysell, & Rubie, and certaine of the nobilitie of Scotland, requested, that a newe ozder might be made, whereby euery mans substance should be put in an inuentozie, and accozding to the rate thereof to pay an yearely taxation to be put and kept in the treasure house til warres began, and that theñ men of warre might be waged therewith to lie vpon the bozders, & none in that case to be charged to come from their owne houses, but when any great army came fozth of England to inuade Scotlande. Diuers of the great Lozds were agreed to this ordinance, but the most part of the Barons hearyng thereof, assembled togither in Edenburgh, to the nũber of two hundzed and aboue, & sent the Lardes of Calder in Louthian, and of Wemis in Fife, to the Queene and Lozdes, beseching them not to set suche newe taxations vpon them, foz they could not beare such burdens, but would defend the realme as befoze time their elders had done, not meanyng to put their goodes in inuentozie, as if they should already make their laste will & testaments: & so by this meanes that deuise was dashed to the griefe of the inuentozs.

This yeare in July the Queene sent foz the Lozdes to cõmune with them at New bottell, where she opened to thẽ diuers wzongs done on the bozders by Englishmen, & how no redzesse could be got, wherfoze she required that warres might be moued agaynst Englãd in reuenge of those iniuries, although the Bishop of Dzkeney was ỳ same time at Carleill in talke with Cutbert Tunstal bishop of Duresme & others, commissioners foz Englãd. The principall cause ỳ moued the M. Regent to seeke to make warre against England, was foz that the Englishmẽ ayded ỳ Emperour in fauour of his sonne king Philip agaynst the French king, bycause their Queene had taken to husbande the same King Philip, & sent the Erle of Pembzoke ouer with an army to ioyne with king Philips power. It was thought therfoze, that if the Scots inuaded the English bozdures, it might cause thẽ to call backe their powre fozth of Fraunce to defende their owne countrey. But the Scottish Lozdes woulde not consent in any wise to beginne any warres: whiche their dealing when Monsieur Doysell perceyued, he speedely went vnto Haymouth beside Berwike, & fozthwith the same with all diligence, making inuasions into England: wherupõ the Scottishmen in their owne defence were constreyned to make warre, & the Earle of Hũtley was made Lieutenãt vpõ the bozdures, who came thither, and remayning there by assistãce of the Frenchmẽ, made sundzy inuasions & roades into England, bzent diuers townes and villages, & cast down many stone houses, pyles, & strengths. In this meane while were the Scottish commissioners at Carleill, and the Maister of Marwell Warden of the west bozdures, beyng there with them, with much a do got away and came home into Scotlãd. The Queene assembled a great army out of al parts of the realme, the whiche came fozward to Kelso in the moneth of October, where the Queene and Frẽchmen perswaded them to entre by inuasion into England, but they meaning to take further aduise, passed ouer Tweede to Marwell hughe, where they encamped, & afterwardes approched the castell of Warke, enuironing the same with a siege foz the space of twoo oz thzee dayes. Capitayne Read at that present had charge of that castell, with thzee oz foure hundzed sowtemen, & one hundzed hozsemen, seemyng to care litle foz the Scottishmens fozces.

The Scottish Lordes refuse to take warre in hande

Haymouth is fortified.

Inuasions are made into England.

A army assembled.

The Lordes do not cõsent thereunto.

The castell of Warke besieged by Scots.

Capitayne Reade.

The Erle of Westmerlãd being then Lieutenant of the Nozth partes, gathered such power togither as he might make, & came to Lowike accompanied with the Lozde Talbot, sir James Crostes, & others to succour where moste neede should appeare. The Scottishe army perceyuing the Englishmen thus in a readinesse to resiste theyz attempts, toke aduise togither, and concluded that it was not foz the weale of the realme, at that tyme to hazarde battell fozth of the boundes of theyz owne lande, theyz Pzinces beyng absent and as yet in hir minozitie, considering also that the warre was not taken in hãd foz their owne quarell, but foz the pleasure of Fraunce. These and other the lyke reasons beyng alledged by the Earles of Arrane, Huntley, Argile, Cassilles, and other, to the Queene and French Capitaynes, they were nothing satisfied therewith, but the Scottishe Lozdes woulde attempte no further, but retyred backe and skaled their army. In remouing from Warke, they were pursued by certayne bandes of the bozdurers and others, which were repulsed and stode in daunger to haue bene distressed, if Capitayne Read had not with noble courage issued fozth, and in tyme relieued them that

The earle of Westmerlãde gathereth an army to resist the Scots.

The Scottes breake vp their army.

were retiring, whereby they stayed and gaue a new charge, in suche sorte as the Scottes were beaten backe agayne and chased ouer the water to theyr mayne armie that was already passed ouer. The Queene and Monsieur Doysell perceyuing that they coulde not get the Scottishe Lordes to make any further exployte at that present, she retired home, but Doysell with his Frenchymen were appoynted to remayne still in Haymouth to contergarrison the Englishmen within Berwike. There were diuers sote bãds of Scottes waged by the French King, whiche were appoynted to lie in places aboute the bordures, as at Kelse, Rockelburgh, and suche like for defence of the countrey, and the annoyance of the Englishmen as occasions might serue.

After this, Sir Andrewe Car and diuers other entred Englande with a power of men about Martilmas, but the Earle of Northumberlande beyng then Lieutenant of the North partes of Englande, and lying on the bordures assembled his forces togither, and commyng to encounter the Scottes on the very bordure side neare to Cheuiot, at the first the Englishmenne were put to the worse, but yet at lengthe the Scottes were ouerthrowen, and chased Sir Andrew Car and many other beyng taken prysoners. Sir John Forster bare himselfe very valiantly at this encoũtre, so that his seruice might not well haue bene spared. He was thrust thorow the mouth into the necke, and also through the thigh. Moreouer his horse was slayne vnder him. The conflict was sharpe, for both the horsemen and sotemen came to make proufe of theyr forces. The warre thus being begonne and followed, the Scottes kept theyr quarterage, and euery noble man as hee was appoynted, lay on the bordures with a thousand horsemen, during his ordinary terme, & on the other side the English bordures were furnished with new supplies of mẽ of warre, so that there were dayly roades and incursions made by the parties, to the greate domage and spoyle of the townes & billages situate neare to the confines of bothe the realmes.

The Scottes discomfited by the erle of Northumberland.

Sir Iohn Forster.

Quarterrage kept by the Scots for defence of theyr bordures.

1558. A Parliament

In December the Queene assembled a Parliament at Edenburgh, where by consent of the whole estates, there were elected and chosen James Beton Archbishop of Glasquo, Robert Read bishop of Orkney, George Lesley Earle of Rothes, Gilbert Kenedy Earle of Cassels, James Steward prior of S. Androwes, George Lord Seaton, James Flemmyng, and John Erskin Lard of Dun, Ambassadours and commissioners to go into Fraunce, and there to contract mariage, betwixte Marie queene of Scotlande, and Fraunces Dolphyn of Fraunce, and to solempnise the same mariage. Whereupon sufficient commissions and instrumentes were made to them by the estates of the Parliamẽt, & they accepting the same, made preparatiõ for ỹ iourney, and departed in the moneth of February forth of the roade of Leith, and with greate windes and boysterous stormes, came into Fraunce, losing in theyr iourney one of theyr shippes, with men and horses before S. Ebbes



head in the North of Scotlande, and an other with great riches and many Gentlemen, with the Capitayne called Waterton in the roade of Bullongne. The Ambassadours themselues neuertheless escaped, and commyng safe vnto the French courte in the moneth of March were honorably receiued of the King at Paris, where the contract of mariage was made, and three score thousand Frankes assigned in Dower to ỹ Queene of Scotland, s. xxx. thousand Frankes of yearely pension with many riche Iewels.

1558.

Two shippe lost.

The assignement of the Scots queen dower.

There was also a perpetuall bande of league concluded betwixte Fraunce and Scotlande, and greate preparation made for the mariage, whiche was solemnised in Paris with greate triumphe and assistaunce of all the Cardinals, Dukes, Earles, Barons, Lordes, and Bishops of the realme in the Churche of *Nostre dame*, the xviij. of April in the present yeare, 1558.

But now to leaue this triumphant Mariage, and the Scottishe Lordes Ambassadours there in Fraunce for a tyme, we will returne to shewe what happened betwixt the Scottes and Englishmen at home where the warres were pursued to the losse or litle gayne of both partes.

About Whitsontyde sir Henry Percy with diuers bandes of the countrey garnisons, and sir George Bowes then Marshall of Berwike, with sundry bandes of the garnison of that towne passed forth into Scotland, they beyng in all aboute a. viij. or. viij. hundred horsemen, & two thousand sotemen. They brent the townes of Duns and Langton, & hauing got togither a great number of cattell returned homewardes.

Ambassadours sẽt into Fraũce to cõsummate the mariage betwixte the Queene of Scotlande, and the Dolphin of Fraunce.

A roade into Scotland.

Duns and Langton brent.

The

The Scots that lay in Kelso and other places keeping their quarterrage on the boroures, (for the realme as ye haue heard was quartered, euery parte keepyng theyr turne as the maner is) assembled togither to the number of two thousande horsemen or fewe lesse, and three bandes of footemen, hasting forth to defende the countrey. And perceyuing where the Englishmen were, followed and coasted them as they returned with theyr bootie, till they came to Swinton, where they ouertoke them, and skirmished with them sharpely as they were passing through the towne.

The Scottishe footemen beate backe parte of the Englishmens shotte into theyr battell, and preassed very forewarde in hope to be assisted by their horsemen, the whiche (as ye haue heard) outmatched greatly, the English horsemen in number, but the sight growyng somewhat hote, and the more to the disaduantage of the Englishmenne, for sonuche as their shotte and powder beganne to fayle them, by reason the misty morning had made muche of theyr powder dankishe, so that they coulde haue no vse thereof. But herewith sir Henry Lee, capitaine Read and others, beyng in the battell, behaued themselues very stoutly, causing the footemen to stay, and boldly to abide the chiny, and herewith procured the horsemē to giue a charge in such conuenient time, as if the same had bene protracted, it might haue turned very euill to the English side: but now as well the horsemen, as footemen playing theyr partes, the Scottishe horsemen abidyng without the towne in troupe whilest their footemen were in skirmishe stode away, leauyng theyr footemen to be slayne and spoyled of the Englishmen, and yet those footemen fought it out right manfully, so that if the Scottes horsemen had done their partes so well as the footemen, it was likely to haue gone harder on the English side than it did. But now the Scottishe horsemen entring not the fight, theyr footemen were enclosed by the Englishmen, for those that were in the forewarde and were passed by, returned, and commyng behind theyr enimies, holpe to beate them downe, so that fewe or none of the Scottes or Frenchmen (whereof there were some fewe amongst them) escaped, but were eyther taken or slaine.

Amongst others, capitayne Cullane, and capitayne Kenedie two chiefe leaders of the footemen were taken: diuers of theyr horsemen also in the retire were taken, amongst whome the Lorde Keith, sonne to the Earle Marshall of Scotland was the chiefest. But this victorie was not atchieued without losse of diuers Englishmenne. Amongst other one Pel, enseigne bearer to sir John Markhams bande of footemē was slayne. Also master Edrington a capitayne of light horsemen, was taken prysoner by the Lard of Edmonston at the first charge giuen vpon the Scottish horsemen, and led away without reskue. M. Edrington taken.

Beside the manfull prowes of Sir Henry Percy, and other the English capitaynes before mencioned, the forwarde valiancie shewed that day of sir William Brereton, and Thomas Markham, that led his father Sir John Markhams bande of footemen, also of Rause Ellerkar a Capitayne of horsemen, is not to be forgotten, who with diuers other Capitaynes and Souldiers behaued themselues in such wise at that present seruice, as theyr dealings therin deserue speciall memory. Sir William Brereton.

Moreouer at an other tyme the Scottes and Frenchmenne entryng into England, the Scottishe horsemenne to the number of a thousande or there aboutes, passed forth to brenne and forray the countrey, but the Earle of Northumberlande, and his brother Sir Henry Percy, assembled togither a power of horsemenne, and Sir Henry Percy meetyng with them at Grendon, set vpon the Scottes and chased them ouer the water of Twisell, vnto the forte battayle of the Frenchmenne, who retyring to the riuer of Tweede, passed ouer the same at Chapell Fourde, where they were assayled bothe by certayne forte bandes of the garnison of Berwyke, that were come forth to ayde the Earle, and also by the Horsemenne, so as diuers were drowned in the ryuer before they coulde gette ouer, but after they were once got to the further side, they put themselues in order of battayle againe, and retired in a squadrone very strongly, susteyning litle or no hurte at all, notwithstanding that the Earle of Northumberland (beyng then come) and his brother Sir Henry Percy, with the reste of the Capitaynes and Gentlemen of the countrey, pursued them ouer the water for the space of two myles, skirmishing with them still as they marched away, but coulde do them no harme, bycause they kepte themselues in so good order, & the English footemen were not able to reache them. Whereupon the English horsemenne suffryng the Frenchmen to departe, left them, and passing into the countrey, brente Long Ednam, and diuers other Hamlettes and Villages, and so returned. The Scots put to flight at Grendon. The good order of the Frenchmen in their retire. Long Ednam brent.

Diuers Scottes that day at the ouerthrow & chase of their horsemen were taken prysoners, as the Lord Grey and others. The Lorde Grey of Scotland take prysoner.

After this the Englishmen wanne the strong pile of Caw milles, wherin were a. xvj. Frenchmen, that defended it for the time very stoutly, so that it coste the liues of diuers Englishmen Caw milles wonne by the Englishmen.

before they could take it.

Shortly after, there was a sore skirmishe at Halidon hill: for where as the most parte of the Sommer it was ordeyned that euery day certayne bandes of Souldiers shoulde warde on the same hill, to giue libertie to the inhabitantes of Berwike, to mowe and carrie in theyr haye, they continued for a tyme without any trouble offered by the Scottes or Frenche, so that the warders standyng in no doubte of the enimies, vsed out of theyr armour to shote, boule, coyte, and exercise such lyke games of pleasure, wherof the Scottes and Frenchmen beyng aduertised, came one day from Aymouth in so secrete wise, that they were drawen very neare to the Englishmen, ere they had any warning of their approche, so that before they could be gotte into order, the Scottes and Frenchmen were almost at theyr elbowes, and falling in skirmishe with them, handled them very roughly, although sir William Bereto, sir John Markham, master William Drurie, Cutbert Vawghan and other the Capitaynes of the Englishmen did behaue themselues right manfully, brynging their men in order, encouragyng them, and doyng what appertained vnto hardie and skilful warriours, but yet three tymes that day the Scots and Frenchmen put them from the heigth of the hill, till at length sir James Croft comming from Berwike, vsed suche diligence and policy in the mater, that the Scottes and French were repulsed and constreyned to retyre, withdrawing backe vnto Aymouth, after they had continued in skirmishe from one of the cloeke till it was paste foure, with no small losse on bothe partes.

A sore skirmish on Halidone hill.

After this the Earle of Bodwell lying on the bordures as Lieutenant accordyng to the order for the time of his quarterage, entred one day into England, & sent his forrey to brenne Fenton towne, keeping himselfe in ambush at Haltwel Sweyre. Sir Hery Percy aduertised that ỹ Scottes were thus entred, got togither a thousande horse, and makyng swyth to defende the countrey, set vpon the Earle at the foresayde place of Haltwell Sweyre, but some feare entring into the harts of the Englishmen, by reason of certayne shotte whiche the Scottes had there with them, fledde, and were pursued by the Scottes ouer the water of Till. There were taken aboue fyue score Englishmen, amongst whom capitayne Errington, & capitayne Car, that had the leadyng of light horsemen, were two, beside diuers other men of good accompte in seruice, as one Vaughan a Gentleman and suche lyke.

The Erle of Bothwell.

Haltwell Sweyre.

The Englishmen put to flight.

Aboute this time whylest the Lorde Evre commonly called Evers, remayned capitayne of Berwike, one Kirkaudye cousine to sir William Kirkaudye Lard of Grange, chanced to be taken prysoner into Berwike, and afterwardes beyng ransoned, at his comming home to Aymouth, he made reporte that hee had bene vsed straytly during the tyme that he remayned prysoner, at the handes of the sayde Lord Evre, by reason whereof, vpon a chalenge made by Grange to fight a combat with the Lord Evre, the mater grewe to this issue, that where their degrees were not equall, Raufe Evre brother to the Lorde Evre, vndertoke in his brothers behalf to breake a staffe with the Lard of Grange vpon the side of Halidon hill at a day appoynted, where they mette, eyther of them brynging twelue Gentlemen with them, to see the triall of this chalenge performed. But when they came to haue theyr armour and weapons hewed, the truth is so, that Grange was armed in a coate of plate, and a cuirace aloste vpon it, wherewith some faulte was founde, bycause Master Evre was cladde only in a single coate of plate, without any other peeces of armour for defence of his body: but yet suche was the great courage of the sayd Master Evre, that he would not refuse the chalenge notwithstading his aduersaries aduantage of armour. Wherevpon they rane togither, and brake both theyr staues: and as it fortuned Master Evre was hurte in the flanke.

The Lard of Grange chalengeth the Lord Evre.

The Lard of Grange, and master Rauf Evre runne against one another.

The warre beyng thus pursued betwirte Englande and Scotland, beside the encounters and roades whiche are before mencioned, there were two great roades made into Scotlande, the one by the Earle of Westmerlande, and the other by the Earle of Northũberland, the Lord Talbot beyng there, and hauing the leadyng of certaine Demilãces. Moreouer it was thought good by the Englishmenne, not onely to annoy the Scottes by lande but also by sea: wherevpõ sir John Clere with certayne shippes of warre sayled forth alongst the coaste, till at length he arriued at the Iles of Orkenay, where goyng a lande aboute an enterpryse, and staying longer than was requisite, he was encountred by his aduersaries, and slayne with many of his people, whiche were there a lande with him.

Sir Iohn Clere slayne in the Isle of Orke

But although the Scottes had good successe in that parte, they sustayned greate domage on the West side of the realme, by a iourney whiche the Earle of Sussex then Lorde deputie of Irelande attempted agaynst them. For the better vnderstãding wherof ye shal note, that after the Lord Clinton high Admirall of Englande had brent the towne of Cõquest in Brytaigne, there were seuen shippes of warre appoynted to passe into Irelande, as the Marie Willoughbie, the New barke, the Sacret, the Gerfaucon,

saudon. and three other that were Merchantes, and appointed that yeare to serue the Queene of Englande in hir warres. There were also beside those seuen shippes of warre, two vitaylers appoynted to attende vpon them: sir Thomas Cotton was ordeined theyr Admirall, and one Southwike of Doner theyr vice Admirall. Vpon their arriuall in Yrelande the Earle of Sussex hauyng also prepared three other ships, with sufficient and necessary prouision for his iourney, imbarqued with so many souldiers as conueniently might be bestowed aborde in that fleete, contayning xij. sayle in the whole: and departyng towarde the West of Scotland, landed in a parte of the countrey called Kentyre, with as many Souldiers & Mariners as might be spared out of the shippes, leauyng them furnished with competent numbers for theyr sauegarde: and being got to land, he passed forth into the countrey, and brent two houses that belonged to Iames Maconnel chiefe Gouernour of those parties and a greate enimie to the Englishmē. He brent also diuers townes, villages, and hamlettes belongyng vnto the sayde Maconnell, with great store of corne & other things which came in theyr way. The Scottes oftentimes skirmished with the Englishmenne, but durst not aduenture to ioyne with them in battayle, they kepte so good order by the Earle of Sussex his politike and valiant conduction.

There were a sorte of Scottes gotten into a boate meanyng to haue fled, but being apprehēded by ẏ Englishmē, they were executed. Finally after the Earle had remayned there on lande in brennyng and spoylyng the countrey for the space of three dayes, he returned to his shippes, & in safetie wente aborde agayne with his men, and making sayle to the Ile of Arrane, entred the hauen called Imalasshe, and lādyng at that place, brente the countrey, and after wente to Cumber where he likewise brent & haried that Ile. This done, he meante to haue gone vnto two other Flandes Play and Jurey, but the windes grewe so terrible with tempestes & foule weather, that they lost one of theyr shippes, and some of the rest were so rent and spoyled of their tagle and furniture, as they escaped in great hazarde of beyng caste away also. There were xxbj. Mariners drowned, the which perceyuing the shippe to be in daunger of sinkyng, fled into the boate and so perished. The other that remayned in the shippe were saued, as Maister Fraunces Randoll and others. By reason therfore of such foule weather the Earle of Sussex was constrayned to returne into Yrelande, arriuing at Cragfergus, where he landed with his Souldiers, and appoynting the ships to returne into England, he passed by land vnto Dublyn, spoyling the enimies countreys by the way, and takyng from them a greate pray and bootie of cattell, notwithstanding the paynefull passage whiche he had to make through the combresome wayes, bowgges, and woodes, without relefe of all necessarie things in that so troublesome a iourney.

Thus farre for those two yeares warre in the dayes of Marie Queene of Englande, betwixt the Englishmen and Scots, whereof sith I finde none that hath written any thing at all, I haue yet sette downe these odde notes, as I haue learned the same of such as had good cause to knowe the truth thereof, beyng eye witnesses themselues of suche enterpryses and exploytes as chanced in the same warres, namely capitayne Read, capitayne Wood, capitayne Errington, and captaine Eurey, capitaine Markham, with others, whiche of their courtesie haue willingly imparted to me the reporte of diuers such things, as I wished to be resolued in, which accordingly so farre as my remembrance hath serued, I haue here deliuered, to the end the same may giue occasion to others (that may happely light vpon more full instructious) to imparte to posteritie a more perfect discourse, where otherwise the mater might peraduenture wholy passe in forgetfulnesse.

And now to returne vnto the Scottish Ambassadours that were sent into Fraunce, for the cōclusiō of the mariage betwixte their Queene & the Dolphin: after that ẏ same mariage was cōsummate, & euery thing ordered & brought to passe accordyng to the effect of theyr commission, in the moneth of August they toke their leaue of the Frenche King, the Queene, and Nobilitie there, to retourne homewardes into Scotland, albeit fewe of thē came home, for the Bishop of Orkeney departed this life in Diepe, the. xb. of September: the Earle of Rothes deceassed there the. ix. of Nouember: the Erle of Cassiles departed in the same place the. xiiij. of Nouember; and the Lorde Fleming deceassed in Paris the. xbiij. of December. And so onely the Archebishoppe of Glasqwo, the Prior of saint Andrews, and the Larde of Dun retourned into Scotland in October. After whose commyng, there was a Parliament sommoned by the Queene, to be holdē in December next.

The Embassadours died almost all.

Three came home agayne.

Lorde of Dun.

A Parliament.

This yeare also in August the Earle of Argile deceassed, and likewise in September Andrew Durry Bishoppe of Galloway, departed in Edinburgh, and Dauid Panton Bishop of Rosse deceassed the first of October in Striueling. In the Parliament holden in Edinburgh in December, the proceedings of the Ambassadours were allowed, and a discharge giuen to them for the same.

The Queenes requeſt in the Parliament.

After this the Queene regẽt requyred to haue a crowne matrimoniall graunted to the Dolphin of Fraunce, that he ſhoulde be called king of Scotlande during the Matrimonie: to the which when the eſtates had agreed, the Erle of Argile, & the Priour of S. Andros, were appointed to paſſe into Fraunce, but they went not, bicauſe of other weighty buſineſſe whiche ſhortly after they attempted.

Marie Queene of Englande departed this life, the .xvij. of Nouember, & then the moſt excellẽt & noble Queene Elizabeth ſucceeded. In July & Auguſt there was a conuention of al the prelates & Clergie holden at Edenburgh, in the which certaine men and women of Edenburgh were accuſed of hereſie, & abiured at the towne croſſe with faggottes on their backes. In this aſſemble it was required, that the cõmon prayers might be red in the Scottiſh tong in Churches, with certaine other articles of reformatiõ, wherof the anſwere was deferred till March, in whiche moneth a prouinciall counſell was appointed to be holden at Edenburgh. The .ij. of Marche, the ſayde prouinciall counſell of all the Prelates and Clergie of Scotlande began, wherein diuers Articles were propoſed by the temporalty, as to haue the prayers and adminiſtration of the Sacraments in the Scottiſh lãguage, the election of Biſhops and all beneficed men to paſſe by the voyces of the temporall Lordes & people of their Dioceſſes and pariſhes, with diuers other reformations, al the which the Biſhops refuſed to graunt, wherethrough there aroſe ſhortly after great trouble in Scotlande.

An aſſemble of the clergy.

Cõmon prayers to be had in the vulgare tongue.

A prouinciall counſell.

Requeſtes made by the Layte.

1559.

The Queene regent cauſed ſummonance to be giuen vnto Iohn Knox, Iohn Wullock, & Paule Meffane, to appeare at Striueling the x. day of May, and for lacke of appearance they were denounced rebelles, and put to the horne. Whereupon the ſayde Iohn Knox beyng in Perth, perſwaded the maiſter of Lyndſay, the lardes of Tulibardin, Dun Pettarrow, and diuers other beyng there aſſembled with the burgeſſes of ẏ townes of S. Johns towne & Dũdee, to pull downe the images and altares in all Churches, and to ſuppreſſe the houſes of Frears and other religious places, who after a Sermon made by him to that effect, the ſame .x. day of May they began in S. Johns towne, and caſt downe the Abbay of the Charterhouſe, and the blacke & Carmelite Frears, called the Tullelum, & reformed all other Churches thereabout, breaking downe the images and altars in Fife, Angus, Mernis, and other parties there nexte adioyning. The Queene regent being aduertiſed thereof, ſent for the Duke of Chatellerault & diuers other of the nobilitie, as the Erles of Atholl, Argile and others, who came with hir to Perth, otherwiſe called S. Johns towne, hauing with them .ij. thouſand Frenchmen, who entred the towne vpon appointment, & ſo receyuing it, gaue it in keeping to Capitaine James Stewarde, and capitaine Cullane, with their bandes of men of warre.

Iohn Knox with other are ſummoned.

Images and Frierhouſes pulde downe.

The Queene regent came to Perth.

In the meane time the Erle of Argile, & the priour of S. Andros left the Queene in Perth, & went to S. Andros, ioyning themſelfes with the other, & made reformation of the Churches, caſting downe Altars, images, houſes of frears, & Abbeys in that towne and in Cowper and other places thereabout: & aſſembling a great cõpany of coũtrey men, came to Cowper to make reſiſtance againſt the Frenchmen that were in Falkelande with the Queene. But when they ſhould haue met on Cowper Moze in battayle, the Duke of Chatellerault, the Erle Marſhal, and others laboured betwixte them, ſo that the battayle was ſtayed, and the Queene with the Frenchmen returned vnto Edenburgh.

S. Andros.

Cowper.

Two armies were pacified.

The Erle of Argile, the priour of S. Andros & theyr aſſiſters came to S. Johns towne & beſieged it, till it was to thẽ ſurrendred. The Erle of Huntley was ſent to them from the Queene to treat with them of ſome accord, but he profited not. At the ſame time a certayne number of perſons of the townes of Dundee and Perth, came to the Abbey of Scone, and ſpoyling the Church, bẽt it with the moſt part of the houſe, the Erle of Argile, and the priour of S. Andros beyng with them in company. After this, they wẽt to Striueling, where they cauſed ẏ houſes of the black Friers, & gray Friers to be throwen downe. From thẽce they paſſed to Edenburgh, where the Queene hearyng of theyr comming, departed with the Frenchmenne vnto Dunbar, the Duke of Chatellerault, & the Erle of Huntley being with hyr in company.

S. Johns towne beſieged.

Scone abbay brente.

The friers in Steruelyng deſtroyed.

The Queene departed fro Edenburgh.

The Erle of Argile, & his cõpany, called the Lordes of the congregation, were receyued into Edenburgh by the baylifes of the towne, where the places of the blacke & Grayfriers were ſuddenly ouerthrowen, & the Churche a Field, and Trinitie colledge, & S. Giles church were reformed, and the images and altares pulled downe. The Lordes remayning thus in Edenburgh, toke the Abbey, the coygning houſe, & the coygning yrons, and ſeaſed vpõ the Queenes moueables which they found in the Palayce, and kept the ſame.

The Frierhouſes ouerthrowen.

Monſieur Doyſell and the Frenchmenne came from Dunbar to the Linkes of Leith, accompanied with the Duke of Chatelerault, the Erles of Huntley, Bothwell, Mourton, and others, and the Lordes of the Congregation came forth of the towne of Edenburgh of purpoſe to haue gyuen battayle to the Frenchmen,

Two armies pacified.

men, albeit they were not sufficiente partie to resist them: but the Earle of Huntley trauelled betwirte them, by whose meanes there mette twelue on euery side, who agreed vpon certaine articles, & so the Queene and Frenchmē entred into Leith, and forthwith began to fortifie it.

Shortly after this, the Duke of Chatellereault, partly through perswasion of the Earle of Arguile his sisters sonne, and the West lande Lordes, and partly because he vnderstode that his sonne the Earle of Arrane was fled forth of Fraunce to Geneua for the Religion, hee toke parte with the Lordes from that time forthe against the aduice of the Bishop of Sainte Andrewes, and diuers other his friends.

This yeare in June, Henrye the Kyng of France, at the triumph of the mariages betwixt the King of Spaine and his daughter, and the Duke of Sauoy and his sister, was wounded in Justes at the Tourneillis in Paris by the Counte Montgomerie, and dyed of the hurtes the tenth of July nexte ensuing, beeing the eleuenth day after he was wounded. Then Francis his sonne, that hadde married the Queene of Scotland, was crowned King at Sainte Denis, and annoynted at Reymes in September following.

Heerewith the Duke of Chatellereaulte, and the Lordes of the congregation, sent to the Queene, beseeching hir to leaue off from making of forts within the Realme, but she would not graunt so to doe: wherefore they assembled their whole forces in Edenburgh, and besieged the Towne of Leith in October, the Queene and Frenchmenne, with the Bishops of Sainte Andrewes, Glasquo, Dunkreys, the Lorde of Seton, and diuers other Scottishmen beeyng within it, but the Frenchmē of war issued forth of Leith, and mette neere to the Abbey of Holy Rode house, with the Scottishe Lordes and their company, where many Scottishmē were slayne, and the rest chased into Edenburgh: the Frenchmen also following them to the gates of Edenburgh, hadde entred, if those within the Castell had not shot off the artillerie at them, to stay the slaughter and pursute.

In the time of this siege, the yong Lorde of Lethington, Secretary to the Queene, beeyng with hir in Leith, left the Towne, and secretely departing, gote him to the Lordes, and holp greately afterwards to obteyne ayde forthe of England.

After this, the Queene and Frenchmē came to Edenburgh, whiche was peaceably rendred to them, where they remayned all that winter.

About the same time, the Bishop of Amiēs, Monsieur de la Broslle, and two Doctors of Diuinitie, came into Scotland in September, and La Broslle was made Leuetenaunt of the Frenche armye: Monsieur Martigues, colonell of the footemen, and with them came a greate company of Frenche Souldiers to the Queene Regent, so that then the Frenche power was thirtie fiue hundred good men of warre, beside two bands of Scottes souldiers, vnder the leading of Captayne Anthony Kenedie, & James Steward of Cardonald. The Lords of Scotlande perceyuing the Frenchmen encreased, so that they by their owne forces onely, were not able to resist them, sente to the Queene of Englande Elizabeth for assistaunce, to expell the Frenchmen, which the Queene of Englande graunted, not onely for to serue the Scottishmens turne, but specially for the suretie of hyr owne Realme and state, whiche as then was thought stode in daunger of trouble, in case the Frenchmen were suffered to remayne in Scotland, considering the euill dealing of the french King and his counsell in some pointes alreadye shewed. The Queene of England therefore sent the Duke of Northfolke to Berwike, whither came to him the Earle of Argile, the Prior of Sainte Andrewes, the Maister of Maxwell, and the yong Lorde of Ledington Secretarie, and made agreement to haue ayde of Englande, to the effect afore saide. And for sure keeping heereof, the Scottish Lords deliuered pledges into England, there to remaine during the life of the King of Fraunce, and one yeare after his decease. The pledges were these: Dauid Hamilton, sonne to the Duke of Chatellereault, an other called Campbell, Cousin to the Earle of Argile, Robert Dowglas, brother to ỳ Prior of S. Andrews, and the Lard of Lochleuin, and a sonne of the Lord Ruthuenne.

The lords sēd for aide vnto the Queene of Englande.

They had their requeste graunted thē.

Pledges sente into England.

About the same tyme, James Hamilton Earle of Arraine, eldest sonne to the Duke of Chatellereault, and Captaine of the Scottishe Companie of mē of armes & archers in France, being fledde for Religion secretely to Geneua, from thence came by the conuoy of M. Randall Englishman into England, which at hys comming into Scotlande hee performed, and ioyned himselfe with the Earle of Argile, and other Lords in the cause afore sayd.

Lorde Hamilton taketh parte with the erle of Argile.

The Duke of Chatellereault, the Earles of Arguile, Arrane, and others, came to the towne of Glasquo, and caused ỳ Images and Altares to be taken downe, seising the Bishops liuing into their hands, and toke the Castell of Glasquo pertayning to the Bishoppe, and put certayne Gentlemenne into it to keepe it, whereof the Frenchmen beeing aduertised, marched forward to Glasquo, to the number of fiue thousande men, the Bishop of Glasquo, the Lordes Sempell, Seton, Ros, and diuers other wyth

The towne of Glasquo is taken.

them, toke the Castell againe, and staying one night in the Towne, returned on the next morrowe to Kirkintulloch, and frō thence to Lithquo and Edenburgh.

After their returne from Glasquo, a certaine number of Frenchmenne went to Striueling, and passing by the bridge ouer the water of Firth, came into Fiffe, in purpose to haue gone vnto Saint Andrewes, and to haue fortified the Towne, but they being in Kingcorne, there assembled togyther in Fiffe the Earles of Arrane and Rothes, the Prior of Saint Andrewes, the Lord Ruthuen, the Maister of Lindsey, and diuers other, hauing with them no greate number, but yet they daylye skirmished with the Frenchmen, and would not suffer them to come from the Sea syde, where diuers Frenchmenne were slayne, and one of their Captaynes, with thirtie of his Souldiers, and few Scottishmen or in manner none, excepte that the Earle of Southerland, who chanced to be with them at the pricking, was sore hurt in the arme with the dredge of a calliuer shot.

Certaine Frenchemenne slaine.

As the Frenchmen were in their progresse, at the mouth of the water of Leuin in Fiffe, there arriued in their sight a nauie of Shippes, which at the first kenning, they toke to be frēch Shippes, but shortly after, perceyuing them to be the English nauie, they returned with greate diligence to Brunt Iland, where they past the ferrie of Kingcorne in boates and crayers to Leith, and instantly beganne to fortifie that Towne, casting greate trenches about it, and making great blockhouses for their defēce. The English Shippes came to the roade of Lieth, where they cast ancars the day of January.

The Towne Burnt Iland is fortified.

An Englishe nauye.

The Queene Regente sente vnto the Vice Admirall of that fleete, named Maister Winter, requiring to knowe of him, for what cause hee was come into those waters, who answered, that he had bin abrode on the Seas seeking after Pirates, and in case anye of them came thither, hee was arriued there in the Forthe to waite on them, where the principall cause indeede was to impeache, that no Frenchman shoulde lande there, in case any came forthe of Fraunce, and also to keepe thē that lay in Inskeith from victayles, and that no Frenchman shoulde passe by Sea forth of Leith.

About the same time, the Queene Regent, hearing that the Duke of Norffolke was come to Newcastell, as generall Lieutenaunt of the Northe, sente an Herrault with a letter to him, in whiche letter it was signified, that the Herrault had credite to declare further matter than was conteyned in the same letter, but when hee was demaunded what hee had to saye, he denyed to haue anye credit at all, whereupon William Flower, then Chester Herraulte, and now Norrey Kyng of Armes, was sente vnto the Queene, who commyng to Holy Rode house neare to Edinburgh, was receyued by sundry Herraultes, and so was had to one of their houses, and there kepte for that nyght.

A Scottes Herrault sente to the Duke of Norffolke.

An English Herraulte to the Quene of Scottes.

The nexte daye after hee had dyned, he was brought to the Court, and at his entryng within the gates, there were a number of Harquebusiers readye wyth their peeces that discharged, and shot off the same.

At hys commyng to the presence of the Queene, hee with ducfull obeysaunce, deliuered his letters, and after the same had bin redde, he was demaunded what credit he had to vtter, whereupon he declared, that the Duke of Norffolke being the Queenes Maiesties liuetenaunt in the Northe partes of Englande, marueyled greately that she woulde send an Herrault with letters, and write therein howe shee had giuen credite to hym, and yet when he was demaunded to vtter his credite, hee shoulde confesse that he had none.

The Queene heerewith called for the Herrault, to vnderstande whether he had credite or not, who denyed to haue had any at all, wherewith the Queene seemed to be somewhat abashed, but neuertheless she brake forth and sayd, that she marueled greately that the Queene of Englande shoulde send hir Shippes into hir Riuer, without giuing hir knowledge afore hand. Chester answered thereto, that where it was certaynely knowen that the French King had prepared to send a power of men of Warre into Scotlande, without aduertising hir thereof, shee coulde not but thinke that dealing verye straūge, & therfore had in very deede sent certaine of hir Shippes with victayles, for prouision to be laid within hir Townes and Castels on the fronters, the whiche Shippes by tempest beeing dispersed, mighte happily be driuen into the riuer there, albeit hee hadde not spoke with any of them since their comming forthe, but yet as hee had hearde by others, they had bin very vncurteously vsed: for comming in after that manner for succour, the Canon had bin bent against them.

Herewith the Counte Martgues standyng by, beganne to speake very stowte wordes vnto Chester, alledging, that where it was perceyued well enoughe, that the Queene of Englande mente to make warre againste his Maister the Frenche Kyng, hee trusted shee woulde gaine as little thereby, as his sister had done in breaking with his father Henry the late French King. Chester heerevnto answered, that hee thought to haue found but one regent in Scotland

Martgues forwarded taine, but vorrew pphet.

land, to whome he shoulde neede to make aunswere, whereupon Martigues was commaunded to silence.

All this while the Queene had talked with Chester in the Scottishe tong, and bycause hee did not so well understande hir, hee beganne to speake in the French language, whereat the Q. seemed greately to reioyce, and beganne agayne to discourse with hym of hir griefes, & he on the other part made hir aunswer as fell to purpose, and at length, when hee was demaunded what further credite he hadde, he declared, that where she hadde requested a safeconduct for Monsieur la Broche to passe through Englād into Frāce, if shee woulde see hym safely conueyd to Berwike, he durst assure hir of a sufficient safeconduct for his safe passage: through the Queene his mistres Realme, but at length, there was another Gentleman commended to him, in lieu of La Broche; that was his Cousin. And nowe when Chester should take his leaue, he declared that he had not bin courteously dealte with, for sithence his comming thither, hee coulde not bee suffered to passe anye where abrode out of hys Chamber, but at meale times, and therefore if any of hir messengers should chance to come into the Queene his mistresse dominions, hee would procure (if he might) that they should tast of the like entertaynement: but the Queene seemed not to understande that he had bin in anye wise so hardly dealt with, shewing that she was not well contented therewith, and so Chester toke his leaue, and returned backe into England, without any reward for his paynes taken in that iourney, at the handes of the Scottish Queene, howsoeuer she liked of his message.

1560

In the meane time, there was an army prepared in England, of seauen or eight thousande men, who were sent into Scotland, the Lorde Grey of Englande beeing appointed generall, who came to the Linkes, beside the Towne of Leith, on Saterday the sixth of Aprill: before they pight downe their field on the said Linkes, Monsieur Martigues, colonell of the Frenche army, issued forthe of Leith, with nine hundred Harquebusiers of Frenchmen, to a little knolle, called the Halke hil, where a sore continual and hote skirmish was begun betwixt the Englishmen and Frenchmen, with hagbuttes, calyuers, and pistolets, which skirmish continued fyue or sixe houres, in the whiche there were manye slayne on both parties, and diuers hurte. At length, Martigues was forced with his cōpany to retire backe to the Towne of Leith, and the Englishmē pight downe their Campe, and planted their ordinance beside the said hill.

A Englishe armye.

They were backed wyth a fiue. C. pikes whiche kepte aloofe.



The Lord Grey being in Muskelburgh, sent to the Queene Regente, that lay as then in the Castell of Edenburgh, desiring an abstinence of warre for foure and twenty houres, that in the meane time he might sende some of his Counsell to declare vnto hir the cause of his comming with that army, and to cōmune of suche things as might staunch the shedding of blond. The Queene graunted hereunto, and sent an Herrault to Leith, to cause the said assurance to bee taken, but ere he came to the Towne, the Skirmish afore sayd was begun.

In this meane time, the Lord Grey sent sir George Howard, and Sir James Crokts to ỹ Castell of Edenbugh, to speake with ỹ Queene to that effect, who had long conference with hir vppon the Blockhouse, at the vtter gate of the Castell, during the time of the skirmish, where they declared, that the occasiō of the cōming of the armye, was for the cause aboue mentioned, desiring the Queene to procure the Frenchmen to departe the Realme of Scotlande: and they

Men are sente to speake with the Queene mother.

The Frenchmē to departe the Realme.

they promised in that case to returne againe into their owne Realme, and neyther to disquiet Frenchmen nor Scots, whervpon the Queene toke time to be aduised till the nexte daye, that she might consult with ỳ principall personages within the Towne of Leith, requiring that it might be lawfull for hir to send to them to that effect, which was graunted, and so the next day she sent one Drummond a Trumpetter with a letter to Monsieur de la Broſſe, to the effect aforesaid, directing him to passe to the Englishe Campe, and to get a guide with him to goe to the Towne of Leith, as was agreed: and there was one appointed to goe with him. But immediately after his departing from the English Camp, he was suddainely called backe againe, and his letters taken from him, was commanded to repaire to the Castell of Edẽburgh to the Queene, and to declare to hir that they would not haue any talke, but would bee reuenged on the Frenchmen, for the slaughter of their men the night before. Thus the parlee ceasing, the siege was enforced with right sharpe pursute, and strong defending on either parte. The Englishmen cast trenches vpon the South east side of the Towne, and reysed a little Mont, which they named Mont Pellam, and placed theyr ordinance aloft thereon, but because it was so farre from the Towne, they did not so muche skath therto, as they intended. The Lord Grey Lieutenant of the English army lodged during this siege within the Towne of Lestalrike, in the Deanes house, and the most parte of theyr demilances and other horsemen, lay in ỳ same Towne. The footemen with their Captaynes lodged in Hales, tents, and Pauilions, vpon the South and South east syde of the Towne of Leith, and diuers Scottishe Lords encamped with them in the fieldes, as the Earles of Argile, Arrane, Morton, and Glẽcarne, the Lords Boyd, Ogiltree, the Prior of Saint Andrews, the maister of Marwell, and others. The Duke of Chatellerault and diuers with him remayned in Holy Rode house. And with ỳ Queene in the Castell, the Bishop of Saint Andrews, the Bishoppe of Dunkeld, the Earle Marshall, the Lorde Erskin, Captaine of the Castell, M. James Macgill, Clearke of the Register, the Prouost of Dunglas, called Maister Abraham Crichton, and diuers other.

The Englishe are desirous to reuenge the iniuries done vnto them.

A trench cast to little purpose.

On Easter Euen, Captaine Wood, and Captaine Dethicke, seruing on the Sea vnder M. Winter the English Admirall there, were appointed by him to passe vp ỳ riuer to Blacknesse, who with their bands going aboorde into a Barke, prepared for that purpose, sayled forward, and on Easter daye in the morning presenting themselues before the Castell, it was yeelded to them by certaine Frenchmenne that were within, and thervpon it was deliuered to the keeping of James Hamilton, an auntiente Gentleman, and Captaine Wood, beeing set on shore, came to the Camp before Leith by lande. On blacke Monday, the Frenchmenne issuing forth of Leith, set vpon the Englishmen in their trenches, and did muche harme, as in the Englishe Hystorie it further appeareth. During the siege thus afore Leith, the Queene Regent was sore vexed with sickneſſe, but neuertheleſſe, she continued to labour for agreemẽt, not ceasing to send to the Lordes for to haue the matter taken vp: and for the better accomplishing of hir desire, shee procured the Earle of Huntley to come forth of the North, who toke vp his lodging in Edenburgh, and toke greate paynes for to treate betwixt the Queene and Lords for some agreement: but when he perceyued his trauayle to be in vaine, hee returned into the North againe, and left the siege lying still as he founde it. In this meane while, the Englishmen lodging on the South syde of the Towne beside Mont Pellam, battered with their greate artillerie at the parishe Church of Leith, and at S. Anthonies Steeple, in the whiche the Frenchmen had laid certaine peeces of artillerie, and at length beate it downe, but perceiuing they could not do any great hurt to the walles on that side, they cast newe trenches vppon the South and Southwest side of the Towne, and reysed a Mount there, naming it Mont Somerset, and placed thereon certaine peeces in batterie, and so beate the walles that a great part thereof was ouerthrowen, and breach made, whereupon the Englishmenne and Scottes one morning came with their ladders, and presenting themselues to the assault, founde the breache nothing reasonable, so that although they egrely preassed forward to enter the Towne, yet they were fiercely beaten backe with great slaughter and bloudshed on both partes, but namely of the assaylants.

The Castell of Blackenesse wonne.

See more hereof in the lande.

The Queene laboured for an agreement.

Saint Anthonyes steple beaten downe.

Mont Somerset.

They are beaten backe.

The Englishmen perceyuing that they were too rash in assaulting the Towne, beeing not assaultable, deuised other shifts to obteyne theyr purpose, reysing an other Mount of earth on the West side of the water of Leith, and named it Mont Faulcon. Aloft on this Mount when it was brought vp to a great heigth, they planted their greate artillerie, whiche continually beate into the Towne, sore annoying them within, but specially beating the houses and places by the shore side, so that none might goe vppe nor downe the Towne on that part, without danger to be slaine with shot from that Mount.

Mont Faulcon.

The Frenchmenne during the time of the siege, many times issued forthe towardes the sands,

sands, and sometimes towards the trenches, so that sundry sore skirmishes chanced betwixte the Englishmen and them, with the slaughter of diuers, both of the one part and the other.

Amongst other of them within, there were slayne two Scottishmenne of name, to witte, Captayne Kenedie, and yong Henry Drummond: and of them without, there was slayne a Scottish Gentlemã, called the Lard of Cleisch.

The English army was throughly furnished with vittayles forth of all parts of the Realme, and that vpon reasonable prises, but the Frẽchmenne within the Towne could get none, more than they had prouided before the comming of the English army, whiche when it beganne to fayle them, they were constreyned to eate theyr owne Horses, whose flesshe seemed to them in that necessitie more delitious, than before that time any manner of venison. Those within Inskeith also were in greate necessitie of vittayles, but yet neither they within the one place nor those within the other, woulde render theyr strengthes, looking stil for ayde forth of France.

In the meane time the Queene Regent perceyuing hir sickenesse so to encrease, that shee looked for present death, sent for the Duke of Chatellereault, and all the Lords of Scotland that were in the Towne of Edenburgh, and in the Camp, who came vnto hir altogither into the Castell of Edenburgh, where shee made vnto them a graue and pithie exhortation, perswading them to vnitie and concorde with theyr auncient frendes of Fraunce, and nowe more stedfast to them than at any time before, by reason of the marriage of their Queene their Soueraigne, with the King of France: and heerewith brake out with certaine words, to dissuade them from the amitie contracted with the Englishmen, declaring that the Englishmen aided them not for any other respecte, than for theyr owne tourne and commoditie. Moreouer for hir owne parte shee sayd, that shee fauoured the weale of the Realme of Scotland, asmuche as Fraunce, considering shee had the honour to be Queene and Regent thereof, and hir daughter heritable Queene of the same: and if shee hadde attempted any thyng, that seemed or appeared to the noble men contrarie therevnto, the same came to passe rather for lacke of wisedome, and iudgemente, than for wante of any good will: and if it pleased God to prolong hir dayes, shee woulde bee glad to amende that had bene done amisse: and if hee called hir to his mercy, shee prayed them most hartily to acknowledge their duetie vnto the Queene their soueraigne, and to maintaine their auncient amitie with the King and Realme of Fraunce, and to make some good accorde with the Frenchmenne that were within the Towne of Leith, who would gladly accepte the same, to the end that as well they as the Englishmẽ should departe this Realme, for shee feared greatly (as shee saide) least if the Frenchmen departed, the Englishmenne would still remaine, and subdue the land to theyr obedience, and therfore she besought all good Scottishmen to haue respect to the libertie and weale of their Countrey. A mistrustfull minde.

After she had talked thus a good while with many teares, shee desired the Lordes to forgiue hir in any thing wherein she had offended anye of them during the time of hir beeing in Scotlande, whiche they gladly seemed to doe: and on the other parte shee forgaue them with all hir heart (as it appared) all offences which they had committed against hir, and thus diuers of them weeping, shee toke euery of them by the hande, and so they taking leaue of hir departed, and returned into Edenburgh, and to their Campe. The Queene taketh hir leaue.

Whilest the siege thus lay before the Towne of Leith, diuers great troubles rose in sundrye partes of the Realme, and specially betwixt the Erle of Huntley, and the Erle of Atholl, so that there was taking of Prisoners, and ouerthrowing of houses on either part, and greate preparation made, and armies put in a readinesse to inuade either others Countreys: but this busines was pacified by the trauaile and good mediation of Maister Alexander Gordõ, then Postulat of Galloway, Maister John Leslie, officiall of Aberdene, and William Leslie, the yõg Lard of Buchquhane, who agreed thẽ for all matters in controuersie, and caused them to goe to eyther others house. The Earle of Huntley and Atholl are at variance. The matter is pacified.

The same time, one Maister Donald Fraser, Archdeacon of Rosse, toke the Bysshoppes Castell of the Chanourie of Rosse, and kept the same against Maister Henrye Sinclair, then Bishop there, and the chiefest men of authoritie in that Diocesse, as Machenzee, Balnagoun, Foulis, and the Sheriffe Tramercy, who assẽbled about the same, and besieged the Castell, where great force was vsed, both by them without to winne it, and of them within to defende it. The Castell of Rosse taken. The Castell is besieged.

The Bishop being then resident in Cromercy Castell, hearing that the house would not be gotten without great slaughter, thought it against his conscience, his profit, and honor, to winne it in that manner, and therefore sending for Maister John Leslie, officiall of Aberdene, and Maister Alexander Dunbarre, Subchauntour of Murrey, by their labour, & diligent treating in the matter, the Bishop by reasonable appointmente recouered his Castell of them that held it against him. The Castell was restored againe.

The Frenche K. vnderstanding in what di-

stresse

streſſe his menne remayned that were beſieged within Leith, and perceyuing himſelfe not able to ſend an army to ſuccour them within ỳ time that their neceſſitie required, thought good to trie if the matter might be taken vp, and to that effect ſent two Ambaſſadors, the Earle of Randon, and Monſieur Monluc Biſhoppe of Valence, who declared to the Queenes Maieſtie of Englande the cauſe of their comming, whiche was, to deſire hir to retire hir armye fore the of Scotland, vpon ſome ſuche reaſonable conditions as might be agreed vpõ, and herewith they declared, that they were ſent to the Queene, and not vnto the ſubiectes of Scotlande, for it was not meete that the king ſhould ſend to his owne ſubiects (as they were by the marriage of theyr Queene) to requir peace, or to condition with them for agreement. The Queenes Maieſtie of Englande therefore ſente Sir William Cecill Knighte, hir principall Secretarie, and Doctor Wotton, Deane of Canterbury and of Yorke, one of the priuie Counſell, with the ſaid Ambaſſadors into Scotland.

Ambaſſadors ſente. Monſieur Monluc Biſhoppe of Valence.

An Ambaſſage ſent by the Queene of Englande.

Whileſt they were yet vpon their iourney, the Queene Regent (whome they thoughte to haue found aliue, and to haue vſed hir helpe as an inſtrumente to haue furthered the treatie to ſome good ende) conſumed partly through melancolie, thought, and greeuous diſpleaſure, and partly with long and incurable ſickneſſe, departed this life in the Caſtell of Edenburgh the tenth of June, in the yeare of our Lord. 1560. Hir body afterwards was conueid by ſea into Fraunce, and buried in the Abbey of Felcamp.

The Scottiſhe Queene mother departed 1560

She was a wiſe and righte prudente Princeſſe, and in hir time had learned good experience of the nature and inclination of the nobilitie and people of Scotland.

The praiſe of the Queene Dowager.

During the time that ſhe was Regent, ſhee kepte good iuſtice, and was well obeyd in all partes of the Realme in Orkney, and the Weſterne Iles: and if ſhee had to hir owne experience ioyned the Counſell of the Nobles and wiſe men of the Realme of Scotland, without following the aduiſe of ſtraungers, there hadde bin neuer queſtion nor debate betwirt hir and the nobilitie as ſome deemed: but becauſe that others, and namely, Monſieur Doyſell and Rubee were adioyned to hir by the eſtates of Scotland, who daily preſſed hir to deuiſe new alterations of lawes, impoſitions, taxations, & ſuche things as were not in vſe in Scotlande: Therefore the eſtates and people of the lande did grudge, although not for anye miſliking they hadde of hir, who ſurely deceaſſed, to the great griefe and lamẽtation of the whole number of the eſtates and people of the Realme.

The deathe of that noble Princeſſe, made the Frenchemen within Leith, and alſo the Ambaſſadours more diſcouraged, than otherwiſe they woulde haue bin. But neuertheleſſe theſe foure Imbaſſadours of Englande and Fraunce comming to Edinburgh, entred in conference amõg themſelues, vppon articles propoſed aſwell for reliefe of the Scottiſhemen, as for the weale and ſuertie of the Queene of England and hir Subiectes, whereupon certaine Lordes of Scotland were admitted to talke wyth them alſo: and after long treatie, a peace was concluded the tenth of Julye, in the yeare of God. 1560. wyth certaine articles touching aſwell Scottes, and Frenche, as Engliſhemen, the effect whereof here enſueth.

The Ambaſſadours came to Edinburgh.

They haue conference.

Peace is concluded.

Fyrſte, it was agreed, that all the Frenchemen ſhould departe forth of the realme of Scotlande by Sea into Fraunce, and to that effect ſhould embarke, & make ſaile within ỳ ſpace of xx. dayes next following: and becauſe ỳ Frenchmen hadde no ſhips, the Engliſhemen ſhoulde lende them ſhips, and certayne of the Frenchemenne remaine as pledges in Englande till the ſame ſhips were retourned.

Articles of peace.

Frenche ſoldiers depart the Realme.

Item, that they ſhould render the Towne of Leith: and the Frenchemen to haue their munition, bagges, and baggages, to conuey away with them at their pleaſure, and that the walles of the Towne ſhoulde be throwen downe and demoliſhed.

Leith they ſhoulde render it.

Item, they ſhoulde cauſe Monſieur Charleboys Capitaine of Dunbarre to demoliſhe and race the forte, whiche they had builte before the Caſtell there.

The forte before Dunbar to be race.

Item that the Engliſhemenne ſhoulde raiſe theyr ſiege and departe forthe of Scotland, after the departure from thence of the Frenchmenne, and raſing of the walles of Leith and Dunbarre.

The Engliſhmen ſhould departe all.

Item, that there ſhoulde bee made an acte of obliuion, in which the M. of Scotlãd, wyth cõſent of the french K. hir husbande ſhoulde forget and burie in obliuion all attemptes made by the Lords of Scotland, againſt their authoritie, frõ the tenth daye of March. 1558. to the firſt day of Auguſt, in the yeare of grace. 1560. And for cõfirming thereof, a Parliament ſhould be holden in Edenburgh, in the moneth of Auguſt nexte enſuing, in which Parliamente the ſame ſhould bee ratified and allowed by the aduice of the eſtates of the Realme of Scotland.

An acte of liuion to be made.

Alſo it was agreed, that there ſhoulde bee a commiſſion ſent from the Frenche King, and the Queene of Scotlãde, to hold the ſame Parliament to the effect aforeſaide.

A Parliã to be kept

Item, that the Queene of Scotlande and King of Fraunce, ſhould cauſe to blot out and put

To put a the arme claymed Englande

and put away the bearing of the armes of Englande out of theyr shutchens.

Item it was agreed, that there shoulde remayne still in the Ile of Inskith threescore Frenchmenne, and as manye in the Castell of Dunbar, to keepe (as it were) possession to the Queenes vse.

The whole number of the Frenchmenne (a few except that passed thzough England) went abozde the English Shippes in July, and sayled into Fraunce, and in companye with them went the Bishop of Glasquo and the Lozd Seton. The Englishmen departed also, & in their way caused the fozte of Dunbar to be rased, as by the agreemente of the peace it was appoynted.

A Parliamente holden in August, and the acte of oblivion ratified by the estates, and a cõfession of faith published in the same: it was cõcluded also to send Ambassadozs into Englãd, which was done.

And shoztly after, the Lozdes summoned the Principall learned men of the Realme, fozthe of the Universities of Saint Andzewes, Aberden, Glasquo, and other partes, to giue a reason of their faith: and amongst other, those of Aberden toke vppon them to dispute with John Knox, John Wullock, and Maister Goodman.

In the Winter, the Lozdes of the Counsell gaue faculties of benefices to dyuers of theyr friends, who put fozthe the Prelates, and receyued the fruites.

The Erle of Argile disposed Dunkeilde and Dunblane.

The Earle of Arran had the ozdering of the Bysshoppricke of Saint Andzowes: also of the Abbacies of Dunfermlyng, and Melros, and other small benefices. The like was vsed by other noble menne, thzoughe all partes of the Realme.

Shortely after Frauncis the Frenche King, husbande to the Queene of Scotlande departed this life in December, and Charles his bzother was crowned in his place. The Queene beyng then widowe, and Dowager of Fraunce, departed from Orleaunce (where the Courte laye when hir husbande deceassed) and wente to the Towne of Reimes in Champaigne, where she remained till the fifteenthe daye of Aprill following, & then purposing to retourne into Scotlande, she toke hir iourney towardes Jamville, and so into Lozaine, there to take leaue of hir kinsfolke by hir mothers side. The Bishoppe of Glasquo, & the Abbot of Dunfermlyng Scottishemen, were still attendaunt on hir in this iourney.

There were with hir also the Cardinals of Lozayne and Guyse, the Duke Daumale, and the Marquesse Dalbeuf hir Uncles.

Ambassadors sent into Englande.

Before this, in the beginning of the Winter this yeare, the Lozds sent the Earle of Mozton and Glencarne, and the yong Lard of Ledington Secretarie, Ambassadozs into England, to giue thankes to the Queenes Maiestie of England, foz the aide whiche they had receyued of hir, to expulse the Frenchmen.

1561

The Earle of Murrey passed thzough England into Fraunce. He departed from Edenburgh the eyghtenth of Marche, and in Aprill came to Uitrie, where he found the Queene.

The daye before, Maister Litster officiall of Aberdene was come thither, who was sent from the Earle of Huntley, and other the Lozdes spirituall and tempozall of the Nozth partes: hee toke shippe in the Rode of Abberdene, and landing at Bzule in Hollande, passed thzough the lowe Countreys in post till hee came to Paris, and from thẽce vnto Uitrie afozesaid, where he knew to find the Queene.

The Earle of Murrey wente with the Q. vnto Jamille, and tarried there a fiue oz syxe dayes, and then taking his leaue, returned into Scotland.

The Nobles assemble at Edenburgh.

The Duke of Chatellerault, the Earles of Huntley, Atholl, Merschall, and all other the noble mẽ of the realme, aduertised of the Queenes comming, assembled at Edinburgh wyth all possyble diligence.

In the meane time whiles the Queene was preparyng to take hir iourney, and to come into Scotlande, the Queene of Englande set fozth some of hir greate shippes to the seas to watche and garde the coastes of hyr Realme. Wherof they beyng aduertised in Fraunce, sent the Abbot of S. Colmes Inche to the Queene of Englande, to desire of hir a safeconduit, in case by winde oz tempest shee chaunced to land in Englande: but before hee was retourned to Calais thetwyth, as hee was appoynted, the Queene and hir retinue were safely landed in Scotlande: neuertheles, the English shippes toke some of the Scottish Lozds, as the Earle of Eglenton his shippe and others, whiche were bzought into Englande, and stayed foz a tyme, but were after releassed, and sente home into Scotland.

Shippes waite in the narrowe Seas.

A safeconduit required.

Certain Ships taken.

The Queene also by the aduise of the King of Fraunce, sente Monsieur Doysell into England, to passe thzough the same into Scotlande before hir comming, there to haue receyued the fozte of Dunbar and Inskeith, of Monsieur Charleboys, and to haue kepte the same till hir comming, but he was stayed, and passed no further than to London, foz it was thoughte that his going into Scotlande woulde turne to no great benefite of that Realme, bycause that hee and

Monsieur Doysell.

and Monsieur Rubey were the principall authours of all the troubles in Scotlande, betwixte the Queene Regente, and the nobilitie there.

The Queene was companyed vnto Calais.

She was attended on from Paris vnto Calais with many noble menne, namely hir syre Uncles, the Dukes of Guise, and Daumale, the Cardinals of Lozayne and Guyse, the Grand Pziour, and ỳ Marques Dalbeuf, also ỳ Duke de Nemours, and other of hir friends and kinsmen.

She taketh hir iourney towards Scotlād.

There were two Galleys prepared, and certaine other Shippes to goe with hir into Scotland, and there went with hir three of hir sayde Uncles, the Duke Daumale, the Graund Pziour, and the Marques Dalbeuf: also Monsieur Danuille the Counestables sonne, and dyuers other.

The Queene arriued at Leith.

Shee arriued at Leith the twentith daye of August, in the yeare of our Lozd. 1561. where she was honozably receyued by the Earle of Argile, the Lozde Erskin, the Pziоz of Saint Andrewes, and of the burgesses of Edenburgh, and conueyghed to the Abbey of Holy Rode house.

Costly Iewels.

She brought with hir into Scotland many rich and costly iewelles of gold wozke, pzecious stones, ozient pearle, and such like, as excellente and faire as were to bee found within Europe, with riche furniture of housholde, as hangings, tarpets, rounterpointes, and al other necessaries foz the furnishing of hir pzincely houses.

Hir household stuffe.

The chiefest parte of the hangings and other furniture of housholde, was shipped at Roane, and arriued at Leith in the moneth of Octobet next following.

An acte made concerning Religion.

After the Queene of Scottes had remayned the space of foure oz fiue dayes at Holy Rode house, the Duke of Chatellereault, the Earle of Argile, and diuers other of the nobilitie beeyng pzesent, there was an acte made by the Lozds of the Counsell, with consent of the Queene, that to remoue all causes of trouble in time to come; foz the matter of Religion, it was ozdeined, that no alteration of the estate of Religion publikely standing within the Realme, at hir arriuall in the same, shoulde bee made, and that nothing shoulde bee attempted, eyther publikely oz pziuately to the contrary, vpon great payne, which was set fozth and published thzough all partes of the Realme with great diligence.

Some appointed to be of the Queenes Counsell.

Secretary. Comptroller. Lords of the priuie Counsel

After this, there were eleuen tempozal Lozds and one Bishop chosen, to be of the Queenes secret counsell, by whose aduice shee shoulde rule and gouerne things, fiue of them to remayne continully with hir, in rowth of officers, as the Secretary, Comptroller, and others. The Lozdes of the pziuie Counsell were these, the Duke of Chatellereault, the Earle of Huntley Chancellor, the Earle of Argile, the Earle of Atholl, the Earle Marshall, the Earle of Glencarne, the Earle of Mozton, the Erle of Montrose, the Earle of Erroll, Maister Henrye Sinclar Bishoppe of Rosse, and the Lozde Erskin.

Drumlie with the Galleys of France.

The Duke Daumalle, after he had remayned with the Queene a certayne time, toke leaue of hir, and with the Galleys returned into France.

The rest vp through England into France.

The Graunde Pziour, and Monsieur Danuille, tarried somewhat longer, and past thzough England into France.

The Marquesse Daulbeuf tarried in Scotlande all the nexte Winter, till the spzing of the yeare, and then returned into France thzough England.

A preparation of triumphes.

The Towne of Edenburgh prepared greate and costly triumphes foz the Queenes entring whiche shee made into that Towne the day of September.

The Queene visited the Townes.

After this, she passed vnto Striueling, and from thence to Perth, and then to Dunder, and after to Sainte Andrewes, into which townes shee was receyued with greate honoz and triumph.

From Saint Andrewes shee returned vnto Edenburgh, where shee remayned all the nexte Winter.

An assemble of the Lords.

In December, there was a great assemble of all the pzincipall Lozds, Spirituall and tempozall of the Realme, where it was demaunded of the Pzelates, to graunte the third part of the fruites of their benefices to ỳ Queene, towards the bearing of hir charges, foz the maintenance of hir trayne, and to susteyne the Ministers, tyll some ozder were taken to mayntayne hir housholde, and a garde to attende on hir, by the aduise of the estates.

The thirde p te of the Spirituall things demaunded.

The Pzelates agreed, foz the Queenes pleasure to suppozte hir with the fourth parte of the fruites of their benefices, foz one yeares space only, to help to beare hir charges, and to sustaine hir garde, and in the meane time ozder myghte bee taken by the aduise of the whole estates foz the same.

But notwithstanding the refusall of the Pzelates to pay the third part, the Lozds of the priuie Counsell made an acte, and set fozth letters, that all the Pzelates and beneficed menne should be charged to pay yeerely to ỳ Queenes Comptroller and his Collectoz, the hole thirds of all fruites of their benefices: and that it should be lawfull to the Controller and his deputies to take the thirde of what parte of euerye benefice where he best pleased, and to deale therewith at his pleasure.

An acte for the Clergy

Also

Also to haue to doe with the rentes of Brotherhodes of common Churches, and such like.

This order hathe bin obserued euer sithence, not without greate grudge of the Prelates, and other beneficed menne of the Realme, and theyr friends, as well those that professed the reformed Religion, as others.

The Sunday before Shrouetewsday, being the eyghth day of February, as some write, James Stewarde then Priour of Sainct Inbrowes, and Earle of Mar, base brother to the Queene, was made Earle of Murrey by the Queenes speciall gifte, and was married the same daye vnto Agnis Keith, daughter to the Earle Marshall, wyth greate feastes and triumphe, lastyng three dayes.

The Queene of Englande desirous to haue a meeting betwixt hir & the Queene of Scotts hir cousin, sent dyuers messengers with letters, desiring hir most instātly to come vnto Yorke, where shee woulde meete hir, to talke wyth hir of dyuers matters, that myght make to the confirmation of the amitie and friendeshippe, whiche nature hadde knitte betwixt them, by coniunction and affinitie of bloud: and after consultation hadde wyth hir counsell, the Queene of Scottes agreed thereto: and so they were appoynted to meete at Yorke in the Monethe of Julye nexte followyng: but when thyngs were prepared, and put in a redinesse for the iourney, the Queene of England sente worde to the Q. of Scottes, that shee coulde not keepe the appointemente made for theyr meeting, desiring hir to haue hir excused for that time, whyche message was accepted, and so ỳ iourney stayed.

Shortely after the Queene of Scotts toke hir iourney towards the North partes of Scotland, and sette from Striueling in the Moneth of Auguste.

Aboute this tyme it chaunced that the lord Ogilwy, and John Gordon of Finnater, sonne to the Earle of Huntley mette on the Calsey of Edenburgh & fought, where after many blowes & stripes gyuen and taken, the Lorde Ogilwy, and his companye were hurte, wherefore John Gordon was taken, and putte in warde at the Tolbuith of Edenburgh, out of whyche hee escaped, after he hadde remayned prisoner therein aboute twentye dayes, and gotte his waye Northewarde, whereuppon followed greate trouble shortely after to the house of Huntley.

The Queene accompanyed with ỳ Earles of Argile, Murrey, and Morton, the Lord Erskin, and others, passed forwarde in hir iourney towardes the Northe parte, and caused John Gordon of Finnater to bee commoned to appeare, and aunswere the lawe at Aberdine for breaking prison, and hurting the L. Ogilwy.

The Queene comming to the Towne of Aberdine, was honorably receyued with dyuers Orations, and Latine Enterludes, before the Grammer schole and Colledge. Gordon is accōpanied with a greate compayne.

The Earle of Huntley hearyng that hys son was thus commoned, assembled the principall Earles, Lordes, Barons, and Gentlemenne of the Northe, who came wyth hym to Aberdene to helpe his sonne at the lawe daye appointed for his appearaunce, whyche was in September.

The Earle came to the Queene hymselfe, and at length it was agreed, that his sonne the sayd John Gordon should returne to prison againe in Striueling Castell, there to remaine during the Queenes pleasure: but hee following the euill counsell of some yong heades that were wyth hym, neyther fulfilled the Queenes pleasure, nor his fathers appointment, but attempted to reuenge his extreame handling (as he toke it) vpon the Earle of Murrey, whome he put most in blame, for the rigor shewed againste him, but his enterprise toke not effect: and the Queene aduertised of his disobedience, went not to Strabogy, notwithstanding there was greate preparation made for hir in ỳ place, for the receiuing of hir and hir trayne: but shee wente vnto Balwany, the Earle of Athols place, and from thēce to Kinlos, to Tarneway, and so came to Innerneis, and there lodged. Gordon is cōmaunded to Striueling Castell.

Hee disobeyed

In this meane while, the Earle of Huntley purposing to attende on the Queene at Innernes, caused prouision to be made in the Castell for his lodging. The Queene suspected the Earle of Huntley.

The Queene suspecting hys dealing, least this shoulde bee done vppon some policie, commaunded the keepers of the Castell to render the same to one of hir Herraultes, but it was not deliuered till the nexte daye, and therefore the Captayne of that Castell called Alexander Gordon, for refusing to deliuer it, was hanged vpon the towne bridge. Alexāder Gordon was hāged

The Lorde Gordon, and his brother John Gordon of Finnater, came that night within a little space distant from the Towne of Innerneis, which caused great feare in the Towne, so that there was a diligente watch all that night.

The Earle of Huntley beeing come to Kinlos, and hearing that the Castell of Innerneis was commaunded to be giuen vp to the handes of an Herrault, sente with all diligence to the keepers, that they should deliuer it, and returned himselfe to Strathbogy.

The Queene remayned in Innerneis the space of four or fyue dayes, where the principal Captayne of the Clanis of the Countrey came to hir, and with a greate company conueyd hir to Spyne, where shee was enformed that the Erle of Huntley had gathered an army to come againste hir, and made their assemble at Spey.

Heereupon, they toke wyth them all the artillerie ouer Spanye, and carried the same in cartes, and all other kynde of munition, and past forwarde to Bamf that nighte.

The Earle of Huntley all this while came not forth of Strathbogy.

The Queene as shee passed forwarde, rode to the place of Findlater, and there in hir owne presence, caused the keepers thereof to bee charged to deliuer it, whyche they refused to doe.

From Bamf, the Queene rode to the Lairde of Geychtis place, called Geicht, and the nexte daye, there was greate preparation for hir entrie into the newe Towne of Aberdene.

She came vnto Aberdyne.

She lodged one night in the Bishops palace, and the next daye shee was honorably receyued, and lodged in the Prouosts house of the towne, where she remayned all the tyme of hir abode in Aberdene.

After this, the Lorde John, Prior of Coldinghame, with dyuers Gentlemenne, was sente agaynste the Earle of Huntley to Strathbogy, but hee was escaped before they approched.

The Earle of Huntley is sóte for.

The Ladye Huntley receyued them verye courteously, and gaue them good entertaynement, and so they returned.

There was charge giuen to Louthian, Fiffe, Angus, Stratherne, the Mernis, and to the Shire of Ibirdene, to come to Aberdene quarterly, euerye Countrey to remayne there a fifteene dayes, and so they dyd during the time of hir abiding there.

The Earle of Huntley sente hys wife in message to the Queene and Counsell, but shee was not admitted to come wythin a mile of them, but commaunded to retourne.

The Ladye Huntley is sét vnto the Q.

After thys, hee sente a Minister, offering to enter in warde vntill his cause mighte be tried by the whole nobilitie: but this was refused.

In the meane time all the principall of the Gordons that were landed men, were chardged to enter into warde.

The Gordons are imprisoned.

About the same time the Erle of Bothwell, who (vpon displeasure conceyued againste hym aboute a quarrell betwirte hym, and the Earle of Arrane, hadde bin committed to prison in Easter weeke last before past) escaped out of Dauids Towre in Edenburgh at a windowe.

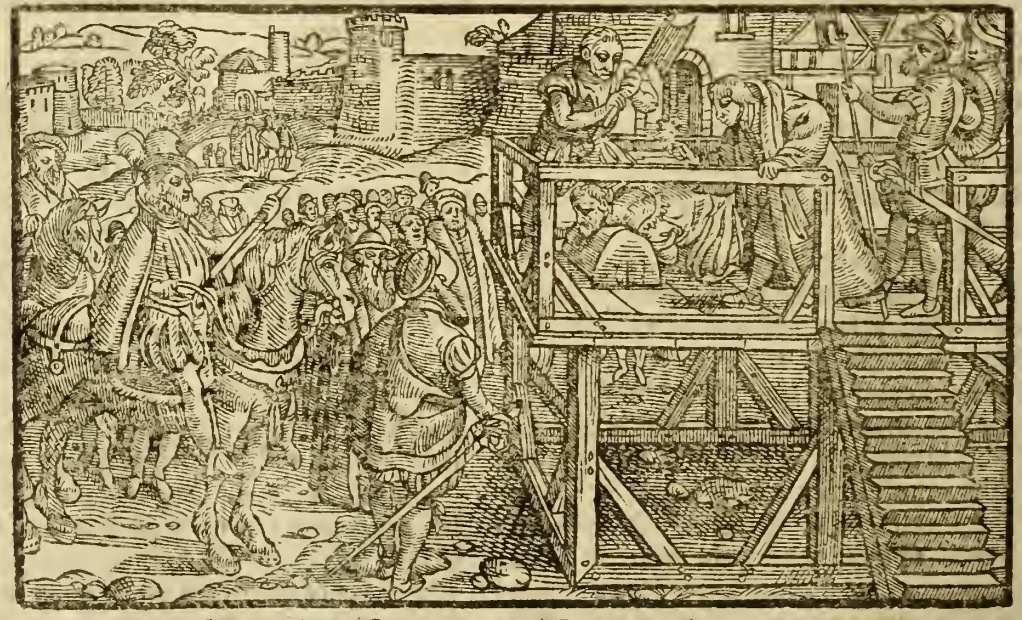
The Earle Bothwell escaped out of prison.

In October the Earle of Huntley came with an armye to Corrnethie in Mar, where hee was slaine, and John Gordon hys sonne taken prisoner, and brought to Aberdene the nine and twentith daye of October.

The Earle of Huntley slayne.

The Queene seemed sorry for the erles death, but in Nouember John Gordon was beheaded in Aberdene, and shortly after the Queene re-

John Gordon is beheaded.



turned Southwards, leauing foure Commissioners in Aberdene: the Treasourer, Master James Macgill, maister John Spens of Cundye, and the Larde of Pettarro, to compound for the escheites of them that were in the fielde wyth the Earle of Huntley.

Greate Summes of money were taken and leuied of them for that trespasse.

The Lorde Gordon is taken prisoner.

The Lorde Gordon was taken by the duke of Chatellerault hys father in lawe, at Cumernoul, and brought to Edenburghe, where hee was putte in the Castell, and after by a iurye conuicte forfalted, and condempned to dye, and sente to Dunbarre Castel, there to remayne in warde, where hee continued till the yeare of God. 1565.

The

The Queene helde a Parliament in Edenburgh, where the Earle of Huntleys dead body was broughte presente before the estates in the Talbuith, and forfalted.

The Earle of Sutherland was forfalted also, and diuers other of their frendes: and in thys Parliamente the acte of oblition was ratified and approued, and dyuers other newe actes made.

This yeare in Auguſt, the Queene wente a progreſſe into Argile.

This yeare deceaſſed diuers counſellors or Senators of the Colledge of Juſtice, as maiſter John Stephãſon, Chancellor of Glaſquho, and the Prouoſt of Corſtrophine.

In place of the firſte, Maiſter John Leſlie, officiall of Aberdene, was promoted, and in the Prouoſts place Maiſter James Baulfour ſucceeded.

There came an Ambaſſador from the king of Sweden, to treate of marriage to bee contracted with the Queene, but his meſſage was not regarded.

The ſeconde of July, Henrye Sinclar, Byſhoppe of Roſſe, ſhipped at Leith to paſſe into France, to procure ſome helpe of his diſeaſe. He was cut of the ſtone in Paris, and dyed the ſeconde of January next after.

There ſucceeded to that Biſhoppicke of Roſſe, Maiſter John Leſlie, Perſon of Quen, beeing then one of the Senatours of the ſeſſion, and Colledge of Juſtice.

In the moneth of Auguſt, the Queene paſt into Atholl in Progreſſe, and from thence to Badzenocht, to Inuernes, and to the Chanonrie of Roſſe, and returned thzough Murrey to Gartley, Aberdene, Dunnoter, and ſo to Edenburgh, where ſhee remayned the nexte Winter.

In the moneth of Octobzer, the Earle of Lennox came into Scotland, and for his cauſe there was a Parliamente holden in December, in which he was reſtozed to all his landes, honors and dignities within that Realme.



In Decembze alſo, the Byſchop of Dunblane deceaſed, and after hym ſucceeded maiſter William Cheſholm his brothers ſon.

In Januarye, ỳ Queene toke hir iourney thzough Fiffe, and in manye Gentlemens places was banquetted: in whiche time, Henry Steward, Lozde Darneley, a gwdly man of perſonage, and ſonne to the Earle of Lennox, came into Scotlande, where hee came to the Queenes preſence in the Weames the ninth day of Febzuary.

Lord Darnley came into Scotland.

The Queene ſo well liked him, that ſhe aſſembled all the tempozall Lozdes togyther at Striueling in the moneth of Apill, and there obteyned of them thzir conſents, that ſhe might marrie the ſayd Lozd Darneley.

1565

A Parliament.

After this, he was made Earle of Roſſe.

Lord Darneley is made earle of Roſſe.

In the meane time, the Queene of England ſent Sir Nicholas Thzockmozton into Scotlande, to vnderſtande the proceedings in the Queenes marriage with the Lozd Darneley, and for other affaires, who came to the aſſemble at Striueling to that effect.

The Queene of England diſwaded that marriage.

The Queene of Scottes ſent maiſter John Hay Abbot of Balmerinoch into Englande to the Queene, to mitigate hir diſpleaſure towards the Lozde Darnlie, and to obtaine hir conſent to the marriage, who anſwerd, that ſhe mient to ſend an Ambaſſador of hir owne into Scotlande, for that and other cauſes, and accozding to hir promiſe ſhee ſente one.

Ambaſſage ſente into Englande.

Shortely after, certaine captaines and men of warre in Saint Andzewes, Dundee, and Saint Johns towne, receyued money about the ſame time of the earle of Murrey, to take parte wyth hym, for the which they were after puniſhed.

The Earle of Murrey a ſuiter vnto the Queene.

After the aſſemble at Striueling, the Queene ſeemed not to like of the Earle of Murrey ſo well as ſhee had done beefore, wherevppon hee departed the Courte, and repaired vnto Sainct Andzowes, where thzoughe the counſell of certayne perſons hee ſoughte wayes to ſtoppe the marriage.

The Queene nevertheleſſe ſente the Byſchoppe of Dunblane to Rome for a diſpenſation to marrie wyth the Lozde Darnelie, beeyng hir couſin in the ſeconde degree of cõſanguinitie, whiche hee obtayned, and ſente it home ſhozteſly after.

Diſpenſation hadde from Rome for to marrye.

The Queene was then principally counſelled by the Erles of Atholl, and Lennox, the Lozd Ruthuen, and their friends.

In the meane time, the Earle of Murrey perſwaded the Duke of Chatellerault, the Earle of Argile, and ſundzye other, to meete at Striueling, where they made a bande to ſtoppe the marriage, alledging the ſame to bee made for mayntenance of the Religion.

Conſultation to ſtoppe the marriage.

The Queene aduertiſed thereof, releaſſed the Lozde Gozdon fozthe of priſon, wherein hee hadde bene kepte within the Caſtell of Dunbar, and reſtozing hym to hys fathers landes, created hym Earle of Huntley.

Gordon is created Earle of Huntley.

Bothwell is sent for.

She also sent for the Erle of Bothwel to returne home, who was banished, and was then in Fraunce.

Lord Darneley is made Duke of Albany.

In the moneth of July, the Lord Darnely Earle of Rosse, was made Duke of Albany, and on Saterday at euen, the eyght and twentith daye of the same mouth, before the marriage, he was proclaymed King by ẏ Queenes commaundement at the Market crosse of Edenburgh, and on the nine and twentith daye of the same moneth, he was married to ẏ Queene in the Chappell of Holy Rode house, at fiue of the clocke in the morning.

Lord Darneley is proclaymed King.

The Queene is married.

Shortly after, the Duke of Chatellerault, the Earles of Argile, Murrey, and their complices, were commoned to appeare before the Queene and hir Counsell within fiue dayes, and because they refused so to do, they were put to the horne.

Certaine lords refuse to appeare before the Queene.

The Queene assembled an army, and went to Glasquo to pursue them, and the Duke and Erles, with other of their company came to Edenburgh, where the Castell shotte off at them, and therefore they departed towards Dunfreis, and were receyued by the Lord Heris.

An army gathered against them.

The Lordes vnto Dunfreis.

The Queene hearing thereof, by aduise of hir Counsell, assembled forth of all the partes of the whole Realme an army, appointing ẏ same to bee at Beggar in the beginning of October, to pursue the Rebels.

In the meane tyme, shee hearing that the Townes of Sainte Andrewes, Dundee, and Sainte Johns Towne, had helped the Lordes to reise men of Warre for their supporte, passed thither hirselfe, and toke inquisition thereof, gyuing order in those Townes, that no such thing shoulde afterwardes be put in practise: but there were none that suffered deathe for that matter, but diuers were committed to prison in the North partes of the Realme, as the Prouost and Bailzeis of Sainte Andrewes, also certaine of the Towne of Dundee, and Sainte Johns Towne, and other were banished, and diuers Barons, as Lundy, Lango, and Balward, were sent to Aberden, and to other partes, where they remayned the winter following.

Certayne Townes are punished.

Aboute this time, the Queene toke the Castell of Tantallon from the Earle of Morton, because he was suspected to fauor the Rebelles.

The keeping thereof was giuen to the Earle of Itholl.

The Queene returning to Edenburgh in September, prepared all things necessary for the army, and departing from Edenburgh, came to Beggar, where all the noble men with theyr retinues were assembled the eyght of October.

A greate army.

From thence they passed forwarde to Dunfreys.

In the meane time the Duke of Chatellerault, the Erles of Murrey, Glencarne, Rothes, the Lord Ochiltre, the Abbot of Kilwinning, ẏ Lardes of Grange, Cunningham, Herdy, Pettarre, Maister Iames Holiburton tutor of Pettcur, and others, hearing of the Queenes comming with an armye, fled into Englande, and came to Carlill, where they were receyued, the Earle of Bedforde at that time beeyng Lorde Liuetenant of the North.

The Lordes fledde into England.

The lorde Heris then maister of Marwell conueyed them to the water of Sulwey, and afterwards returned to Dunfreise to the Queene, where of hir clemencie he gotte pardon of his offence: and the Lards of Lochinwar, and Drumlanrig likewise.

Their complyers gote their pardon.

After the armye had tarryed certayne dayes putting direction for obseruing of good order in ẏ Countrey, the Queene returned to Edinburgh, where shee remained all the fierce Winter.

The Queene returneth gayne to Edenburgh.

The Queene sente Maister Dauid Chalmer Chauncellor of Rosse into Fraunce to the King with letters for hys assistaunce againste hir Rebelles, and shortely after the French king sente a Gentleman called Monsieur Maluoisine into Scotlande with very frendely letters vnto the Queene promising his helpe and assistāce againste the Rebelles: which message was most thankfully receyued, and the said Maluoisine honourably at his departure rewarded.

The Queene sent into Fraunce for ayde.

The Duke of Chatellerault, and the other Lordes with him departed from Carlill vnto Newcastell vpon Tine, and from thence sente the Erle of Murrey, and the Abbot of Kilwynning to the Queene of England, making suite for hir grace for aide to be restored to their countrey againe. The Queenes Maiestie promised them, that shee woulde sende a Gentleman to the Queene hir sister, and mour hir in theyr fauours as shee did, and so they returned againe to Newcastell, where the Duke of Chatellerault perceyuing no other helpe appearing, sente the Abbot of Kilwennyng into Scotland to the Queene with letters, submitting himselfe to hir graces will, and so he obteigned pardon for him and his friends, with licence to passe into Frāce, there to remayne the space of fiue yeares, and shortely after hee passed through Englande, and so ouer into France, accordyng to his appointment.

The Lordes send to the Queene of Englande.

The Queene of England sent vnto the Queene of Scottes.

The King past the most part of that Winter in the Countreys of Fiffe, Stratherne, Striuelingshire, and Louthian, spending hys time in hawking.

The King went Hawking.

The Queene remained at Edinburgh with the Nobilitie, and because shee was conceyued with childe, trauailed little abroade.

In the meane time a Parliament was called

A parliament

to

to bee holden in the moneth of Marche nexte ensuing, and commonaunce decreed agaynste the Earle of Murrey, and the other Lordes that remaynyd in Englande, and also againste the Earle of Irgile, lying then in hys Countrey of Argile to heare them forfalted.

The Frenche King sent Monsieur Rambeuellet into Scotlād, as Imbassador from him to the Queene, with commission, to make the King hir husbande Knighte of the order of S. Michaell, which with great solemnitie and reuerence, was accomplished in the Chappell of Holy Rode house the tenth of Februarye, beeing Sonday. After the which, the said Rambeuellet returned into Fraunce, being highly rewarded.

From ỳ time that the Parliament was proclaymed, and the commonaunce published, the Earle of Murrays friends being in Scotlande, neuer ceassed to seeke all the wayes and meanes they coulde deuise to slay the same, in so muche that the Earle of Morton, the Lorde Ruthuen, and the Lorde Lindsey, secretely perswaded the King to slay the Parliamente, and also to consent to the restoring of the Earle of Murrey, and hys complices, makyng to hym faithfull promise, that if hee would followe their counsell, hee shoulde bee made Crowned King of Scotlande absolutely, and the Queene so to haue lesse to doe with the gouernemente afterwardes, whereethrough hee agreed to them.

And so after the Parliamente was assembled, the Lords of the Articles being chosen the seauenth daye of Marche, they perceyuing the forfalter like to proceede, and iudgement thereof to be giuen, the eleuenth of Marche nexte following, the King with the assistance of the sayde Earle of Morton, the Lordes Ruthuen, and Lindsey, entred into the Queenes priuie Chāber about eyght of the clocke in the nighte, beeing Saterday, and the ninth of March, where beeing arrayed in warlike manner, the Lorde Ruthuen declared vnto the Queene, that they would not suffer hir any longer to haue the gouernemente of the Realme, to abuse the same by the counsell of straungers, as she had done, and therefore pulled violentlye forthe of hir Chamber Dauid Richeo, an Italian, that was one of hir Secretaries, crying pitcously, *Iustice, Iustice:* and in hir vtter Chamber they sundaynely stewe hym with greate cruelte: the King himselfe was also present, and his dagger was likewise found sticking in the dead body.

The Queene was shut vp within hir Chāber, and certaine appointed to attende hir, and to keepe all the doores and gates aboute the Palaice.

The Earles of Huntley and Bothwell escaped by a backe windowe forth of their chamber, whereof the King and his company were right sorye. The Earle of Huntley is fled and the residue also.

The Earle of Atholl and others beeing wyth hym, departed in the nyghte season by a Ferrie ouer the Forthe, called the Queenes Ferrie, and wente to Saint Johns Towne.

On the morrow, being Sūday the Queene beyng secretely kept) proclamation was made, that all the lords that had voice in Parliament, should departe forth of the towne of Edenburgh: and after noone the same day, the erles of Murrey and Rothes with other of their companies that came forth from Newcastell the Saturdaye beefore, came to the Abbey of Holy Rode House, about sixe of the clocke in the after noone, where they were thākfully receiued by the king and his company. The exiled Lords came in to Scotlande.

They spake also with the Queene, who had no greate comforte of their comynyng.

The morrowe following, beyng Monday, the erle of Murrey and the other that were commoned, past to the Tolbuith of Edenburgh, and made their protestation there, that they were readye to aunswere in Parliament, and none appeared to accuse them. They make their protestation.

After this, it was concluded to keepe the Queene in straight warde, but by hir politike demeanor, their purpose in that behalf was broken: for by secret conference wyth the King, she perswaded hym to thinke that he had ioyned himselfe with those that woulde be his destruction, if it happened with hir otherwise than well, as was no lesse to bee doubted, by reason of the highe displeasure that shee hadde taken beeyng quicke with childe: through the which perswasion, and other mislikyng of things, hee departed secretely with hir in the night season, accompanied onely wyth two men, and tyrste came vnto Seton, and from thence to Dunbar, vnthyther the Earles of Huntley and Bothwell hastily repaired, by whose counsell, and other then with hir, shee caused Proclamation to bee made in dyuers partes of the Realme, charging al manner of menne in feate of warre, to come vnto hyr to Dunbar, to passe from thence vnto Edenburgh, within fyue dayes after. The Queene had conference wyth the king. The King was soone perswaded. Huntley and Bothwell. Proclamatiōs made.

Shee also sente letters to the same effect vnto dyuers noble menne of the Realme, who prepared themselues with greate diligence to meete hir.

The Earle of Murrey and the reste of the Lordes beeyng wyth hym, hearyng

the preparation that was made agaynſt them, and perceyuing themſelues not able to reſiſte, thought good euery of thē to ſeke ſome particular meane, to obteyn remiſſion at the Queenes hands, which they obteyned all of them, except the erle of Morton, the Lords Ruthuen, Lindſey, and ſuche other as were wyth them at the ſlaughter of Dauid Richeo. Wherbyō they diſpairing of pardon, fled into England, where the Lorde Ruthuen died at Newcaſtell ſhortly after as in place ye ſhall heare.

Pardon is craued and obteyned.

The murtherers are excepted.

The Earle of Lennox beeyng partaker with them, came to Dunbar, and gote pardon: the Earle of Glencarne and the Lorde of Cunningham head came thither alſo, and were pardoned.

Many pardoned.

Likewiſe the Earle of Rothes purchaſed his pardon the ſame time.

The Earles of Argile and Murray, and the Lord Boyd, beeing at Lithquo, ſente to the Q. for their pardon, and obteyned it, beeing commaunded neuertheleſſe to paſſe into Argile, and to remayne there during hir graces pleaſure, which commaundement they obeyd.

The Queene commeth to Edenburgh.

The eyghteenth of March, the Queene wel accompanyed, came to Hadington towardes nyghte, and on the nineteenth day, the Biſhoppe of Saint Andrewes, and the Hamiltons mette hir at Muſkelburgh, and ſo likewiſe dyd the Lords Leuingſton, Flemming, Hume, Boythwike, and manye other noble menne, and conueyd hir vnto Edenburgh: ſhee lodged in the Byſhoppe of Dunkeldes lodging, and tarried there a certaine ſpace, hauing with hir the Erles of Huntley, Athole, Bothwell, Crawfourde, Merſhall, Sutherland, Caithnes, the Biſhop of Sainte Andrewes and Roſſe, the Lordes Leuingſton, Flemming, and diuers other noble men, by whoſe counſell order was taken for redreſſing of the ſtate of the Realme, whereby the ſame was ſhortly brought to greate quietneſſe.

After this, the Queene perceyuing hirſelfe to drawe neere the tyme of hir deliuerance, wente to the caſtell of Edenburgh, there to remayne til ſhe were deliuered of hir birth.

In the moneth of May Thomas Scot the riffe deputie of Perth, and a Prieſte called ſir Henry Pair ſeruant to the Lord Ruthuen, were apprehended for being doers in the ſlaughter of Dauid, and were hanged and quartred. Their heades were ſette the one aloſte on the Tolbuth, the other on the Abbey, and the other on the nether bow.

Execution done vpon the murtherers.



In the moneth of Aprill this yeare the Byſhop of Brechin preſidente of the Seſſion, deceaſſed, and in his rowme ſucceeded to that biſhoprike, a friende and Couſin to the Earle of Argile, called Campbell.

In the ende of Aprill, the Queene willing to haue the Earles of Argile and Murrey ioyned with the reſidue of the Counſell, ſente for them to come to the Caſtell of Edenburgh, where all grieues and controuerſies that reſted betwixt them on the one ſide, and the Earles of Huntley, Athole, and Bothwell on the other ſide, were referred to the Queene, who agreed them, and they all remayned with hir the reſt of the Sommer.

The Queene agreeth all the Lords.

The Queene hearing that the Earle of Morton, the Lorde Ruthuen, and the other their aſſiſtantes were receyued in Englande, and remayned at Newcaſtell, ſhe ſente Maiſter James Thorneton, Chantor of Murrey, with letters to the Queene of Englande, and alſo to the King of Fraunce, and other hir friends, there declaring by the tenor of the ſame letters, the abuſe and preſumptuous attemptes of certayne hir

The Queene made ſute to the Queene of England.

hir subiectes against hir, desiring them not to receiue them within their Realmes nor Dominions: and shortly after, the Queene of Englande sente a Gentleman called Henry Killigrew into Scotlande, with letters and message to the Queene, promising to cause them to departe forthe of hir Realme of Englande, and withall sente vnto them warning to departe betwixte that presente time, and Midsommer then nexte ensuing. But in the meane time the Lorde Ruthuen departed this life at Newcastell, with great repentance of his former life, giuing God thankes for that he had lent him time to call to him for mercy and forgiuenesse whereof he did assure himselfe.

And from thencefoorth the Earle of Morton and the maister of Ruthuen remayned secretely neere to Anwicke, and other places on the borders, till they obteyned pardon, and were restored.

About this time, there came from the King of Fraunce a wise aged Gentleman, named Monsieur la Croc, as his Imbassador, and remayned in Scotlande all the Winter following.

In the moneth of June, the Queene perceiuing the tyme of hir deliuerance to approche, wrote vnto all the principall noble men of hir Realm, to come and remaine within the towne of Edenburgh, during the time of hir deliuerance, where they assembled, and the King hir husbande, with the Earles of Argile, Murrey, Atholl and Mar, remained with hir in the Castell, and the Erle of Huntley, Bothwel, & the remaynant of the Lords, lodged in the towne, and vppon the nineteenth daye of the same moneth of June, betwixte tenne and eleuen of the clocke before noone, hir grace was deliuered of a goodly manchild, to the greate comforte of hir highnesse, and all hir subiectes, whereof the nobilitie did greately reioyce, and incontinently all the artillerie in the Castell was shotte off, and all the Lords and people came togither in the Church of Saint Giles, to giue thankes to Almightie God for his great and beneficiall goodnesse shewed to thē, in giuing to thē a Prince, and withall made their humble prayers vnto hys deuine Maiestie, to endue hym wyth the feare of God, with vertue and knowledge to gouerne the Realme, and Subiectes thereof, whensoeuer the same shoulde fortune to come into his handes.

The same nyghte at euen, there were greate fyres of ioy made in the Towne of Edenburgh, and in all the Countrey aboute, and likewise throughout all the whole Realme, as the aduertisementes were certifyed thereof.

The Queene remayned still in the Castell of Edenburgh all the moneth of Julie following, till shee hadde recouered hir healthe and strength.

In the beginning of August, she passed vppe the water of Fourth to Alloway, where she remayned certaine dayes, the Earles of Murrey and Mar beeing in companye wyth hyr, and there the Kyng hyr husbande came to visit hir.

The same time Monsieur Maluoisir came into Scotland from the King of France, bringing letters to the Queene, who was conueyd by the Bishoppe of Rosse to Alloway, where he was ioyfully receyued, courteously entertayned, and highly rewarded.

The D. of Englande sent M. Henry Killegrewe to the Queene with the like message, reioysing for hir safe and happye deliuerance, who likewise was receyued in most thankefull manner, and well rewarded.

The Princes Godfathers and Godmothers.

Heere is to bee noted, that shortly after shee was brought to bedde, shee sente one of hyr Gentlemen called Monsieur Clarimoich, with letters to the King of Fraunce, and to the Duke of Sauoy, desiring them to sende Imbassadors, whyche in their name as Godfathers, myghte receyue hir sonne at the Baptisme.

Monsieur Clarimoich Duke of Sauoy.

Moreouer, shee sente James Meluine to the Queene of Englande wyth the lyke message, desyring hyr Maiestie to bee Godmother.

The Queene of Englande Godmother.

These Princes were glad heereof, and promised to sende Imbassadors to that effect, as afterwards they did.

In the later ende of August, the Queene accompanyed with the Kyng hir husbande, the Earles of Huntley, Murrey, Bothwell, and dyuers other, wente into Meggat lande, there to passe the tyme in Hunting, where they remayned certayne dayes, and returning to Edenburgh, caused the Prince to be conueyd vnto Striueling Castell, where he was committed in keeping to the Lord Erskin, after Earle of Mar, and his Ladye. And from thence, the Queene wente a Progresse, into Glen Arknay.

In January, the Kyng came to Glasquo, 1567
where he fell sicke, and remoouing from thence, wente to Edenburgh, and the Queene accompanyed him.

She lodged at Holy Rode House, but hee was lodged in a house within the towne neere to the Kirke a field, within the whiche, the tenth of Febzuary in the nighte, hee was shamefully murthered, togyther wyth one William Parat.

The Kyng murthered.

Hee was caste into an Orcharde, and heerewith the house was blowen vp wyth gũpowder.

The Earle of Bothwell murthered the King.

The Earle of Bothwell was euen at the first vehemẽtly suspected to be ỹ principall offẽdor in this most hainous & detestable murther, but the matter was so handled, that he was not only acquite by an assise, as they call it, but also shortely after married the Queene, by reason whereof, the suspition which mẽ had alreadye conceyued that shee shoulde be also priuie to the murder, was nothyng diminished. But as I haue not to deale in that matter, so yet it is manifest, that some of the Scottishe nobilitie sore repinyng and malignyng at suche the speedye aduauncement of Bothwell (who as euery mã perswaded hymselfe, was the principall author of the murther) gote them to armes on the suddayne, before the Queene or Bothwell were aduertised of their meaning, they being then at Borthwike Castell, eyght myles distante from Edenburgh.

The Lords get them to armes.

The deuisers and procurers of this enterprise were knowen to bee the Lardes of Tallibardin and Grange, who moued it firste to the Earle of Morton, then remayning in Douglas: William Maitlãd the yong Lard of Lethington, principall Secretary to the Queene, beeing departed from hir eyghte dayes before had also procured the Lord Hume to ioine with the other in that quarrell.

The chiefe mouers of the quarrell against the Q. and Bothwell.

Liberton Kirke.

The place of their meeting was appoynted at Liberton Kirk, two myles from Edenburgh, on Tewsday in the night the tenthe of June, whyther the Earle of Morton came first, the Lord Hume next.

And in the morning beeing Wednesday, there came to them the Earle of Mar, who hadde the Prince in his keeping within the Castell of Striueling, but because the Earle of Glencarne, the Lordes Lindsey, Ruthuen and Simple, the Maister of Grahame and others, came not to the place at the precise appoynted houre, they missed their purpose to take the Queene and Bothwell at Borthwike, as they had deuised, and so the Queene and Bothwell aduertised of their assemble, slipte away to the Castell of Dunbar.

The Lordes disappoynted of theyr purpose.

The Lordes heerevppon came the same Wednesday vnto Edenburgh, and within two dayes after, the Earle of Atholl also came vnto them.

The Queene gathereth forces.

The Queene in the meane time vsed what diligence shee might to gather forces, specially in the Mers and East Louthian, and thinking that the enterprise of the Lordes had bin broken and disappoynted, marched from Dunbar on Saterday the fourteenth of June, first to Hathington, and there resting till the euen set forwarde to Gladismore, and taking there deliberation in the matter, they lodged that nyghte at Seaton, and in the morning marched in order of battaile towardes Carbarry hill, and there chose forthe a plotte of ground of greate aduantage, appoynting to fyghte on sore, because the power of the Lordes in number of Horsemenne, was stronger than the Queenes, and of greater experience.

Carbarry hill.

There were with the Queene and Bothwell the Lordes Seaton, Yester and Borthwike: also the Lardes of Wauchton, Bas, Drumiston, Weaderburne, Blackater, and Langton.

They hadde with them also two hundred Harquebusiers waged, and of greate artillerie, some fielde pieces. Their whole number was esteemed to bee aboute two thousande, but the more part of them were commons and Countreymen.

The number of the Queenes Power.

The Earles of Morton, Athol, Mar, Glencarne, the Lords of Hume, Lindsey, Ruthuen, Simple and Sauquhar. The Lardes of Drumlanrig, Tulibarden, Grange, and yong Selforde, were assyncke together in Edenburgh with a power like in number to the Queenes, but for the more part consisting of Gentlemen, although not furnished with anye number of Harquebusiers, except a fewe of the Townesmen of Edenburgh, that willingly ioyned with them in that quarrell.

The power of the Lordes.

Upon the fifteenth of June, they came forthe of the Towne, and approched their aduersaries, but there was Monsieur La Croque, the frenche Kings Ambassadors, who toke greate paine in trauelling betwixte the parties to reduce them to some agreemente, but still the Queenes part beganne to decrease, diuers shrinking away from hir, so that after it beganne to growe towardes the euening, Bothwell fledde to the Castell of Dunbar, but the Queene desirous to talke with the Larde of Grange, wente to hym, accompanyed only with one Captaine, and after some talke wyth hym, shee passed to the Lordes, who toke hir with them to Edenburgh.

The Queene commeth to the Lords.

The Hamiltons were on the way commyng to assist the Queene, wyth seauen or eyghte hunnred Horsemenne, but before they coulde reache to the place, the Queene was in the handes of the Lordes, and so they returned.

The Larde of Cragmiller, then prouost of Edenburgh, and Sir James Balfour, also the Captaine of the Castell, were ioyned in this cõfederacie with the Lordes, as shortly after it appeared. The Queene after this, was

conueyd

conueyed ouer the Forth and brought to Lochleuen, where she was appoynted to remayne in warde vnder the sure keeping of Willia Dowglas Lard of that place. The Erle Bothwell escapyng to Dunbar founde meanes to flee into Denmarke, where he was stayed and committed to prison, wherein at lengthe he died. Diuers persons afterwardes were apprehended as parties to the murder of the King, and thereupon condemned, were executed, confessing the sayd Earle to be the principall executour of the same murder.



The nienteth of July Charles James the yong Prince of Scotlande, after a Sermon made by Iohn Knokes, was crowned Kyng of Scottes in Sterling Church, where were redde certayne letters of commission and procuration with the Queenes priuy seale at the for the establishing of the same coronation. The first for hyr resignation of the crowne and gouernment of the yong Prince hyr Sonne. The seconde to authorise the Earle of Murrey to be regent during the Kings minoritie. The thirde, to giue authoritie, and power to seuen other ioynyng with the sayde Earle of Murrey, in case he should refuse to exercise the same alone, that is to say, the Duke of Chatellerault, the Earles of Lennox, Argile, Athol, Morton, Glencarne, and Mar.

The tenors of whiche letters of commission and procuration do here ensue, as we find them imprinted at Edenburgh by Robert Lekprouic, Printer to the King of Scottes, the .vj. of Aprill *Anno Christi*, 1568. among the Actes of Parliament begonne, and holde at Edenburgh the .xv. of December in the yeare .1567. by James Earle of Murray Lord Abernethie, &c. Regent to the sayde King.

MArie be the grace of God Quene of Scottis, To all and sundrie our Iudgeis and Mynisteris of lawe, liegis and subiectis quhome it effeiris to quhais knawlege thir our letters sall cum, greeting. Forsamekle as by lange irksum and tedious trauell takin by vs, in the gouernament of this our realme & liegis thairof, we are sa vexit and wexyit, that our bodie, spirite and sencis, are altogeddir become vnhabill langer to trauell in that rowme. And thairfore we haue dimittit and renuncit the office of gouernement of this our realme and liegis thairof, in fauouris of our onely maiste deir Sonne, natiue Prince of this our realme. And because of his tender youth and inhabillitie to vse the saide gouernement in his awin persoun, during his mynoritie, we haue constitute our deerest brother James Earle of Murray, Lorde Abyrnethie, &c. Regent to our sayde sonne, realme and liegis forsaydis. And in respect that our saide deerest brother is actually furthe of our realme, and cannot instantly be present to accepte the sayde office of Regentrie vpon him, and vse and exerce ȳ sampyn during our saydis deerest sonys mynoritie: we quhill his returning within our Realme or in cais of his decess haue maide, constitute, nanuit, appointit, and ordaynit, and by thir our letteris makis, constitutis, namis, appointis and ordanis our traist consingis and counsalouris, James Duke of Chatellerault, Earle of Arrane, Lorde Hammiltoun, Mathe Erle of Leuinax, Lorde Dernley, &c. Archibald Erle of Argile, Lord Campbell and Lorne, &c. Iohn Erle of Athole, James erle of Mortoun, Alexander Erle of Glencarne, & Iohn Erle of Mar, Regentis to our said deerest sonne, realme and liegis, and in cais our saide brother James Erle of Murray cum within our realme, and refusis to accept the sayde office of Regentrie vpon his singulare persoun, we make, constitute, name, appoint, and ordeyne, our traist, consingis and Counsallouris forsaydis, and our sayd brother Regentis of our saide deir sonne, realme and liegis.

Geuand, grantand and comittand, to thame or ony fiue of thame coniunctlie full power for our saide sonne, and in his name to ressaue resignacyonnis of landis, make dispositionnis of wairdis, nonentressis, releuis, mariagis, beneficis, eschetis, officis and vtheris, casualitеis and priuiledgeis, quhat sumeuer concerning the said office, Signatouris thayr vpon to make, subscriue, and cause be passe throuch the seillis. And to vse and exerce the saide office of Regentrie in all thingis, priuiledgeis and comoditeis, sielike as freelie and with als greit libertie as ony regēt or gouernor to vs or our predecessouris vsit the samin in ony tymes bygane. Promyttand

to halde firme and stabill in the worde and faith of ane Prince to quhatsumeuer thingis our saidis traist cousingis dois in the premissis. Chargeinge heirfore zow all and sundrie our Judgeis and ministeris of law, lieges and subiectis forsaidis, to answer & obey to our saidis traist cousingis, Regentis forsaidis in all and sundry things concerning the sayde office of regentrie during our saide decrest sonis minoritie, and ay and quhil he be of the age of seuintene zeiris compleit, As ze and ilk ane of zow wil declair zow luifinge subiectis to our sayd maist derie sone, zour natiue Prince, & vnder all paine, charge and offence that ze and ilk ane of zow maie commit and incur agains his maiestie in that pairt. Subscriuit with our hande, and gifin vnder our priuy seill, at Lochleuin the .xxiiij. day of Julij, and of our reigne the twentie fiue zeir.

MArie be the grace of God Quene of Scottis. To all and sundrie our Judgeis, and Ministeris of Law, lieges, and subiectis quhome it effeiris, to quhais knawlege thir our letteris sall cum, greting. Forsamekle, as sen our arriuall, & returning within our Realme, we willing the commoun commoditie, welth, profeit, and quietnes thairof, lieges, and subiectis of the samin, haue employit our body, spirite, baill sensis, and forcis to gouerne the samin, in sic sort that our royall, & honorabill estate myght stand, and continew with vs, and our posteritie, and our luifing, and kynde liegis myght enioy the quietnes of trew subiectis. In trauelling quhairin, not onlie is our body, spirite, & sencis sa perit, brokin, and vnquyetit, that langer we are not of habilitie be ony meane to indure sa grit and intollerabill panis & trauellis, quhairwith we ar altogidder verpit, bot als greit commotiounis and troublis, be sindrie occasiounis in the meintyme hes ensewit thairin to our greit greif. And seing it hes bene the plesour of the eternall God, of his kyndlie luke, mercie, & gudnes to grant vnto vs, of our awin persoun, ane Sone, quha in cais be the hand of God we be bereit, will, and of rycht, and of equitie man, and aucht to succeid to vs and to the gouernment of our Realme. And knawing that all creaturis ar subiect to that immutabill decreit of the eternal, aine to rander and gif vp this lyfe temporall, (the hour and tyme quhairof is maist vncertane) and in cais be deceis we be takin fra this lyfe, during the tyme of his minoritie, it may be dowtit greitlie that resistance, and troubill may be maid to our said Sone, now natiue Prince of this our Realme, in his tender zeires (being swa destitute of vs) to succeid to that rowme & Kingdome quhilk maist iustlie of al Lawis appertenis to him. Quhilk inconuenient be Godis help and gude prouidence, we mene to preuent, in sic maner, that it sall not ly in the power of ony vnnaturall subiectis to resist Godis ordinance in that behalf. And vnderstanding that na thing eirdlie is mair ioyous, and happy to vs, nor to se our said derrest Sone, in our awin lyfe time peciablie placit in that rowme, and honorabill estate quhairto he iustlie aucht & man succeid to. We of the motherlie affectioun we beir toward our said onlie Sone, haue renuncit, and dimittit, and be thir our letteris, frelie, of our awin motiue will renuncis, and dimittis the gouernement, gyding and gouerning of this our Realme of Scotland, liegis, and subiectis thairof, and all intromissioun and dispositioun of ony casualitcis, propertie, benefices, offices, and all thingis apperteining, or heirtofoir is knawin, or heirefter sall happen to appertene thairto, in fauouris of our said derrest sone. To that effect, that he may be plantit, placit, and possessit thairin, vse and exerce all thingis belangand thairto, as natiue King, and Prince of the samin, and siclyke as we or ony our predecessouris, Kingis of Scottis, hes done in ony tymes bypast. Attoure, that this our dimissioun may tak the mair solempne effect, and that nane pretend ignorãce thairof, we haue geuin, grantit, and committit, and be thir our letters geuis grantis, and committis our commissioun full, frie, and plane power, generall, and speciall cõmand, to our traist cousingis, Patrik Lord Lindesay of the Byris, and Williame Lord Ruthuen, and to ilk ane of thame conionctly & seuerally, to compeir befoze sa mony of the Nobilitie, Clergie, Burgessis, & vther pepill of our Realme, as sall happin to be assemblit to that effect in our Burgh of Striuiling or ony vther place, or placis quhair it salbe thocht maist conuenient, at ony day or dayis, and thair publicklie in thair presence, for vs, in our name, and vpon our behalf dimit, and renunce the gouernement, gyding, and reuling of this our Realme, liegis, and subiectis thairof, all intromissioun with the propertie, casualitie, or vtheris thingis appertening to vs thairby, and all rycht, and tytle that we had, hes, or may haue be ony maner of way thairto, in fauouris of our said Sone, to that effect, that he may be inaugurat, placit, and rowmit thairin, and the Crowne royall deliuerit to him, and be obeyit in all thingis concerning the samin, as we, or our predecessouris hes bene in tymes bypast. And in likewise be thir presentis geuis, grantis, and committis our full, frie, and plane power, to our rycht traist cousingis, James Erle of Mortoun, Lord of Dalkeith. Johne Erle of Athole, &c. Johne Erle of Mar. &c. Alexãder Erle of Glencarne, William Erle of Menteith, John Maister of Grahame, Alexander

ander Lord Hume, Adam Bischop of Orknay, the Provestis of Dundie, Montrois, or ony of thame, to ressaue the said renunciatioun, and dimissioun in favouris of our said Sone, & thairefter the ressauing thairof, to plant, place, and inaugurat him in the Kingdome, and with all ceremonies requyst to put the Crowne royall vpon his heid, in signe and takin of the establessing of him thairin, and in his name to mak, and gif to the saidis Nobilitie, Clergy, Burgessis, and vtheris our liegis, his Princely and Kingly aith dewfully, and lauchfully as effeiris. And to ressaue thair athis, for dew and lauchfull homage to be maid be thame to him, in all tymes cuming, as becumis subiectis to thair natiue King and Prince. And generally all and sundrie vther thingis to do, exerce, and vse, that for sure performance and accomplishment heirof may, or can be done, firme and stable haldand, and for to hald all and quhat sumeuer thingis in our name, in the premissis leidis to be done, in the word and faithfull promis of ane Prince. And ordanis thir our letters (gif neid beis) to be publist at all places neidfull. Subscriuit with our hand, and geuin vnder our preuie Seil, At Lochleuin the .xxiij. day of Julij. And of our Regne the .xxv. zeir. 1567.

MArie be ȳ grace of God, Quene of Scottis, to all and sindrie our Jugeis, and Ministeris of our Lawis, liegis, and subiectis quhome it effeiris, to quhais knawlege thir our letteris sall cum, greting, Forsamekle, as eftir lang, greit, and intollerabill panis, & laubouris takin be vs fen our arriuall within our Realme, for gouernement thairof, and keping of the liegis of the same in quyetnes, we haue not onlie bene vexit in our spirite, body, and sences thairby, bot als at lenth ar altogidder sa vexit thairof, that our habilitie, and strenth of body is not habill langer to indure the samin.

Thairfore, and because nathing eirdlie can be mair confortabil and happy to vs in this eird, nor in our lyfetime to se our deir Sone, the natiue Prince of this our Realme, placit in the Kingdome thairof, and the Crowne royall set on his heid, we of our owin fre will, and speciall motiue, haue dimittit, and renuncit the gouernment, gyding, & gouerning of this our Realme, of Scotland, liegis, and subiectis thairof, in favouris of our said Sone, to that effect, that in all times heirafter, he may peciablie, and quietly enioy the samin without troubill, and be obeyit as natiue King, and Prince of the samin be the liegis thairof. And vnderstading that be ressoun of his tender zouth, he is not of habilitie in his awin persoun to administrate in his Kinglie rowme, and gouernement, as equyte requyris, quhill that heirefter he cum to the zeires of discretioun. And als knawing the proximitie of blude standand betuix vs, our said Sone, & our derrest brother James Erle of Murray, Lord Abirnethie, &c. And hauand experience of the naturall affectioun, and tenderly lufe he hes in all tymes borne, and presently beiris towardis vs, honour, and estate of our saide Sone. Of quhais lufe, and fauour towardis him we can not bot assure our self. To quhome na greter honour, ioy, nor felicitie in eird can cum, nor to se our said Sone inaugurat in his Kingdome, feirit, reuerencit, and obeyit be his liegis thairof. In respect quhairof, and of the certanetie, and notorite, of the honestie, habilitie, qualificatioun, and sufficiencie of our said derrest brother, to haue the cure and Regiment of our said Sone, Realme, and liegis foirsaidis, during our said Sonis minoritie. We haue maid, namit, appointit, constitute, and ordanit, and be thir our letteris namis, appointis, makis, constitutis, and ordanis our said derrest brother James erle of Murray, Regent to our said derrest Sone, Realme, and liegis foirsaidis, during his minoritie and les age, and ay and quhill he be of the age of feuintene zeiris compleit. And that our said brother be callit during the said space, Regent to our said Sone, his Realme, and liegis. Swa that our said Sone efter the completing of the zeiris foirsaidis, in his awin persoun may tak vpon him the said gouernement, and vse, & exerce all and sindrie priuilegis, honouris, and vtheris immunitеis that appertenis to the office of ane King, alsweill in gouerning his Realme & pepill, according to the Lawis, as in repressing the violēce of ile as wald inuaid, or iniustlie resist him or thame, or his authoritie Royal. With power to our said derrest brother James Erle of Murray, in name, authoritie, and behalf of our said maist deir Sone, to ressaue resignatiounis of quhatsumeuer landis haldin of him, or zit of offices, Tassellis, Towris, Fortalices, mylnis, fischingis, woddis, benefices, or pertinentis quhatsumeuer, the samin againe in our said Sonis name to gif, and deliuer signaturis thairvpon, & vpon the giftis of wairdis, nonentressis, and releues of landis, and mariageis of airis falland, or that sall happin to fall in our said Sonis handis as superiour thairof. And als vpon presentatioun of landis, benefices, & fechetis of guidis mouabil and vnmouabill, dettis and takkis, respittis remissiounis, supersedereis, and vpon the disposition of offices vacand, or quhen thay sall happin to vaik, to subscriue, and cause be past the Seillis the said office of Regentrie, to vse & exerce in all thingis, priuilegis, and commoditeis, siclyke as frelie, and with als greit libertie, as ony Regent, or Gouernour to vse, or our predecessouris vsit in ony tymes bygane,

gane, and sicklyke as gif euerie heid, priuilege and article concerning the said office wer at lenth expressit, and amplifyit in thir our letteris.

Promisand to hald firme and stabill in the word and faith of ane Prince to quhatsumeuer thingis our said derrest brother in the premissis happinnis to do. Chargeing heirfoir zow all, and sindrie our Juggis, & Ministeris of Law, liegis, and subiectis foirsaidis, to answer and obey to our said derrest brother, in all and sindrie thingis concerning the said office of Regentrie, as ze and ilk ane of zow will declair zow luifing subiectis, to our said maist deir Sone, and vnder all paine, charge, and offence that ze and ilk ane of zow may commit, and incur againis his Maiestie in that pairt. Subscriuit with our hand, and geuin vnder our priuie Seill, At Lochleuin the .xxiij. day of Julij. And of our Regne, the twentie fyue zeir.

The kings othe.

These Commissions being redde, the Bishop of Argile with two superintendentes proceeded to the Coronation, the Erle of Morton, and the Lord Hume toke the othe for the king, that he should rule in the faith, feare, and loue of God, and to mainteyne the religion then preached & exercised in Scotlande, and to persecute all aduersaries to the same. The whole ceremonie was done in the Scottes Englishe tongue, the Queene mother to the King remayning at that tyme prysoner in Lochleuin.

A Parliament holden at Edenburgh.

The .xb. of December a Parliament begonne being holden at Edenburgh before the Earle of Murrey Lord Regent, in the which diuers actes and Statutes were deuised, made and ratified: as firste concernyng the Queenes demission of hir Crowne, and resignation thereof made to hyr Sonne King James the firte. And likewise concernyng the instituting of the Earle of Murrey in the Regencie of the Realme, which he toke vpon hym the twoo and twentie day of Auguste laste paste, accordyng to hir letters of commission and procuration aboue specified.

An acte for the abolishing of the Popes authoritie in Scotland.

Also there was an Acte made for the abolishyng of the Pope, and his vsurped authoritie, and an other Acte for the annullyng of former Actes made in Parliament for maynteynaunce of superstition and Idolatrie, and hereunto was annexed a confession of the fayth and doctrine receyued by the Protestantes of the Realme of Scotlande, authorised in the same Parliament. There was also an acte made for the indempnitie of those that had leuied warre, and apprehended the Queene at Carbarrie hill, the fiftenth of July last past, and concernyng the deteyning of hir in Lochleuin.

The castell of Dunbar, and the fortresse of Inchkeith to be rased.

Moreouer it was ordeyned by an acte passed in this Parliament that the Castell of Dunbar, and the fortresse of Inskeith, shoulde bee demolished and rased downe to the earth. To be briefe, there were one & fourtie Actes or Statutes made and established in this Parliament, as by the Register thereof it may appeare.

1568. The queenes escape out of Lochleuin.

On Sunday the seconde of May, in the yeare 1568. at supper tyme the Queene escaped out of Lochleuyn, by the meanes and helpe of George Dowglas brother to the Laird of Lochleuyn. The Lorde Seaton, the Laird of Ricarton and James Hamilton of Orbiston were ready to receyue hyr, and conueyed hyr ouer the Queenes Ferry, firste to Mudry the Lorde Seatons house, and from thence to Hamilton Castell, where she remayned till the thirtenth day of May beyng thursday, gathering in the meane time such forces as she might from all places. The Queene gatheretha power.

The Earle of Murrey Lorde regent was in Glasquho, at what tyme shee thus escaped out of Lochleuin, and vpon knowledge had thereof, meant at the firste to haue withdrawen himselfe vnto Sterlyng, but suddenly changing his purpose in that behalf, he determined to continue at Glasquho, whiche is not passe an eyght myles from Hamilton, bycause hee was perswaded, that if she should shrynke backe neuer so little, he shoulde encourage his aduersaries, and discourage his frendes, and so consequently weaken his parte greatly. The Regent determineth to stay at Glasquho.

Herevpon the thirtenth day of May afore mencioned, the Queene with hyr power marched from Hamilton, by the South side of Clede towarde Dunbertane, and out of Glasquho on the other parte marched the Lorde Regent with his forces, so as at length bothe the armies meete at a place called the Langside, neare to the house of Catcart within twoo myles of Glasquho. The armies meete at the Langside.

There were on the Queenes parte the Earles of Argile, Cassilles, Eglinton and Rothes, Claude Hamilton sonne to the Duke of Chatellerault, the Lordes Seaton, Somerville, Yester, Boythwike, Leuingston, Herles, Maxwell, Sauquhar, Boyd and Ros, Lairdes & Knights Lochinwar, Bas, Wauchtō, Dalhowsy, Rosslen ẏ Sheriffe of Air, sir James Hamilton & many other. On the regents part were these accōpted as principall, ẏ erles of Morton, Mar, Glecarne, Menteith, the M. of Graham, the Lordes Hume, Lindsey, Ruthuen, Simpil, Ogiltree & Cathcart, of lairdes & knights, Bargawy, Blacquhā, Drumlanrig, Sclkyrd, Lus, Buchannane, Tuliberdin, Petcur, Grange, Lochleuin, Lethington, and sir James Balfour. At the firste ioyning there was a righte sharp encoūter, for after they had besteowed their shotte of Harquebusses and arrowes, they fell to it with speares and swordes, but at length after Lordes vpon the Queenes parte. Lordes on the Regents pt. They ioyne battayle.



ter.iij.quarters of an houres fight,the Queenes parte was put to flight, the victory remayning with the Regent,who suffered none to be slaine but those that were killed in the fighte, before they turned their backes; among the whiche were.xiiij. of the surname of the Hamiltõs killed. There were taken prysoners about a three hundred, of whiche number the principall were these: The Lordes Seaton, & Ros, Sir James Hamilton, and many other of that surname. Of the Regents parte, the Lorde Hume was hurte in the legge and face,and the Lord Ogiltree in the necke, by the lord Heries: the Lorde Lindsey,and the Lards of Drumlanrig, and of Grange, bare themselues right valiantly that day,fayling not in any poynt that belonged to the duetie of hardie Capitaines. The Queenes partie was thought to be neare at the poynt of vj.thousande men. & the Regents was reconed to be foure thousand, so that there were a tenne thousand men on the fielde that day,what vpon the one side and the other.

The Earle of Huntley was comming forewardes to haue assisted the Queenes parte, but the battel was strikē, and hir people discomfited as ye haue heard ere he could come,and so he returned. In this battayle the valiancie of an Hieland Gentleman named Mackerlane, stood the Regents part in great steede, for in the hottest brunte of the fight,he came in with two hūdred of his friendes and countreymen,& so manfully gaue in vpon the flanke of the Queenes people, that he was a great cause of the disordering of them. This Mackerlane had bene lately before as I haue heard condēned to die for some outrage by him committed,and obtayning pardon through suyte of the Countesse of Murray, he recompensed that clemencie by this peece of seruice now at this battayle.

The Queene perceyuing the ouerthrow of hir people,fled from the place where she stode to behold the battell, and withdrew to Crawforde towne,and so by the Sauquhar to Dūdrenane in Galloway, and after she had taried there two or three dayes, she toke ship and past to Workington in England,where she was stayed and conueyed to Carlile,and from thence to Bolton castel belonging to the lord Scroupe,who with sir Francis Knolles beyng sent downe for that purpose,had the custodie of hir, till at length she was committed vnto the Erle of Shrewsbury, with whom she yet remayneth. The Queene of Scots fleeth into England.

But now to the doings in Scotlande, the morrow after the battel being the.xiiij.of May, the Regent sent to somon Hamilton castell, but the answeare was respited till the next day, and then he that had the charge came to Glasquho, and offered the keyes to the Regent. The castell of Draffan was also yeelded the same time vnto the Regent.

The.xviij.of May the Regent made proclamatiō,that the inhabitāts of the shyres of Merues, Angus, Fife, Mers, Louthian, Kile and Carrick, shoulde prouide themselues of vitailes for.xv.dayes, and to meete him at Begger the tenth of June,to ride with him into the Southwest partes of Scotlande, to chastise certayne theeues and other disobedient persons.

The Regents iourney into the Southwest parts of Scotlande.

Hereupon the.xj. of June the Regent marched forth of Edenburgh, and came that night to Begger. The army being assembled conteyned a.iiij.or.v.thousand horsemen very wel appointed beside a thousande footemen, gunners and Halberdiers, of boyes and pong men that went with the cariage, there were aboute foure thousande.

The Castell of Boghall perteyning to the Lorde Flemmyng was surrendred to them. The Castell of Boghall.

Skirling castell.

The.xij.of June Skirling castel was raced, a fayre house, to the ende that other vnderstanding thereof might bee put in the more feare.

Crawford.

That night they came to Crawford, where the Castell was to them surrendred. It belonged vnto Sir James Hamilton, whom they had in their handes.

Saucher.

The.xiij.of June they marched to Saucher a castell, the whiche beyng rendred they spared, bycause the Lord Chrighton the owner thereof promised at a certayne day to come to the Regent vnto Edenburgh. The.xiiij.of June they

Barbacast.

came to Barbacast, where they lay that night, & the Laird Wedderborne was sent to speake with the Laird of Louchinware. Wednesday the xv.of June, they marched to a place called S. John Sclaghan, staying there in trust of the

Saint Iohn Sclaghan.

Laird of Louchinwares comming vnto them, but he came not, wherevpon the next day being

Kenmure.

the.xvj.of June, they raced ẏ house of Kenmure & an other house also, for that the owners were frendes to the sayde Louchinware. The.xvij. of June they came to a Gentlemans house, stãding by the water of Vr, where diuers Gentlemen came in, and were receyued.

The water of Vr.

Dunfreis.

The.xviij.of June they marched to Dunfreis, and remayned there all the nexte day. A strong house standing in that towne and apperteyning to the Lord Maxwell was offered vnto them. Diuers of the Maxwels, Johnstons, Pyrewines, Grahames & Belles came into the Regent, and offering themselues to be obedient, were receyued. Two dayes before this, the lord Maxwell, the Lairdes of Johnston, Cowhill, & Louchinwar, had bene at Dunfreis with a thousand men and spent al the vitayles. It was thought that the Lord Maxwell would haue come in if the other had not counsayled him to the contrary.

The.xx of June they marched to Hoddom, a place belonging to the Lorde Haries, a thousand of the broken men were assembled and offered skirmishe, two or three were taken: they lay within a myle of the Regent that night.

Hoddom yeeldeth to the Regent.

The.xxj.the house was yeelded, and the custodie thereof committed to the Laird of Drumlanrig that was appoynted Warden of those marches. It was thought very strong, so that the defendants might haue kept it longer if they had bene disposed. Great hunger began to pinch in the armie, a pinte of wine was solde at.vij. shillings Scottish, and no bread to be had for any money. The Regent sente forth the Earle of Morton, & the lord Hume with a thousande men, to trie if they might haue drawen the broken men to a chase, but it would not be, for they went their wayes, and would not tarrie it.

The Laird of Drumlanrig.

The.xxij.of June the campe lay still, but the Regent with a thousand men went to Annand and had it deliuered vnto him. Here hee mette with my Lorde Scroupe, and after returned to the campe. The.xxiij.of March they wente to Lochmaben and receyued the Castell, the

Annand deliuered to the gouernour.

Lochmaben.

which the Regent deliuered to Drumlanrig, but some of the Maxwelles beyng closely hidde within an odde corner of the house, after the regent was gone, brake out and seased the house againe into their handes. The same day two houses belongyng to the laird of Johnstone, the one named Lochwood, & the other Lowhowsly were take, but not brent bicause the laird Johnston had put in suretie to come in by a day vnto the Regent. The same day they toke greate store of cattell, and that night with a shot of the greate artillery, they slew two theeues among Ir. others, that came and approched very neere to the army as the maner of the pickers is. The army lay that night at Milton holmes.

Two houses of laird Johnston taken the regent.

The.xxiiij.of June they came to Peeples, & the next day to Edenburgh, so ending that iourney, in the whiche they had passed through the cotũreys of Clidesdale, Galoway, Mitheldale, Annandale, and Twedale.

Much a doe and greate trouble arose within Scotlande, by reason that the Hamiltons and their adherents made partes against the Regẽt, and those other Lordes that gouerned vnder the King, whereof as I haue no certayne notes, so I must passe the same with silence.

Great trouble in Scotland.

In the yeere.1569. the Erles of Northumberlande and Westmerlande reysed a rebellion against the Queenes Maiestie of England, but by the good diligence and prouident circumspection of the Erle of Sussex, then Lieutenant of the Northy partes, and of such direction as was giuen by hir Maiestie and hir Counsell, for the kruying of an armie vnder the leadyng of the Erle of Warwike, & the Lord Admirall Clinton, the sayd two Earles were kept so in feare, that they durst not aduaunce farre forewarde in their wicked begonne enterprize, but were constreyned to retyre backe towardes Durelme, wherevpon the Earle of Sussex supposing that their meaning was for their last refuge and saueguard to take the castels of Alnewike & Warkworth, he wrote vnto Sir John Forster Lord Warden of the middle Marches, eyther by force policie or some other meane, to gette into his handes the possession of those two Castels, and the same to fortifie with suche number and garnisons of menne, as to his discretion shoulde be thought conuenient, for the saufe custodie and garde thereof. Sir John Forster beyng at his house neare to Alnewike, when he receiued these letters, accompanied with his seruants, frendes, and tenants, and some souldiers that were come

Rebellion the North England, by the Erle of Northumberland and Westmerland.

to him

to him from Berwike, marched vp to the castell on foote, where finding the house garded with a great number of the Earle of Northumberlãds seruants and tenaunts, he made Proclamation before the castell gate, that euery of them within the castell should come forth and withdraw to theyr owne houses, vpon payne to be reputed rebelles to the Queenes Maiestie, and that which of them soeuer did refuse to obey this Proclamatiõ, staying either in the castell or els where in any vnlawfull assemblie, it should be lawfull for euery man to spoyle his goodes, and him to kill if he made resistance. This Proclamation notwithstanding, they within the Castel, at the first refused to yeelde it vp, & therevpon sir John Forster marched through the towne into the market place, and there made the lyke Proclamatiõ in behalf of all the inhabitants that were the Earle of Northumberlandes tenauntes, for their repayring home to their houses, and comming herewith backe towardes the castell, they within perceyuing themselues destitute of succour, & Sir John Forster to increase in power, they vpon better aduise yeelded themselues vnto him, who saued all theyr liues. After the same maner he got also the castell of Warkworth, & fortified them bothe with sufficient numbers of men.

This done, he assembled suche forces as hee was able to make, so that he got togither to the number of .xj. hundred horsemen, & tooke order to forlay, & stoppe the passages, so as the Erles frendes and tenants in Northumberlãd, should not go vnto him. After this hauing in his company ỳ L. Ogle, and Tho. Forster his brother and other Gentlemen, he went to new Castell, where with Thomas Gower Esquire, & ỳ had the principal rule therof at that present, he tooke order for the defence of that towne agaynst the rebelles. Hither came to him sir Henry Percy, offeryng his seruice agaynst his brother and other the rebelles to the vttermost of his power.

Herevpon diuers excursions were made forth of Newcastell into the Bishoprike, where the two Earles were encamped, and sundry skirmishes chanced betwixte the parties, though no great hurte followed thereof. The Earles yet one day came from Durham, and with theyr army marched towards Newcastell. Sir John Forster & sir Henry Percy, hauing intelligence thereof, issued forth of Newcastell with all their forces and certayne peeces of great ordinance. They had also with them certaine bands of the Souldiers of Berwike, meanyng verily to haue ioyned battel with the Erles, Sir Henry Percy shewyng himselfe as willing & forward therto as any other in all the cõpanies. At Chester Dean, midway betwixte Durham and Newcastel, the armies approched the one neare to the other, a small broke renning in a hollow, deuided them in sunder, so that there was no passage for them to conuey their ordinaunce ouer, the bankes on eyther side beyng so steepe and combersome. Wherevpon the Earles perceyuing that they were disappointed of their purpose, after some skirmishes betwixt the horsemen, they returned vnto Durham, and frõ thence the next day they went to Hexham, and after beyng in vtter dispaire fledde into Scotlande, where the Erle of Westmerlande light among those that shifted him away so from place to place, that he escaped out of that realme, when he coulde no longer remayne there in suertie: but the Earle of Northumberland fell into their handes, whiche deliuered him vnto the Regent, who thought he coulde do no lesse than to put him in safe keeping, considering the amitie that was betwixte the two Princes, the Queenes Maiestie of England and the King of Scottes.

Therles of Northumberland & Westmerland flee into Scotland.

1570.

But shortly after the Regent (as he was riding through Lithquho,) was wickedly shot in with an harquebuse by one James Hamilton, and so wounded, that the next day he died of the hurte. After whose death the Lordes of the Kings parte with generall consent wrote letters vnto the Earle of Lennox then remayning in England, to repayre home with all conuenient speede into Scotland. Ye may reade in the history of England, in what sorte the Earle of Sussex Lorde Lieutenant of the North partes entring into Tiuidale the .xvij. of Aprill, brent the Mosse tower, the towne of Crawling, the castell of Fernihirst, the towne of Howike, and the castell of Braunton, that belonged to the laird of Buclewgh, with diuers other castelles, Piles, Townes, and Villages, and Hamlettes belongyng to the lairdes of Fernihirst, Buclewgh and others in those parties: also how the Lorde Scroupe inuaded the West boundres of Scotlande the same time. And likewise how the sayde Earle of Sussex wanne the Castell of Hume, with diuers other maters which here I passe ouer, referring you to the sayd history.

The earle of Murrey Lord Regent slaine.

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But now about the same time the Earle of Leuenor hauing gotte licence of the Queene of Englande to make his returne into Scotlande, was set forwarde & came to Berwike towardes the later ende of Aprill, where being visited with sickenesse, he remayned by the space of fourtene dayes or more.

The earle of Lennox sent forewarde to returne into scotland.

In the meane time the Duke of Chatellerault, the Earles of Huntley, and Cassels, the Lord Flemmyng and sundry others of that faction, seeyng the time serued well for their purpose, now that the Regent was slayne and dispatched out of the way, gathered a power to the

The Duke of Chatelleraule gathereth a power.

number

number of three thousande men, & came downe to Edenburgh, but after they had knowledge that the Earle of Lennox was cõming out of England with a power of Englishmen by the Queenes Maiesties appointment, aswel for the safegarde of the yong king, as also for the safeconduct of the Erle of Lennox home into Scotlande, the Duke and Erles aforesayde retyred themselues from Edenburgh to Glasquho, where they besieged the Castell by the space of fiue or sixe dayes, untill the Earle of Lennox approched thitherwardes. For ye haue to understand that after the Earle of Lennox was recouered of his sickenesse, there was appoynted a power of horsemen and footemen, to goe with him into Scotlãd, under the leading of sir Williã Drurie, as in the English history ye may reade more at large. There were diuers valiant capitaines and Gentlemen, that wente with him in that iourney, aswell such as had charge as those that went with him of their owne good willes, to see the order of things, and to help to aduance their Princes seruice. With charge there were these: Sir George Carie Capitayne of one hundreth lances, Henry Iustell capitaine of fiftie lances, William Gurley capitaine of fiftie lances: Master Henrie Carie Capitayne of two hundred light horsemen: Capitayne Case Lieutenant of the generals bande of light horsemen, beyng also two hundreth: Sir Robert Connestable Sergeant Maior of the footebandes: Sir Thomas Maners, capitayne Brickwell, capitayne Caruille, Capitayne Game, Capitayne Lambarde, capitayne Erington, John Connestable, and Humfrey Berwike leaders of the footemen. Capitayne Erington was also Lieutenant to sir George Caries company of lances. Other Gentlemen that went of their owne good willes there were diuers, as Master George Deuereux, Sir Jerome Bowes, Master Williã Knolles, Master Robert Knolles, Master Michell Carie, Master Gawdie, Master William Drury of Suffolke cosin to the General, Master Greuille, brother to Sir Foulke Greuille, Master Conwey, brother to sir John Conwey, Master Edmund Verney, & many other, whose names I coulde not learne.

The Duke retireth to Glasquho.

Captaynes and Gentlemenne that wente wyth the Earle of Lennox into Scotlande.

The footemen lay the first night at Coldingham, the nexte day the Earle of Lennox himselfe with sir William Drurie and the horsemẽ ouertoke the footemen, and lodged that night at Dunbar. The next day they made such speede in their marche, that they came through to Edenburgh, where they found the Earles of Morton, Murrey, Glencarne, the Lordes Ruthuen, Lindsey, Simpil, Glamis, Methuen, Ogiltree, and Catcart, with diuers Gentlemenne of the Kings side, who receyued the sayde Earle of Lennox, and the Englishmẽ very courteously. From Edẽburgh they passed to Lithquho, as in the English historie it may appeare, and from thence the footemẽ passed to Faukirke, and there lodged, but the Earle of Lennox, and the Scottish Lordes, with Sir William Drury, and the horsemen rode to Sterlyng where the king lay, then beyng in the custodie of the Earle of Mar. From thence they went to Glasquho, where the Duke had besieged the castell, whiche was valiantly defended by the Laird of Minto and his brethern, with their seruantes being not past an eightene persons in all, and yet they kepte it fiue or sixe dayes against the Duke and his whole power, saying as hath bene reported aboue fourtie or fiftie of his menne, but in the ende they were in greate daunger to haue bene take, if they had not bene ỹ more speedely relieued, but the Duke and his adherentes understandyng of the commyng forewarde of the Erle of Lennox with the English forces, brake vp his siege and fledde away, with losse and dishonour as in the English historie we haue likewise noted.

Faukirke.

The Earle Lennox and sir William Drury ride Striuelyng.

The Castell Glasquho sieged by the Duke of Cheuerault.

He breaketh vp his siege.

After that the Earle of Lennox and his frendes were thus commen to Glasquho, finding the siege rayled, he remayned there by the space of fiue or sixe dayes, duryng whiche tyme there came to him of his kinrede and frendes, whiche ought to him their seruice, according to the vse of the countrey, the number of a foure thousande men, very well appoynted after their maner, the more parte out of the countreys of Lennox, and Darneley, whiche mustered before the sayde Earle, and sir William Drurie generall of the Englishmen there.

A muster of inhabitants Scottes.

See more of in Eng.

This done the Earle of Lennox accompanied with the Earles and Lordes afore mentioned, and lykewise with the Englishmenne, marched to Hamilton, where they entred into the Palayce belonging to the Duke, and lodged therein that night.

The nexte day they besieged the Castell, whereof Andrew Hamilton of Merinton was Capitayne, hauing vnder him fiftie Souldiers to defende it, and woulde not therefore deliuer it till that two peeces of greate ordinaunce being brought from Sterlyng, were planted in batterie: for then perceyuing themselues in danger to be taken by force, the Capitayne offered to yeelde the house to the Englishmenne, but not to the Lordes of Scotlande, with condition to haue the liues of al them within saued, which was graunted, vpon promise, that they shoulde neuer after beare armes against their King, and to departe the Realme within a certayne terme, and hereunto they were swoine, but they kept not long their othe: for the night nexte ensuyng,

The Castell Hamilton sieged.

It is deliuered to the Englishmenne.

The earle of Lennox wyth the Englyshmen comme to Edenburgh.

suyng, they besette the Lorde Simpil that was lodged at that presente in a house not farre off, and not able to keepe it, till reskewe came, yeelded it, and himselfe prisoner, so that he was kepte by the Hamiltons in safe custodie by the space of a twelue moneth after.

The Castell of Hamilton beeing yeelded (as ye haue heard) was blowen vp with powder.

Diuers other houses there in the Countrey about were brente also, as Roplocke, the Abbot of Kilwynnings house, with diuers other of the Hamiltons houses in Clidesdale.

After the Castell of Hamilton was thus wonne and ouerthrowen, the Lordes returned to the Palace, and lodged there againe that nighte, and on the morrowe, they set fire both vpon the same Palace, and also vpon the towne of Hamilton, and therewith the Englishmen taking leaue of the Lords in Scotlande, departed homewards (as in the Englishe historie yee may reade more at large. The Earle of Morton wente with them, but the Earle of Lennox and the other Earles and Lordes with theyr companies toke their way toward Glasquho, and from thence euery of the noble men departed home to their houses.

Shortly after, there was a conuention of the Lordes at Striueling, where the Earle of Lennox was made lord Lieutenant of Scotlande, and afterwardes in August following, there was an other conuention at Edenburgh, where by the consent of the three estates of the Realme, the sayd Earle was made Regent of Scotlande.

And about the same time, the Erle of Huntley toke vpon him to be Lieutenant of Scotland for the Queene of Scottes that remayned still in Englande, and thereupon in hir name sommoned a Parliament to be holden at Lithquho the one and twentith of September then next following, vnto the which Parliament, as well the Earle of Lennox then Regente, as all the residue of the Lordes of both the parties were sommoned. Whereof the Regent being aduertised, caused a Parliamente to be sommoned in the Kings name to be kept likewise at Lithquho, at the selfe same daye whiche was appointed by the Earle of Huntley, at which day, there appeared the Lordes of the Kings partie, and also sundry greate Lairdes, Knightes, and Gentlemen, to the number of eyghte thousand, verye well furnished, looking for the Earle of Huntleys commyng, according to his appointed order, but hee came no neerer than Brechin, whereupon it was decreed by the Regent and nobilitie there to pursue hym, and to that ende the Earle of Morton was sente before with a thousande Horsemen to haue taken him vpon the suddayne in the Towne of Brechin, before he should haue had any warning of their comming. the Regent following after with an army, but Huntley hauing warning of their approch escaped their handes, although very narrowly, in somuche, that some of his seruemenne were so put to their shiftes, that they were driuē for their refuge (being so beset on the suddayne) to take the Castell of Brechine, the Earle of Huntley promising before he went from them, to succour them within eyght dayes: but they being straitely besieged, and the Earle not keeping promise with them, after those eyght dayes were expired, they yeelded themselues and the Castell vnto the Regents mercy.

The Earle of Huntley escapeth.

They were in all aboute three hundred, of which number. xxxj. of the chiefest were executed. Some of them had borne armes agaynste the King before that tyme, and had bin pardoned, and therefore were nowe thoughte by the Regent and his frendes the more worthy to die. After this, the Regent returned to Striueling, and from thence passed to the Castell of Downe, and besieged it, beeing kepte by the seruaunts of the Lorde of S. Colmes Inch, who yeelded it to the Regent after three dayes siege.

Execution.

The Castell of Downe yeelded.

During the time of the Regents being there, he sent one of his seruants called John Wynne, with letters into Englande, directed to the M. of Englands Counsell, who for his secret practising and conference had with suche as were enimies to the King and Regente before his departure out of Scotland, and for receyuing of their letters to be conueyd also, and herewyth discouering sundry secretes to them the whych were committed to his credite and trust, he was apprehended, and the same letters which he had secretely receyued beeing founde vpon him, and the matters aforesaid being proued against him he was executed.

About the same time the Erle of Morton, the Abbot of Dunfermeling, and James Magil, Clearke of the Register, wer sent into England Commissioners, vpon the Kings partie the Bishop of Rosse, the Abbot of Kilwinning, and the Lord Leuingston, appointed for the M. then being in Englād. In January following, the Regent then beeing at Edenburgh, Claude Hamilton, one of the Duke of Chatelleraultes sonnes entred the house of Paslay, then beeyng kepte by the seruantes of the Lord Simpil, and seazing vpon all things which he there found as stoode with his pleasure, hee fortified the house with men, munition, and victuales, such as he could get either in the towne of Paslay, or neere thereabouts. The Regent aduertised therof, repaired thither with a power in all speedy wise, and layd siege to the house. They within sewed

Commissioners sent into England.

Paslay taken and kept by Clawde Hamilton.

The Regent besiegeth Paslay.

for a truce whiche was graunted to them for the space of fiue dayes, the better to aduise of their owne estate, which tearme being expired, Proclamation was made by the Regent, that if they would yeeld the house, so many of them as had not borne armes before ẏ time againste the King and Regent, shoulde haue their lyues saued, the rest to remaine at the Regents pleasure.

Heerevppon contention rose among them within the house: for whereas the more part of thẽ hauing not serued in any iourney or exploit against ẏ King before that time, would needes yeelde, the other, beeyng the lesse number, were not able to defend it of themselues, wherevpon they were ready to drawe their weapons one against another, but yet in the ende they al agreed to surrender the house, and yeelded themselues, vpon such condition as the Regente had prescribed, wherevpon fyue of them were executed, and all the rest were pardoned of theyr liues, the Captayne John Hamilton, Lard of Coughnall and his two brethren excepted, who were sente to the Castell of Glasquho, there to remayne in prison, and shortly after the sayd John Hamilton was executed.

Pusslay is surrendred to the Regent.

1571

In Marche following, the Regent returned to Glasquho, and for that the Earles of Cassill and Eglenton refused to shew themselues obedient to the King, and woulde not come in to the Regent, who had sente for them by letters, at sundrye tymes, the Regent gathered his power at Glasquho, and with the same marched towards Urwin and Air, and so forward to the Earle of Cassils Countrey, who hearing of the Regents comming, sent forth his brother to offer his submission, wherevpon it was concluded that the messenger shoulde remayne wyth the Regente as pledge for his brother by the space of twenty dayes, and then the saide Earle to make his appearance before the Regente at Striueling, to aunswere such matters as shuld be layd to his charge.

The Regent goeth againste the Earle of Cassels.

The same time also the Earle of Eglenton layd his hande in also to appeare and aunswere in like sort, and as well the one as the other according to their assurance giuen, appeared at the day appointed, but yet not agreeing to such articles as were required of them, they were both committed to prison, the one in the Castell of Dunbretayne, and the other in the Castell of Downe.

The Earles of Cassils and Eglenton committed to warde.

Afterwardes there was a truce taken betweene the Regent and the Hamiltons, and their adherentes for twenty dayes, viz. vntill the last of March, whiche truce once ended, the Regente determined with hymselfe to giue an attempte to the Castell of Dunbretayne, which had bin long kepte by the Lorde Flemming againste the King, and the Earle of Murrey, late Regente, who hadde besieged it for the space of halfe a yeare or more, but coulde not by any meanes compasse to winne it: but nowe the firste of Aprill, the truce being then expired, the Regent going forwarde with his purpose, caused all the passages round about the Countrey to be stopped, as well by land as by water, and the same night sente thytherwarde Captayne Crafort, and Captayne Hume, with an hundred Souldiers, chosen out for the purpose, who the seconde of Aprill, aboute foure of the clocke in the morning, came to the Castell, where the Souldiers with ladders, ropes, and other deuises, found meanes to climbe vppe the Rocke, whiche is of an exceeding great heigth, and so with greate paine and more daunger, at length gote vp to the wall of the Castell, standing vpon the heigth of the Rocke, to the which wall they reared vp a ladder, by the whiche entred firste one Ramsey, ensigne bearer to Captaine Crafort, and leaping ouer the wall, was straightwayes assayled by three of the watchmen, of the whiche hee slewe one: and a Souldiour named Wederborne that followed him, beeyng the second that entred, slewe another of them. The thirde of those watchmen was also slayne, as hee was aboute to flee from them.

The Castell Dunbretayne taken by a policy.

Heerewith Captayne Crafort and Captayne Hume gote ouer the wall, and entring the Castell with the rest of their Souldiers, stroke vp the drumme, cryed a Derneley, beeing their watch worde, and seazing vpon the ordinance, manned the same.

Captayne Crafort and Captayne Hume.

The Lorde Flemming fleeth.

The Lorde Flemming Captayne of the Castell, hearing that suddayne fright and tumulte within the house, fledde out by the posterne gate at the neather baile, and so escaping, gote a fishers boate, and passed into Argile.

The Souldiours of the Castell perceyuing theyr Captayne fledde, and the Castell possessed by the enimies, yeelded themselues, and were pardoned. There were taken within the Castell the Archbishoppe of Saint Andrewes, Monsieur de Uiracke a Frenchman, sente thyther by the French King, also the Lady Flemming, wife to the Lorde Flemming, and John Flemming, Laird of Boghall, and John Hall, an Englishman, being partner of a new intended conspiracie in England, as was after proued agaynste hym, for the whyche hee was arreigned, condemned, and executed at London, (as in the Englishe history appeareth.) The thirde of Aprill, beeyng the morrowe after that Dunbretaine was thus straungelye wonne, the Regente came thither,

John Hall.

A truce for twenty dayes.

thither, and entred the same, where hee calling the Capitaines and Souldiers togither caused them with hym to kneele down vpō their knees, & to giue to God humble thankes for their good successe in that enterprize, brought to passe rather by the prouidence of God than otherwise, sithe the Castell seemed to all those that knewe it impossible in maner to be wonne, by reason of the great heyght of the rocke, and the strange situation, beyng enuironed almoste rounde about with the water of Clide on the one side, and the water of Leuin on the other.

The reporte of the winnyng of this Castell was ioyfull to the Townes and Countries about, which before had bene a cōtinuall scourge to them, by reason that the Souldiers that kept it woulde issue out at sundry times, robbyng spoyling and caryng away the commodities of the inhabitants there aboutes, aswell by land as by water.

The Regent dealt very honorably with the Ladie Flemming, suffryng hir to departe away with all suche plate and Iewels, as appertayned eyther to hyr or to hyr husband. He graunted also a safeconduct vnto Monsieur de Verack, to passe homewardes throughe the countrey, but the Archbishoppe of Saint Andrewes was sent prysoner to Sterlyng. The spoyle of the goodes founde in the Castell was giuen to the Souldiers that ventured so daungerously to atchieue so highe an enterprize, bryngyng it to the wished effect by policie with so little bloudshed as deserueth perpetuall remembraunce.

The day next ensuyng beyng the fourth of Iyull, the Regent appointed Iohn Cunningham Laird of Drumwhassell, a man of good seruice, and seruaunt to the Regent to be Capitayne of that Castell, and leauyng him therein, departed to Sterlyng, where he caused the Archbishoppe of Saint Andrewes to be examined vpon certayne Articles, aswell touchyng the murder of the late King Henry, as also for the death of the Earle of Murrey the late Regent, at what time there came in a Priest without compulsion of any, as hath bene sayde, and before the Regent declared, that one Iohn Hamilton beyng in extreme sickenesse vnder confession, tolde him that the Bishoppe did sende him with three others to the murther of the King. And as touchyng the murther of the Erle of Murrey, the Bishoppes answere was, that hee might haue letted it if hee woulde: therewith the people that hearde him, cryed away with him, hang him, and so for these and other offences, for the whiche he had bene forfalted afore that tyme, he was nowe executed on a Gibette, sette vp in the market place of Sterlyng towne.

After this, the Regent summoned a Parliament to beginne at Edenburgh the xiiij. of May nexte ensuyng, & passed from Sterlyng to Lithquho, where the Earle of Morton with the reste of the Cōmissioners for the kings part, beyng returned out of Englande with other of the Nobilitie mette the Regent, and then they passed towards Edēburgh, where they thought to haue bene receyued, and so to haue kepte the Parliament there, but they were not suffered to enter that towne nor yet the Castell, the same beyng defended agaynst them by the Laird of Grange, who after the death of the Earle of Murrey, was reuolted from the Kings parte to the Hamiltons side, and had fortified bothe the towne and Castell, so that the Regent and Nobilitie beyng kepte out there, helde theyr Parliament in the Cannogate streete within the Suburbes of the towne, where sundry of the Queenes parte were forfalted.

A Parliament summoned.

The castell of Edenburgh kept by the laird of Grāge against the Regent.

This beyng done, and sundry skirmishes had with them that issued forth of the towne agaynste them without, the Regent returned to Sterlyng there to remayne for a season.

In this meane time the Earle of Morton hauing certaine shippe come forth of Englande by sea, and brought to lande at Leith, sente the Laird of Carmichell with his householde seruants, and two hundred shotte, to fetche the same from thence vnto Dalkith, beyng a fiue myles distant from Leith. As they returne with the shippe, they were set vpon by the Earle of Huntley, and the Lorde Hume, who issued out of Edenburgh with their power, so that betwixte them there was a very hoate skirmishe, but in the ende the Earle of Huntley, and the Lord Hume were constrayned to flee, and were pursued by Carmichell and his company euen vnto the gates of Edenburgh, some of theyr menne beyng slayne and other taken prysoners.

The laird of Carmichell.

The Erle of Huntley and Lord Hume put to flight.

For reuenge of which ouerthrow, shortly after the Earle of Huntley, and Claude Hamilton with theyr forces marched from Edēburgh to Dalkith, purposing to haue spoiled the towne, but the Earle of Morton hauing knowledge of theyr intention and commyng, sallyed forth of Dalkith with the power whiche hee had there with hym, although not comparable in number to his aduersaries, and meetyng them in the field, there was a sharp skyrmish betwixt them, and many hutte on bothe parties, but in the ende the Earle of Morton was put to the worse, fourtie or more of his menne beyng taken prysoners, and the cause was for that his footemen were to forewarde, wanting help of their horsemen that should haue succoured them.

The Erle of Morton put to the worse.

About the fiue and twentie of May fol-

lowyng Capitayne Cullen issued forth of Edenburgh with two hundreth shotte, meanyng to intercept certayne Harquebusiers which were appoynted to come out of Fife ouer the riuer of the Fourth, vnto the Earle of Morton, who kepte still at Dalketh, wherevpon the sayd Erle hauyng knowledge of Cullens enterprise, aduertised the Regent thereof, who beyng then at Sterling, the nexte day came downe to Dunfermlyng in Fife, but before his cōming thither Cullen had met wt a boate vpon ỹ water, wherin were aboute .xxv. shot, whom he toke prisoners, & led them away with him to Edenburgh.

Capitayne Cullen.

The nexte day the Earle of Morton came to Leith, where he met with sir William Drurie, and there they lodged that night. The nexte morryng Sir William Drurie passing forth of Leith towardes Edenburgh, accompanied with sundry capitaynes and other Gentlemen for his conuoy thither, they within Edenburgh perceyuing them comming, imagined that they were come forth to offer a skirmish, wherevpon they issued out of the towne and castell to encoūtre them, so that beyng readie on eyther side to beginne the skirmishe, sir William Drurie beyng come to talke with the parties for some accorde to be had, toke in hande with great diligence to appeale them, and at length procured them to agree vpon a truce to endure till eyght of the clocke at night, but yet when bothe partes stayed in the fieldes for the space of an howre, bycause they could not agree whether companie should firste retyre from the fielde, they fell at length in skirmishe, notwithstandyng the truce, and sought right sharply for the tyme, till in the ende they of the Towne and Castell had the ouerthrow, the Abbot of Kilwinnyng beyng slayne with diuers other, and there were taken aboue an hundred prysoners, amongst the whiche the Lorde Hume, and capitayne Cullen were accompted principall. Those that escaped were chased and constreyned for theyr safegarde to flee into the towne of Edenburgh, capitayne Cullen was afterwardes beheaded.

A skirmish.

The abbot of Kilwinnyng slayne.

The lorde Hume and capitaine Cullen taken.

The Regent immediatly after this skirmish came with all speede vnto Leith, aswell to fortifie the towne, as to make some further attempt against his aduersaries within the towne and castell of Edenburgh. Herevpon was Leith entrenched rounde aboute, beyng esteemed a place of great importance standyng bothe in the face of the enimies, and so ready to annoy the, and also serueng well to preuent them of suche succour as they looked for dayly out of France.

Leith fortified

In this meane time the Laird of Grangt then Capitayne of the Castell, and Prouost of the towne of Edenburgh, caused Proclamation to be made, that all those inhabitantes whiche were not willing to take parte with him in his doynges, should departe out of the towne, wherevpon many of them departed thence, togither with theyr wiues and children, and toke with them also suche goodes as they could secretely conuey, & cōming to Leith, offered theyr seruice vnto the Regent, who thankfully accepted theyr offer, and so they remayned at Leith, seruing against the cōtrary factiō vpō their own expēces.

A Proclamation.

After this, the Laird of Grange vnderstanding that reporte had bene made by some of the Kings parte, that he was a traytour to the king and an enimy to his countrey, offered the combatte to any that would iustifie the same: which beyng aduertised to them within Leith, diuers Gentlemen were desirous to vndertake the chalenge, but the Regent graunted it to the Laird of Farlisch, beyng a Stewarde, and his Kinsman, who had earnestly requested it, wherevpon after diuers messages by Heraultes sente to and fro betwixte them, the tyme and place was appoynted, but the matter went not forwarde, excuse beyng made on the behalfe of the Laird Grange, that by reason of the charge which was committed to him, it was not thought conuenient that he should hazarde the whole cause vpon his owne person.

The chiefe of the Laird Grange.

The Laird Garlisch.

Shortly after, there came out of France one John Chesholme, who was sente with money to the Laird of Grange for the payment of his Souldiers: he brought with him also a certaine quātitie of powder and three hundred calliuers. Vpon his entring into the water of Fourth, and comming vp the same, he learned how the Regent was in Leith, whervpō he lāded at Brent yland, and afterwardes for feare hid himselfe betwixte two cliffes of a rocke, not farre from the Queenes ferie: but at length he was feūd out by the Abbot of S. Combes Inche, and deliuered to the Regent at Leith, in which towne the said Regent lay aboue two monethes, vsing sundry meanes, aswell by practise & politie, as by force to haue taken the towne of Edenburgh. In the meane time sundry skirmishes chanced betwixt them, & diuers prysoners were taken on eyther part. At length the Regent caused a Parliament to be summoned, appointing the same to be holden at Sterling the .xxij. of August nexte ensuing. And when that day approched, he lefte the Lord Lindsey at Leith in charge, as his Lieutenant to gouerne the towne, and all the men of warre appointed to remaine in garde therof, and repayred himselfe vnto Sterling, where at the prefixed day there assembled the Erles of Morton, Mar, Crafort, Sotherlād, Mōtros, Eglenton, Glencarne, the Lordes Ruthuen, Glamis, Methuen, Simple, Ogiltree, and Catcart, with many Lairdes and Gentlemenne.

John Chesholme.

A Parliament summoned.

The

The first day of this Parliament the King was conueyed thither, the Crowne, Scepter, & swoꝛd being boꝛne befoꝛe him.

When he had taken his place, he vttered certaine speech as had bin taughte hym, touching the assembling of that Parliament, which matter the Regent moꝛe at large declared vnto the whole house: and this done, they pꝛoceeded fuꝛther to other affayꝛes, concerning the state of the common wealth.

Moꝛeouer in this Parliamente, the Duke of Chatellerault with his two sonnes, the Ibbot of Inchoth, and Claude Hamilton, the Earle of Huntley, the Laird of Grange, and sundꝛy others were foꝛfalted.

This Parliament continued by the space of seauen dayes, at the ende whereof, to witte, vpon the seconde of September, Claude Hamilton, the Laird of Bucluigh, the Lairde of Dꝛmiston, and diuers other, to the number of thꝛee hundꝛed Hoꝛsemen, veꝛy earely in the moꝛning, entred the towne of Striueling, and suddainely beset not only the Regent, but also the rest of the nobilitie within their lodgings.

The Regente hearing a great vpꝛoꝛe ꝛeysed within the Towne, and not vnderstanding the cause, noꝛ who were the authouꝛs thereof, after hee perceyued how the house wherein he lodged was besette on each side, he defended the same againste the enimies foꝛ a good space, but at length, despairing of succoures, and doubting least the house had bin vnderleid with some barrels of powder, and that it would be blowen vp if hee yeelded not as some told him: and the enimie to encrease that doubte, cꝛying still blowe vp the house, what should we stande longer about him, at length he was contented to yeelde to the Laird of Dꝛmiston, but not befoꝛe he saw that some of his stoutest Captaines had yeelded themselues befoꝛe his face. He yeelded, with condition to haue his life saued: but pꝛomise in that behalfe was not long kepte, foꝛ those that hadde thus taken him, when they pꝛeceyued ꝛescue comming downe from the Castell, so that they should not bee able to carrie him away, Captayne Cauder with a pistolet, shotte him into the body befoꝛe he could be recouered out of their handes: The rest of the nobilitie, to witte, the Earles of Moꝛton, Eglenton, and Glencarne, and diuers other being taken pꝛisoners, were pꝛesently ꝛescued by those that issued out of the Castell.

The Earle of Moꝛton being in the handes of the Laird of Bouclugh, toke the same Laird pꝛisoner, hee yeelding himselfe vnto him: and likewise the Earle of Glencarne toke his keeper pꝛisoner, and so did sundꝛy others take their takers: but Claude Hamilton, and others with their companies, hauing firste got all the hoꝛses that were founde in the Towne into theyꝛ handes, when they hearde that the ꝛescue was coming, shifted foꝛ themselues, and fled away.

The Regent being moꝛtally wounded, but yet deliuered from his enimies, ridde vp to the Castell, and calling there vnto him the whole nobilitie, when he pꝛeceiued his ende to appꝛoch, hee vsed these woꝛdes oꝛ the like in substance, as followeth.

My Lords, it is not vnknowen vnto you al, that my comming hither to take this regimente vppon me, was not of mine owne seeking, but at the ꝛequest of you all: and that which chiefely moued me heꝛeunto, was, foꝛ the defence of the Kings pꝛeson, beeyng yet as you see an infante, of whome by nature and duetie I was bounden to haue carefull consideration, and that in hys minoꝛitie, the good and quiet goꝛernement of this common wealthe might bee aduanced, and iustice executed vpon those that most cruelly dyd murther the late King, my soune the Kyngs father, and his vncle the good Earle of Murrey, late Regent, whose mischieuous and diuelish deuises if in time you doe not pꝛeuent, by your wisedomes and discretions, they will pꝛocure the finall duetthꝛowe and destruction of you all. The Earle of Lennox his words before his death.

In this action as you see, I haue spente my bloud, and haue playd the last part of my Tragedie, and nowe I feele death to dꝛawe neere at hande, wheꝛefoꝛe I ꝛequire you all, foꝛ the due regarde that you haue of youre duelies, firste to Almighty God, and next to the king, your most lawfull and natuꝛall Pꝛince nowe in these hys tender yeares, wholly to employ your seruice in his defence, with care to mayntayne the state of this common wealthe, whereby you shall not onely accomplishe youre duelies towards God, but shall be assured to find in your King in time to come (God lending him life) all that good whych you can iustly ꝛequite.

And I shall further committe to your friendly pꝛotection, my poꝛe seruantes, who foꝛ theyꝛ good seruice haue well deserued, and yet remaine vnrecompenced, desiring you all to be good vnto them.

And lastly, I desire you to commend me to my Lady Margaret my deere Wife, now beeing in England, vnto whome I beseech God to be a comfoꝛter.

And now sith my spirites begin to fayle, and that my life dꝛaweth neere to an ende, I take my leaue of you al, desiring you to pꝛay foꝛ me.

These woꝛdes beeyng ended, hee called to God foꝛ mercy, and continuing in pꝛayer vnto the ende, within a while after hee departed thys life, and was buryed in the Kyngs The Earle of Lennox departeth this life.

Chappell

Chappell within the Castell of Striueling.

After his decease, the Lordes assembled togither in the Towne of Sterling, and chose the Earle of Mar to bee Regent, who continued in that office till hee dyed, and then was the Earle of Morton elected Regente, who gouerneth at this day: of whose doings, for that I haue no certaine instructions, I omitte to make further report hauing hitherto continued this historie of Scotlande not so largely nor perfectly as I could haue wished, but shambled forwarde with it in such sort as you may see, hauing deliuered nothing vnto you to impaire the credite of the Scottish nation, otherwise than I haue founde in Authours, or learned by credible reporte, as I take it, hauyng put off the partiall affection, whiche I beare of duty to mine owne countrey, in this respect, that I should not seeme to wrast the wordes of Writers, eyther to the aduantage of the Englishe people, or disaduantage of the Scottes, specially in politique gouernemente, warlike exploytes, ciuill demeanor, and other vertuous exercises, whiche as I haue founde them eyther in anye one person particularly, or in the multitude in generall, so I haue reported the same, not sparing the trueth herein as I haue found it recorded, either for loue or hatred, dread, fauor, or enuy: but yet in no wise presuming (as else where I haue sayde) to vse mine owne censure, but rather leauing the iudgement of other mens reportes vnto the Readers discretion, to whome I wishe such vnderstanding and knowledge in ỹ trueth, as may satisfie him selfe, and redounde to the publique commoditie of hys Countrey, and pleasure of the almighty, in whose hands are the harts of Kings, and gouernours, guiding the states of Realmes, and common wealthes, as to his diuine wisedome seemeth most expedient: To whom be glory, honor and prayse for euer.

The Earle of Marchosen Regent.

The Earle of Morton Regent.

FINIS.

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FINIS.

1577.

THE

Historie of Irelande

from the first inhabitation *thereof, vnto the yeare* 1509.

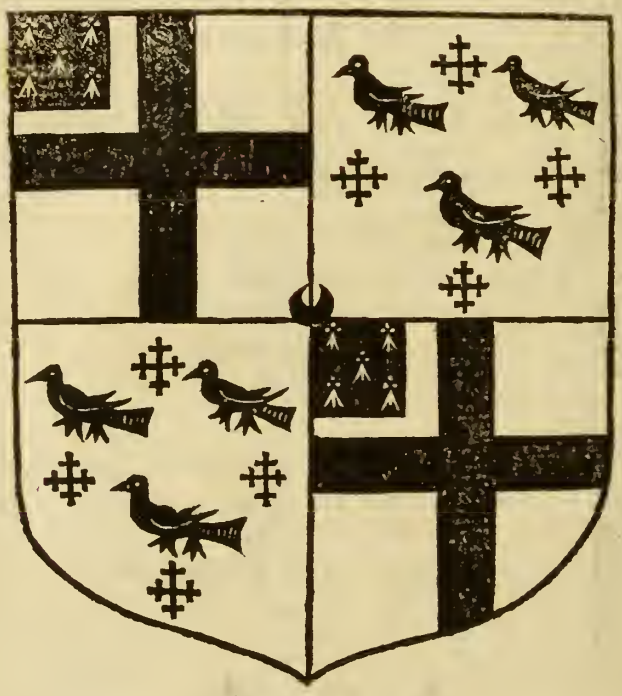
Collected by Raphaell Holinshed, and continued till the yeare 1547. *by Richarde Stanyhurst.*

AT LONDON,
¶ *Imprinted for Iohn* Hunne.

God saue the Queene.

¶ The Authors out of whome this Hiſtorie of *Irelande hath bene gathered.*

Edmond Campion.
Giraldus Cambrenſis.
Flatsburie.
Henricus Marleburgenſis.
Saxo Grammaticus.
Albertus Crantz.
Rogerus Houeden.
Guilielmus Paruus Nouoburgenſis.
Polichronicon, ſiue Ranulfus Higeden.
Iohannes Bale.
Recordes and Rolles diuers.



TO THE RIGHT

Honourable ſir Henry Sydney Knight,

Lorde Deputie Generall of Irelande, Lorde preſident *of Wales, Knight of the moſte noble Order of the* Garter, and one of hir Maieſties priuie Counſel within hir Realme of Englande.



*A king in hande right Ho-*norable, to gither the perticular Hiſtories of diuers Countries and Nations, to ioyn vvith a Coſmographie, vvhich one Reginald VVoulfe late Printer to the Queenes Maieſtie, meant to publiſhe in our Engliſh tounge: vvhen I came to cõſider of the Hiſtories of Ireland, I founde my ſelfe ſo vnprouided of helpes, to ſet dovvne any perticular diſcourſe therof, that I vvas in diſpaire to enterprice to vvrite any thing at all concerning that realme, othervviſe thã incidently, as fell to purpoſe, to touche the ſame in the Hiſtorie of England. At length yet as Maiſter VVoulfes vſe vvas to imparte to me all ſuche helpes as he might at any hande procure for my furtherance, in the collections of the other Hiſtories, vvherevvith I ſpecially dealte, his happe vvas to light alſo vpon a copie of tvvoo Bookes of the Iriſhe Hiſtories, compiled by one Edmond Campion, fellovv ſomtime of S. Iohn Baptiſts Colledge in Oxforde, very vvell penned certenly, but ſo briefe, as it vvere to be vviſhed that occaſion had ſerued him to haue vſed more leyſure, and thereby to haue deliuered to vs a larger diſcourſe of the ſame Hiſtories: for as he himſelfe confeſſeth, hee had not paſte tenne vveekes ſpace to gather his mater: a very ſhorte time doubtleſſe for ſuche a peece of vvorke. But hovve breefe ſo euer I founde him, at the perſuaſion of Maiſter VVoulfe, vpon the hauing of that copie, I reſolued to make ſhift to frame a ſpeciall Hiſtorie of Irelande, in like maner as I had done of other Regions, follovvyng Campions order, and ſetting dovvne his ovvne vvordes, excepte in places vvhere I had mater to enlarge that (out of other Authours,) vvhich he had vvritten in briefe: and this I haue thought good to ſignifie, the rather for that I eſteeme it good dealing in no vviſe to defraude him of his due deſerued prayſe.

But novv after I had continued the Hiſtorie, and enlarged it out of Giraldus Cambrenſis, Flatsbury, Henry of Marleburgh, and other, till the yeare. 1509 in vvhich that famous Prince Henry the. viij. began his reigne, ſome of thoſe that vvere to beſtovv the charges of the Impreſſion, procured a learned Gentleman Maiſter Richard Stanyhurſt, to continue it from thence forvvarde as he ſavv occaſion, being furniſhed vvith mater to enlarge the vvorke, vvhereof for thoſe later times I founde my ſelfe vtterly voyde, more than that vvhiche Campion had deliuered. VVhat I haue done herein, your Honours diſcretion ſhall eaſily cõceyue. For the imperfection ſith it is

the firſt that hath bene ſet forth in Printe, I craue moſt humbly pardon of your good Lordſhippe, beſeeching you rather to reſpect my good vvill than the perfectneſſe of the vvorke, vvhiche the vvantes conſidered for the orderly furniſhyng thereof, is not to be looked for in the skilfull, muche leſſe in me the meaneſt of all, and leaſt able to performe it. Hauing preſented the right Honorable the Erle of Leyceſter vvith the Hiſtorie of Scotlande, to vvhome (as I haue hearde) Campion made Dedication of his booke, I coulde not remember me to vvhome I might more conueniently offer this my trauell in this Hiſtorie of Ireland, than to your Lordſhip, being hir Maieſties Lieutenant in that Realme. And therfore in moſt humble vviſe I exhibite the booke to your Honour, beſeeching the ſame to beare vvith my bolde attempt therein, and to receyue it in good parte from him that vviſhed to haue more amplie ſatiſfied your good Lordſhippes expectation, if abilitie might haue anſvvered good vvill.

Thus I beſeech the Lorde to guyde your harte in his holy vvayes, and to furniſh you vvith politike prudence and skilfull knovvledge, to gouerne in your eſtate and office, ſo as your doyngs may redounde to his glorie, the ſuretie of hir Maieſties dominion there, your ovvne aduancement in Honour, and conſequently to the ſure ſupporte and peaceable quietneſſe of the true and loyall ſubiectes of that Realme.

Your honours moſt humble to commaunde,
RAPHAEL HOLINSHED.

¶ A Treatise contayning a playne and perfect Description of Irelande, with an Introduction, to the better vnderstanding of the hystories, appartayning to that Iſlande: compyled by Richard Stanyhurſt, and written to the Ryght Honorable, Syr Henry Sydney Knight, Lorde Deputie of Irelande, Lorde preſident of Wales, Knight of the moſt noble order of the Garter, and one of hir Maieſties priuie Counſell within hir realme of England.

MY VERY good Lorde, there haue bene diuers of late, that with no ſmall toyle, and great commendacion, haue throughly imployed themſelues, in culling and packing togither the ſcrapings and fragments of the Hyſtorie of Ireland. Amog which crew, my faſt friende, & inwarde compagnion, M. Edmond Campion, dyd ſo learnedly bequite himſelfe, in the penning of certayne briefe notes, cõcerning that countrey, as certes it was greatly to be lamented, that eyther hys theame had not bene ſhorter, or elſe his leaſure had not bene longer. For if Alexander were ſo rauiſht with Homer hys hyſtorie, that notwithſtading Therſites were a crabbed and a rugged dwarfe, being in outwarde feature ſo deformed, and in inwarde conditions ſo crooked, as he ſeemed to ſtande to no better ſtede, then to leade Apes in hell, yet the valiaunt capitayne weighing, howe liuely the golde Poet ſet forth the ougly dandepratin his coulours, dyd ſoner wyſhe to be Homer his Therſites, then to be the Alexander of that doltiſh rythmour, which vndertooke, with his wodden verſes to blaſe his famous and martiall exploytes: howe much more ought Irelande (being in ſundry ages ſeized of diuers good and couragious Alexanders) ſorte to long, & thirſte after ſo rare a clarcke, as M. Campion, who was ſo vpright in conſcience, ſo deepe in iudgement, ſo ryppe in eloquence, as the countrey might haue bene wel aſſured, to haue had their hyſtorie truely reported, pithily handled, and brauely poliſhed.

Howbeit, although the gloſe of his fine abridgement, being macht with other mens dwings, bare a ſurpaſſing kinde of excellencie, yet it was ſo hudled vp in haſte, as in reſpect of a Campion his abſolute perfection, it ſeemed rather to be a worke roughly hewed, then ſmoothly planed. Upon which grounde the gentleman being willing, ý his ſo tender a ſuckling, hauing as yet but greene bones, ſhould haue bene ſwadled and rockt in a cradle, till in tract of tyme the ioynces thereof were knit, and growen ſtronger, yet notwithſtanding he was ſo croſt in the nycke of thys determination, that his hyſtorie in mitching wyſe wandred through ſundry hands, and being therwithall in certaine places ſomewhat tyckle tongued (for M. Campion dyd learne it to ſpeake) and in other places ouer ſpare, it twitled more tales out of ſchole, and drowned weightyer matters in ſilence, then the Auctor vpon better view, and longer ſearche wouide haue permitted. This much being by the ſager ſorte pondered, and the perfection of the hyſtorie earneſtly deſired, I, as one of the moſt, that could doe leaſt, was fully reſolued, to enriche M. Campion his Chronicle, with further additiõs. But weighing on the other ſide, that my courſe pack threde coulde not haue bene ſutetably knit with his fine ſilcke, & what a diſgrace it were, bungerly to botch vp a riche garment, by clowting it with patches of ſundrye coulours, I was forthwyth reclayming from my former reſolution, reckening it for better, that my penne ſhoulde walke in ſuch wyſe in that craggie and baliſhe way, as the truth of the matter being forepriced, I would neyther openly borrow, nor priuily imbezell, ought to any great purpoſe from his hyſtorie. But as I was hammering that worke by ſtealthes on ỹ anuille, I was giuen to vnderſtande by ſome of mine acquaintaunce, that others had brought our rawe hyſtorie to that ryppeneſſe as my paine, therein woulde ſeeme but nedeleſſe. Whereupon being willing to be eaſed of the burden, and loath alſo in lurching wiſe to foreſtall any man his trauayle, I was contented, to leaue them thumping in the forge, and quietlye to repayre to mine vſuall and priſtinate ſtudies, taking it not to ſtande with good maners, lyke a flittering flye, to fall in an other man his diſhe. Howbeit, the little payne I toke therin was not ſo ſecretly mewed within my cloſet, but it ſlipt out at one chincke or other, and romed ſo farre abroade, as it was whiſpered in their eares, who before were in the hyſtorie buſied. The gentlemen conceyuing a greater opinion of mée, then I was well able to vpholde, dealt very effectually with mée, that aſwell at their inſtaunce, as for the affection I bare my natiue countrey, I woulde put mine helping hand, to the building and perfecting of ſo commendable a

worke. Hauing breathed for a fewe dayes on this motion, albeit I knewe, that my worke was plumed with Deune, and at that time, was not sufficientlye feathered to flee, yet I was by them weighed not to beare my selfe coy, by giuing mine entier friendes in so reasonable a requeste a squaimish repulse. Wherefore, my singular good Lorde, here is layde downe to your Lordshippe his view a briefe discourse, with a ragged hystorie of a ragged Wealepublicke. Yet as naked as at the first blushe it seemeth, if it shall stande with your Honour his pleasure (whome I take to be an expert Lapidarie) at vacant houres to insearche it, you shall finde therein stones of such estimatiō, as are worthy to be couched in riche and precious colletes. And in especiall your Lordship, aboue all others, in that you haue the charge of that countrey, may here be schooled, by a right line to leuell your gouernement. For in perusing this hystorie, you shall finde vice punished, vertue rewarded, rebellion suppressed, loyaltie exalted, hautinesse displaced, courtisie beloued, bribery detested, iustice embraced, polling Officers to their perpetuall shame removed, and by right gouernours to their eternall fame extolled. And truely, to my thinking, suche magistrates, as meane to haue a vigilant eye to their charge, can not bestow their tyme better, then when they sequestre themselues frō the affayres of the wealpublicke, to recreate & quicken their spirites by reading the Chronicles, that decipher the gouernement of a wealepublicke. For as it is no small commendacion, for one to beare the dealings of many, so it breedeth great admiration, generally to haue all those qualities in one mā herboured, for which particularly diuers are eternized. And who so will be addicted to the reading of hystories, shall readily finde diuers euentes worthy to be remembred, and sondry sounde examples daily to be followed. Upon which grounde the learned haue, not without cause, adiudged an hystorie to be, the Marrowe of reason, the creame of experience, the sappe of wysedome, the pith of iudgement, the library of knowledge, the kernell of pollicie, the vnfoldresse of treacherie, the kalender of tyme, the lanterne of trueth, the lyfe of memorie, the doctresse of behauiour, the register of antiquitie, the trumpet of chiualrie. And that our Irishe hystorie being diligently hēded, yeldeth al these commodities. I trust the indifferent reader, vpon the vntwyning thereof, will not denie. But if any man his stomache shall be founde so tenderly nyced, or so deintily spyced, as that he may not, forsoth, digest the grose draffe of so base a countrey, I doubt not, but your Lordship, who is throughly acquaynted with the worthinesse of the Iland, will be sone perswaded, to leaue such quaint and licourous repastours, to fede on their costly and delicate Woodcockes, & willingly to accept the louing present of your hearty wellwiller.

The gift is small, the giuer hys good wyll is great, I stand in good hope, that the greatnesse of the one wyll countrepoise the smalnesse of the other. Wherefore, that I may the sooner vnboyde ỳ pelfish trash, that is wrapt wythin thys Treatise, I shall craue your Lordshippe, to lende me eyther your eares in hearing, or your eyes in reading the tenour of the discourse following.

The greater parte as well of Cosmographers, as Chronographers, with one accorde affirme, that Irelande (the vttermost Westerne Ile knowne) is halfe as bigge as Britannia. Which I take to be true, if the worde Britannia so farre displaye the signification, that it comprise England, Wales, & Scotland. To which opinion, Giraldus Cambriense relyeth, saying, that Britannia conteineth in length 800. myles, and 200. in breadth. Ireland he taketh to be in length from the mountaynes called Corrache (the author of Polychronicon termeth them Brendan hys hils) to S. Colube his Iland, eight dayes iourney, rating ol long Irish myles, 40. miles to the day: and in breadth from Dublin to Lpatrike his hilles, & the sea of Connaght foure dayes iourney, according to the former rate. So as by Cambriense his suruey (who was a curious enserarcher thereof) Ireland is 320. myles long of Irish myles, and 160. myles broade. And accompting 320. Irish myles to amount to 400. english miles, which maye well be reckoned according to their iudgementes, that haue trauayled in the Irish territories. Ireland wil be found halfe as big as Britannia, which Giraldus Cambriense auoucheth, saying: that Irelande is as bigge as Wales and Scotland. Irelande hath on the east, England, within one dayes saylyng: on the south east, it hath Fraunce: Hispayne on the south, distant three dayes sayling: on the west the mayne Ocean sea.

The i and bygnesse of Ireland.

Girald. Cambri. lib. 1. topogr. distinct. 1. Polichron. cap. 32.

Touching the name Iuernia, Hystoriographers are not yet agreed frō whence it is deduced. Some write it Hybernia corruptly, & suppose that the estraungers finding it in an odde end of the world, foulsy and moisty, tooke it at the first for a very cold countrey, & therof named it Hybernia, as to say, the Winterland. But this errour beyng vpon short experience reformed, it could not be, that the name should haue lined long, especially the first imposi-

The name Iuernia whence procedeth.

positours sufficiing the triall, and able to alter the first nominatiō. Others bring a guesse, that it should be named of Iriamale. But because I read nothing of them in any probable history, I purpose not to builde vpon that cōiecture. Most credibly it is holden, that the Hispaniardes, the founders of the Irish, for deuotion towardes Hispayn, called then Iberia of Iberius the sonne of Iuball, and the rather, for that themselues had dwelled beside the famous riuer Iberus, named the land Iberia (for so Leland and many forreine chronicliers write it) or Ibernia, adding the letter N. for difference sake. And fro Ibernia procēdeth Iberland or Iuerland, from Iuerlande, by contractiō, Ireland, for so much as in corruption of commō talke we find that V. with his vocale, is easily lost, and suppressed. So we say ere for euer, nere for neuer: shole for shouell: ore for ouer: ene for euen: ryle for deuil. At the same tyme it was also named Scotia in reuerence of Scotach, the wyfe of Gathelus, auncient capitayne of those Ibertans that sitted from Hispayne into Ireland, and the sayd Scotach was olde grandame to Iberus and Hermon after the Scottish Chronicles, who in any wise will haue their countreymen deriued from the Irish, and not frō the Britōs. The name Scotia is of late yeres so vsually taken for that parte of Britayne, that compriseth Scotland, that diuers auncient Irish authours are holden to be borne in Scotland, whereas in very deede their natiue soyle is Ireland. As the famous schole man Iohannes Duns Scotus, otherwise named, doctor Subtilis, for his subtill quiddities in scholasticall controuersies, was an Irishe man borne, and yet is taken for a Scotte. Some hold opinion, that he was born in Tathmon, a market towne, fiue myles distaunt from Wexford. Others auouche, and that more truely, that he was borne in Doune, an olde auncient citie in the North of Ireland, and therof they gesse hym to be named Dunensis, and by contraction Duns, which terme is so triuiall and common in all scholes, that who so surpasseth others either in cauilling sophistry, or subtill philosophy, is forthwith nicknamed a Duns. Wherfore as Scotland is named Scotia minor, so Irelande is termed Scotia maior, as the hed from whence ỳ name of Scotia minor toke his offspring. The Irish also were named of the forsayd Gathelus, or Gaudeilus, Gaudeili. In their Irish rythmes, they terme Ireland very often Banno. I can not deuine what reason should lead their makers therto, vnlesse it be the riuer in the countie of Wexford, named the Banne, where the Britons vpon the conquest first arriued. The place otherwise is called Bagganbun, according to the olde auncient rithme.

At the creeke of Bagganbunne.
Ireland was lost and wunne.

Bagganbunne.

For the remembraunce of which riuer so notoriously famoused, it carieth great likelyhode that the name should be to the whole realme generally ascribed. Sundry latin authors write Ireland, Inuerna, others Iuerna, diuers Ierna. Claudius nameth it Iberna. The diuersitie of which names grew, for that in their tyme the true and certayne name was not knowen, so that they were contented to take it, as they found it, which matter is hādled by Hermolaus Barbarus.

Inuerna. Ioan. Camertes in cap. 35. Solini.

Hermol. Barb. c. 16. in lib. 4. Plin. castig.

There are some of the ruder sort so quaint in seuering the name Irish and Ireland, as that they would be named Ireland men, but in no wyse Irishmen. But certes, in my fantasie suche curious distinctors may be very aptly resembled to the foolishe butcher, that offred to haue sold his mutton for xv. grotes, and yet would not take a crowne. Who so will grate vpō such nice diuersities in respect ỳ he is ashamed of his country, truly in mine opinion, his country may be ashamed of him.

The name Irishe and Ireland curiously seuered.

Ireland is deuided into foure regiōs, Leinster, east: Connaght, west: Vlster, north: Mounster, south: and into a fift plot, defalked from euery fourth parte, and yet nearyng on eche part, called therof Media, Meth, comprising as well east Meth, as west Meth. Leinster buteth vpō England: Vlster vpō ỳ Scottish Iles, which face w̄ Hebrides scattered betwene both the realmes, wherein at this day the Irish Scot, successor of ỳ elder Scythian, Pict, or Redshanke dwelleth. Eche of these fiue, where they are framable to ciuilitie, and answer the writtes of the Princes courtes, be sundred into Shieres or Cōties in this maner. In Leinster lyeth the Counties of Dublin, Kildare, Wexford or Gueilford, Catherlach, Kilkenny, the Countyes of Leise and Ophaly, called the King & Quenes counties, these two lately so named by Parliament, in the raignes of Phillip and Mary, hauing shiretownes accordaunt, Phillipstowne and Maryborough. Connaght hath the countie Clare. Vlster the countyes of Louthe, Doune, Antrim, one moyetie of the towne of Droghedagh (for ỳ rest is in Meth) and Carregfergus. In Mounster, lye the Countyes of Waterford, Lymmericke, Corcke, Countie Palentine of Tipperary, Keary, and the crosse of Tipperary. Mounster was of olde tyme deuided into east Mounster, Dsmond, West Mounster, Desmonde, South Mounster, Townmound. The occasion why Ireland was parted into these v. princi-

The shires and counties of Ireland.

1. Lagenia.
2. Cōnatia.
3. Hultonia.
4. Momonia.
5. Media. West Meth, & east Meth

Hebriades.

An. mundi. 2533. Cambrienſ. lib. 1. diſt. 3. rub. 5. & 6.

pall regions grew of this. There arriued in Ireland fiue brethren, that were fiue valiant and martiall gentlemen: to witte, Gandius, Genandius, Sagandus, otherwyſe named Gangandius, Rutheragus, or Rutheranius, and Slanius. Theſe fiue perceiuing that the countrey was not ſufficiently peopled, were agreed, as it were, to caſt lottes, and to ſhare the whole realme betwene themſelues. The foure elder brethren ſeuering the country into foure partes, and beyng loath to vſe theyr yongeſt brother lyke an outcaſt or ſtepſonne, condeſcended that eche of them foure, ſhould of their own portion allotte to Slanius a paryng or parcell of their enheritaunce. Which beyng as hartily receiued by Slanius, as it was bountifully graunted by them, he ſetled himſelfe therin, and of that partition it toke the appellation of Media, Méethe. The foure partes méete at a certayne ſtone at Méethe, néere the caſtle of Kilayre, as an indifferent meare to ſeuer the iiij. regions. But although Slanius in the beginning had the leſt parcel, yet in ſhort ſpace he ſtode ſo well to his tacklinges, and encroacht ſo far vpon his neighbors, that he obtayned the whole Monarchie of Irelād. At which tyme he did not ſuppreſſe in oblition his enheritance of Méethe, but did enlarge it, and decréed it ſhould be a country appendant to the Monarch his diet or table. And albeit the confines thereof were by Slanius ſtretched, yet it conteyneth not ſo much land, as any of the other foure partes cōprehendeth, but rather by indifferent ſurney, the halfe deale, wherof alſo it is not vnlikely, named Méeth. For where as in the tyme of Slanius eche of the foure partes compriſeth 32. cantaredes. Méeth conteineth but xvj. cantaredes. A cantarede is named ſo much land as conteyneth an hundred townethips. This Slanius is entombed at an hill in Méethe, which of hym is named Slane.

Méeth whence it is named.

Méeth appointed for ỹ king his table.

Cantared.

Slane.

There hath bene in ancient tyme one Galfride Geneuile, Lord of the liberty of Méeth. This noble man became a Frier preacher, and deceaſed in the yeare of our Lorde, 1314. the xx. of October, and was entombed in the Abbey of the blacke Friers at Trimme.

Galfride Geneuile.

There is alſo an other diuiſion of Irelande, into the Engliſh pale and Irithry. For when Ireland was ſubdued by the Engliſh, diuers of the conquerors planted themſelues nére to Dublyn and the confines thereto adioyning, and ſo as it were enclosing and empaling themſelues within certayne liſtes and territories, they feazed away the Iriſh, in ſo much as that countrey became méere Engliſh. And therof it was termed, the Engliſh pale: which in auncient tyme ſtretched from Dondalke to Catherlagh or Kilkenny. But now, what for the ſlackneſſe of marcheures, and the encrochyng of the Iriſh enemy, the ſcope of the Engliſh pale is greatly empayred, and is cramperned and coucht into an odde corner of the countrey named Fingall, with a parcell of the king his land, Méeth, the countries of Kyldare & Louth, which partes are applied chiefly with good huſbandry, and take for the richeſt and ciuileſt ſoyles in Ireland. But Fingall eſpecially from tyme to tyme hath bene ſo addicted to all the poyntes of Huſbandry, as that they are nicknamed by their neighbors, for their continuall drudgery, Collonnes of the latin worde Coloni, wherunto the clipt Engliſh worde, Clowne, ſéemeth to be aunſwerable. The worde Fingall, counteruayleth in engliſhe, the race or ſept of the engliſhe or eſtraungers, for that they were ſoly ſeized of that part of ỹ Iſland, grippyng with their tallantes ſo firmely that warme neall, that from the conqueſt to this day, the Iriſh enimy could neuer rouſe them from thence. The inhabitantes of the engliſh pale haue bene in olde tyme ſo much addicted to all ciuilitie, and ſo farre ſequeſtred from barbarous ſauageneſſe, as their only mother tongue was Engliſh. And truely as long as theſe empaled dwellers did ſunder thēſelues as wel in land as in language, frō the Iriſhe: rudenes was day by day in the countrey ſupplanted, ciuilitie engraffed, good lawes eſtabliſhed, loyaltie obſerued, rebellion ſuppreſſed, and in fine the eyone of a yong England, was lyke to ſhote in Ireland. But whē their poſteritie became not all togither ſo wary in kéeping, as their auncеſtors were valiant in conquering, and the Iriſh language was frée dennized in ỹ Engliſh pale: this canker toke ſuch déepe rote, as the body that before was whole and ſounde, was by little and little feſtered, and in maner wholy putrified. And not onely this parcel of Ireland grew to that ciuilitie, but alſo Vlſter and the greater part of Mounſter, as by the ſequele of the Iriſhe hiſtory ſhall plainely appeare. But of all other places, Weiſeforde with the territorye bayed, and percloſed within the riuer called the Pill, was ſo quite eſtranged from Iriſhry, as if a trauailer of the Iriſh (which was rare in thoſe dayes) had pight his foote within the pile and ſpoken Iriſhe, the Weiſefordians would commaunde hym forthwith to turne the other ende of his tongue, and ſpeake Engliſhe, or elſe bring his trouchman with him. But in our dayes they haue ſo acquainted theſelues with the Iriſhe, as they haue made a mingle mangle, or gallamaulfrey of both the languages, and haue in ſuch medley or chec-

Fingall excellēth in huſbandry.

Collonne of Finga Clowne. Fingall, why ſo named.

The ciuilitie of Ireland in auncient tyme.

Weiſeford wholy Engliſh. The Pi

kerwiſe

kerwyse so crabbedly tumbled them both togyther, as commonly the inhabitants of the meaner sort speake neyther good English nor good Irishe.

There was of late dayes one of the Peeres of England sent to Weisforde as Commissioner, to decide the controuersies of that countrey, and caring in affable wise the rude complaintes of the countrey clownes, he conceyued here and there, sometyme a worde, other whyles a sentence. The noble man beyng very glad that vpon hys first comming to Irelande, he vnderstood so many wordes, told one of hys familiar frends, that he stoode in very great hope, to become shortly a well spoken man in the Irishe, supposing that the blunte people had prated Irishe, all the while they iangled Englishe. Howbeit to this day, the dregs of the olde auncient Chaucer English, are kept as well there as in Yngall. As they terme a spider, an attercop, a wisp, a wad, a lumpe of bread, a pocket or a pucket, a Sillibuck, a coppronse, a faggot, a blease, or a blaze, for the short burning of it, as I iudge, a Phisition, a leache, a gappe, a sharde, a base court or quadrangle, a bawen, or rather, as I suppose, a barton: y household or folkes, meany: Sharppe, keene, eskraunge, vncouth, easie, eth or efe, a dunghill, a mizen, as for the worde bater, that in English purporteth a lane, bearing to an high way; I take it for a meere Irishe worde, that crepte vnawares into the English, thorough the daily entercourse of the English and Irish inhabitants. And where as commonly in all countreys, the women speake most neately and pertely; whiche Tully in hys thirde booke de Oratore, speakyng in the person of Crassus, seemed to haue obserued, yet notwithstandyng in Irelande it falleth out contrary. For the women haue in theyr English tongue an harrish and broade kynd of pronunciation, with vttering their wordes so peuishly & faintly, as though they were halfe sicke, and ready to call for a possette. And most commonly in wordes of two sillables, they giue the last the accent. As they say; Markeate, Baskeate, Gossoupe, Pussoate, Robart, Niclase, &c. which doubtlesse doth disbeautifie their Englishe aboue measure. And if they could be weaned from that corrupt custom, there is none that could dislyke of their English.

Here percase some snappish carper will take mee at rebounde, and snuskingly snibbe me, for debacing the Irish language. But truely whosoeuer shall be founde so ouerthwartly bent, he takes the matter far awrie. For as my skill is very simple therein, so I would be loath, to disseyle my rashnesse, in giuing light verdict in any thing to me vnknowen: But onely my short discourse tendeth to this drift, that it is not expedient, that the Irishe tongue shoulde be so vniuersally gagled in in the English pale, bycause that by proofe & experience we see, that the pale was in neuer more flourishing estate, the when it was wholly English, & neuer in worse plight, the since it hath entraunchysed the Irishe. But some will say, that I shewe my selfe herein as friuolous, as some losing gamesters seeme superstitious, when they play theinselfes dyce, they gogle with their eyes hither and thyther, and if they can pype out any one, that giueth them the gaze, they stande lumping and lowring, fretting and fuming; for that they imagine, that all theyr euill lucke proceeded of hym. And yet if the stander by departe, the loser may be founde as dyrshauen, as he was before. And euen so it fareth with you, bycause you see all things runne to ruine in the Englishe pale, by reason of great enormities in the countrey, either openly practised, or couertlye wyncked at, you glaunce your eye on that, which standeth nert you, & by beating Iacke for Iyll, you impute the fault to that, which perhappes woulde little further the wealepublicke, if it were exiled. Now truely you shote very nere the mark. But if I may craue your patience, to tyme you see me shote my bolt, I hope you will not deny, but that as nere the pricke as you are, & as very an hagler as I am, yet the scantling shall be myne. First therefore take this with you, that a conquest draweth, or at the least wyse ought to drawe to it, three things, to witte, law, apparayle, and languague. For where the countrey is subdued, there the inhabitants ought to be ruled by the same law that the cõquerour is gouerned, to weare the same fashion of attyre, wherewith the victour is vested, & speake the same language, that the vanquisher parleth. And if anye of these three lacke, doubtlesse the conquest limpeth. Now whereas Irelande hath beene, by lawfull conquest, brought vnder the subiectiõ of Englande, not onelye in king Henry the second his reigne, but also as well before, as after (as by the course of the Irish hystorye shal euidently be deciphered) & the conquest hath beene so absolute and perfect, that all Leinster, Meth, Vlster, the more parte of Connaght and Mounster, all the Cinties & Burroughes in Irelande, haue beene wholly Englished, and with Englishe conquerours inhabited, is it decent, thinke you, that theyr owne auncient natiue tongue shal be shrowded in oblision, and suffer the enemies language, as it were a tetterre, or ringworme,

The superstition of Gamesters.

A conquest implyeth 3. thinges.

to herbozow it self within the iawes of Englishe conquerours: no truely. And nowe that I haue fallen vnawares into this discourse, it will not be far amisse to stande somewhat roundly vpon this poynt. It is knowen, and by the hystozie, you maye in part perceyue, how brauely Ulifer Whillon flozished. The Englishe families were there implanted, the Irish, eyther vtterly expelled, oz wholly subdued, the lawes duely executed, the reuenue great, and onely English spoken. But what brought it to this present ruine and decaye? I doubt not, but you gesse, before I tell you. They were enuironned & cõpassed with euill neighbours. Neighbourhode bredde acquaintance, acquaintance wafted in ỹ Irish tõgue, the Irishe hooked with it attyre, attyre haled rudenes, rudenesse engendred ignozãce, ignoraunce brought contempt of lawes, the contempt of lawes bred rebellió, rebellion raked thereto warres, and so cõsequently the vtter decay and desolatió of that wozthy countrey.

If these chinkes, when first they beganne to chappe, had bene diligently by the dwellers stopt, hir Maiestie at this daye, to hir great charges, shoulde not haue bene occasioned, to damme vp with many thousand poundes, yea & with the wozthy carkasses of valiaunt souldiours, the gaps of that rebellious Nozthren countrey. Now put the case that the Irishe tongue were as sacred as the Hebrewe, as learned as the Greeke, as fluent as the latin, as amarous as ỹ Italian, as courtious as the Hispanish, as courtelike as ỹ French, yet truely (I know not which way it falleth out) I see not, but it may be very well spared in the Englishe pale. And if reason will not leade you to thinke it, truely experience must force you to graunt it. In olde time when the Romaines were first acquaynted wyth the Greeke tongue, as it is cõmonly the nature of mã to be delighted with newfangle wares, so he was accompted no gallant among the Romaines, that coulde not prattle & chatte Greeke. Marcus Cicero, father vnto Tully, being at that tyme kept in peres, perceyuing hys countreymen to become changelings, in being bylwyse and polmadde, & to suck with the Greeke the conditions of the Grecians, as to be in wozdes talkatiue, in behauiour light, in condicions quaint, in maners haute, in promises vnstedfast, in othes rash, in bargaines wauering (which were reckened foz Greekish properties in those dayes) the olde gentleman not so much respecting the neatenesse of the language, as the naughty fruite it brought wyth it, sayde, that his countreymen, the Romaynes, resembled the bonde slaues of Suria. Foz ỹ moze parfit they were in the Greeke, the wozse they were in theyr maners and lyfe. If this gentleman had bene now liuing and haue seene what alteratiõ hath happened in Irelãd, through the entrecourse of languages, he woulde, I dare saye, breake patience, & woulde demaunde, why the Englishe pale is moze giuen to learne the Irishe, then the Irishman is willing to learne Englishe? we must embrace their language, and they detest oures. One demaunded merply, why O Neale, that last was, would not frame himselfe to speake English? what: quoth the other, in a rage, thinkest thou, that it standeth with O Neale his honoz, to wreyth his mouth in clattering Englishe? and yet forsoth we must gagge our iawes in gybbrishing Irish. But I dwelt to long in so apparẽt a matter. As all the cities and townes in Irelande, wyth Fingall, the king his lande, Meth the Coũtey of Kildare, Louth, Wexford, speake to this day Englishe (whereby the simplicitie of some is to be derided, that iudge the inhabitantes of the Englishe pale, vpon their first repayre to England, to learne their English in three oz foure dayes, as though they had bought at Chester a groates wozth of Englishe, and so packt vp the reast to be caryed after them to London) euen so in all other places their natiue language is Irishe.

Why the Irish would learne English.

I finde it solemly aduouched, aswel in some of the Irish pamphlets, as in Giraldus Cambrienſe, that Gathelus oz Gaidelus, and after him Simon Breck deuised the Irish language, out of all other tongues then extant in the woꝛlde. And thereof, sayeth Cambrienſe, it is called Gaydelach, partly of Gaidelus the first founder, partly foz that it is cõpounded of all languages. But considering the course of enterchaunging and blending of speaches togyther, not by inuention of arte, but by vse of talke, I am rather led to beleeue (seeing Irelande was inhabited within one yeare after the deuision of tongues) that Baltolenus a braunche of Japhet, who first seized vppon Irelande, brought thither the same kinde of speache, some of the 72. that to this familie befell at the desolatiõ of Babell. Vnto whom succeeded the Scitians, Grecians, Egiptiãs, Hispanyardes, Danes, of all which, the tongue must néedes haue borowed part, but especially retayning the steps of Hispanish, then spoken in Granado, as from their mightiest auncestours. Since then to Henry Fitz Empresse the Conquerour, no such inuasion happened them, as wherby they might be driuen to infect their natiue language, vntouched in maner foz the space of seauentéene hundred yeres after the arriuall of Iberius. It séemeth to borow of ỹ Hispanish the commõ phrase,

Camb. lib. distinct. 3. cap.

The founder of the Irish language.

Baltolenus

Epiphan. cõt. hær. 1. tom. 1.

Cic. lib. 2. de orat.

Com-

o. Commestato, that is, how doe you? or howe fareth it with you? It fetcheth sundry woords from the Latine, as Argette, of Argentum, money: salle, of Sal, salt: Cappoulle, of Caballus, a plough horse, or according to the olde English terme, a cabalie, or caple; Birreate, of the olde motheaten Latine woorde, Birretum, a bonnet. The tongue is sharpe and sentencious, offereth great occasion to quicke apothegmes and proper allusions. Wherefore their common tellours & rithmours, whome they terme, Bardes, are sayde to delight passingly those that conceyue the grace and propertie of the tongue. But the true Irishe in deede differeth so much from that they commonly speake, that scarse one in fiue hundred can eyther, reade, wryte, or vnderstande it. Therfore it is preserued amōg certaine their poetes and antiquaries. And in very deede the lāguage carryeth such difficultie with it, what for the estraungenesse of the phrase, and the curious featnesse of the pronunciation, that a very fewe of the countrey can attayne to the perfection thereof, and much lesse a forreinner or estraunger. A gentleman of mine acquaintance reported that he dyd see a woman in Rome, which was possest with a babbling spirite, that coulde haue chatted any language sauing the Irishe, and that it was so difficult, as the very Deuyll was greeued therewith. A gentleman that stoode by, aunswered, that he toke the speache to be so sacred & holy, that no damned fenne had the power to speake it, no more then they are able to say, (as the reporte goeth) the verse of S. Iohn the Euāgelist. Et verbū caro factū est. Nay by God his mercy, mā, quoth the other: I stande in doubt, I tell you, whether the Apostles in theyr copious marte of languages at Ierusalem, coulde haue spoken Irishe, if they were opposed, wherat the company hartily laughed. As fluent as the Irishe tonge is, yet it lacketh diuers woords, & borroweth thē, verbatim of the English. As there is no vulgare Irish woord, (vnlesse there besome odde terme) ẏ lurcketh in any obscure shrowdes or other of their storehouse) for a Cote, a Gowne a Dublet, an Hatte, a drinking Cup, but only they vse ẏ same woords wᵭ a little inflexion; they vse also ẏ contracted english phrase, god morrow, ẏ is, God giue you a good morning.

I haue opposed sundry times, the expertest menne, that coulde be had in the country, and all they coulde neuer fynde out an equiualēt Irish woord for Knaue. The Grecians according to Tully his iudgement, were in ẏ same predicament, as touching the terme, Ineptus. His woordes are these. Ego mehercule ex omnibus latinis verbis, huius verbi vim vel maximam semper putaui: Quem enim nos ineptū vocamus, is mihi videtur, ab hoc nomen habere ductum, quod non sit aptus, idque in sermonis nostri consuetudine perlatè patet. Nam qui aut tempus, quo quid postulet, non videt, aut plura loquitur, aut se ostentat, aut eorum, quibuscum est, vel dignitatis vel commodi rationem non habet, aut denique in aliquo genere aut inconcinnus aut multus est, is ineptus esse dicitur. Hoc vitio cumulata est erudissima illa græcorum natio: Itaque ꝙ vim huius mali Græci non vident, ne nomen quidem ei vitio imposuerunt. Vt enim quæras omnia, quomodo Græci. Ineptum appellent, non reperies.

Certes, I haue bene of opinion, sayeth Tully, that among the whole crue of Latine termes, the woorde, Ineptus, hath bene of greatest importance or weight. For he whome we name Ineptus, semeth to me, to haue the etimologie or offspring of his name, here hence deriued, that he is not apt, which stretcheth farre and wyde, in the vsuall custome of our dailye speache or communication. For he that doth not perceyue, what is sitting or decent for euerye season, or gabbleth more then he hath commission to doe, or that in bragging, boasting, or peacockwise setteth hymselfe forth to the gaze, by making more of the broth, then ẏ flesh is worth, or he ẏ regardeth not the vocation and affayres of them, with whō he entermedleth: or in fine, who so is stale wont grace or ouer tedious in any matter, he is tearmed Ineptus, (which is asmuch in Englishe, in my phantisy, as sausy, or malapart) The famous and learned Greeke nation is generally dusked with this fault. And for that the Grecians could not espy the innormity therof, they haue not so much framed a term therto. For if you should ransacke the whole Greeke language you shall not finde a woorde to counteruayle Ineptus. Thus far Tully, yet Budæus, would not seeme to acknowledge this barrennesse, but that the Greeke woord ἀπειρόκαλος, is equipolent, to Ineptus, but that I referre to the iudgement of the learned, being very willing to finde out some other Budæus; that coulde fashion an Irysshe woorde for Knaue, whereof this discourse of Ineptus grewe. As the whole realme of Ireland is sundred into foure principall parts, as before is sayd, so eche parcell differeth very much in ẏ Irishe tongue, euery country hauing his dialect or peculiar maner, in speaking the language: therfore commonly in Irelande they ascribe a properye to eche of the foure countryes in this sorte. Ulster hath the right Irishe phrase, but not the true pronunciation: Mounster hath ẏ true pronunciation, but not the phrase: Leinster is deuoyde of the right phrase, and true pronun-

Saucines.

Budæ. lib. 2. de Asse. & part. eius.

ciation. Connaght hath both the right phrase and true pronunciation. There is a cholerike or disdainfull interiection vsed in the Irishe language, called Boagh, which is as much in English as twish. The Irish both in auncient tyme and to this day commonly vse it, & therfore the English Conquerors called them Irishe poghes, or pogh Maurice, which taunting terme is at this day very wrongfully ascribed to them of the English pale. The English interiection, foagh, which is vsed in lothing, a ranke, or strong sauour, seemeth to be sibbe to the other.

Irishe Boagh.

Foagh.

Of the nature of the soyle, and other incidentes. Chap. 2.

The soyle is lowe and watrish, encludeth diuers little Iflandes, enuironned wyth lakes and marrish. Highest hilles haue standyng poles in theyr tops. Inhabitantes especially new come, are subiect to distillations, reumes and fires. For remedy wherof, they vse an ordinary drinke of Aquá vitæ, so qualified in the makyng, that it dryeth more, and enflameth lesse then other whote confections. One Theoricus wrote a proper treatise of Aqua vitæ, wherein he prayseth it to the ninth degrée. He destinguisheth three sortes therof, Simplex, composita, and Perfectissima. He declareth the simples and ingrediences thereto belongyng. He wisheth it to be taken as well before meate as after. It dryeth vp the breakyng out of handes, and killeth the fleshe wormes, if you wash your handes therewith. It shoureth all skurfe and skaldes from the head, beyng therewith daily washte before meales. Beyng moderately taken, sayth he, it floeth age, it strengtheneth youth, it helpeth digestion, it cutteth fleume, it abandoneth melancholy, it reliseth the hart, it lightneth the mynd, it quickeneth the spirites, it cureth the hydropsie, it healeth the strangury, it pouldreth the stone, it expelleth grauell, it putteth away all Ventositie, it kepeth and preserueth the hed from whirlyng, the eyes from dazelyng, the tongue from lispyng, the mouth frō mafflyng, the teth frō chatteryng, the throte from ratling, the weasan from sneesyng, the stomacke from wambling, the harte from swellyng, the belly from wirtchyng, the guts from rumblyng, the handes from shiuering, the sinowes from shrinkyng, the beynes frō crumpling, the bones from akyng, the marrow from soakyng. Vlstadius also ascribeth thereto a singuler prayse, and would haue it to burne beyng kindled, which he taketh to be a token to know the goodnesse therof. And truly it is a soueraigne liquour, if it be orderly taken.

Aqua vitæ.

Theoric. Episc. Hermenensis in Romanula iuxta Bononiam.

The commodities of Aqua vitæ.

Vlst. in cœlo philos. vel de secret. nat. cap. 11.

The ayre is very holesome, not generally so cleare and subtill as that of Englande. The weather is more temperate, beyng not so warme in Sommer, nor colde in winter, as it is in Englande and Flaunders. The countrye is steared with Bées, contrarye to the opinion of some writers, who both in this & other errours, touching this countrye, maye easily be excused, as those that wrote by hearesay. No Vineyards, yet Grapes growe there as in Englande. They lacke the Roe buck, as Polichronicon writeth. They lack ỹ Bird called the Pye. Howbeit in the Englishe pale to thys daye, they vse to tearme a slye cosener, a wyly Pye. Cambrienſe in his time cōplaineth, that Irelande had excesse of wood, and very little champayne grounde, but now the English pale is to naked. Turfe is their most fewell and seacoale. No venemous creping beaste is brought forth, or nourished, or can liue in Irelande, being brought or sent. And therfore the spyder of Ireland is wel known not to be venemous, onely because a frogge was found lying in the medowes of Waterforde somewhat before the conquest they construed it, to importe their ouerthrowe.

Polil. lib. cap. 32.

Wyly Pye Camb. 1. dist. 3.

No venemous worme Irelan

Camb. 1. dist. 1.

Bede writeth that serpentes conueighed to Irelande did presently die, beyng touched with the smell of the lande, that whatsoeuer came from Irelande was then of soueraigne vertue against poyso. He exemplifieth in certayne men, stung of Adders, who dranke in water, the scrapings of bookes, that had bene of Irelande, and were cured. Generally it is obserued, the farther west, the lesse annoiance of pestilent creatures. The want whereof is to Irelande so peculiar, that whereas it laye long in question, to whether realme Brytayne or Irelande the Ile of man should appertayne, the sayd controuersie was decyded: that forsomuch as venemous beastes were knowen to breede therein, it coulde not be a naturall part of Ireland. And contrarywise the Orchades are adiudged to be appendaunt to Irelande, because those Iflandes, neyther breede nor foster any venemous worme, as Hector Boethus auoucheth. Giraldus Cambrienſe, writeth that he hearde certayne Merchaunts affirme, that when they had vnladen theyr shippes in Irelande, they founde by hap some toades, vnder theyr balast. And they had no sooner cast them on the shore, then they would puffe and swell vnmeasurably, & shortly after turning vp theyr bellyes, they would burst in sunder. And not onely the earth & dust of Irelande, but also the verye thonges of Irishe leather, haue the same force and vertue. I haue seene it, saith Cambriēſe, experimēted,

Bed. lib. Angl. H cap. 1.

Thē treuerſ of the I of man cided.

Orcad append to Ire Hector eth. in S reg. deſc pag. 9. S 50. Camb po. lib. 1 dist. 1. n 29.

Cam rub. 30.

that

that a toade being encompassed with a thong of Irishe leather, and creppyng thitherward, endeuouring to haue skipt ouer it, sodenly reculed backe, as though it had bene rapte in the hed: wherupon it began to spraule to the other side. But at length perceiuyng that the thong did embay it of all partes, it began to thyrle, and as it were to dig the earth, where findyng an hole, it sluncke away in the presence of sondry persons.

It happened also in my tyme, sayeth Giraldus Cambriense, that in the North of Englãd a knot of yonghers toke a nap in the fieldes. As one of them lay snorting with his mouth gaping, as though he would haue caught flies, it happened that a Snake or Adder skipt into his mouth, and glyded downe into his bellye, where herbering it selfe, it beganne to roame vp and downe and to fede on the young man his entralles. The pacient being sore distracted and aboue measure tormented wyth the byting pangues of this grædie guest, incessantly prayed to God, that if it stode wyth his gracious will, eyther wholly to bereue him of his lyfe, or else of his vnspeakeable mercie to ease him of his payne. The worme would neuer cease from gnawing the pacient his carkasse, but when he had taken his repast. And his meate was no sooner digested, then it would giue a freshe onset in boaring his guttes. Diuers remedies were sought, as medicines, pilgrimages to Saintes: but all could not preuayle. Being at length schooled by the graue aduise of some sage and expert father, that willed him to make his spædie repayre to Ireland, would trãct no time, but busked himselfe ouersea, and arriued in Irelande. He dyd not sooner drinke of the water of that Iland, and taken of the victuals of Ireland, but forthwith he kilde the Snake, auoyded it downeward, and so being lustye and liuely he returned into Englande. Thus farre Giraldus Cambriense. There be some, that moue question, whither the want of venemous Wormes be to be imputed to the propertie of the soyle, or to be ascribed to the prayers of S. Patricke, who couerted that Iland. The greater parte father it on S. Patricke, especially such as wryte hys lyfe aswell a parte, as in the legende of Irishe Saintes. Giraldus Cambriense disaffirmeth flatly that opinion, and taketh it to be a secret or hidden propertie naturally vnited to the soyle, from whome Polichronicon doth not swarue. For my part as I am wedded to neither of both the opinions, so I would haue bene easily perswaded being neyther hote nor colde in the matter, to rest as a lukewarme Neuter in omitting the one and the other vnskande, were it not that one M. Alan Cope, or some other that masketh vnder hys visours, more sclaunderously then pithily had busied himselfe therin. Wherfore sith I may with better warrant defende my natiue coũtrey, then he or his betters may reproue it, especially, where his sclaunderous reportes are vnderpropt wyth slimme flamme surmises: I purpose vnder M. Cope his correction to coape and buckle with hym herein, and before he beare the ball to the goale, to trippe him, if I may, in the way. And because (gentle Reader) I minde to make thee an indifferent vmpyre in this controuersie, for the better vnderstanding of the matter, I will laye downe M. Cope his wordes, in such wise as they are imprinted in his booke. First therfore thou must vnderstande, that his booke is made in dialogue wise, a kinde of writing as vsed, so commended of the learned. In these dialogues Ireneus an Englishman and Critobulus a Germaine play the partes. Ireneus entreth into the stage, and in this wyse beginneth.

Incipiã à S. Paulo: nosti in Melita (quam hodie Maltam appellant) Paulum viperam à manu pendentem in ignem excussisse. In ea insula Scorpiones, qui alibi sunt letales, Pauli, vt creditur, munere sunt innoxij. Alan. Copus dialog. 3. acd. 28.

Critobulus. Fortasse hoc habet à naturâ.

Iren. Falleris: nam insulam, vt Lucas refert, clamabant, delatum eo parricidã, cui cum mare pepercisset, irati dij serpentes, qui eum tollerẽt, immisissent: nec quicquam magis quàm præsentem eius mortem expectabant. A qua cùm ille tantum abesset, vt nihil omninò damni aut doloris inde sentiret, in admirationem acti, dixerunt, eum longè supra hominem esse, & deum sub humana specie.

Crit. Sic est, vt dicis.

Iren. Cætera itaq; audi: E specu, ad quem diuertisse dicitur, colliguntur lapides in tota fermè Europa salutares. Adhæc, quos nasci octauo Calendas Februarij contingit (qui dies conuersionis eius memoriæ dicatus est) quæcunq; eos orbis pars in lucem proferat, non horrent nec formidant angues, imò, quod magis est, sola saliua horum morsibus medentur. Id quod homo doctissimus & diligentissimus Thomas Fazellus nuper prodidit, vsu ipso rerum, & certis, ni fallor, exemplis ab eo obseruatum. Thomas Fazellus.

Crit. Ista quidem digna sunt obseruatione: & iam recordor, me legisse ac sæpius audisse, precibus beati Patricij Hiberniæ apostoli, ei regioni simile beneficium indultum, ne ea insula aliquid letale pariat. Dici fortasse inde à nonnullis solet, nihil esse in Hibernia venenati præter ipsos homines, quod propter feros & agrestes eorum mores dictum a plæriscq; accipitur.

Iren.

Iren. Eam regionem nihil pestiferum aut venenatum alere, tum ex multorum sermonibus, tum ex Beda intelligo: adeò vt terra illius regionis exportata, pestifera ac venenata animalia extinguat. Verùm id quicquid est, non Patricio, sed naturę regionis tribuo, propterea quòd longè ante Patricium natum cōstet, eam fuisse eius regionis dotem, quam non est difficilè alibi reperiri.

Bed.lib.1. Ang.hist. c.1.

Sententia definitiua. Solin.c.35.

„ I will begin sayth Ireneus, with S. Paule.
„ You know that in Melita (which at this day
„ is called Malta) S. Paule flung into the fire
„ a Viper that stucke or did cleaue to his hand.
„ In that Iland, Scorpions which are elsewhere deadly or venemous, are become tho-
„ row the gift of S. Paule (as it is supposed)
„ harmeles.
„ Tush, quoth Critobulus, that may be percase
„ incident to the nature of the soyle.
„ Nay then, replyeth Ireneus, you are in a
„ wrong bore. For the Islanders, as S. Luke
„ mencioneth, shewed, that a parentquellour
„ was brought thither, and because he was not
„ swalowed in the gulfes of the sea, the Gods
„ beyng in their fustian fumes, sent serpentes
„ to slay hym. And they loked for nothyng sooner, then to see hym euen at a twincklyng to
„ perish. But whē they perceyued hym to be so
„ far distant frō death, as that he suffeyned no
„ harme, ne felt any paine, the people therwith
„ amazed, sayd, he far surpast mans estate, and
„ that he was a God inuested in mā hys shape.
„ You haue reason, answereth Critobulus, you
„ haue hit the naple on the hed.
„ Yea, but I pray you, clip not my tale, sayth
„ Ireneus, but take me with you. Stones are
„ culled in the caue or denne, wherin S. Paul is
„ sayd to haue bayted or soiorned, which stones
„ in maner in all Europe are soueraigne me-
„ dicines to cure the bitynges and stinges of
„ Scorpions and serpentes. Furthermore they
„ that are borne the xxv. of January (which day
„ is named the conuersion of S. Paul) in what
„ part so euer of the world they are borne, they
„ feare not or grudge not at snakes: Yea, that
„ which is more to be admyred, the stinginges
„ of poysoned wormes are healed by the very
„ spittle of this January brode. Which thyng
„ hath bene of late published by a well lettered
„ man, Thomas Fazellus, to haue bene curiously noted of hym as well by proofe and experience, as by sure and substantiall examples, if
„ I take not the matter amisse. Thē commeth
„ in Critobulus, whom M. Cope maketh, I will
„ not say the vice or hicksoorner, but the pleasaunt conceited gentleman of hys enterlude,
„ and fetcheth a long leape (for I am sure he
„ could not iumpe so farre) from Malta to Ireland, and frameth hys tale in this sort.

„ By the fayth of my body sir, here is stuffe
„ worth the noting. And now I call to mynde,
„ that I haue red and often heard, that the like
„ benefite hath bene imparted to Ireland, tho-
„ rough the prayers of S. Patrike the Apostle
„ of the sayd Iland, that is to say, that Ireland
„ bredeth no venemous worme. And therupon
„ percase some are accustomed to say, ỳ there
„ is no poysoned or venemous thing in Irelād,
„ but onely the people, which is taken to haue
„ bene sayd of most men for their brutishe and
„ sauage maners.
„ To this sayth Ireneus. I am done to vnder-
„ stand by the report of diuers, & also by Bede,
„ that no poysoned or venemous thing is bred
„ in that realme, in so much, that the earth of
„ ỳ countrey being brought into other realms,
„ killeth all venemous and poysoned wormes.
„ But let the matter fall out which way it wil.
„ I ascribe that propertie not to S. Patricke, Judge-
ment.
but to the nature of the soyle, because it hath bene knowen long before S. Patricke was borne; that Irelande was indued with that property, which is elsewhere easy to be foūd. Hitherto M. Cope.

In thys discourse (gentle Reader) thou seest that M. Cope handleth two principall points, the propriety of Malta and the nature of Irelande in destroying venemous wormes, the one he ascribeth to ỳ blessed Apostle S. Paule, the other he will not in any wyse impute to S. Patricke. Touching the first, as I haue no occasion to entermeddle therin, so I purpose not, for the quarell I haue to the person, to disproue hys opinion so farre as it standeth with troth. Wherefore that God, that of his bountifull goodnesse gaue the grace to Moses, to turne Aaron his rod into a serpēt, Exod.7. vers.10.
to turne the riuer into bloude, and to worke diuers other effectes that are mencioned in a.Iosue.10. vers.13.
the scripture. To a Iosue, to stay the sonne, b.3.Reg.17. vers.22.
To b Elias to raise ỳ dead childe, to c Peter Eccles.48. vers.50.
to make the lame go, to heale d Æneas, to re- c.Act.3. vers.7.
uiue e Tabytha, yea with his very f shadow d.Act.9. vers.34.
to cure the sicke, & the God that gaue to that e.Act.9. vers.40.
Paule, of whome M. Cope speaketh, his gra- f.Act.5. vers.15.
cious gift to make the g lame go, to h quicke g.Act.14. vers.10.
and rayse the deceased, and for his sake to h.Act.20. vers.10.
i salue his fellow passangers: it is not to be i.Act.27. vers.23.
denyed, but that God woulde imparte his Act.9. vers.43.
goodnesse to any region, euen the sooner that Act.28. vers.9.
any of his blessed seruauntes woulde herborowe there. And as I doubt not, but Simon the Tanner his house was nothing ỳ worse, for lodging so happie a guest as Peter, so I am sure, Malta was far the better, for herbowring so blessed a trauayler or passenger as Paule. Which S. Luke letteth not to tell, declaring that all they, which were sicke in the

the Iland, flocked to Paule and were cured: and also that the pacient that was father to Publius, in whose house they were thre daies very courteously intertayned, was by Saint Paule healed. Which cure aswell of that pacient, as of the residue of the Islanders, dyd not onely extende to their bodies, but chiefly and especially to their soules, according to the opinion of the learned Diuines. For as our saiour Jesus Christ was neuer thought to cure any one his bodie, but he woulde also heale his soule, so it muste be thought of his Apostles, in whose steppes both in lyfe and myracles they traced. And therefore the learned holde opinion, that S. Paule, being in Malta, expelled from diuers of their soules the olde Serpent, that decepued our Progenitours, Adam & Eue. For which God is to be magnified and glorified. Thus much I thought good here to enserte, as a clause not wholly swaruing from that we treate of, and also that I woulde be founde prest and readie, as farre as my simple skill stretcheth, to vnderpinne any opinion, that tendeth to the honor and glorie of God. Howbeit for so much as M. Cope hath so straightly dealt with Irelād, as wyth a countrey nothing appertaynyng to his matter, I trust he will pardon me, to be somewhat bolde with him, touching the hystorie of Malta, that as his negligence shal be in the one disshowed, so his sclaunderous iudgemēt may be in the other reuersed. First therefore where he writeth, that the inhabitantes of Malta clamabant, that is, cryed, or showted, it was not so. The Greke text runneth, ἔλεγον πρὸς ἀλλήλους. Dicebant adinuicem, that is to say, they muttred one to another. And S. Luke paraphraseth his meaning after. For when they perceyued, that the Uiper dyd not anoy Paule, then sayth S. Luke, Conuertentes se, dicebant, eum esse Deum. They turning one towardes the other, whispered or mutterd, that Paule was a God. Nowe put the case they cryed, as M. Cope sayeth, is it lyke that Paule was so busie in making of a fire, or that his eares dyd wander so far of, as that he could not heare them? And if he heard thē, thinke you that he would haue bēne whist, in hearing God so far blasphemed, as that he woulde suffer himselfe to be deified? No truely. He woulde haue taken on, as he and Barnabas dyd at Lystris, whē the inhabitants named them Goddes, Barnabas to be Jupiter, and Paule, for that he was well spoken, to be Mercurie. For when the Apostles hearde of their Idolatrie, renting their clothes, they rusht into the thrōge, crying and speaking, that they were mortall men, &c. In which place S. Luke putteth an expresse difference, as it were of set purpose, betwēne both the wordes, Clamantes & Dicentes. M. Cope addeth further, Delatum eō paricidam; and yet the Greke hath πάντως φονεύς. Omnino interfector; or as the Vulgar text is, Vtiq; homicida est homo hic. So that they toke him to be but a manquellour, yet M. Cope maketh hym a Paricide, which is worse. For although euerye Paricide be a manquellour, yet è conuerso, euery manquellour is not a Paricide.

M. Cope procedeth further, Irati dij, serpētes, qui eum tollerent, immisissent. The Gods being angry sent serpents to dispatch Paule. And yet forsoth, all these serpentes were but one Uiper, as is plainely expresst in the text, vnlesse M. Cope would teache S. Luke, to tell his tale after the fineſt fashiō, least the Apostle should haue bene thought to haue fitoned. As the Parson that preached to his Parochians of the Gospell, wherin mention is made of them that Christ fed in the desert, or wildernesse. O, quoth the Parson, what a Christ that was, that with fiue barly loaues, & fiue fishes fed fiue hundred persons. The clarke hearing his maister to grate ouerlōg on that point, for he dyd often iterate that sentence, stoke vp to the pulpit, & plucking the person by his gowne, whispered in his eare ỹ Christ fed fiue thousand. Holde thē contented thou foolishe fellow, quoth the Parson, if I shoulde tell nine hearers of so great a nūber, I shold but discredite the Gospeller, and they woulde not beleeue me. So it fareth with M. Cope, belike he misstrusted, that if he had sayde, that one Uiper coulde haue slayne Paule, the reader woulde haue suspected the vntruth of the matter, bycause it carryeth great likelyhode with it, that one man coulde withstande one Uiper; and therefore to saue S. Luke hys credite, he increaseth the number by putting the plurall for the singular. Whereas therefore it standeth with M. Cope his pleasure, to florish in his rhetoricall figure, named, Veritatis superlatio, in terming muttering, showting, a manquellour, a paricide, one Uiper, serpentes: he must be borne withall, if in the heate of his figure he steppe a little awrie in the remnaunt of his discourse. For thus he sayeth.

A Parson his sermō.

M. Cope hys rhetoriche.

And therevppon it is reported perchase, by some men, that there is nothing venemous or poysoned in Irelande, but the men and women. Which is taken to haue bene spoken by most men for their brutish and saluadge maners. Here (good Reader) thou must vnderstande that M. Cope putteth the text downe & the glose, the text is, there is nothing in Irelande venemous but the inhabitauntes. The glose

gloſe is, this is sayde to haue bene ſpoken for their brutiſh and ſauage conditiõs. Now well harpt by S. Lanckfield. Here is a gloſe, I vndertake you, ſuteable to the text. But let vs ſée, how cunningly M. Cope bequiteth him ſelfe. Firſt he obſerueth not decorũ perſonæ, ſecondly he followeth not decorum dialogi, thirdlye he ſheweth herein little diuinitie. Touching the firſt point, who knoweth not, that theſe iapes and gybes are onely fitte for ruffians, vices, ſwashbucklers and tospottes. And truly they beſet a diuine aſwel, as for an Aſſe to twange chyppaſſa on a harpe or gyttarne, or for an Ape to friſcke trenchemore in a payre of buſkins and a dubblet. The heathen miſliked in an orature ſquirilitie, what ſhoulde be thought then of a diuine, whom S. Paule would haue to be ſober, modeſt, graue and wiſe. Vnleſſe M. Cope leaning to the letter of S. Paule his wordes woulde beare vs in hande, that S. Paule would haue modeſtie to reſt onely in byſhops. We are commaunded, in the olde and newe teſtament, to loue our neighbors as our ſelues. Which doth imply, that we ought not to ſclaunder our neighbours. And ſhall a diuine then ſpeake vncharitably, not onely of one, but of an whole royalme, and not only ſpeake but alſo write, yea and that in the language that is vniuerſally ſpoken, through out the greater part of the worlde, vpon no ſure ground, but onely vpon hearelay weighing not what ỹ Prophet writeth, perdes omnes qui loquuntur mendaciũ, thou ſhalt deſtroye all them that ſpeake vntruthes. And were it that any ſuch ſlimme ſlamme ſirtes were ſothed by any perſonne of credite, yet, as me ſéemeth, it would ſtand more with the grauitie of a diuine, that ſuch childiſhe quippes, & ſcornefull tauntes ſhould ſomer by his meanes charitably bée whiſſed, thẽ through his procuremẽt carpingly publiſhed. I will ſtand no longer on this point, but onelye craue M. Cope to reſort to the 5. of Mathew, and there peruſe Chriſt his verdict, touching ſclaunderous tongues. To come to the ſeconde parte, in which he obſerueth not decorum dialogi, thou ſhalt vnderſtand (good Reader) that Critabulus, or Critobulus, whom M. Cope maketh his bagpipe to belche out his rancour, is a Germaine borne, as M. Cope ſaith, who ſemeth to be Critobulus his godfather. Now let any one, that is acquainted wt the maners of Germaines, iudge, if it be decent, that one of thẽ ſhoulde ſcoffe & ſcorne the conditions and faſhions of other countries. I wil not ſpeake by heare ſay, as M. Cope doth, but by eyeſight. I could neuer eſpye nor probably haue I hearde it reported no not of the méere ſauage Iriſh, ſuch quaffing, ſuch ſwilling, ſuch bowling, ſuch gulling, ſuch brutiſh drunkennelle, ſuch ſurfeyting, ſuch vomiting as I haue ſéene ſome Germaines doe. In good ſooth it is knowen, and for my part I haue ſéene it being beyonde the ſeas, that in their carowſing & cup friendſhip, they threaten ſuch kindneſſe on their companions, that leaſt their fellowes ſhould miſtruſt them, with double dealing, they will not ſticke to ſhewe them the botome of their ſtomackes, & to the ende they ſhould take the better view therof, they will place it now & then in their neighbours boſome.

The Germaine his friendſhip.

Thus whẽ they haue caſt their gorges, they clap on theyr thrumde hats, and runne lyke bedlem barretors into the ſtréetes with their naked flatchets, and there they kéepe ſuch a ſtinkyng ſturre with hackyng of ſtones, with hewyng of blockes, with thwitting of ſtocks, with ſtrikyng of ſtalles, with thumpyng at doores, that it would make a horſe breake hys halter, to ſée ſo dronken a pageant. In fine, this qualitie is ſo naturally engraffed in the greater part of them, that a famous deuine did not ſticke of late to ſay openly in his Lecture that dronkennes in that countrey men, was eyther peccatum originale, or accidens inſeparabile. I write not this, I take God to record, to the reproch or ſlaunder of that coũtrey (beyng lothe to commit the ſelfe ſame fault that I reprehend in any other,) but only my meanyng is to ſettle before the Reader his eyes the abſurditie of M. Cope, in framyng poze Critabolus to flout Ireland, conſideryng that if he caſt his eye homeward, he ſhall finde as filthy puddle in his owne countrey, as in other realmes. And therfore thys quippe ſate as vnſéemely in his mouth, as for an whore to reprehend bitchery, or for an Vſurer to condemne Simonie. For as there is nothyng leſſe to be tollerated, thẽ for any one to haue an other to accompt for his lyfe, that can yéelde no accompt of his owne: ſo there is nothyng that ought to mortell vp any one from rebuking other nations, then to ſée the miſdemeanor of hys owne native country. I would wiſhe M. Critabolus or M. Cope, if it ſhall pleaſe him to make vp the muſter, with indifferency to weigh the eſtate of Ireland, and ſo without partiality to frame his iudgement. Ireland, and eſpecially the ruder part is not ſtored with ſuch learned men as Germany is. If they had ſounde preachers, & ſincere liuers, that by the embawming of theyr carian ſoules with the ſwéete and ſacred flowers of holy writ, would enſtruct them in the feare of God, in obeying their prince, in obſeruyng the lawes, in vnderpropping in eche man his vocation the weale publike. I doubt not,

Ireland how it may be reformed.

Cic. lib. 2. de Orat.

1. Tim. 3 verſ. 2. & 3.

Pſal. 5. verſ. 7. Sapient. 1. Vide Auguſt. in eũdem Pſal.

Math. 5. verſ. 22.

not, but within two or three ages M. Critabulus his heyres should heare so good a reporte run of the reformatiō of Ireland, as it would be reckoned as ciuill as the best part of Germany. Let the soyle be as fertile and fatle as any would wish, yet if the husband man wyll not manure it, some tyme plough and care it, sometyme harow it, sometime tyll it, sometyme marle it, sometyme deluc it, sometyme dig it, and sowe it with good and sound corne, it will bryng forth weedes, bynde corne, cockle, darnell, brambles, bryers, and sondry wylde shootes. So it fareth with the rude inhabitantes of Irelande, they lacke Vniuersities, they want instructors, they are destitute of teachers, they are without preachers, they are denoyde of all such necessaries as appertayne to the trayning vp of youth, and notwithstandyng all these wantes, if any would be so frowardly set, as to require them, to vse such ciuilitie, as other regions, that are sufficiently furnished with the lyke helpes, he might be accounted as vnreasonable, as he that would force a cripple that lacketh both his legs to runne, or one to pipe or whistle a galliard that wanteth hys vpper lippe. But such is the corrupt nature of vs worldlings, and me thinketh such vayne humors are not vtterly dryed vp in our sage & mortyfied diuines, we are most commonly giuen rather to taunt that which is amisse, then to prayse that which is good, and rather we followe the spider in soakyng the poyson, then in imitatyng the Bee by sucking the hony. Now that it appeareth, that it was not sittyng for the author beyng a deuine, to write so vncharitably, nor for M. Critabulus beyng a Germain, to carpe other countreys so snappishly: let vs see, what wholesome diuinity hath bene here vttered, and how well the sinewes of M. Critabulus his argument shall be found to hang togither, when the Anatomy therof by peecemeale shall be examined.

I call to mynd, q̄ M. Critabulus, that I haue read & often heard that the like benefite hath bene graūted to Irelād through the prayers of S. Patrike. M. Critabulus hath read & heard, that by the prayers of S. Patricke, Ireland hath no venemous worme: ergo some holde opinion, that the poyson resteth onely in the people.

Truly this argument hangeth togyther by very straunge gymbols. And I dare say, M. Cope neuer learned this kynde of reasonyng in the famous colledge of Magdalene in Oxford, what so euer M. Critabulus did in Germany. But let vs put the Logique apart, and scan the singular poynt of diuinitie. I wonlde gladly learne in what part of scripture, or in what auncient father M. Critabulus reade or heard (for most of hys learning hath bene, as it seemeth, purchased by hereſay) that any holy prelate, that came of mere charity, to conuert a countrey from night to light, frō rudenesse to knowledge, from infidelitie to Christianitie, from vice to vertue, from the deuill to God, (which doth implye an especiall zeale in sauluyng their soules) would purge the soyle of all venemous wormes, and leaue the soules, that haue more nede to be weeded, wholy infected with the contagion of vice & sinne. Wherby ensueth that the place is better then the inhabitaunts, and so consequently the saying of the Machabees must be falsified. Non propter locum gentem, sed propter gentem, locum Deus elegit. God did not chose the people for that place, but hee elected the place in respect of the people. Our sauiour Iesus Christ dispossessing the pacient of the legion of deuils, permitted them to enter into an hierd of hogges. Critabulus would haue Christes saintes do the cōtrary, to dispossesse the hogs, and to leaue the men possessed with deuils. For so he reporteth S. Patrike to haue done, by riddyng the lande of all poysoned wormes, and leauyng the rancour to lurke in the people. Truly if the matter stoode so farre out of ioynt, I doubt not, but the Islanders mought haue come as lawfully to hym, as the Gerasenes came ingratefully to Christ, requiring hym to depart their country. For such a scoffing prelate, hys rowme had bene better thē his company, sith his abode would tende rather to the peruerting, then the conuertyng of their Island.

Machab. 2. c. 5. verſ. 19

Luc. 8. verſ. 32.

Luc. 2. verſ. 37.

Hytherto thou hast heard (gentle Reader) how gallauntly Critabulus hath played hys parte, now shall I desire thee to viewe, how sagely Ireneus claspeth vp all the whole controuersie. He saith it is the nature of the soile, not to breede any venemous worme, and that was incident thereto, before S. Patrike was borne. How proue you that sir? Pleaseth you to shew your eye towardes the margent, and there shall you finde the 35. chapiter of Solinus solemnly quoted. Touchyng this matter, there is nothyng in Solinus but this. Illic anguis nullus, auis rara. In Ireland is no snake, and seldome a byrde, and yet byrdes are as commonly there as in any other countrey. But I would gladly vnderstand how this authoritie of Solinus furthereth M. Ireneus hys opinion. Ireland bred no snake before S. Patrick was borne: ergo, it engendered no toade, no Adder, no Frogge, nor any other virulent worme. As if a man would reason thus. Before S. Patricke his tyme there was no horsemyll in Ireland: ergo, before his tyme there

was

was no mylthorse. Certes he that woulde winde vp his conclusion so fondly might be thought, to haue almuch witte, as a rosted horse. This auctoritie of Solinus is so farre from vpholding Ireneus his assertion, as that it plainely semeth to quite ouerthrow it, and as it were in his owne turne, it giueth him a fall.

For the cause why S. Patricke was moued, to expell all the venemous wormes out of Irelande, might probably haue bene coniectured, to haue proceded of this, ỳ he perceyuing, the lande to breede no Snakes, therof was occasioned, for the furthering of Christian fayth, to expell other kinde of wormes, that lurcked there before his comming, as Toades, Adders, Blindwormes, Frogs. &c.

Obiection. Here perchase M. Cope may blenche me, in replying that Anguis may be construed generally for all kynde of Vermine, and so I might be taken tardie in buylding my discourse vpon a misconstruction.

Answer. In good soth to omitte what straunge and absurde signification Anguis should beare, by notifiyng a poysoned spider and such lyke, and, in mine opinion, further from the purpose, the the father that disswading his sonne from playing on Sunday fortified his reason with the olde sayde saw, non est bonum ludere cum sanctis, it is not good, quoth he, to play on Sondayes or holy dayes, is it, thinke you, fellonie or treason, to bring the credit of Solinus in question, for mistaking Anguis as well as Auis. For as he was grosly deceyued in the one, in writing, that birdes were rare in Ireland, so might he haue strayed as likely in the other, by disburdening Irelande of all venemous wormes, bycause the Iſande wanted in his time but one or two kindes, as a Snake and a Toade. Where a man buyldeth vpon euerye twatling and prattling rumour, and his eye is not his iudge, he may be sure, that such lying tales will catche many feathers before they come at him, that is as farre distaunt from their nestes, as Solinus was frō Ireland, when he wrote his pamphlet. The prose whereof as it is dayly tryed, so not many yeres past hath ben very prettily verysied. There was a gentleman of mine acquaintance that mette his enemie in the fieldes, where they both vpon a trysling quarell fought so friendly as they had more mynde to haue bene grapled togither with cables, then parted by indifferent sticklers. Howbeit bycause the gentleman was neuer before sleght, and yet nothing at all that day, for eche of their blowes dyd commonly light on the medowe, where they fought, a friende of hys reported well of him to an other, saying, that he was lyke in tyme to proue a proper man of hys handes, for the well handeling of hys weapon in his late combate. Whereupon some after the other doubling the gentleman his prayse, gaue notice to an other, that such a gentleman, naming him, fought valiauntly such a day, in such a place. Immediately vpon this in a shyre or two of, it was noysed that the partie praysed, fought with two at once in such a place, naming the medowe. At length it was bruted, that he fought foure seuerall daies, and I am well assured that was the first fray that euer he made, & I thinke, it will be the last, vnlesse he be forced maugre his heart, to the contrarie. Not long after, it happened, that a gentlyman and I trauepled abroade the countrey of set purpose to disport our selues, and so to returne a freshe to our bookes, where entering in communication with a blunt countrey lobbe (yet such an one as toke his halfe peny to be good syluer) that knew the foresaid champion. My companion and I made wyse, as though we were not acquainted wyth him, or euer heard of the combate, now in good fayth gentlemen, quoth he, you would doe very well to enter in acquaintaunce with him, for ouer this, that he is a gentleman aboundantly endued wyth singular good qualities, he is become of late so valiant a cutter, as he maketh blading his dayly breakefast, By S. Mary, quoth my companion, that is very colde rosse, & if his breakfastes be no better then a peece of colde Iron, I little weigh, howe seldome I take a repast in his companie at any such ordinarie. Nay my meaning is, quoth the other, that he vseth to fight freshe and fasting euery morning, in so much ỳ of late, I dare byde by it, he fought eyght dayes in one weeke. At which wordes I for my part coulde not refrayne frō laughyng, seeing how demurely the fellow kept his countenaunce, & how that he spake bona fide. Whereupon I shaped him an answere, and sayde, that I neuer heard of any that fought eyght dayes in one weake, but onely in olde tyme, when fiue quarters made vp the yeare. The fellow perceyuing, that he ouershot himselfe, replyed: Sir, you take me very shyrte, as long and as very a lowbie as you imagine to make me: my meaning is, that he fought eyght seuerall tymes in one weeke. Eyght tymes? quoth my companion, then belike he fought once aboue commons. For you tolde vs right now, that he made his fray his morning breakefast, and whereas there are but seuen dayes in the weeke, and he fought, as you reporte, eyght times, and you knew, that eyght maketh one aboue seuen, & seuen maketh fiue & one vnder eight, eyther you must con-

Ramour catcheth fethers.

I friendly commendation.

confesse that he fought out his breakfast, dinner, beuer or supper, or else you must graunt, that there be eyght dayes in one weake, or at the least two breakefastes in one day, & that, I am sure, you will confesse to be as great an absurdity, as ỹ other. Nay, quoth the clowne, and you intrap me with such sophistrie, you shall dine, suppe and breake your fast alone for me, and therewithall departed. Whereby may be gathered, that if he had bene lothed vp, and his tongue let to run at libertie vncontrouldo, like a bowle that runneth in a smoth allye without any tub, he would haue brought himselfe to that bay, as he would not sticke to say, that his friende had fought eight dayes in one houre. Wherefore as this puddyng his pricke grewe at length by reporte to an huge poste, so the wand of one venemous wormo in Irelande, being buted in for raine royalmes, might haue bene so thwytted and mangled in the carriage before it came to Solinus his eares, as he might haue bene enformed, that the countrey was deuoyde of all venemous Wormes, whereas in deede there lacked but one linde.

Lyke as God of his iuste punisheth a countrey, that is harde hearted, with outwarde wormes, so of his mercie, they are remoued from a royalme, that is plyaunt, to followe his lawes and preceptes. As when Pharao would not listen to God his threates denounced hym by the preaching of God, Moses and Aaron, Egypt was punished with frogges & diuers kinde of flyes, as is expresse at full in holy writte; and agayne vpō Pharao his feyned promises (the secretes of whose hollowe heart God perfectly knewe) at the instaunce of Moses, these plagues were appeased, & the vermine quite extinguished, so, I pray you, is it so absurde a position to holde, that Saint Patricke finding the Irish priest to embrace the Gospell, as he dyd in very deede, might stande so highly in God his fauor, as through his earnest petition made to God, the poysoned wormes shoulde be abandoned? This is not so rare a thing vppon the implanting of Christian fayth in any region, but rather a propertie incidēt thereto, according to Christ his promise. Signa autem eos, qui crediderint, hæc sequentur, In nomine meo dæmonia eijcient: linguis loquentur nouis: Serpentes tollent: & si mortiferum quid biberint, non eis nocebit: super ægros manus imponēt, & bene habebunt. And these tokens shal follow them that beleeue, In my Name shall they cast out Deuils, they shall speake with new tongues: they shall dryue awaye Serpentes, and if they drinke any deadly thing, it shal not hurt them: they shall lay handes on the sicke, and they shall be cured. Wherefore, sith it is so euidently warranted by Scripture, that in the name of Iesus, Serpentes may be driuen away, if Irelande be found through any such meanes to be deuoyde of poysoned wormes, we are to ascribe the glory hereof to God, according to the saying of the Prophete, A domino factum est istud, & est mirabile in oculis nostris; That hath beene done by God, and it seemeth wonderfull in our eyes. Psal. 117. vers. 22.

Thus farre (gentle Reader) encroching vpon thy patience I haue employed my trauaile in defending my natiue countrey, against such as labour to distayne it with their sclanderous scoffes. Touching the principall question, whether S. Patricke dyd expell poysoned Wormes out of Irelande, or whether it be the nature of the soyle, as I sayd in the entrie of this discourse, so I saye agayne, that I weigh not two chippes, which way the winde bloweth, bycause I see no inconuenience that may insue either of the affirmatiue or negatiue opinion. And therefore if M. Cope had dealt as modestly as Cambriense, the auctour of Polichronicon, or others, that stode to the denyall, haue done, he shoulde haue gone shotfree with his complices, and haue made in Mountebanck wyse the most he coulde of his wares. But for that he woulde needes see further in a millstone, then others, & not onely slenderly disproue the tryall opinion, but scornefully sclaunder an whole royalme, wherein he shall finde his superiours in honour, his betters in parentage, his Peeres in learning, his mates in wisedom, his equalles in courtesie, his matches in honestie: I must craue him, to beare it patiently, if, by crying him quittaunce, I serued him with a dishe of his owne cookerie. And if for this my straight dealing wyth him (whereto I was the sooner led, for that as it is courtesie to mollifie wilde speaches with milde aunsweres, so I recken it for good policie nowe and then to cleaue knurd knobbes with crabbed wedges) he will seeme to take pepper in the nose, for any recompence he is like to haue at mine handes, he may wype his nose in his sleeue. And if it shall stande with his pleasure, to reply either in English, or in Latine (the occasiō of which is rather of him growen then by me giuen) he shall finde me willing, if God spare me health, to reioyne with him in so good a quarell, eyther in the one language or the other, and when both tales are heard, I beseeme him, for my part, that shall be driuen to the wall.

Cambriense reporteth of hys owne knowledge, and I heare it auowed by credible persons, that Bernacles thousandes at once are The Bernacle.

noted

noted along the shores in Ireland to hang by the beakes, about the edges of putrified tymber, as ships, oares, maste, ankerholdes, & suche lyke, which in processe takyng liuely heate of the sunne, become waterfoules, and at their tyme of ripenesse eyther fall into the sea, or flye abroad into the ayre. The same do neuer couple in ỹ act of generatiõ, but are frõ time to tyme multiplied, as before is expresse.

Sabel. part. 3. Ene. 10. lib. 5. Camb. lib. topog. dist. 1. rub. 15. Thom. p. 3. q. 31. ar. 4. corp.

Æneas Syluius writeth hymselfe to haue pursued the like experiment in Scotlande, where he learned the truth hereof to be found in the Islandes Orchades. Giraldus Cambriense gathereth hereof a pretye conclusion against the Jewes in this wyse.

Respice infœlix Iudæe, respice, vel serò, primam hominis generationem ex limo sine mare & fœmina: Secundamque ex mare sine fœmina, ob legis veneration em; diffiteri non audes: Tertiam solam ex mare scilicet & fœmina, quia vsualis est, dura ceruice approbas & affirmas. Quartam verò, in quâ sola salus est ex fœmina scilicet sine mare obstinata malitia in propriam perniciem detestaris. Erubesce miser, erubesce, & saltem ad naturam recurre, quę ad argumenta fidei, ad instruction em nostram noua quotidie animalia sine omni mare vel fœmina procreat & producit. Prima ergo generatio ex limo, & hæc vltima ex ligno. Illa quidem quoniam à domino naturæ tantum semel, ideo semper obstupenda processit. Istam verò non minus admirabilem, minus tamen admirandam (quia sæpe fit) imitatrix natura administrat. Sic enim composita est humana natura, vt nihil, preter inusitatum & rarò contingens vel precioſum ducat vel admirandũ. Solis ortum & occasum, quo nihil in mundo pulchrius, nihil stupore dignius, quia quotidie videmus, sine omni admiratione præterimus. Eclipsin verò solis, quia rarius accidit, totus orbis obstupescit. Ad idem etiam facere videtur, flatũ solò, & occulta quadam inspiratione citra omnem mixturam apum ex fauo procreatio. Marke thou wretched Jew, sayth Cambrien se, marke yet at length, the first creation of man (that is of Adam) of earth without male or female. As for the seconde, of a man without a woman (that is to saye Eue) for that thou hast the olde law in reuerence, thou darest not deny. As for the third, both of man and woman, because it is daily vsed as stiffe necke as thou art, thou doest acknowledge and confesse. But the fourth procreation, in which consisteth our onely iustification (he meaneth the incarnation of Christ) of a woman without man, with sturdy and obstinate rancor to thine vtter destruction thou doest detest. Blush therfore thou vnhappy Jew, be ashamed of this thy folly, and at the lest wyse haue recourse to nature, and settle hir workes before thine eyes, that for the encrease of fayth, & to the lessonyng of vs, daily breedeth and engendreth new liuing creatures, without ỹ coupling of masle of female. Adã was created of earth, the Bernacles are engendered of wood, because Adam was once created by him, who is Lord of nature, therfore it is continually admired. But for that dame nature the counterfaytresse of ỹ celestial workman, eftsones breedeth Bernacles, therefore they? breede is accompted more marueilous, then to be marueiled, more wonderfull then wondered. For such is the frampng of man his nature, as he deemeth nothing precious or wonderfull, but such thinges as seldome happen. What may be thought more beautifull then the course of the sunne? And yet because we see it daily rise and set, we let it ouerslip vs, as an vsuall custome, without any staring or gazyng. Yet we are amazed and astonied at the Eclipse, because it happeneth very seldome. The Bées that are engendred of the horny combe onely by a puffe or secrete breathing, without any coupling, seme to vpholde this procreation of Bernacles. Hitherto Cambriense, with whome concerning the engendryng of Bées, Iohannes de sancto Geminiano accordeth.

Bées how they are increased.

Iohan. de. s. Gem. in lib. de exempl. & simil. rerum lib. 4. c. 31.

The inhabitantes of Ireland are accustomed to moue question, whether Bernacles be fishe or flesche, and as yet they are not fully resolued, but most vsually the religious of strictest abstinence doe eate thẽ on fish dayes. Giraldus Cambriẽse, and after him Polichronicon, suppose, that the Irishe cleargy in this poynt stray. For they hold of certaintie, that Bernacles are flesche. And if a man say they had eaten a collop of Adam his leg, he had eaten flesh. And yet Adam was not engendred of masle or female, but only created of clay, as the Bernacles of wood and rotten timber. But the Irishe clergy did not so farre straye in their opinion, as Cambriense and Polichronicon, in their disprose. For the framing of Adam and Eue was supernatural, only done by God, and not by the helpe of Aungels, or any other creature. For like as it surpasseth natures course to raise the dead, to lighten or enlight the blynd, so it stode not with the vsuall and common linage of nature, but onely with the supereminent power of God, to frame a man of clay, & a woman of a mans rib. But the engendring of Bernacles is naturall, and not so wonderfull as Cambriense maketh it. And therfore the examples are not lyke. Now it should seeme that in Cambriense his tyme, the Irishe clergy builded their reason vpõ thys plot. What so euer is flesh, is naturally

Whether Bernacles be fishe or flesche. Cambri. lib. 1. topog. dist. 1. rub. 15 Polichr. lib. 1. c. 32.

Adam and Eue onely by God created. August. super Genes. ad lit. lib. 9. c. 18.

turally begotten or engendred of flesh. Bernacles are not naturally engendred of flesh, but onely of tymber and woode, Bernacles therfore are not flesh, vnlesse you would haue them to be wooden flesh. And if the reason be so knit, it may not be diffoincted by Cambrienses his example. As if a man should argue thus. She that is begotten of any man, must be of force daughter to that mā. Melcha was begotten of Aran: ergo, Melcha was Arans daughter. This argument is of all partes so fortified, as it semeth of all sides to be empregnable. Yet a busie brayne Sophister caulling on the terme (begottē) might say, that Eue was begotten of Adam, and yet she is not Adams daughter. True it is that Adam was not Eues father, no more thē Eue was Adames mother, neither by that engendring was there any degrée of consanguinitie spōg betwene them. But because the word (begotten) is taken in the argument for the naturall engendring of man and woman, the instance giuē of Eue doth not disproue the maior. And for the better vnderstanding of the question, it is to be noted that the philosophers distinguish animalia sensitiua, that is, sēsible liuing thinges, into two sortes, perfect and imperfect. The perfect are they that are engendred of sæde, the vnperfect without sæde. Those that are naturally engendred with sæde, can neuer be naturally engendred without sæde. Albeit Auicenna very erroniously holdeth ỹ contrary. As for example. Because man is naturally engendred of man and woman, no man may naturally be engendred without the copulation of man and womā: yet supernaturally it may be. As Adam was made without man and woman: Eue framed without woman: Our Sauiour Christ begotten without man. And therfore the Deuill could not haue attainted hym of originall sinne. Contrarywise, the vnperfect may be engendred without sæde by myre, mudde, dung, carien, rotten timber or any other thyng, and chiefly by the secret influence and instillation of the celestiall planets, as the sunne and such other. As if you put the heire of an horse taile, in mire, puddle, or in a dunghill for a certaine space, it will turne to a little thin sprawlyng worme, which I haue often sene and experimented. And they are termed vnperfect, not in respect of their own nature, in which they are perfect, but in comparison of other sorte of liuyng thinges. Amonge this crew must Bernacles be setled. But here some will say: let them be perfect or vnperfect. What then? I would fayne knowe, whether Cambrienses be in an errour, or the Irishe clergy. For hitherto I sée nothyng, but Cambrienses his reason disproued. And it is often séene that a sound opinion may be weakened by a feeble reason, as we sée many fayre garmentes marde in the makyng. It is true: And if any be desirous, to know my mynd herein, I suppose, according to my simple iudgement, vnder the correction of both parties, that ỹ Bernacle is neither fishe nor flesh, but rather a meane betwene both. As put the case it were enacted by parliament, that it wer high treason, to eate flesh on Friday, and fish on Sonday. Truely I think that he that eateth Bernacles both these dayes, should not be within the compasse of the statute: yet I would not wish my frend, to hazard it, least the Bernacle should be found in law fishe or flesh, yea and perhaps fishe and flesh. As when the Lyon, king of beastes made proclamation, that all horned beastes should auoyde his courte, one beast hauing but a bunche of flesh in hys forehead, departed with the reast, least it had bene founde in law that his bunche were an horne. But some wyll peraduenture meruaile, that there should be any liuyng thyng, that were not fishe nor flesh. But they haue no such cause at all. Neates, fleshewormes, bées, butterflies, caterpillers, snailes, grasshoppers, bectels, earewicks, reremise, frogs toades, adders, snakes, and such other, are liuyng thinges, and yet they are neither fishe, nor flesh, nor yet red hering. As they that are trayned in scholasticall poyntes may easily iudge. And so I thinke, that if any were so sharpe set (the statute aboue rehersed, presupposed) as to eate fryed flies, buttered bées, stued snailes, either on Friday or Sonday, he could not be therfore endited of haute treason, albeit I would not be his guest, vnlesse I toke his table to be furnisht with more wholsome and licorous viaund. The like question may be moued of the sell, and if it were well canualled, it would be found at the least wyse a mote case. But thus farre of Bernacles.

The Bernacle neyther fishe nor flesh.

The sell whether it be fishe or flesh.

Thom. p. 1. a 71. a. 1. c. 3. o.

Irelande is stored of Cowes, of excellent horses, of hawkes, of fishe and of foule. They are not without wolues and grayhoundes to hunt them, bigger of bone and limme then a colt. Their cowes, as also ỹ rest of their cattaile, and commonly what else so euer the countrey engendreth (except man) is muche lesse in quantitie then those of England, or of other realms. Shéepe few, and those bearing course fléeses, whereof they spin notable rug. Their shéepe haue short & curt tailes. They shéere their shéepe twise yearely, & if they be left vnshorn, they are therwith rather pained then otherwise. The countrey is very fruitefull both of corne and grasse. The grasse (for default of good husbandry) suffered vncutte,

Shéepe.

Egle. groweth so ranke in the north partes, that ofttymes it rotteth theyr cattell. Egles are well known to brede in Ireland, but neither so big, nor so many as bookes tell. The horses are of pace caste, in running wonderful swift in gallop both false and full indifferent. The nagge or the hackney is very good for trauelling, albeit others report the contrary. And if he be broken accordingly, you shall haue a litle tytte, that will trauerse a whole day without any bayt. Their horses of seruice are called chiefe horses, being well broken, they are of an excellent courage. They reyne passingly, and champe vppon their bridles brauely, commonly they amble not, but gallopp and run. And these horses are but for skirmishes, not for trauelyng, for their stomaches are such, as they disdaine to be hackneid. Thereof the report grew, that the Irish hobby wyll not hold out in trauellyng. You shall haue of the third sort, a bastarde or mongrell hobby, neere as tall as the horse of seruice, strong in trauellyng, easie in ambling, and very swift in running. Of the horse of seruice they make great store, as wherin, at tymes of nede, they repose a great peece of safetie. This brode Volaterane writeth to haue come from Asturea, the country of Hispayne, betwene Gallicia and Portugall, wherof they were named Asturcones, a name now properly applied to the Hispanish Genet.

The Irish hobby.

The Nagge.

The chiefe horse.

The mongrel hobby.

Volat. lib. 3. Geog.

Asturcones

The names of the ciuities, borroughes and hauen townes in Irelande. Cap. 3.

Dublinium. DUblin, the beautie and eye of Irelande, hath bene named by Ptolomie, in auncient time, Eblana. Some terme it Dublina, others Dublinia, many write it Dublinum, auctours of better skill name it Dublinium. The Irish call it, Balleé or Cleagh, that is, a towne planted vpon hurdelles. For the common opinion is, that the plotte, vppon which, the ciuitie is buylded, hath bene a marishe ground, & for that by the arte or inuention of the first founder, the water could not be voyded, he was forced to fasten the quakemyre with hurdles, and vpon them to buylde the citie. I heard of some that came of buildyng of houses to this foundation: and other holde opinion that if a carte or wayne runne with a round and maine pace, through a streete called the high streete, the houses on eche side shal be perceyued to shake. This Citye was buylded, or rather the buildings therof enlarged, about the yeare of our Lorde 455. For about this tyme there arriued in Irelande three noble Easterlings that were brethren, Auellanus, Sitaracus, and Yuorus. Auellanus beyng the eldest brother, buylded Dublin, Sitaracus Waterforde, and Yuorus Limmerick. Of the founder Auellanus, Dublin was named Auellana, and after by corruption of speache Eblana. This Citie, as it is not in antiquitie inferiour to any citie in Irelande, so in pleasaunt situation, in gorgeous buildings, in the multitude of people, in martiall chiualrie, in obedience and loyaltie, in the aboundaunce of wealth, in largenes of hospitalitie, in maners and ciuilitie it is superiour to all other Cyties and townes in that realme. And therfore it is commonly called the Irishe or yong London. The seate of this citie is of all sides pleasant, comfortable, and wholsome. If you would trauerse hils, they are not farre of. If champion ground it lyeth of all partes, if you be delited with freshwater, the famous riuer called the Liffie, named of Ptolome Lybnium, runneth fast by. If you wil take the view of the sea, it is at hande. The onely faulte of thys Citie is, that it is lesse frequented of merchant estrangers, because of the bare hauen. Their charter is large, King Henry the fourth gaue this Citie the swoorde, in the yere of our Lord 1409. and was ruled by a Mayor and two Bailifs, which were chaunged into Shirifs by a charter graunted by Edwarde the firte, in the yeare of our Lorde 1547. In which yeare John Ryan and Robert Jans, two worshipfull gentlemen, were colleages in that office, and therof they are named the last Bailifs and first Shirifes, that haue bene in Dublin. It appeareth by the auncient scale of thys Citie, called Signum præposituræ, that this Citie haue bene in olde tyme gouerned by a Prouost.

Auellanus the founder of Dublin.

Auellana. Eblana.

Dublyne the Irishe London.

The situation of Dublyne.

The Liffye.

The swoorde giuen to Dublyne.

Shyrifes of Dublyne 1547.

Dublyne gouerned by a Prouost.

The Hospitalitie of the Mayor and the Shyriffes, for the yeare being is so large and bountifull, that sothly, London forepriced, a very few such Officers vnder the crowne of Englande kepe so great a porte, none, I am sure, greater. The Mayor, ouer the number of Officers, that take their daily repast at his table, kepeth, for his yeare, in maner, open house. And albeit in tearme time his house is frequented aswell of the Nobilitie as of other Potentates of great calling, yet his ordinarie is so good, that a very few set feastes are prouided for them. They that spende least in their Mayoralte (as those of credite, yea and such as bare the office haue informed me) make an ordinary accopt of 500. pounds for their diaunde & dyet that yeare. Which is no small somme to be bestowed in housekeping, namelye where victualles are so good cheape, and the presentes of friendes diuers and sundry.

The Hospitalitie of the Mayor & Shyrifs

There

There hath bene of late yeares a worshipfull gentleman, named, Patrike Sarcefield, that bare the office of the Mayoralte in Dublynne, who kept so great porte in his yeare, as his hospitalitie to his fame and renowne reacheth as yet in fresh memorie. One of his especiall and entyre frendes entering in communication with the gentleman, his yeare being well nere expyred, moued question, to what, he thought, his expenses, that yeare, amounted? Truely, James (so hys friende was named) quoth M. Sarcefield, I take betweene me & God, when I entered into mine office, the last S. Hierome his day (which is the morrowe of Michaelmasse, on which day the Mayor taketh his othe before the chiefe Baron, at the Eschequer, within the castle of Dublinne) I had three barnes well stored & thwackt with corne, and I assured my selfe, that any one of these three had bene sufficient, to haue stored myne house wyth breade, Ale, and bere for this yeare. And nowe, God and good companie be thanked, I stande in doubt, whether I shall rubbe out my Mayoralte with my thirde barne, which is well nigh wyth my yeare ended. And yet nothing smiteth me so much at the heart, as that the knot of good fellowes, that you see here (he ment the sergeantes and officers) are readie to flit from me, and make their next yeares aboade with the next Mayor. And certes I am so much wedded to good fellowshippe, as if I coulde maintayne mine house, to my contentation wyth defraying of fiue hundred pounds yearely, I woulde make humble sute to the citizens, to be theyr officer these three yeares to come. Ouer this, he dyd at the same tyme protest with othe, that he spent that yeare in housekeping twentie tonnes of Claret wine, ouer and aboue whyte wine, Sacke, Paulmesey, Muscadel &c. And in very deede it was not to be maruelled. For during his Mayoralte his house was so open, as commonly frō fiue of the clocke in the morning to tenne at night his buttrey and cellars were with one crew or other frequented. To the haunting of which, guestes were the sooner allured, for that you should neuer marck him or his bedfellowe (such was their bureinnesse) once frowne, or wrinckle their foreheads, or bende their browes, or glome their countenaunces, or make a sower face at any guest, were he neuer so meane. But their entertaynmēt was so notable, as they woulde sauce their bountifull and daintie fare with heartie and amiable chere. His Porter or any other Officer durst not for both his eares giue the simplest man, that resorted to his house, Tom drum his entertaynement, which is, to hale a man in by the heade, and thrust him out by both the shoulders. For he was fully resolued, that his worshippe and reputation coulde not be more disrayned, then by the currish entertaynement of any guest. To be briefe (according to the golden verses of the auncient and famous Poet, Geffray Chaucer.

Chaucer in the prologue of his Canterbury tales.

An housholder, and that a great, was he,
Sainct Iulian he was in his countre.
His breade, his Ale, was alway after one.
A better viended man was no where none.
Without bakte meate was neuer his house,
Of fishe and flesshe, and that so plenteouse,
It snewed in his house of meate and drinke.
Of all deinties, that men coulde thinke.
After the sundry seasons of the yere,
So chaunged he his meate, and his suppere.
Full many a fat Partriche had he in mew,
And many a breme, and many a Luce in stew.

Some of his frendes, that were snudging pennyfathers, woulde take him vp verye roughly, for his lauishing and his outragious expenses, as they tearme it. Twise, my maisters, woulde he saye, take not the matter so hote. Who so commeth to my table, and hath no neede of my meate, I knowe, he commeth for the good will, he beareth me, and therefore I am beholding to thanke him for his companie: if he resorte for neede, how may I bestow my goodes better, then in releeuing the poore? If you had perceyued me so farre behinde hande, as that I had bene like to haue brought Haddocke to Paddocke, I woulde patiently permit you, both largely to controule me, and friendly to reprowe me. But as long as I cutte so large thonges of mine owne leather, as that I am not yet come to my buckle, and during the time I keepe my selfe so farre a flote, as that I haue as much water as my ship draweth, I pray you, pardon me, to be liberall in spending, sith God of his goodnesse is gracious in sending.

And in deede so it fell out. For at the ende of his Mayoralte he ought no man a dothin. What he dispended was his owne. And euer after during his life, he kept so worthy standing house, as that he seemed to surrender the Princes sworde to other Mayors, and reserued the porte and hospitalitie to himselfe. Not long before him was Nicolas Stanihurst their Mayor, who was so great and good an housholder, that during his Mayoraltie, the Lord Cancellour of the royalme was his dayly & ordinarie guest. There haue bene of late worshipfull portes kept by M. Fyanne, who was twyse Mayor, M. Sedgraue, Thomas Fitz Symons, Robert Cusack. Walter Cusack, Nicholas Fitz Symons, James Bedlow, Christofer Fagan, and diuers others.

Nicholas Stanihurst.

The hospitalitie of Dublyne.

theirs. And not onely their officers so farre excell in hospitalitie, but also the greater parte of the cuntrie is generally addicted to such ordinarie and standing houses, as it woulde make a man muse, which way they are able, to beare it out, but onely by the goodnesse of God, which is the Upholder and Furtherer of hospitalitie.

What shoulde I here speake of their charitable almoyse, dayly and hourely extended to the nēedie? The poore prisoners both of the Newgate and the Castle, with three or foure hospitalles, are chiefly, if not onely, relæued by the citizēs. Furthermore there are so many other extraordinarie beggers, that dayly swarme there, so charitablye succoured, as that they make the whole citie in effect theyr hospitall. The great expenses of the citizens may probably be gathered by the worthy and Fayrelike markets wēekely on Wenesday and fryday kept in Dublinne. Theyr shambles is so well stored with meate, and their market with corne, as not onely in Ireland, but also in other countreys you shall not sée any one shambles, or any one market better furnisht with the one, or the other, then Dublinne is. The Citizens haue, from time to time, in sundry conflicts, so galde the Irishe, that euen to this daye, the Irishe feare a ragged and tagged blacke standarde that the Citizens haue, almost, through tract of tyme, worne to the harde stumpes. This standarde they carie with them in hostings, being neuer displayed, but when they are readie to enter in battaile, and to come to the shocke. The sight of which daunteth the Irish aboue measure. And, for the better training of their yougth in martial exployctes, the Citizens vse to musker foure times by the yere: on Blackmonday, which is the morow of Easter day, on Mayday, S. Iohn Baptist his eue, and S. Peter his eue. Whereof two are ascribed to the Maior & Shirifes, the other two, to witte, the musters on Mayday & S. Peter his eue are assigned to the Mayor and Shirifes of the bullering. The Mayor of Bullering is an office elected by the citizens, to be, as it were capitaine or gardayne of the batchelers and the vnwedded youth of the citie. And for the yeare he hath auctoritie to chastise & punishe such, as frequent bothehouses, and the like vnchast places. He is termed the Mayor of the Bull ring, of an Iron ring that sticketh in the corne market, to which the bulles, that are yearely bayted, be vsually tyed: which ring is had by him and his compayne in so great price, as if any citizen batchelor happe to marry, the Mayor of the bulring & his crewe conduct the bridegrome, vpon hys returne from Church, to the market place, & there with a soleme kisse, for hys Vultumum vale, he doth homage to the bull ring.

The shambles and markets of Dublyne.

The black standarde.

The musterres of Dublyne.

The Mayor of the bulring.

The Blackmonday musker sprong of hys occasion some after Irelande was conquered by the Britons, and the greater part of Leinster pacified, diuers townes men of Bristow flytted from thence to Dublin, and in shorte space the cuntrie was by them so well inhabited, as it grew to be very populous.

The black monday.

Dublyne inhabited by ỹ Bristollians. This was about the yeare of our Lorde 1209.

Whereupon the citizens hauing ouer great affiaunce in the multitude of the people, and so consequently being somewhat retcheleste in héeding the mountayne enemie, that lurcked vnder their noses, were wont to roame and royle in cluskers, somtime three or foure myles from the towne. The Irishe enemyes espying, that the Citizens were accustomed to fetche such odde vagaries, especiallye on the holy dayes, and hauing an ynckling withall by the meanes of some false clatersert or other, that a companie of them woulde haue ranged abroade, on mondaye in the Easter weeke, towards the woodde of Cullen, which is distaunt two myles from Dublinne, they lay in stale very well appointed, and layde in sundry places for their comming. The Citizens rather minding ỹ pleasure, they shoulde presently enioy, then forecasting the hurt, that might ensue, sloent vnarmed out of the cluttie to the wood, where being intercepted by the, that lay howling in ambush, they were to the number of fiue hundred miserably slayne. Whereupon the remnaunt of the Citizens deeming that vnluckie time to be a crosse or a dismalle daye, gaue it the appellation of Blackmondaye. The Citie sone after being peopled by a freshe supply of Bristollians, to dare the Irishe enemie, agréede, to banket yearely in that place. Which to this daye is obserued. For the Mayor and the Shirifes with the Citizens repayre to the wood of Cullen, in which place the Mayor bestoweth a costly dinner within a mote or a roundell, & both ỹ Shirifes within an other, where they are so well garded with the yougth of the citie, as the mountayne enemie dareth not attempt, to snatche as much, as a pastey crust from thence.

The churches of Dublyne.

Dublinne hath at this daye within the citie and in the suburbes these churches that ensue, of which the greater number are paroche churches, onely Christ his church with a few oratories and chappels excepted.

Christes church.

Christes his church, otherwise named ecclesia S. Trinitatis, a cathedrall church, the ancientest that I can finde recorded of all the churches now standyng in Dublin. I take it to haue bene builded, if not in Auellanus hys tyme,

tyme, yet sone after by the Danes. The building of which, was both repayred and enlarged by Citrius prince of Dublin, at the earnest request of Donate the bishop, and sone after the conquest it hath bene much beautified by Robert Fitz Stephens & Strangbowe the erle of Penbroke, who with his sonne is in the body of the church entumbed. The chapell that standeth in the choze, commonly called the new chappell, was builded by Girald fitz Thomas, erle of Kildare, in the yeare of our Lozd 1510. where he is entumbed.

S. Patrikes churche, a cathedzall churche, endued with notable liuings, and diuers fatte benefices. It hath a chappell at the nozth doze which is called ỳ paroch church. This church was founded by the famous and wozthy pzelate John Commyn, about the yeare of our Lozd. 1197. This foundation was greatly aduaunced by ỳ liberalitie of king John. There hath risen a greate contention betwixt thys churche and Chzistes churche foz antiquitie, wherein doubtlesse S. Patricke hys churche ought to giue place, vnlesse they haue further matter to shew, and better reasons to builde vpon, then their foundations, in whiche this churche by many yeares is inferiour to the other.

S. Nicholas.

S. Michael.

S. Werberolle, oz S. Warburge, so called of a Chesshire Virgin. The citizens of Chester founded this church, with two chappels thereto annexed, the one called our Ladies chapel, the other S. Martines chappel. Hir feast is kepte the third of Febzuary. This churche, wyth a great parte of the Citie was burnt in the yeare 1301. but agayne by the parochians reedified.

S. John the Euangelist.

S. Audoen, which is cozruptly called saint Owen, oz Owen. His feast is solemnised the xxiij. of August. The paroche of this churche is accounted the best in Dublin, foz that the greater number of the Aldermē and the wozshippes of the Citie are demurraunt within that paroche.

S. Tullock, now pzophaned. In this church in olde tyme, the familie of the Fitzsymons was, foz the moze part, buried. The paroche was meared from the Crane castle, to the fishambles, called the cockehil with Pzeston hys Innes, and the lane thereto adioyning, which scope is now vnited to S. John hys paroche.

S. Katherine.

S. Michan, oz Wighanne.

S. James: his feast is celebzated the xxv. of July, on which day in ancient time was there a wozthy fayze kept at Dublin, continuing sixe dayes, vnto which resozted diuers merchantes as wel frō England, as frō France, & Flaunders. And they afcurded their wares so doggecheape, in respect of the Citie merchantes, that the countrey was yere by yere sufficiently stozed by estrangers, and the citie merchants not vttering their wares, but to such as had not redy chinckes, and therupon fozced to run on ỳ scoze, were very much empouerished: wherfoze partly thozough the canuassing of the towne merchantes, & partly by the winching of the rest of the Citizens beyng wan vpon many gay glosed pzomises, by playing boepēpe to beare themselues ouerly in the matter, that famous marte was suppzest, and all fozreyne sale wholy abandoned. Yet foz a memoziall of this notable faire a fewe cottages, bouthes, and alepoles, are yerely pitcht at S. James his gate.

S. Michael of Poules, aliàs, Paules.

S. Bzigide.

S. Keuyn.

S. Peter de monte, oz on the hil, appendant to S. Patrikes church.

S. Stephen. This was erected foz an hospitall, foz powze, lame, & impotent lazers, where they abide to this day, although not in suche chaste and sincere wise, as the founders wyll was vpon the erection thereof. The Maioz with his bzethzen on S. Stephen his daye (which is one of their station daies) repaireth thither, and there doth offer.

S. Andzew, now pzophaned.

The names of the gates of the citie, and suburbes of Dublin.

BOth the gates nere the white friers.
S. Keuen his gate.
Hogs gate.
Dammes gate.
Poule gate, aliàs Paules gate.
Newgate, a gaole oz pzison.
Winetaberne gate.

S. Audoen his gate, hard by the church goyng downe towardes the cockell stréte. The reason why this gate, and the wynde taberne gate were builded, pzocéded of this. In the yeare 1315. Edward Bzuise a Scot, and bzother to Robert Bzuise king of Scottes arryued in the nozth of Ireland. From whence he marched on fozward with his army, vntil he came as farre as Castleknock. The citizens of Dublin being soze amazed at the sodayne & scarbozough appzoche of so puissaunt an enemy, burned all the houses in S. Thomas his stréte, lest he should vpon his repayze to Dublin haue any succour in the suburbes.

The Mayor (named, Robert Notingham) and communaltie being in this distresse razed down an Abbay of the Fryer preachers, called S. Saluiour his Monastery, & brought the stones thereof to these places, where the the gates now stande, and all along that way dyd cast a Wall for the better fortifying of the ciuitie, misrusting that the Walles that went along both the keyes, shoulde not haue bene of sufficient force to outholde the enemie. The Scottes hauing intelligence of the fortifying of Dublyne, and reckening it a folye to laye siege to so impregnable a ciuitie, marched towarde a place not far from Dublyne, called the Salmon leape, where pytching there tentes for foure dayes, they remoued towardes the Naas. But when the ciuitie was past this danger, king Edwarde the seconde gaue straight commaundement to the citizens to builde the Abbey they rased, saying that although lawes were squatted in warre, yet notwithstanding they ought to be reuiued in peace.

Gurmund his gate, harde by the cuculle, or Cockolds post. Some suppose, that one Gurmundus buylded this gate, and therof to take the name. Others iudge, that the Irishe assaulting the ciuitie, were discomfited by the Earle of Ormonde, then by good hap soiourning at Dublyne. And bycause he issued out at that gate, to the ende the valiaunt exployte and famous conquest of so worthy a Potentate shoulde be engrayled in perpetuall memorie, the gate bare the name of Ormonde his gate.

The Bridge gate.
S. Nicholas his gate.
S. Patricke hys gate.
Bungan hys gate.
The Newstreate gate.
S. Thomas his gate.
S. James his gate.

The names of the streetes, bridges, lanes and other notorious places in Dublyne.

THe Dammes streete.
The Castle streete, stretching to the Pyllorie.
S. Werberosses streete.
S. John his streete, aliàs fishechamble streete.
The Skinner rew retching from the Pyllorie, to the Tolehall, or to the high Crosse.
The high streete, bearing to the hygh Pype.

Iohn Decer. This Pipe was buylded in the yeare 1308. by a worthie Citizen, named John Decer, being then Mayor of Dublyne. He buylded not long before that tyme the bridge harde by S. Wolstans, that retcheth ouer the Lyffie.

The Newgate streete, from the Newgate to S. Audoen his Church.
S. Nicholas his streete.
The Wyne taberne streete.
The Cokelstreete.
The Bridge streete. This streete wyth the greater parte of the keye was burnt in the yeare 1304.
The Woodkey. The Merchant key.
Ostmantowne, so called of certayne Easterlings or Normans, properly the Danes that were called Ostmanni. They planted thẽselues harde by the waterside neere Dublyne, & discõfited at Clontarfe in a skyrmishe diuers of the Irishe. The names of the Irishe Captaynes slayne, were, Bryanne Borrough, Niagh mack Bryen, Cady Okelly, Dolyne Ahertegan, Gylle Barramede. These were Irishe Potentates, and before their discomfiture they ruled ẏ rosse. They were interred at Kilmaynanne ouer against ẏ great crosse. Ostmanni. 1050.
There arriued a fresh supply of Easterlings at Dublyne in the yeare 1095. & setled themselues on the other side of the ciuitie, which of them to this day is called Ostmantowne, that is, the towne of the Ostmannes, wherof there appeareth great likelyhoode to haue bene a separate towne from the Citie, being parted from Dublyne by the Liffye, as Southwarcke is seuered frõ London by Thamesse. 1095. Ostmantowne, why so called.
S. Thomas his streete. This streete was burnt by mischappe in the yeare 1343.
The New buyldinges.
The New streete.
S. Fraunces his streete.
The Bowme.
S. Patricke his streete.
The backeside of S. Sepulchres.
S. Keuen his streete.
The Poule, or Paulemyll streete.
S. Brigides streete.
The shæpe streete, aliàs, the shippe streete. For diuers are of opinion, that the sea had passage that way, and thereof to be called the Shipstreete. Thys as it seemeth not wholy impossible, considering that the sea floweth & ebbeth harde by it, so it caryeth a more colour of truth with it, bycause there haue bene founde there certayne yron ringes fastened to the towne Wall, to holde & graple boates withall.

S. Werberosses lane, vp to S. Nicholas his streete, now enclosed. The lanes
S. Michaell his lane, beginning at S. Michael his pype.
Christchurch lane.
S. John his lane.
Ram lane, aliàs, the schoolehouse lane.
S. Audoen his lane.

Leasers

Beasers lane. This lane is steepe and slipperie, in which otherwhyles, they that make more haste, then good speede, clincke there bummes to the stones. And therefore the ruder sorte, whether it be through corruption of speache, or for that they gyue it a nickename, commonly terme it, not so homely, as truely, kisse arse lane.

Rochell lane, aliâs backlane, on the southside of the flesheshambles.

The Cokestreete lane.

Frapper lane.

Giglottes hyll.

Mary lane.

S. Tullock his lane.

Scarlet lane, aliâs, Isoudes lane.

S. Pulchers lane.

S. Kenyn his lane.

The whyte Friers lane.

S. Stephane his lane.

Hogges lane.

The sea lane.

S. George his lane, where in olde tyme were buylded diuers olde and auncient monumentes. And as an enserarcher of antiquities may by the view, there to be taken, coniecture, the better parte of the suburbes of Dublyne should seeme to haue stretched that way. But the inhabitantes being dayly and hourely molested and preded by their prouling Mountaine neighbours, were forced to suffer their buyldinges fall in decay and embayed themselues within the citie Walles.

Among other monuments, there is a place in that lane called now Collets Innes, which in olde tyme was the Escacar, or exchequer. Which shoulde imply that the Princes court woulde not haue bene kept there, vnlesse the place had bene taken to be cocksure. But in fine it fell out contrarie. For the Baron sitting there solemlye, and as it seemed, retchlesly: the Irishe espying the opportunitie, rushed into the court in plumpes, where surprising the vnweaponed multitude, they cõmitted horrible slaughters, by sparing none that came vnder their dynte: and withall, as far as their scarborrough leasure coulde serue them, they ransacke the Prince his thesaure, vpon which mishappe the exchequer was frõ thẽce remoued. There hath bene also in that lane, a chappell dedicated to S. George, likelye to haue bene founded by some worthye knight of the Garter. The Mayor with hys brethren was accustomed with great triumphe and pageantes yearely on S. George his feast to repayre to that chappell, and there to offer. This chappell hath bene of late rased, and the stones thereof by the consent of the assembly turned a common Quen, conuerting the auncient monumẽt of a doughty, aduenturous, and holy knight, to the coalerake swéping of a puddoale baker.

The great Bridge, going to Oxmantowne. The bridges.

S. Nicholas his bridge.

The Poule gate bridge, repayred by Nicholas Stanihurst about the yere 1544. 1544.

The Castle bridge.

S. James his bridge.

The Castle of Dublyne, was buylded by Henry Loundres (sometyme Archebishop of Dublyne, and L. Iustice of Irelande) aboute the yeare of our Lorde 1220. This castle hath beside the gatehouse foure goodly and substãtiall towers, of which one of them is named Bermingham his tower, whether it were that one of the Berminghames dyd enlarge the buylding thereof, or elsse that he was long in durelle in that tower. This Castle hath bene of late much beautified wyth sundrye gorgious buildinges in the tyme of Sir Henry Sydney, as nowe, so then, L. Deputie of Irelande. In the commendacion of which buyldings an especiall wellwiller of his Lordshippe penned these verses, ensuing. The castell. 1220. Bermingham his towre, 1566.

Gesta libri referunt multorum clara Virorum,
Laudis & in chartis stigmata fixa manent.
Verùm Sidnæi laudes hæc saxa loquuntur,
Nec iacet in solis gloria tanta libris.
Si libri pereant, homines remanere valebunt,
Si pereant homines, ligna manere queunt.
Lignaq; si pereant, non ergo saxa peribunt,
Saxaq; si pereant tempore, tempus erit.
Si pereat tempus, minimè consumitur æuum,
Quod cum principio, sed sine fine manet.
Dum libri florent, homines dũ viuere possunt,
Dum quoq; cum lignis saxa manere valent,
Dum remanet tẽpus, dũ deniq; permanet æuũ,
Laus tua, Sidnæi, digna perire nequit.

There standeth nére the castle, ouer against a boyde rowme, called Preston his Innes, a tower, named, Isoudes tower. It toke the name of La Beale Isoude, daughter to Anguishe, king of Irelande. It seemeth to haue bene a Castle of pleasure for the kinges to recreat thẽselues therin. Which was not vnlike, considering that a meaner tower might serue such single soale kinges, as were at those dayes in Irelande. There is a village harde by Dublynne, called of the sayde La Beale, Chappell Isoude. Isowdes towre. Chappell Isoude.

S. Pulchers, the Archbishop of Dublin hys house, as well pleasantly cited, as gorgeously builded. Some hold opinion, that the beautifullest part of this house was of set purpose fired by an Archbishop, to the ende the Governors (which for the more part lay ther) should not haue so goodly lying to the house: Not far distãtyng frõ the polliey, that I heard a no- S. Sepulchers.

ble man tell, he died, who hauing a surpassing good horse, and such one as ouerran in a set race other choyse horses, did bobtayle him vpon his returne to the stable, lest any of his friends casting a fantasie to the beast, should craue him. The noble man beyng so bountifully giuen, as that of liberalitie he could not and of discretion he would seeme to giue hys friend the repulse in a more weighty request then that were.

The names of the fieldes adioyning to Dubline.

Saint Stephens greene.
Hoggyng greene.
The Steyne.
Oxmantowne greene. In the further ende of this field is there a hole, commonly termed Scald brothers hole, a Laberinth reachyng two large myles vnder the earth. This hole was in olde tyme frequented by a notorious theefe named scaldebrother, wherin he would hyde all the bag and baggage he could pilfer. The varlet was so swifte on foote, as he hath eftsones outrun the swiftest and luskiest yong men in all Oxmantowne, maugre theyr heds, bearing a potte or a panne of theyrs on his shoulders, to his den. And now and then, in derision of such as pursued hym, he would take hys course vnder the gallowes, which standeth very nigh hys caue (a fitte signe for such an Inne) and so beyng shrowded within his lodge, he reckened himself cocksure, none beyng found at that tyme so hardy as would aduenture to entangle himselfe within so intricate a maze. But as the pitcher that goeth often to the water, commeth at length home broke: so this lusky youth would not surcease from open catchyng, forcible snatchyng, and priuy prowling, to time he was by certain gaping gromes that laye in wayte for him, intercepted, fleeing toward his couch, hauyng vpon his apprehension no more wrong done hym, then that he was not soner hanged on that gallowes, through which in his youth & follitie he was wont to run. There standeth in Oxmantowne greene, an hillocke, named little Johns hyll. The occasion proceeded of this.

Scald brother.

Scald brother executed.

Little Iohn.

In the yere 1189. there ranged three robbers and outlawes in England, among which Robert hode and little John were chiefetaines, of all theeues doubtlesse the most courteous. Robert hode beyng betrayed at a Nonry in Scotland, called Bricklies, the remnaunt of the crue was scattered, and euery man forced to shift for himselfe. Wherupō little John was fayne to flie the realme, by sayling into Ireland, where he sojourned for a few dayes at Dubline. The citizens beyng done to vnderstand, the wanderyng outcast to be an excellent archer, requested hym hartily to trie how far he could shote at randone. Who yeldyng to their behest, stode on the bridge of Dublin, and shotte to that mole hill, leauyng behynde him a monument, rather by his posteritie to be wondered, then possibly by any man liuyng to be counterfeited. But as the repayre of so notorious a champion, to any countrey, would soone be published, so his abode could not be long concealed: and therefore, to eschew the daunger of lawes, he fled into Scotland, where he dyed at a towne or village called Horany. Gerardus Mercator, in his Cosmographye affirmeth, that in the same towne the bones of an huge and mighty man are kept, which was called little John, amōg which bones, ỹ huckle bone or hipbone was of such largenesse, as witnesseth Hector Boethius, ỹ he thrust his arme through ỹ hole therof. And the same bone beyng suted to the other partes of his body, did argue the man to haue bene 14. foote long, which was a prety length for a little John. Whereby appeareth, that he was called little John ironically lyke as we terme him an honest man, whom we take for a knaue in grayne. Here vnto the citie of Dubline are the foure auncient Manours annexed to the crowne, which are named to this day, the kinges lande: to wit, Newcastle, Tassaggard, Eschyre, & Crumlyn. The manour of Crumlyn payeth a greater chiefe rent to the prince, then any of the other three, which proceeded of this. The Seneschall beyng offended with the tenants for their misdemeanor toke them vp very sharply in the court, and with rough and minatory speaches began to menace the. The lobbishe and desperate clobberlousnesse, takyng the matter in dudgeon, made no more wordes, but knockt their Seneschald on the coskard, & left hym there sprawling on the grounde for dead. For which detestable murder their rent was enhaunced, and they pay at this day ix. pence an acre, which is double to any of the other three manours.

1189.

Robert hode.

Little Iohn dyed.

The king his land.

Crumlyn.

Waterford was founded by Sitaracus, as is aforesayd in the yere 155. Ptolome nameth it Manapia, but why he appropriateth ỹ name to this citye, neither doth he declare, nor I gesse. This city is properly builded, and very well compacte, somewhat close by reason of their thicke buildinges and narrowe stretes. The hauen is passing good, by which the citizens through the entercourse of forreine traphike in short space attayne to aboundaunce of welth. The soyle about it is not all of the best,

Waterford.

Manapia.

best, by reason of which the ayre is not very subtill, yet natheless the sharpnesse of theyr wittes seemeth to be nothyng rebated or dulde by reason of the grosenesse of the ayre. For in good soth the townesmen, and namely ỳ studentes are pregnant in conceiuing, quicke in takyng, and sure in keppyng. The citizens are very heedy and wary in all their publique affaires, slow in determining matters of weight, loning to loke ere they leape. In chosing their magistrate, they respect not onely his riches, but also they weigh his experience. And therfore they elect for their Maior neyther a riche man that is young, nor an olde man that is powre. They are cherefull in the entertaynement of straungers, hartye one to an other, nothing giuen to factions. They loue no idle benche whisklers, nor luskishe saytoures, for yong and old are wholy addicted to thryuing, the men commonly to traffike, the women to spinnyng and carding. As they distill the best Aqua vitæ, so they spin the choysest rugge in Ireland. A friend of myne beyng of late demurrant in London, and the weather by reason of an hard hoare frosse beyng somewhat nippyng, repayred to Paris garden, clad in one of these Waterford rugs. The maskieles had no sooner espyed him, but deeming he had bene a Beare, would sayne haue bayted him. And were it not that the dogs were partely mosseled, and partly chayned, he doubted not, but that he should haue bene well tugd in hys Irishe rugge, wherupon he solemnly vowed, neuer to see Bearebayting in any such weed. The city of Waterford hath continued to the crowne of Englande so loyall, that it is not found registred since the cõquest to haue bene disfeyned with the smallest spot, or dasked wᵗ the least freckle of treason, notwithstandyng the sundry assaults of trayterous attemptes, and therfore the cities armes are deckt with this golden worde, Intacta manet, a poesie as well to be hartily followed, as greatly admired of all true and loyall townes.

Limmericke, called in Latine Limmericũ, was builded by Pyrrus, as is before mentioned, about the yere 155. This citie coasteth on the sea hard vpon the riuer Senan, wherby are most notably seuered Mounster and Connaght: the Irish name this city Loumneagh, and thereof in Englishe it is named Limmerick. The town is planted in an Iland, which plot, in olde tyme, before the buildyng of the citie, was stored with grasse. During which tyme it happened, that one of the Irishe potentates raysing warre against an other of his pieres, encamped in that Ile, hauyng so great a troupe of horsmen, as the horses eate vp the grasse in xvij. howers: wherupon for the notorious number of horses, the place is called Loum ne augh, that is, the horse bare, or a place made bare or eaten vp by horses. The very maine sea is three score myles distaunt from the towne, and yet the riuer is so nauigable, as a ship of 200. tunne, may sayle to the key of the city. The riuer is termed in Irishe, Shaune amne, that is, the olde riuer: for shaune is olde, and amne is a riuer, deducted of the latine worde amnis. The buildyng of Limmericke is sumptuous and substantiall.

Corcke. Corcke in Latine, Coratium, or Corratium, the fourth citie of Irelande, happily planted on the sea. Their hauen is an hauen royall. On the landside they are encombred with euill neighboures, the Irishe outlawes, that they are fayne to watch their gates howerly, to kepe them shut at seruice times, at meales from sunne to sunne, nor suffer any estraunger to enter the citie with his weapon, but ỳ same to leaue at a lodge appointed. They walke out at seasons for recreation wᵗ power of men furnished. They truck not the countrey adioining, but match in wedlock among themselues only, so that the whole city is wel nigh linked one to the other in affinitie.

Drogheda. Drogheda, accounted the best towne in Ireland, and truely not far behynde some of their cities. The one moyetie of this towne is in Meath, the other planted on the further side of the water lieth in Ulster. There runneth a blynde prophesie on this towne, that Rosse was, Dublin is, Drogheda shall be the best of the three.

Rosse. Rosse, an hauen towne in Mounster not far from Waterford, which seemeth to haue ben in auncient tyme a town of great port. Wherof sondry and probable coniectures are giuẽ, as well by the olde ditches that are nowe a myle distaunt from the walles of Rosse, betwene which walles and ditches, the reliques of the auncient walles, gates and towers placed betwene both are yet to be seene. The towne is builded in a barren soyle, and planted among a crew of naughty and prowlyng neighbours. And in olde tyme when it flourished, albeit the towne were sufficiently peopled, yet as long as it was not cõpassed with walles, they were forced with watche and warde, to kepe it from the greedy snatchyng of the Irishe enemies. With whome as they were generally molested, so the priuate conseyng of one peasaunt on a sodayne, incensed them to inuiron their towne with strong and substantiall walles. There repayred one of the Irishe to this towne on horsebacke, and espying a piece of cloth on a merchants stall, toke holde thereof, and bet the clothe to the lowest

lowest pyece he could. As the Merchaunt and he stode dodging one wyth the other in cheaping the ware, the horsman considering that he was well mounted, and that the merchant and he had growen to a pyece, made wyse as though he woulde haue drawen to his purse, to haue defrayed the money. The cloth in the meane whyle being tucked vp and placed before him, he gaue the spurre to his horse and ranne away with the cloth being not imbard from his pelting pase, by reason the towne was not perclosed eyther wyth ditch or wall. The townes men being pincht at the heart, that one rascall in such scornefull wyse should giue them the slampame, not so much weighing the sclenderneſſe of the losse, as the shamefulneſſe of the foyle, they put their heades together, consulting how to preuent eyther the sodaine rushing, or the posthast flying of any such aduenterous rakehell hereafter.

In which consultation a famous Dido, a chaste wydowe, a politicke dame, a bountifull gentlewoman, called Rose, who representing in sincerities of lyfe the swætneſſe of that herbe, whose name she bare, vnfolded the deuise, howe any such future mischaunce shoulde be preuented, and withall opened hir coffers liberally, to haue it furthered: Two good properties in a counsaylour. Hir deuise was, that the towne shoulde incontinently be inclosed with walles, and there wythall promised to discharge the charges, so that they would not sticke to finde out labourers. The deuise of this worthie Matrone being lyke, and the offer liberall, the townes men agreed to follow the one, and to put their helping handes to the atchieuing of the other. The worke was begunne, which through the multitude of handes seemed light. For the whole towne was assembled, ragge & ragge, cutte and long tayle: none exempted but such as were bedred & impotent. Some were talked to delue, others appointed wᵗ mattockes to digge, diuers allotted to the vnheaping of rubbishe, many bestowed to the carryage of stones, sundry occupyed in tempering of morter, the better sorte busied in ouerseing the workemen, eche one according to hys vocation employed, as though the ciuitie of Carthage were a freshe in buylding, as it is featlye described by the golden Poet Virgil, and neately Englished by M. Doctour Phaer.

Rose, of Rosse.

The Moores with courage went to worke
some vnder burdens grones:
Some at the walles and towers with handes
were tumbling vp the stones.
Some measured out a place to buylde
their mansion house within:
Some lawes and officers to make
in Parliment dyd begin.
An other an hauen had cast,
and deepe they trenche the grounde,
Some other for the games and playes
a stately place had founde.
And pyllers great they cut for kings,
to garnish forth their walles.
And lyke as Bees among the flowers,
when fresh the sommer falles,
In shine of sunne apply their worke,
when growne is vp their yong:
Or when their hiues they ginne to stoppe,
and hony sweete is sprong,
That all their caues and cellers close
with dulcet liquour filles,
Some doth outlade, some other bringes
the stuffe with ready willes.
Sometime they ioyne, and all at once
doe from their mangers fet
The slouthfull drones, that woulde consume,
and nought woulde doe, to get.
The worke it heates, the hony smelles
of flowers and timy wet.

But to returne from Dido of Carthage, to Rose of Rosse, and hir worke, the labourers were so many, the worke, by reason of round and exchequer payment, so well applyed, the quary of fayre marble so nære at hand. (For they affirme, that out of the trenches and ditches hard by their rampyers, the stones were had, and all that plot is so stony that the foũdation is an harde rocke) that these Walles with diuers braue turrettes were sodainly mounted, and in maner sooner finished, then to the Irishe enemies notified. Which ỹ wisse was no small cosise to them. These walles in circuit are equall to Londõ walles. It hath three gorgious gates, Bishoppe his gate, on the East side: Allegate, on the East southeast side: And South gate, on the south parte. This towne was no more famoused for these walles, then for a notable wodden bridge that stretched from the towne to the otherside of the water, which must haue bẽene by reasonable surucy xij. score, if not more. Diuers of the poales, legges & stakes, with which the bridge was vnderpropt, sticke to this daye in the water. A man woulde here suppose, that so flourishing a towne, so firmely buylded, so substantially walled, so well peopled, so plenteously with thryfty artificers stored, woulde not haue fallen to any sodaine decay. But as the secret & deepe iudgements of God are veiled within the couerture of his diuine Maiestie, so it standeth not with the dulneſſe of man his wit, to beate his braynes in the curious enserarching of hidden misteries. Rosse decaped.

ries. Wherefore I, as an hyſtorian vndertaking in this Treatiſe, rather plainely to declare, what was done, then rashly to inquyre, why it ſhoulde be done: purpoſe, by God his aſſiſtaunce, to accompliſh, as nére as I can, my duetie in the one, leauing the other to the friuolous deciding of buſie heads. This Roſe, who was the foundreſſe of theſe former rehearſed walles, had iſſue thrée ſonnes, (howbeit ſome holde opinion, that they were but hir Nephewes) who beyng bolſtered out through the wealth of their mother, and ſupported by their trafficke, made diuers proſperous voyages into forraine countreys. But as one of the thrée chapmen was imployed in his trafficke abroade, ſo the prettie popelet his wyfe began to be a freſhe occupying gigglotte at home, and by report fell ſo farre acquainted wyth a religious cloyſterer of the towne, as that he gate wythin the lyning of hyr ſmocke. Bothe the partyes wallowing ouerlong in the ſtincking puddle of adulterie, ſuſpicion begainne to créepe in ſome townes mens braines, and to be brieſe, it came ſo farre, through the iuſt iudgement of God, to light, whether it were, that ſhe was with childe in hir huſbande his abſence, or that hir louer bled hir fondly in open preſence, as the preſumption was not onely vehement, but alſo the fact to too apparent. Hir vnfortunat huſband had not ſoner notice gyuen him vpon his returne of theſe ſorowfull newes, then his fingers began to nibble, hys téeth to grinne, hys eyes to trickle, his eares to dindle, his heade to dezell, in ſomuch as his heart being ſheared wyth ialouſie, & his wits enſtalde through Phrenetie, he became as madde, as a marche hare. But howe heauily ſoeuer hir huſbande toke it, Dame Roſe and all hir friendes (which were in effect all the townes men, for that ſhe was their common benefactreſſe) were galde at their hearts, aſwell to heare of the enormyous aduoutrie, as to ſée the bedlem panges of brainſicke ialouſie. Whereupon diuers of the townes menne grunting and grudging at the matter, ſayde that the fact was horrible, and that it were a déede of charitie vtterly to grubbe away ſuch wilde ſhrubbes from the towne: and if thys were in any diſpunishable wyſe rakte vp in the aſhes, they ſhoulde not ſoner trauerſe the ſeas, then ſome other woulde enkendle the like fire a freſhe, and ſo conſequently diſhoneſt their wyfes, and make their huſbands to become changelinges, as being turnde frō ſober mode to be hornewod, becauſe rutting wyues make often rammiſhe huſbandes, as our prouerbe doeth inferre. Others ſcothing their fellowes in theſe mutynies turned their priuate iniurie to a publicke quarell, and a number of the townes men conſpiring togyther flockt in the dead of the nyght, well appointed, to the Abbeye, wherein the fryer was cloyſtered (the monument of which Abbaye is yet to be ſéene at Roſſe on the South ſyde) where vnderſparring the gates, and bearing vp the dormitorie doore, they ſtabbed the adulterer with the reaſt of the couent thorough wyth their weapons. Where they left them goaring in their bloude, roaring in their cabannes, and gaſping vp their fitting goaſtes in their couches. The vproare was great, and they to whom the ſlaughter before hande was not imparted, were wonderfully thereat aſtonyed. But in eſpeciall the remnant of the cleargy, bare very hollow hearts to the townes men, and howe friendly theyr outward countenances were, yet they would not with inwarde thought forget, nor forgiue ſo horrible a murder, but were fully reſolued, whenſoeuer opportunitie ſerued them, to ſit in their ſkirtes, by making thē ſoulſe as ſorowfull a kyrie. Theſe thrée brethren not long after this bloudy exployte ſpedde thē into ſome outlandiſh countrey to continue their trade, The religious men being done to vnderſtād, as it ſeemed, by ſome of their neighbours, which forerayled them homeward, that theſe thrée brethren were ready to be imbarckt, ſlunckt priuily out of the towne, and reſorted to the mouth of the hauen, nére a caſtle, named Hulck tower, which is a notable marck for Pilottes, in directing them, which way to ſterne their ſhips, and to eſchew the daunger of the craggy rockes there on euery ſide of the ſhore peaking. Some iudge, that the ſaid Roſe was foundreſſe of this tower, and of purpoſe dyd buylde it for the ſaftie of hir childrē, but at length it turned to their bane. For theſe reuengers nightly dyd not miſſe to laye a lanterne on the toppes of the rockes, that were on the other ſide of the water. Which practiſe was not long by thē continued, when theſe thrée paſſengers bearing ſayle with a luſty gale of winde made right vpon the lanterne, not doubting, but it had bene the Hulck tower. But they toke theyr marke ſo farre amiſſe, as they were not ware, to tyme theyr ſhip was daſht and paſht agaynſt the rockes, & all the paſſengers ouerwhyrled in the ſea. This heauy hap was not ſo ſorowfull to the townes men, as it was gladſome to the religious, thincking that they had in part cryed them acquittaunce, the more that they, which were drowned, were the Archebrochers of their brethrens bloude. Howbeit they would not crye hoa here, but ſent in poſte ſome of their couent to Rome, where they inhaunced

The fryers murthered.

Hulck tower.

the

the slaughter of the fraternitie so haynously, & concealed their owne prankes so couertly, as the Pope excõmenged the towne, ỹ towne accursed the Friers: so that there was suche cursing and banning of all handes, and such discentious hurly burly rayled betwéene thẽselfes, as the estate of that flourishing towne was tourned arsye versye, topside tholherway, & from abundaunce of prosperitie quite exchanged to extréme penurye.

The walles stand to this day, a few stréets & houses in the towne, no small parcell thereof is turned to Orchardes and Gardeines. The greater part of the towne is stéepe and steaming vpwarde. Theyr church is called Christchurche, in the northside whereof is placed a monument called the king of Denmarke hys tumbe, whereby coniecture maye ryse, that the Danes were the founders of that church. This Rosse is called Rosse noua, or Rosse ponti, by reason of theyr brydge. That which they call olde Rosse, beareth east thrée myles from thys Rosse, into the countrye of Weisford, an auncient manour of the Earle of Kyldares. There is the thyrde Rosse on the otherside of the water, called Rosse Ibarcanne, so named, for that it standeth in the coũtrey of Kylkenny, which is deuyded into thrée partes, into Ibarcanne, Ida and Idouth.

The present estate of Rosse.

New rosse old Rosse.

Rosse Ibarcan.

Weisford. Weisford, an hauen towne not farre from Rosse. I finde no great matters therof recorded, but only that it is to be had in great price of all the Englishe posteritie planted in Ireland, as a towne that was the first fostrelle & harborelle of the Englishe conquerors.

Kylkennie Kilkenny, the best vplandish towne, or, as they terme it, ỹ proprest dry towne in Irelãd. It is parted into the high towne, & the Irishe towne. The Irish towne claymeth a corporation apart from the high town, wherby great factiõs growe daily betweene the inhabitants. True it is, that the Irish towne is the auncienter, and was called the olde Kilkenny, beyng vnder the bishop his becke, as they are, or ought to be at this present. The high town was builded by the Englishe after the conquest, and had a parcell of the Irishe towne therto vnited, by the bishop his graunt, made vnto the founders vpon their earnest request.

1400. In the yere 1400. Robert Talbot a worthy gentleman, enclosed with walles the better part of this towne, by which it was greatly fortified. This gentleman deceased in ỹ yeare 1415. In this towne in the chore of the Frier preachers, William Marshal Erle Marshal and Erle of Penbroke was buried, who departed this lyfe in the yere 1231. Richard brother to William, to whome the inheritaunce descended, within thrée yeres after deceased at Kilkenny, beyng wounded to death in a field gíuen in the heath of Kyldare, in the yere 1234. the 17. of Aprill, & was entumbed wyth hys brother, according to the olde epitaph. 1234.

Robert Talbot.

William Marshall.

Hic comes est positus Richard⁹ vulnere fossus.
Cuius sub fossa Kilkenia continet ossa.

The churches of Kylken. This town hath thrée churches, S. Kennies church, our Ladies churche, aliâs S. Maries church, and S. Patrikes church, with the abbey of S. John. S. Kennies churche is theyr chiefe and cathedrall church, a worthy foundation as well for gorgeous buildinges, as for notable liuyngs. In the West ende of the churchyard of late haue bene founded a Grãmer schole by the right honourable Pierce or Peter Butler Erle of Ormond and Ossory, and by his wife the countesse of Ormond, the lady Margarete fitz Girald, sister to Girald fitz Girald the Erle of Kyldare that last was. Out of which schole haue sprouted such proper ympes through the painefull diligẽce, and the laboursome industry of a famous lettered man M. Peter White (sometyme fellow of Oriall colledge in Oxford, and schole-maister in Kilkenny) as generally the whole weale publike of Ireland, and especially the southerne partes of that Iland are greatly therby furthered. This gentlemans methode in trayning vp youth, was rare and singuler, framyng the education according to the scholers paine. If he found him frée, he would bridle hym like a wyse Socrates frõ his booke: if he perceiued hym to be dull, he would spur hym forwarde: if he vnderstode that he were ỹ worse for beating, he woulde win him with rewardes: finally, by interlacing study wyth recreation, sorrow with mirth, payne with pleasure, sowernesse with swéetenesse, roughnesse with myldenesse, he had so good successe in schooling his pupils, as in good soth I may boldly byde by it, that in the realme of Irelãd was no Grãmer schole so good, in Englande I am well assured, none better. And because it was my happy happe (God & my parentes be thanked) to haue bene one of his crewe, I take it to stand with my duety, sith I may not stretch myne habilitie in requiting hys good turnes, yet to manifest my goodwill in remẽbryng his paines. And certes, I acknowledge my selfe so much bound and beholding to him and his, as for his sake, I reuerence the meanest stone cemented in the walles of that famous schole. This town is named Kilkenny of an holy and learned Abbot called Kanicus, borne in the countie of Kilkenny, or (as it is in some bookes recorded) in Connaght. This prelate beyng in his suckling yeres fostered, through

Peter white.

Pierce Butler. Margar. Fitz Girald.

Kylkenny why so ca-led.

The lyfe of Kanicus

through the prouidence of God, with the milk of a cow, and baptized and bishopped by one Luracus, thereto by Gods especiall appoyntment, deputed, grew in tracte of tyme to such deuotion and learnyng, as he was reputed of all men, to be as well a mirrour of the one, as a paragon of the other: wherof he gaue sufficient coniecture in hys minoritie. For beyng turned to the kéepyng of shéepe, and hys fellow shepeheards, wholy yelding themselues like luskish vagabonds to slouth and sluggishnesse; yet would he still finde himselfe occupied in framing with Osiars and twigs, little wodden churches, and in fashioning the furnitures thereto appertaining. Beyng stepte further in yeares, he made his repayre into England, where cloysteryng himselfe in an abbey, wherof one named Doctus, was abbot, he was wholy wedded to his booke and to deuotion: wherin he continued so painefull and diligent, as being on a certaine tyme penning a serious matter, and hauing not fully drawn the fourth vocall, the abbey bell tingde to assemble the couent to some spirituall exercise. To which he so hastened, as he left the letter in semicirclewyse vnfinished, vntill he returned backe to his booke. Some after being promoted to ecclesiasticall orders, he trauailed by the consent of his fellowmonkes to Rome, and in Italy he gaue such manifest proofe of his pietie, as to this day in some partes thereof he is highly renowmed.

Thomas towne, a proper towne builded in the countie of Kilkenny, by one Thomas fitz Antony an English man. The Irish thereof name it Bally macke Andan: that is, the towne of fitz Antony. This gentleman had issue two daughters, the one of them was espoused to Deuise, the other maried to Archdeacon, or Mackodd, whose heyres haue at this day the towne betweene them in coparcenary. But bicause the reader may see in what part of the countrey the cities & chiefe townes stand, I take not farre amisse to place them in order as ensueth.

The names of the chiefe townes in Vlster.

Drogheda.	Doonnegaule.
Carregfergus.	Karregmack Rosse.
Downe.	Newry.
Armach.	Carlingford.
Arglash.	Ardy.
Cloagher.	Doondalke.
Muneighan.	Louth.

The names of the chiefe townes in Leinster.

Dublin.	Balrudry.
Lusk.	Kylca.
Swordes.	Athy.
Tashaggard.	Catherlaugh.
Lyons.	Leighelen.
Newcastle.	Gauranne.
Rathcoule.	Thomas towne.
Oughterarde.	Enestyock.
Naas.	Cashelle.
Clane.	Callanne.
Maynooth.	Kylkenny.
Kylcocke.	Knocktofer.
Rathaymgan.	Rosse.
Kyldare.	Clonmelle.
Luianne.	Weiseford.
Castletowne.	Fernes.
Phillipstowne.	Fydderd.
Maryborough.	Enescorty.
Kylcullen.	Tathmon.
Castle marten.	Wyckloa.
Thystledermot.	Ackloa.

The names of the chiefe townes in Mounster.

VVaterford.	Corcke.
Lismore.	Lymmerick.
Doongaruan.	Kylmallock.
Yoghill.	

The names of the chiefe townes in Connaght.

Aloane.	Toame.
Galuoy.	Sligagh.
Anry.	Rossecomman.
Louaghryagh.	Arctlowne.
Clare.	

The names of the chiefe townes in Meeth.

Trymme.	Taraugh.
Doonshaghlenne.	Kemles.
Rathlouth.	Doonboyne.
Nauanne.	Greenock.
Abooy.	Duleeke.
Scryne.	

The names of the townes in Westmeeth.

Molingare.	Kylkenywest.
Fowre.	Moylagagh.
Loughseude.	Deluynne.

In the xxviij. yeare of the reigne of King Henry the eight, it was enacted in a parliament, holden at Dublynne before Syr Anthonie Sentleger knight, Lorde deputie of 1542.

Irelande,

Irelande, that Meth shoulde be deuided and made two shyres, one of them to bee called the countie of Meth, the other to be called the county of Westmeth, and that there shoulde be two shyrefes and officers conuenyent within the same shyres, as is more expresse in the acte.

The names of the chiefe hauen townes in Irelande.

Loughfoyle.	Downelounge.
The Banne.	Attannanne.
Wolderfrith.	Craghanne.
Craregfergus.	Downenebwyne.
Strangforde.	Balyneskilyliedge.
Ardglas.	Daugyne Ichouse.
Lougheuen.	Traly.
Carlingforde.	Senynne.
Kylkeale.	Cassanne.
Dnndalk.	Kylnewyne.
Kylclogher.	Lymmerick.
Dunnany.	Innyskartee.
Drogheda.	Belalenne.
Houlepatrick.	Arynenewyne.
Nany.	Glanemaughe.
Baltray.	Ballyweyham.
Brymore.	Bynwarre.
Balbriggen.	Dowrys.
Roggers towne.	Woran.
Skerrish.	Roskam.
Rushe.	Galway.
Malahyde.	Kyllynylly.
Banledooyle.	Innesbosynne.
Houth.	Owran Moare.
Dublynne.	Kylcolken.
Dalkee.	Burske.
Wickincioa.	Belleclare.
Arckloa.	Ratheſilbene.
Weisford.	Byerweisowre.
Bagganbun.	Buraueis hare.
The Passage.	Ardne makow.
Waterforde.	Rosbare.
Dungaruan.	Kilgolynne.
Rosse noua.	Wallalele.
Youghylle.	Rabranne.
Corck mabegge.	Strone.
Corck.	Burweis now.
Kynsale.	Zaltra.
Kyerye.	Kalbalye.
Rosse Ilbere.	Ardnock.
Dorrye.	Adrowse.
Baltynymore.	Sligaghe.
Downenere.	Innes Bowsennie.
Downesheade.	

Camb.lib.1. Topo.dist.2. rub.3.&4. Cambrienſe obſerued in his time, that when the ſea doth ebbe at Dublynne, it ebbeth alſo at Wixilow, and floweth at Wylford & Weiſford. At Wyckloa the ſea ebbeth when in all other partes it commonly floweth. Furthermore this he noted, that the ryuer, which rūneth by Wyckloa, vpon a lowe ebbe is ſalte, but in Arckloa, the nert hauen towne, the ryuer is freſhe when the ſea is at full. He writeth alſo, that not farre from Arckloa ſtandeth a rocke, and when the ſea ebbeth in one ſide therof, it floweth in the other ſide as faſt. Cambrienſe enſearcheth diuers Philoſophicall reaſons in finding out the cauſe, by obſeruing the courſe of the Mone, who is the empreſſe of moyſture. But thoſe ſubtilties I leaue for the ſchoolestreetes.

Of the eſtraunge and wonderfull places in Irelande. Cap. 4.

S. Patrikes Purgatorie.

I Thinke it good to beginne with S. Patrike his Purgatorie, partly bycauſe it is moſt notoriouſly knowen, & partly the more, that ſome writers, as the auctor of Polichronicon, and others that were miſcaryed by him, ſeeme to make great doubt, where they neede not. For they aſcribe the finding out of the place not to Patrike that conuerted the countrey, but to an other Patricke an Abbot, who likewiſe they affirme to haue bene employed in conuerting the Iſlande from heathentie to Chriſtianitie.

But the auctor, that broacheth this opinion, is not founde to carie any ſuch credite with him, as that a man may certainly affirme it, or probably conjecture it, vnleſſe we relye to the olde writhered worme eaten Legend, loded with as many lowde lyes, as lewde lines. The better and the more certaine opinion is, that the other Patricke founde it out, in ſuch wiſe as Cambrienſe reporteth. There is a pole or lake, ſayeth he, in the partes of Vlſter that enuironneth an Iſland, in the one part wherof there ſtandeth a Churche much lightned with the brightſome recourſe of Aungelles: the other part is ougly and gaſtly, as it were a bedlem allotted to the viſible aſſemblies of horrible and griſly bugges. This part of the Iſlande contayneth tyne caues. And if any dare be ſo hardye, as to take one night his lodging in any of theſe Innes, which hath bene experimented by ſome rache and hare brayne aduenturers, ſtraight theſe ſpirites claw him by the back, and tugge him ſo ruggedly, and toſſe him ſo crabbedly, that nowe and then they make him more franche of his bumme then of his tongue, a payment correſpondent to his intertaynemēt. This place is called S. Patricke his purgatorie of the inhabitours. For when S. Patrike laboured the conuerſion of the people of Vlſter by ſet-

Camb.lib.1. Topog.dis. 2.rub.6.

ting

ting before their eyes in great heate of spirite, the creation of the worlde, the fall of our progenitours, the redemption of man by the blessed and precious bloude of our Sauiour Jesus Christ, the certayntie of death, the immortalitie of the soule, the generall resurrection, our latter dumbe, the ioyes of heauen, the paynes of hell, howe that at length euery man, small and great, young and olde, riche and poore, king and keaser, potentate & peasaunt must eyther through God his gracious mercy be exalted to the one, to flourish in perpetuall felicitie, or through his vnsearcheable iustice tumbled downe to the other, to be tormented in eternall miserie: these and the like graue and weightie sentences, wherewith he was aboundantly stored so farre suncke into their heartes, as they seemed very flexible in condescending to his beheest, so that some proofe of his estraunge preaching coulde haue bene verified. Whereupon, without further delay, they spake to the prelate in this wyse.

Syr, as we like of your preaching, so we dislyke not of our libertie. You tell vs of many gye galwes and estraunge dreames. You woulde haue vs to abandonne infidelitie, to cage vp our libertie, to bridle our pleasure: For which you promise vs for our toyle and labour a place to vs as vnknowen, so as yet vncertayne. You sermon to vs of a dungeon appointed for offenders and miscredentes. In deede, if we coulde finde that to be true, we woulde the sooner be weaned from the sweete napple of our libertie, and frame our selues plyaunt to the will of that God, that you reueale vnto vs. S. Patricke cõsidering, that these scaly soules were (as all vnlearnanes for ỹ more part are) more to be terrified from infidelitie through the paynes of hell, then allured to Christianitie by the ioyes of heauen, most heartily besought God, so to frode wyth his gracious pleasure, for the honour and glorie of his diuine name, to giue out some euident or glimsing token of the matter they importunatly requyred. Finally by the especiall direction of God, he founde in the North edge of Ulster a desolate corner, hemmed in rounde, and in the middle thereof a pit, where he reared a Church, called Reglis or Reglas, at the East end of the Churchyarde a dore leadeth into a closet of stone lyke a long ouen, which they call S. Patricke hys purgatorie, for that the people resorted hither euen at this day for pennaunce, and haue reported at their returne estraunge visions of paine and blisse appearing vnto them.

The author of Polichronicon writeth that in the reigne of king Stephane a knight named Owen, pilgrimaged to this purgatorie, being so appalled at the straunge visions that there he sawe, as that vpon his returne from thence, he was wholly mortified, and sequestring himselfe from the worlde, he spent the remnaunt of his lyfe in an Abbay of Ludensis. Also Dionisius a Charterhouse Muncke recordeth a vision scene in that place by one Agneius, or Egneius, whereof who so is inquisitiue, may resorte to his Treatise written De quatuor nouissimis. Iohannes Camertes holdeth opinion, which he furnisheth vpon the gueshe of other, that Claudius writeth of this Purgatorie. Which if it be true, the place must haue bene extant before S. Patricke, but not so famously knowen. The Poet his verses are these.

Dyon. Cart. in lib. de quatu. nouiss. art. 48.

Iohan Camert in lib. Solini. cap. 35.

Est locus, extremũ, pandit, qua Gallia littus. Claud. lib. 1. in Ruffin.
Oceani prætentus aquis, quo fertur Vlisses
Sanguine libato populum mouisse silentum.
Flebilis auditur questus, simulachra coloni
Pallida, defunctáſq; vident migrare figuras.

There is a place towarde Ocean sea
from brimme of Gallish shoare,
Wherein Vlysses pilgrime straunge
wyth offred bloude ygoare,
The people there dyd mooue,
A skritching shrill from dungeon lugge
The dwellers all appale
wyth gastly galpe of grisly bugge.
There onely shapes are seene to stare
with visage wanne and sad,
From nouke to nouke from place to place,
in elfishe skippes to gad.

They that repayre to this place for deuotion his sake vse to continue therin foure and twenty houres, which doing otherwhyle with ghostly meditations, and otherwhyle a dread for the conscience of their desertes, they saye they see a playne resemblaunce of their owne faultes and vertues, with the horrour & comfort thereunto belonging, the one so terrible, the other so ioyous, that they verily deeme themselues for the time to haue sight of hell & heauen. The reuelatiõs of men that went thither (S. Patricke yet lyuing) are kept written within the Abbeye there adioyning: When any personne is disposed to enter (for the dore is euer sparde) he repayreth first for deuise to the Archebishop, who casteth all perickles, and disswadeth the pylgrime from the attempt, because it is knowen, that diuers entering into that caue, neuer were seene to turne backe againe. But if the partie be fully resolued, he recommendeth him to the Prior, who in like maner fauourably exhorteth him to chose some other kinde of pennaunce, and not

The ceremonies vsed in entering S. Patricke his Purgatorie.

not to hazard such a daunger. If notwithstanding he finde the partie fully bent, he conducteth him to the Church, enioyneth him to beginne with prayer, and fast of fiftéene dayes, so long togither as in discretion can be endured. This tyme erpyred, if yet he persever in his former purpose, the whole conuent accōpanyeth him with sollem procession and benediction to the mouth of the caue, where they let him in, and so barre vp the doore vntill the next morning. And then wyth lyke ceremonies they awayte his returne and reduce him to the Churche. If he be séene no more, they fast and pray, fiftéene dayes after. Touching the credite of these matters, I sée no cause, but a Christian being perswaded, that there is both hell and heauen may without vanitie vppon sufficient information be perswaded, that it might please God, at sometyme, for considerations to his wisedome knowen, to reueale by myracle the vision of ioyes and paynes eternall. But that altogyther in such sorte, and by such maner, and so ordinarily, and to such persons, as the common fame doth vtter, I neyther beléeue, nor wishe to be regarded. I haue conferde with diuers, that had gone this pilgrimage, who affirmed the order of the premisses to be true, but that they saw no sight, saue onely fearefull dreames, when they chaunced to nodde, and those they sayde, were exceéding horrible. Further they added, that the fast is rated more or lesse according to the qualitie of the penitent.

Camb. lib. 1. topog. distinct. 2. rub. 5.

Cambrienſe affirmeth, that in the North of Mounſter there be two Ilandes, the greater and the leſſe. In the greater there neuer entereth womā or any liuing female, but forthwith it dyeth. This haue béene often proued by bytches and cattes, which were brought thither to trie this concluſion, and presently they dyed. In this Iland the cocke or maſcle byrdes are ſéene to chirppe, and pearche vp & downe the twigs, but ỹ hēne or female by inſtinct of nature abādoneth it, as a place vtterly poyſoned. This Ilande were a place alone for one that were vered with a ſhrewd wyfe.

Inſula viuentium.

The leſſe Iland is called Inſula viuentium, becauſe none died there, ne may dye by courſe of nature, as Giraldus Cambrienſe ſayeth.

Howbeit the dwellers, when they are sore frusht with ſickeneſſe, or ſo farre wythered with age as there is no hope of life, they requeſt to be cōueighed by boate to ỹ greater Iland, where they are not ſoner inſhored, then they yéelde vp their ghoſtes. For my part, I haue béene very inquiſitiue of this Iland, but I coulde neuer finde this eſtraunge propertie ſoothed by any man of credite in the whole country. Neither truely would I wiſh any to be ſo light, as to lende his credite to any ſuch fayned gleſes, as are neyther veryfied by experience nor warranted by any couleurable reaſon. Wherefore I ſée not why it ſhoulde be termed Inſula viuentium, vnleſſe it be that none dyeth there, as long as he liueth. Cambrienſe telleth further, that there is a Churchyarde in Vlſter, which no female kinde may enter. If the Cocke be there, the Henne dareth not followe. There is alſo in ỹ weſt part of Connaght an Iſlande, placed in the ſea, called Aren, to which S. Bzendan had often recourſe. The dead bodies néede not in that Iſland to be graueled. For the ayre is ſo pure that the contagiō of any carryen may not infect it. There, as Cambrienſe ſayeth, may the ſonne ſée his father, his graundfather, hys great graundfather. &c. This Iſland is enemie to Myce. For none is brought thither, but eyther it leapeth into the ſea, or elſe being ſlayed, it dyeth preſently.

Cambrien coēé loca.

Arenne.

There was in Kyldare an auncient monument named the Fyrehouſe, wherein, Cambrienſe ſayeth, was there continuall fire kept day and night, & yet the aſhes neuer encreaſed. I trauelled of ſet purpoſe to the towne of Kyldare to ſée this place, where I dyd ſée ſuch a monument lyke a vaute, which to this day they call the firehouſe.

The fyrehouſe of Kyldare.

Touching the heath of Kyldare Cambrienſe wryteth that it maye not be tylde, and of a certayntie within theſe fewe yeares it was tryed, and founde, that the corne, which was ſowed, dyd not proue. In this playne, ſayth Cambrienſe, ſtode the ſtones that now ſtande in Salisbury playne, which were conueyed from thence by the ſleight of Merlyne the Welſhe prophete, at the requeſt of Aurelius Ambroſius king of the Britons.

The heath of Kildare

The ſtones of Salisbury playne.

There is alſo in the countye of Kyldare a goodly fielde called Mollaghmaſt betwéene the Nerough and Kylka. Diuers blinde prophecies runne of this place, that there ſhall be a bloudie fielde fought there betwene ỹ Engliſhe inhabitantes of Irelande and the Iriſh, and ſo bloudy forſooth it ſhall be, that a mylle in a vale harde by it ſhall runne foure & twentie houres with the ſtreame of bloude that ſhall powre downe from the hill. The Iriſh doubtleſſe repoſe a great aſſiaunce in this baldocktom dreame. In the top of this height ſtande motes or roundels very formally faſhioned, where the ſtrength of the Engliſh armie, as they ſay, ſhall be encamped.

Mollaghmaſt.

The Earle of Suſſex being Lorde Lieutenaunt of Irelande was accuſtomed to wiſhe, that if any ſuch propheſie were to be fulfilled, it ſhoulde happen in his gouernement, to the ende he might be generall of the fielde.

The Erle of Suſſex

Not

Not farre from Molleagh mask, within a myle of Caſſledermot, or Thrifledermot, is there a place markt with two hillockes whiche is named the Giraldine his throw, or caſt. The length of which in very deed is wonderfull. The occaſion proceeded of this. One of Giraldines, who was auncestour to thoſe, that now are Lordes of Lackagh preded an enemie of his. The Earle of Kyldare hauing intelligence thereof, ſurpaſſing affection of kinred, and moued by zeale of iuſtice, purſued him with a great troupe of horſemen, as the other was bringing of the prede homewarde. The Giraldine hauing notice giuen him, that the Earle was in hoate purſute, and therfore being warned by the meſſenger to hye hym with all ſpede poſſible, the gentleman being netled, that his kinſman wouldе ſeeme to reſcue the prede of his deadly foe, and as he was in ſuch fretting wyſe frying in his greaſe, he brake out in theſe colericke wordes. And doth my coſin Kyldare purſue me in dede? Now in god fayth, whereas he ſeemeth to be a ſuppreſſour of his kinred, and an vpholder of my mortall enemie; I wouldе wiſh him no more harme, then that this dart were as farre in his bodie, as it ſhall ſticke forthwith in the grounde: and therwithall, giuing the ſpurres to his horſe, he hurlde his dart ſo farre, as he abacht with the length thereof aſwell his cõpanye, as his poſteritie. The Giraldine was not very farre from thence, when the Earle with his bande made hoate ſote after, & dogging ſtill the track of the predours, he came to the place, where the dart was hurld, where one pyckthanck or other lette the Earle to vnderſtande of the Giraldine his wilde ſpeaches there deliuered. And to inhaunce the haynouſneſſe of the offence, he ſhewed howe farre he hurled his dart, when he wiſht it to be pitcht in his Lordſhip his body. The Earle aſtonyed, at the length thereof, ſayde: Nowe in god ſooth my coſin in behauing himſelf ſo couragiouſly is worthie to haue the prede ſhotte free. And for my parte, I purpoſe not ſo much to ſtomacke his colericke wiſhe, as to imbrace his valiaunt proweſſe. And therwithall cõmaunded the retraite to be blowen and reculed backe. There is in Meth an hill called the hill of Taragh, wherin is a playne twelue ſcore log, which was named the Kemp his hall. There the countrey had their mee-tinges and folcmoates, as a place that was accompted the high pallace of the Monarch. The Iriſh hyſtorians hãmer many fables in this forge of Finne macke Coyle & his champions, as the Frenche hyſtorie doth of king Arthur and the knightes of the rounde table. But doubtleſſe the place ſeemeth to beare the ſhow of an auncient and famous monument.

There is in Caſſleknock, a billedge not far from Dublyne, a windowe not glazed nor latized, but open, & let the weather be ſtormie, the winde bluſter bouſterouſly of euer ſide of the houſe, yet place a candle there, and it will burne as quietly, as if no puffe of wind blew. This may be tryed at this day, who ſo ſhall be willing to put it in practiſe. Caſtleknock. Touching the eſtraunge Welles that be in Ireland, I purpoſe to ſpeake little more then that which I finde in Cambrienſe, whoſe wordes I wyll Engliſhe, as they are latined in his booke. The eſtraunge Welles. There is, ſayth he, a Well in Mounſter, with the water of which if any be waſht, he becommeth forthwith hoare. I haue ſeene a man that had one halfe of his beарde, being dyed, with that water, hoare, the other halfe vnwaſht was brown, remaynyng ſtill in his naturall coulour. Cambri. lib. 1. topog. diſt. 1. rub. 8. & 10.

Contrarywyſe there is a ſountayne in the further edge of Ulſter, and if one be bathed therewith, he ſhal not become hoare, in which Well ſuch as loath gray heares are accuſtomed to diue. There is in Connaght a Well that ſpringeth on the top of an hill farre and diſtaunt from any ſea, ebbing and flowing in foure and twentie houres, as the ſea doth, and yet the place is vplandiſhe, & the water freſh. There is an other ſpring in the ſame countrey the water of which is very wholeſome to men and women, but poyſon to beaſtes, & if a man put but the grauell of this Well into his mouth, it quencheth preſently his thirſt.

There is in Ulſter a ſtanding pole thirtye thouſande paces long, and fiftéene thouſande paces broade, out of which ſpringeth the noble Northẽ riuer, called the Bãne. The fiſhers complayne more often for bruſting of their nettes with the ouer great lake of fiſhe, then for any want. In our time vpon the conqueſt a fiſhe ſwamme from this pole to the ſhore, in ſhape reſembling a Salmon, but it was in quantitye ſo huge, that it coulde not be drawen or carped wholly togyther, but the fiſhmõgers were forced to hackt it in gobbets, and ſo to cary it in peeremeale throughout the countrey, making thereof a generall dole. And if the report be true, the beginning of this pole was eſtraunge. There were in old time wher the pole now ſtãdeth vicious & beaſtly inhabitants. At which time was there an olde ſayde ſaw in euery man hys mouth, that as ſone as a Well there ſpringing (whiche for the ſuperſticious reuerence they bare it, was continually couered and ſigned) were left open & vnſigned, ſo ſone would ſo much water guſh out of that Well, as would forthwith ouerwhelme the whole territorie. It

hapned at length, that an olde trot came thither, to fetche water, and hearing hir childe whine, she ranne wyth might and mayne to dandle hir babie forgetting the obseruaunce of the superstitious order to fore vsed. But as she was returning backe to haue couered the spring, the lande was so farre ouerflowen, as that it past hir helpe, and shortly after she, hir suckling and all those that were within the whole territorie were drowned. And this séemeth to cary more likelyhode with it, because the fishers in a cleare sunny daye sée the steeples and other pyles playnly and distinctly in the water. And here woulde be noted, that the ryuer of the Bane flowed from this head spring before this floude, but farre in lesse quantitie, then it doth in our tyme. Hytherto Giraldus Cambriense. Hector Boëthius recordeth an estraunge propertie of a pole in Irelande, and for that he maketh himselfe an eye witnesse of the matter, he shall tell his owne tale. Ac quoniam Hiberniæ incidit mentio, præter infinita in ea rerum miracula haud importunum fore existimem, si vnum, quod ob portentuosam nouitatē fidem omnium excedere videatur, nos tamen veru experti sumus, adiunxerimus. Lacus in ea est, circa quem amplissimo circunquaq; spatio nec herba, nec arbor vlla nascitur. &c. in quem si lignum infigas anni circiter vnius curriculo id quod in terra fixum erit, in lapidem conuertetur, quod deinceps aquâ operietur, in ferrum: reliquum aquâ exstans ligni formam naturámq; seruabit. Ita coniuncta, lapis, ferrum & lignum eodem in stipite inaudita nouitate conspectātur.

Hector Boeth. in Scot. reg. descript. pag. 9. Sect. 50.

But for that mention is made of Irelande ouer and aboue the infinite number of wonders in that lande, it will not be wholly beside the purpose, to insert one marueylous thing, which although it may séeme to some, to haue no coulour of truth, yet bycause it hath bene by vs experimented, and found out to be true, we maye the better auouche it. There is a standing pole in that Iland, nere to which of all sydes groweth neyther herbe, shrubbe, nor bushe. If you sticke a rod or pece of tymber in this pole, that which sticketh in the earth within the space of one yeare turneth to a stone, asmuch as is dipt in the water, is conuerted to yron, all that is aboue the water remayneth still in the pristinate and former wodden shape. So that you may sée, that which is estrange, in one stock, or sticke, stone, yron and woode linckt and knit togither. This much Hector Boëthius. In the countey of Kylkenny and in the borders thereto confining, they vse a solem tryall by a water they cal Melalshæ, the propertie of this water is, as they say, that if a perturde person drincke therof, the water will gush out at his belly, as though the drincker his nauill were borde with an auger. The ryuer, that runneth by Dubline named the Liffye hath this propertie for certayne, and I haue obserued it at sundry times. As long as it rayneth, yea if it stode powring fiue dayes, you shal finde diuers shallow brookes, and the riuer will be nothing thereby encreased, but within foure and twentie houres after the showres are ceast, you shall perceyue such a sodayne spring flowe, as if the former rayne were great: a very few places or none at all will be founde passable. Cambriense writeth, that in the south part of Mounster betwéene the mayne sea coasting on Hilspanie, and S. Brendane his hilles, there is an Iland of the one side encompassed with a riuer abundantly stored with fish, and on the other part enclosed with a little brooke. In which place S. Brendane was very much resaunt. This plotte is taken to be such a Sanctuary for beastes as if any hare, fere, stagge, or other wylde beast, be chased nere that Iland by dogges, it maketh straight vpon the brooke, & assone as it passeth the streame, it is so recksure, as the hunter may perceyue the beaste resting on the one banche, and the dogs resting on the other brimme, being as it were by some inuisible rayles imbarde from dipping their féete in the shallowe forde to pursue the beast chased. On the other side of this Iland there runneth a ryuer stored aboue measure with freshe water fishe, and in especiall with Salmon. Which abundaunce, as Cambriense writeth, procéeded of God, to maintayne the great hospitalitie, that was kept there. And bycause the dwellers thereabout shall not, like pinching coystrels make any sale of the fishe, let it be powdered as artificially as may be, yet it will not kéepe as though it were Manna, aboue the first night or day that it be taken. So that you must eate it wythin that shorte compasse, otherwyse it putrifyeth and standeth to no séede. This ryuer ouerfloweth a great rocke, vsually called the Salmon leape, for as it is commonly the property of all fish to swim against the tyde, as for byrdes to flitter against the winde, so it is naturally giuen to the Salmon to struggle agaynst the streame, and when it approcheth nére this highe rocke, it bendeth his tayle to his heade, and sometime taketh it in his mouth, and therwythall beareth it selfe ouer the water, and sodaynly it fetcheth such a round Whirke, that at a trice it skippeth to the top of the rocke. The lyke Salmon leape is nére Leyslippe, but not so highe as this. There be also, as witnesseth Cambriense, in

Melalshæ.

The Liffy.

Cambr. lib. 1. distinct. 41.

The Salmon leape.

the

the further parte of Ulster, certayne hilles nere to S. Bean his Church, where cranes yearely breede. And when they haue layed their egges, if any purpose to ransacke their nestes, let him but attempt, to touch the egs, they will shew like young shrawling pullets without fether or doune, as though they were newe hatched, and presently brought out of their shels. But if the partie plucke his hand from the nest forthwith they shew (whether it be by any Metamorphosis, or some iugling legyer de mayne by dazeling the eyes) as though they were transformed into egges. And further, sayeth Cambriense, let two at one instaunce be at the nest, and let the one of them onely giue the gaze, and the other attept to take away the egges, they will seeme to the loker on as egges, and to the taker as yong red little cranettes, being as bare as a byrde his arse.

The towne of Armach is sayde to be enemy to rattes, and if any be brought thither, presently it dyeth. Which the inhabitauntes impute to the prayers of S. Patricke.

But to omitte the estraunge places, that eyther by false reportes are surmised, or by proofe and experience dayly verified: there are in this Iland such notable quaries of grey marble and touch, such store of pearle & other riche stones, such aboundaunce of cole, such plentie of leade, yron, latten and tinne, so many rich mynes furnished withall kinde of metals, as nature seemed, to haue framed this countrey, for the storehouse or iewelhouse of hir chiefest thesaure. Howbeit she hath not shewed hirself so bountifull a mother in powring forth such riches, as she proueth hir self an enuious stepdame, in that she instilleth in the inhabitants a drousie lyethernesse to withdraw them from the ensearching of hir hourded and hidden iewelles. Wherein she fareth lyke one, that, to purchase y name of a sumptuous franckelyne or a good viander, would bidde diuers guestes to a costly and daintie dinner, and withall for sauing of his meat wt some secrete inchauntment would benumme them of their limmes, or with some hidden lothsomnesse would dull their stomackes, as his guestes by reason of the one are not able, or for the other not willing, by taking theyr repast, to refresh themselues, in so much as in my phantasie it is harde to decide whether estate is the better: eyther for a diligent labourer to be planted in a barrayne or stony soyle, or for a luskishe loyterer to be setled in a fertill grounde, byeause the one will, & may not, the other may and will not through hys paynefull trauayle reape the fruite and commoditie, that the earth yeeldeth.

Of the Lordes Spirituall of Irelande. Cap. 5.

The spirituall iurisdiction is ordered into foure prouinces, whereof the primacie was euer giuen (in reuerence of S. Patrike, that conuerted the countrey) to the Archebishop of Armach, who is called Primas totius Hiberniæ, and the Archebishop of Dublyne Primas Hiberniæ. This custome was sithens confirmed by Eugenius tertius, in the yeare 1148. or rather 1152. who sent withall, three other palles of Archbishops to be placed, one at Dublyne, one at Cashill, y last at Tuene. To these are suffragannes in right nyne and twentie, & they all to the Primas of Armach, vnder whose prouince are the bishoppes of Meath & Deren, Ardach, Kylmore, Clogher, Doune, Coner, Clonknos, Rabo, Dromore. Under Dublyne wherevnto Innocentius the thirde vnited Glandelagh, the bishop of Elphine, Kyldare, Fernes, Ossory and Leighlyne. Under Cashill, the bishop of Waterforde, to whome Lismore is vnited, Corck & Clone, Rosse, Ardigh, Lynmyrick, Emely, Kyllalow, and Ardfert. Under Tuen, Kylmaco, Dilyne, Auaghdoune, Clonfert, Morro. In this recount some difference hapneth by reason of personall and reall vnion of the sees, and for other alterations. I haue obserued in peruling of olde bookes the names of certayne Byshoppes and Archbishoppes of Dublyne, and albeit I coulde not finde a iust register or catalogue of them, yet I take it to be better to place such as I coulde finde, then to omitte the whole.

Armach.

Dublyn.

Cashyll.

Tuen.

Cormachus was one of the first Bishoppes that I haue reade of, but I am well assured, that there were dyuers others before hys time. He florished about the yeare 893. of this Bishoppe Hector Boëthius maketh mention. Lib. 10. Scot. Hist. fol. 212. sect. 40.

Dunanus was Bishop of Dublyne long after Cormachus, for Dunanus dyed in the yere 1074. He was buryed in Christchurche in Dublyne, in the vpper part on the chauncell on the right hande.

Patricius was consecrated Bishop of Dublyne in Paule his Church at London, by the Archbishoppe of Canterbury Lanifranus, or Lanfraucus. The reason of this consecration was, for that as yet y Metropolitanes of Irelande receiued not theyr palle. A Pall is an endowment appropriated to Archbishoppes, made of white silcke the breadth of a scarfe, but it is of an other fashion. And where you shall espie the armes of any Archebishoppe blazed, there you may perceyue the Pall set

1074.

Pall what it is.

cut in white wyth a great manye of blacke crosses vpon it. An Archbishop within three monethes after his consecration or confirmation ought to demaunde his pall, otherwyse he may be remoued: neyther ought he to name himselfe Archbishop before the receyte, neither may he before summon or call a councell, make Chrisme, dedicate churches giue orders, consecrate Bishoppes. He may not were his pall without the church, neither in other prouinces, albeit in an other prouince he may be in his Pontificalibus, so that Pontificalia differeth from the pall.

c.quoniam. c.dis.

c.quod sicut de elect. penul. De priuil. & excess. priuil.cap. Archie.& in glos.

Furthermore, an Archbishop may not lend his pall to an other, but it ought to be interred wyth him. But to returne to Patricius, hys tyme was but short, for some after, as he was crossing the seas to Dublyne warde, he was drowned with his copassengers, ỳ same yeare that he was consecrated, the nynth of October.

c.ex tuarū, & c.adhoc. de auct.& vsu pal.

1075. Donatus of some called Bungus succeeded Patricious & likewyse consecrated by Lanfrancus Archbishoppe of Canterbury, at the instaunce of Terdilnacus king of Irelande, the bishoppes of Irelande, the cleargie & the Citizens of Dublyn, he deceased in the yeare 1095. Samuel succeeded Donatus, and dyed in the yeare 1122. Gregorius dyd not succeede immediately after Samuel for there be thirtie yeares betweene them both. This Gregorius was the first Metrapolitan of Dublyne and was consecrated Archbishop in the yeare 1152. and dyed in the yeare 1162.

1095.

1152.

1162. S. Laurentius Othothille. This Prelate was first Abbot of S. Beuins in Glindelagh, and after he was solemnely consecrated and installed in Christchurch at Dublyne by Gelacius the Primas of Armach, and not by Canterbury as the Bishoppes of Dublyne were before the pall giuen them. He dyed in Normandie, and was buryed in our Ladye churche of Angy in the yeare 1180. the fourteene of November.

Johanne Commin, an Englishman succeeded Laurence. This famous Prelate being cloysthered vp in the Abbeye of Eusham in Worcestershyre was highly renowmed of all men as well for his deepe learning, as for the integritie of his lyfe. The cleargie of Dublyne being giuen to vnderstande of so worthie a clarcke became hũble peticioners to the king his maiestie, Henry the seconde, that through his meanes such an vnualuable iewell shoulde be installed in Laurence hys dignitie. The king bowing to their earnest suite agreed, he shoulde be consecrated their Archbishop. Which was an happy houre for that countrey. For besides the great trauaile he endured in edifying his flocke in Christian religion, he was founder of S. Patricke hys churche in Dublyne, as is before specifyed. He deceased in the yere 1212. and was entumbed in the choare of Christchurch.

1180.

Henry Londres succeeded Commin. This man was nicknamed Scorchebyll, or Scorchebilleyn, through this occasion. Being setled in his see he gaue cõmandement to all his tenauntes to make their apparaunce before him at a day appointed, and for that he was rawe as yet in his reuenues, he toke it to stande best with their ease and quietnesse, and his cõmoditie, that eche of them should shew their euidences, whereby he might learne, by what tenure they held of him. His tennants misstrusting no sluttish dealing, but cõstruing all to be ment for the best, deliuered their euidences to their Lande lorde, who dyd scantly well peruse them, when he flung them all in the fire. The poore tenauntes espying this subtyll prancke to be verye vnfitting for a Bishoppe, coulde not bridle their tonges, but brake out on a sodayne: Thou an Archebyshop? Nay, thou art a Scorchebilleyn. But it could not be guessed to what ende this fact of his tended, for notwithstanding this, the tenants enioyed their landes, vnlesse he did it bycause they should be but tenauntes at will, and so to stande to his deuotion. This prelate doubtlesse was politicke & well lettered, and for his wysedome and learning he was elected L. Justice of Irelande. He was the founder of the castle of Dubline as is before mentioned. He deceased in the yeare 1225. & lyeth buryed in Christchurch. Whereby appeareth that Mathæus Parisiensis dyd ouershote himselfe in writing one Hu, or Hugo, to be Archbishop of Dublyne in the yeare 1213. whereas Londres at that tyme was in the see, as from his consecration to his death may be gathered, being the space of thirteene yeares.

Scorchebilleyn.

Math.Paris in vitam Ioan.pag. 316.

Johanne Stamforde succeeded Londres, but not immediately, and was consecrated in the yeare 1285. this man, vpon the death of Stephan Fulborne, Archbishoppe of Tune, was made L. Justice of Ireland in the yeare 1287. And some after being in Englande he was sent from Edwarde the first as Ambassadour to the Frenche king, and vpon his returne he deceased in England, and some after was buryed in S. Patricke his Churche at Dublyne.

1285.

1294.

Willielme Hothom is placed by some antiquaries to be Archbishoppe of Dublyne much about this time, but whether the man haue beene installed in this See at all or no, I am not able to affirme, nor to denye, but certayne it is that the date is mistaken, for vpon

1297. Ioan.Caius de antiqu. Cant.Academ.lib.1.

Johanne

Johanne Stamforde his death, Richard Fleringes was consecrated Archbishop of Dublyne, betwéene whome & the Lord Edmund Butler there arose a great controuersie in law, touching the maner of Hollywood with the appurtenances. Which manour the Lord Butler recouered by an arbitrement or composition taken betwéene them in the king his benche at Dublyne. This prelate departed this lyfe in the yeare 1306.

1306.

Richard de Haueringes was successour to Fleringes, who after that he had continued nére the space of fiue yeares in the Sée, was sore appalled by reason of an estraunge and wonderfull dreame. For on a certayne night he imagined that he had séene an vgly monster standing on his breast, who, to his thinking, was more weightie, then the whole worlde, in so much as being, as he thought in maner squised or prest to death with the heft of this huge monster, he woulde haue departed with the whole substaunce of the worlde, if he were thereof possest, to be disburdened of so heauie a loade. Upon which wish he sodaynly awoke. And as he bette his braynes in diuining what this dreame should import, he bethought himself of the flocke committed to his charge, howe that he gathered their fléeces yearely by receyuing the reuenue and perquisites of the Bishopricke, and yet suffered his flocke to starue for lacke of preaching and teaching. Wherefore being for his former slacknesse, sore wounded in conscience, he trauepled with all spéede to Rome, where he resigned vp his Bishopricke, a burden to heauie for his weake shoulders, & being vpon his resignation competently benificed, he bestowed the remnaunt of his life wholly in deuotion.

Johanne Leche nephew to Haueringes, vpon the resignation, was consecrated Archbishop. This prelate was at contention wyth the Primas of Armach, for their iurisdictiõs, insomuch as he did imbarre the Primas frõ hauing his crosse borne before him within the prouince of Leinster, which was contrarie to the Canon law, that admitteth the crosier to beare the crosse before his Archbishop in an other prouince. This man deceased in the yeare 1313.

Alexander Bigenor was next Leche consecrated Archebishop with the whole consent aswel of the chapter of Chrisschurch as of S. Patrickes. Howbeit vpon the death of Leche there arose a sysme and diuision betwéene Walter Thorneburg L. Cãcelloure of Irelande & Bigenor then threasaurer of the same countrey. The Cancellour to further his election determined to haue posted to Rome, but in ỹ way he was drowned wt the number of 156. passengers. Bigenor staying in Irelande, with lesse aduenture and better spéede with the consent of both the chapters was elected Archbishop. And in the yere 1317. there came bulles from Rome to confirme the former election. At which tyme the Archbishop and the Earle of Ulster were in Englande. This prelate sone after returned L. Iustice of Irelande, and sone after he had landed at Poghpll, he went to Dublyne, where as well for his spirituall iurisdiction, as his temporal promotion he was receyued with procession and great solemnitie. In this man his tyme was there an Uniuersitie foũded in Dublin, whereof M. William Rodyarde was chauncellour, a well learned man and one that procéeded Doctor of the canon lawe in this Uniuersitie. Bigenor deceased in the yeare. 1349.

1318.

1320.

Johanne de saint Paule was consecrated Archbishop vpon Bigenor his death. He deceased in the yeare. 1362.

1349.

Thomas Mynot succéeded Johanne, & dyed in the yeare 1376.

1363.

Robert Wyckesord succéeded Thomas, & dyed in the yeare 1390.

1375.

Robert Waldeby succéeded Wykesorde. This prelate was first an Augustine Fryer, and a great Preacher, and accompted a bertuous and sincere liuer. He deceased in the yeare 1397.

1390.

Richard Northalis was remoued from an other Sée and chosen Archbishop of Dublyn, who likewise deceased the same yeare that he was elected.

1397.

Thomas Crauly an Englishe man succéeded him the same yeare, and came into Ireland in the companie of the Duke of Surrey. This Archbishoppe was chosen L. Iustice of Ireland in the yere 1413. In whose gouernement the English did skirmish with the Irish in the countye of Kyldare nére Kilka, where the English banquished the enemie, slue and hundred of the Irishe, during which time the Archbishop being Lord Iustice went in procession with the whole cleargy in Trisseldermot, or Castledermot, a towne adioyning to Kylka, praying for the prosperous successe of the subiects, that went to skirmishe with the enimie. This prelate was of stature tall, well featured, and of a sanguine complexion, decking his outwarde comlynesse with inwarde qualities. For he was so liberall to the riche, so charitable to the powre, so dépe a clarcke, so profounde a Doctor, so sounde a Preacher, so bertuous a liuer, and so great a builder, as he was not without good cause accompted the Phœnix of his time. In daily talke as he was short, so he was swéete. Harde in promising,

1413.

1414.

The skirmish of Kylka.

bountifull in perfoꝛming. In the yere 1417. he sayled into England, and ended his life at Faringdō, and was buried in New colledge at Oxford.

1439. In the yere 1439. There hath bene one Richard Archbishop of Dubline, and L. Justice of Ireland, before who a Parliament was holden at Dublin, in the xviij. yeare of the reigne of king Henry the firt.

1460. In the yeare 1460. Walter was Archbishop of Dublin, and deputie to Jasper Duke of Bedford, lieuetenaunt of Ireland. I found in an auncient regiſter the names of certain bishops of Kyldare, that were in that see since the tyme of S. Brigida: the names of whome I thought good here to insert.

The Bishoppes of Kyldare.

Lony was bishoppe in S. Brigides tyme, which was about the yeare of our lord. 448.

448.

2. Inor.	14 Robart.
3. Conly.	15. Bonifacius.
4. Donatus.	16. Madogge.
5. Dauid.	17. William.
6. Magnus.	18. Galfride.
7. Richard.	19. Richard.
8. John.	20. James.
9. Simon.	21. Wale.
10. Nicholas.	22. Baret.
11. Walter.	23. Edmunde Lane,
12. Richard.	who flourished in
13. Thomas.	the yeare, 1518.

There hath bene a worthy prelate, canon in ỹ cathedrall church of Kildare, named Maurice Jak, who among the rest of his charitable deedes, builded the bridge of Kilcollenne, and the next yeare following, he builded in lyke maner the bridge of Leighlinne, to the great and daily commoditie of all such as are occasioned to trauaile in those quarters.

Maurice Jak.

1319. The bridg of Kylcollenne, and Leighlinne.

The lordes temporall, as well Englisshe as Irisshe, which inhabite Ireland.

Chap. 6.

GIrald fitz Girald, Erle of Kildare. This house was of the nobilitie of Florence, came from thence to Normandy, and so with Erle Strangbow his kinsmā, whose armes he giueth, into Wales, nere of bloud to Rise ap Griffin, prince of Wales by Nesta the mother of Maurice fitz Girald and Robart fitz Stephannes, with the sayd Earle Maurice fitz Girald remoued into Ireland, in ỹ yeare 1169. The family is very properly touched in a Sonet of Surreys, made vpon the Erle of Kildares sister, now Countesse of Lincolne:

1169.

From Tuscane came my Ladies worthy race,
Fayre Florence was sometyme hir auncient seate:
The Westerne Isle, whose pleasant shoare doth face
Wylde Cambers cliffes, did gyue hir liuely heate.
Fostred she was with milke of Irish brest.
Hir sire an Earle, hir dame of princes bloud:
From tender yeares in Britayne she doth rest
With kinges childe, where she tasteth costly foode.
Hunsdon did first present hir to mine eye,
Bright is hir hew and Geraldine she hight.
Hamptoune tanght me wisshe hir first for myne:
And Wyndsor alas, doth chase me from hir sight.
Hir beauty of kinde, hir vertues from aboue,
Happy is he, that can obteyne hir loue.

The corrupt Orthography that diuers vse in writing this name, doth incorporate it to houses thereto linked in no kinrede, and consequētly blemisheth diuers worthy exploites atchieued as well in England and Irelande, as in forreine countreis and dominiōs. Some write Geroide, sundry Geralde, diuers very corruptly Gerrot, others Gerarde. But the true Orthography is Giralde, as may appeare both by Giraldus Cambrienſe, and the Italian authors that make mention of the family. As for Gerrot, it differeth flatte from Giralde, yet there be some in Irelande, that name and write themselues Gerrottes, notwithstanding they be Giraldines, wherof diuers gentlemen are in Meth. But there is a sept of the Gerrots in Irelād, and they seeme forsoth by threatning kyndnesse and kinrede of the true Giraldines to fetch their petit degrees from their auncestours, but they are so nere of bloud one to the other, that two bushels of beanes wouldе scantly counte their degrees.

An other reason why diuers estrange houses haue bene shuffled in among this familie, was, for that sundry gentlemē at the christening of their children, would haue them named Giraldes, and yet their surnames were of other houses, and after it happened that Girald had issue Thomas, John, Robert, or such lyke, then would they beare the surname of Girald, as Thomas fitz Girald, and thus taking the name of their auncestors for their surname, within two or three descentes they shoue themselues among the kinrede of the Giraldines. This is a generall faulte in Ireland and Wales, and a great confusion and extinguishment of houses. This noble & auncient family of the Giraldines, haue in sundrye ages flourished in the most renoumed countries of Europe. Warring fitz Giralde was one in great credite with king John. I finde an other Giraldine Archiepiscopus Burdegalensis, who flourished in king Henry the thirde his tyme. There was an other Giraldine Patriarch of Jerusalem, in the yeare 1229. as witnesseth Mattheus Parisiensis. There was one Girald of Berneyl an excellēt Poet in the Italian tongue: an other named Baptist Girald, was a famous citizen of Ferra-

Matth. pari. in vita Ioh. pag. 314. vers. 40.

1234.

pag. 480.

ra,

ra, an expert phisition, and an exquisite philosopher, beyng publike professor of philosophy in the said city, during the space of ten yeres. I haue seene a worke of one Gregorius Giraldus Ferrariensis de deis gentium, dedicated to Hercules Duke of Ferraria, a pithye booke and very well penned. Also Siluester Giraldus Cambriense hath ben one of this family, nere of kinne to sir Maurice fitz Girald. This gentleman was borne in Wales, and thereof he is named Cambriense, of the worde Cambria, that in olde tyme was adapted to that part of Britannia. He was very inward with Henry the second, conquerour of Irelande, beyng at that tyme the kinges secretary. And for that especial affiance king Henry reposed in him, he was appointed to accompany prince John the kinges sonne into Ireland, as one of hys chiefest and discreetest counsailors. This gentleman was very well learned, a tollerable diuine, a commendable philosopher, not rude in phisike, skilfull in Cosmography, a singuler good antiquary, an orator, in endeuour cõparable to the best, in his style not in those dayes taken for the worst, rather eschewyng the name of a rude writer, then purchasing the fame of an eloquent chronicler. Among other hys workes, he wrote one booke of the description of Ireland, other two of the cõquest therof. John the Abbot of S. Albones sayeth, that this Clarke was somewhat spare in wordes, and liberall in sentences. What he meaneth by this verdict I know not, vnlesse he taketh the man to be ouer lauish of his pen in frumping hys aduersaries with quippyng tauntes, which as I gesse, flowed rather frõ a flaunting ostentation of a roysting kynde of rhetorike, then from anye greate malice hee bare anye one. Howbeit, I maye not gainesay, but as he was kind where he tooke, so he was somwhat bityng where he disliked. But what his iudgemẽt is of the Giraldines may plainly appeare in his chronicle, out of which I haue culled this sentence ensuyng.

Hoc est huius generis omen & hæc conditio. Semper in armata militia chari, semper primi, semper rebus in Martijs ausu nobili præstantissimi. Cessante vero necessitatis articulo, statim exosi, statim vltimi, statim ad ima liuore depressi. Veruntamen tantæ generositatis syluam liuor ad plenum extirpare non potuit. Vnde & vsq; in hodiernum gens hæc nouis plantularũ succrementis vires in insula non modicas habet. Qui sunt, qui penetrant hostium penetralia? Giraldidæ. Qui sunt, qui patriam conseruant? Giraldidæ. Qui sunt, quos hostes formidant? Giraldidæ. Qui sunt, quos liuor detractat? Giraldidæ. Si principem tantæ strenuitatis merita dignè pensantem reperissent, quàm tranquillum, quàm pacificum olim Hiberniæ statum reddidissent? sed horum sine causa semper est suspecta strenuitas.

This hath ben continually, sayth Cambriense, a destenye or fatall property annexed to this house. In warre and martiall broyles they are dandaled, they are coffed, they are lulled, who but they? they rule the roste. But when these martiall garboyles are appeased, they are either through false informations wrongfully behated, or els by enuious carpers sinisterly suspected. How be it, enuy with all hir malicious driftes, could neuer wholy supplant the fertile grone of this couragious and noble progeny. And maugre the heads of all malicious promoters, this sept, yea euen at this day beareth, with ẏ fewe slips there engrafted, no small stroke in Ireland. Who are they that scale the enemies fortes? the Giraldines. Who are they, that defend their countrey? the Giraldines. Who are they that make the enimy quake in hys skinne? the Giraldines. And who are they whom enuy backbiteth? the Giraldines. If it had stode with the good fortune of the Giraldines, that ẏ king with equall balance would poise their valure, long ere this had all Ireland ben put in quiet and peaceable stay. But their valiantnesse and power hath bene from tyme to tyme without sufficient cause suspected. Hitherto Cambriense.

And sothly, as often as I call to mynde the saying of this historiographer, I may not but muse how iumpe he hitteth the nayle on the hed. And who so will conferre their continual successe from the pennyng of this sentence (which was written aboue 400. yeares, and vpward) with this age of ours, shal sone perceiue, that these wordes were rather prophesies of future mishappe, then complaintes of former iniuries. At this day let them behaue themselues valiantly in warre, and loially in peace, yet notwithstandyng, such slaunders are raysed, such rumors noysed, such tales bruted, such fables twitled, such vntrue reportes twatled, such malicious inuentiõs forged, that such as are in authoritie cannot but of force suspect them, vnlesse they were able, like Gods, to pry in the bottome of ech mans conscience. But who so wisheth any goodnesse to that miserable countrey, and noble progeny, let him with all the paynes of his hart besech God, first that the higher powers be sloe in beleuyng the despitefull reportes of enuious backbiters. Secondly, that ẏ Giraldines beare themselues in all their affaires so dutifully, that these curious enserchers be not able to depaint their feygned gloses with any probable colours. So shall suspicion be abandoned, so shall malicious slaunders be squat-

ted: so shall that noble house be trusted, and consequently the batterd weale publique of Ireland reedified. The family is English, & it is well knowen, that the Irish rather feare their force, then loue their persons. And reason good pardye. For the Irishe bearyng in mynde, that the Giraldine beyng thereto deputed by the prince, hath in all ages conquered their landes, abated their courages, discomfited their men, vāquished their armies, daunted their power, suppressed their force, and made them become true and tributary subiectes to the crowne of England, they haue good cause to beare that sept but holow harts, what shew so euer they make in outward apparaunce. Thus much generally of the Giraldines, now I purpose perticulerly to treat of the house of Kyldare.

Maurice fitz Girald, one of the Erles progenitors, was L. Iustice of Ireland in ỹ yere 1242. at which tyme he builded the castle of Sligagh.

The castle of Sligagh.

This Maurice was L. of Tyreconille, and beyng entierly seised of the whole country, he gaue the one moyetie thereof to Cormocke, mack Dermot, mack Rory.

Tyreconil.

I read the Giraldine baron of Ophaly, in the yere 1270.

Baron of Ophaly.

I haue seene it registred, that there dyed a Giraldine the fourth Erle of Kyldare, in the yere 1287. But I take that calender to beare a false date.

Wherefore the truth and certaintie is, that Iohn fitz Giralde, sonne to Thomas fitz Girald, was the first Erle of Kyldare, and was created Erle vpon this occasion.

The first Erle of Kyldare.

In the yere 1290. and in the 18. yere of Edward the first, William Vesey was made L. Iustice of Ireland. This man beyng eyther negligent or raw in the gouernement of the country, emboldened the Irish enemy to endamage the kinges subiectes more oftsomes then they were accustomed to do. These enormities beyng for the space of foure yeres tolerated, the subiectes misliking of the slacknesse of their Gouernour, gaue out such sinister speaches of the L. Iustice, as he was gald to the hart rote. Sone after as the nobles in open assembly wer ripping vp by peecemeale the seuerall harmes their tenantes suffeyned, the L. Iustice willyng to disburden hymselfe of the crime, began with milky kynd of speaches to lay the whole fault on the L. Iohn fitz Giraldes shoulders, saying in parable wyse, that he was a great occasiō of these disorders, in that he bare himselfe in priuate quarels as fierce as a Lyon, but in these publike iniuries he was as meke as a Lambe. The Baron of Ophaly spelling and putting these sillables together, spake in this wyse.

1290. Vesey L. Iustice.

Vesey accuseth the L. fitz Girald.

My Lord I am hartily sory that among all this noble assembly, you make me your onely marke wherat to shote your bolt. And truely were my desertes so haineus, as I suppose, you would wish them to be, you would not labour to cloude your talk with such darke riddles, as at this present you haue done, but wold playne & flat English, your Lordship wouldd not sticke to empeache of felony or treason. For as myne auncestours with spendyng of their bloud in their seueraignes quarell aspired to this tippe of honour, in which at this day (God and my king be thanked) I stande: so your Lordship taking the nigher way to ỹ woode, by charging me with treason, would gladly trip so roundly on my top, that by shedding of my bloud, and by catching my landes into your clouches, that but so nere vpō your manours of Kyldare and Kathymgan, as I dare say they are an eye sore vnto you, you might make my maister your sonne a proper Gentleman.

The L. Girald answereth.

A Gentleman? quoth the L. Iustice. Thou bald Baron, I tell thee the Veseies wer gentlemen before the Giraldines were Barons of Ophaly, yea and before that Welsh bankrupt thyne auncestour (he ment sir Maurice fitz Girald) fethered his nest in Leinster. And where as thou takest the matter so farre in snuffe, I will teache thee thy lyrypups after an other fashion, then to be thus malipertly cockyng and billing with me that am thy gouernor. Wherfore, albeit thy taunts are such, as they might force the pacientest philosopher that is, to be chokte with choler: yet I would haue thee ponder my speaches, as though I deliuered them in my most sober and quiet mode.

The L. Iustice replieth.

I say to the face of thee, and I will auowe what I say vnto thee, that thou art a supporter of theeues, a bolsterer of the kynges enemies, an vpholder of traytors, a murtherer of subiectes, a firebrand of dissention, a ranke theefe, an arraunt traytor. And before I eate these wordes, I will make thee eate a piece of my blade.

The Baron bridelyng with might & maine hys choler, bare himselfe as colde in countenance, as the L. Iustice was hote in wordes, and replied in this wyse.

My Lorde I am very glad, that at length you vnwrapped your selfe out of that nette, wherein all this while you masked. As for myne auncestor, whome you terme a bankerupt, how rich or how powre he was vpon his repayre to Irelād, I purpose not at this time to debate. Yet thus much I may boldly say, that he came hither as a byer, not as a begger.

ger. He bought the enemies land by spending his blood: but you lurking lyke a spider in his cobweb to intrappe flies, endeuor to beg subiectes liuinges wrongfully by dispoyling the of their innocent lyues. And whereas you charge me with malipertnesse, in that I presume to chop Logike with you beyng Gouernour, by answering your snappish quid, with a knappish quo, I would wishe you to vnderstand, now, that you put me in mind of the distinction, that I as a subiect honour your royall authoritie, but as a noble man I despise your dunghill gentilitie. Lastly, whereas you charge me with the odious termes of traitor, murtherer and the lyke, & there with all you wish me to resolue my selfe, that you rest vpō reason, not vppon rage: If these wordes proceede from your Lordshippe, as from a magistrate, I am a subiect, to be tryed by order of lawe, and am sorry that the Gouernour, who ought by vertue of his publike autoritie to be my Iudge, is by reason of priuate malice become myne accuser.

But if you vtter these speaches as a priuate person, then I Iohn fitz Girald, baron of Dephaly, doe tell thee William Uesey, a single sole gentleman, that I am no traytor, no felon, and that thou art the onely buttresse, by which the kinges enemies are supported, the meane & instrument by which his maiesties subiectes are daily spoyled. Therefore I as a loyall subiect say traitor to thy teeth, and that shalt thou wel vnderstand when we both shal be brought to the rehearsall of these matters before our betters. Howbeit, during the tyme you beare office, I am resolued to gyue you the maistry in wordes, and to suffer you lyke a brawling curre to barcke, but when I see my tyme, I will be sure to byte.

These biting speaches passing to and fro, great factions on both sides were raised, with high and mighty wordes, and deepe othes to time eyther part appeased his owne. The baron of Dphalye not sleeping nor slacking hys matter, scudded with al halke into England, where he was no sooner enshoared, then Uesey, after he had substituted Wylliam Haye in his roume, was imbarckt, making as hote spote after the baron as he coulde. The kyng and his counsaile vnderstanding the occasion of their sodaine arriualles, to thend the truth shoulde be brought to light, appointed a set day for the deciding of their controuersie, and that eche of them shoulde speake for himselfe what he could. Whereupon Uesey being cōmaunded to beginne, spake to this effect.

My dread soueraigne, as I must acknowledge my selfe somewhat agreeued, to bee entangled in so intricate a matter, so I am as glad, as heart can thinke, that so weighty a controuersie is brought to the deciding of so vpright an vmpire. And whereas it stode vō your Maiesties pleasure, with the aduise of this your honourable counsaile, that I, as vnworthy, shoulde haue the gouernment of your royalme of Ireland, and during my time, your Maiesties subiects, haue beene, I may not deny it, diuerslye annoyed, for my discharge, as I sayde in Ireland, so I auow here in England, that he kneeleth here before your highnesse (poynting to the baron of Dphaly) that is the roote and crop of all these enormities. For it is well knowne, that he beareth that stroke with the Irish, as if he once but frowne at them, they dare not be so hardy as once to peake out of their cabans. And whereas hys force doth greatlye amaze them, thinke you but his countenaunce doth wonderfullye encourage them? To the furtherance of which, it is apparently knowne, and it shall be proued, that he hath not onely in hucker mucker, by sundry messages, emboldened your Maiesties enimies, to spoyle your subiectes, but also by his personall presence, in secrete meetings, he gaue them such courage, as neyther the royaltie of your highnesse, nor the autoritie of your deputie, neyther the force of your lawes, nor the strength of your puissaunt army, was able to quenche the flame of these hurlye burlyes, that through his trayterous driftes were enkindled. These and the lyke enormities through his priuye packing wyth rebels being dailye committed, to bring mee, your Maiesties gouernour, in the hatred of the people, his adherentes both secretly muttered, and openly exclaimed against mee, and my gouernment, as though the redresse of all these harmes had wholy lyen in mine hands.

Whereupon being in conference wyth such as were the chiefetens of your roialme of Ireland, albeit I toke it, to be expedient, to point wyth my finger to the verye sinke or headspring of all the treasons, that by secrete conspiracies were pretended and practised against your Maiestie and your subiects, yet notwithstanding hauing more regarde to modestie, then to the deserts of the Baron of Dphalie, I did but glaunce at his packing in such secret sort, as none, or a very fewe of the companye coulde gueesse, whome with my milkye speaches I did touche. And as commonly the galde horse doth soonest kick, so this gentleman being prickt, as it should seeme with the sting of hys guiltye conscience, brake out on a sodaine, and forgetting his allegeaunce to your highnesse, and his duty to me your deputy, he toke me vp so roughly, as though I had bene rather his vnderling then his gouernour. The

summe

summe of which dispitefull speaches, I refer to the testimonye of the honourable audience where they were deliuered.

As for hys manifolde treasons, I am ashamed to rehearse such thinges, as hée dyd not sticke, to commit. And if it shall stande wyth your Maiesties pleasure, to adiourne the tryall for a fewe dayes, I will charge hym wyth such apparent Items, as were his face made of brasse, he shall not be able to deny any one article that shall be bokte agaynst him.

When Uescye had ended, the Baron of Dphaly prest himselfe somewhat forward, and in this wise spake.

The Lord Giraldes oration.

Most puissaunt Prince, and my dread soueraigne, were master Uescy his mouth so iust a measure, as what he spake, shoulde bée holden for gospell, this had béene no fit place for so arraunt a traitour, as he with his feigned glosing woulde gladlye prowe me to be. But sith it pleased your Maiestie, wyth so indifferent ballance, to ponder both our tales, I am throughly perswaded, that my loiall innocencie shall be able, to ouerpoyse his forged treachery. Your Maiestie haue hard many wordes to small purpose. And as his complaynt hytherto haue béene generallye hudled vppe, so mine aunswere thereto may not particularly be framed.

Whereas therefore he termeth mée a supporter of théeues, a packer with rebels, a cõspiratour with traytours, If I shoulde but with a bare worde deny the premisses, all his gape glose of glittering speaches woulde soone daynlye fade away. Yea, but he craueth respit, for the boking of his articles. Truely so he hath néede. For loytring and lingring is the onely waye he maye deuise, to cloake hys feigning and forging. Wherein hée sheweth himselfe as craftye, as the Philosopher was accounted wise that promised a tyraunt, vpon menacing wordes, to schoole his Asse in philosophy, so he had seuen yeares respite, because that in that space he was perswaded, that eyther the tiraunt, the Asse or he woulde dy. In likewise master Uescy, vpõ respite graunted him, woulde hang in hope, that eyther the life of your Maiestie (which God forbid) shoulde be shortned, or that I, in tract of time, woulde be disauoured, or that he by one subtil prank or other should be of this heauy loade disburdened.

But if I haue béene as many yeares a malefactour, as he aduoucheth, howe happeneth it, that his tongue was tyed, before this late discention begun? why did he not from tyme to time aduertise the counsaile of my treasõs? Whereas nowe it may be probably conjectured, that he was egd to this seruice rather for the hatred he beareth mée, then for anye loue he oweth your royall Maiestie.

Touching the wordes I spake in Ireland, I purpose not, for ought I heard as yet, to eate them in England. And when I shall be calde, to testify such speaches, as I deliuerd there, I will not be founde so raw in my matter, as to lose my erraunt in the carriage, as master Uescy hath done, or to craue further respite, for the regestring of his manifolde treasons. As for my secret metings with Irish rebels, were I perswaded, master Uescye, that you were able to prowe them, I would be founde willing, to acknowledge them. For if my cõscience were so deepelye stronge, as you pretende, I woulde take it for better pollicie, by acknowledging my trespasse, to appeale to my King his mercye, then, by denying my faultes, to stand to the rigour of his iustice.

And as for métings, I had neuer so many in woods wyth rebels, as you, master Uescy, haue had in your chamber with cowes. For it hath béene manifestlye apparented, that when the Baron of Dphalye, and the best of the nobilitie of Irelande, haue béene embard from entring your chamber, an Irishe cowe shoulde haue at all times accesse vnto you.

No, master Uescye: a cowe, an horse, an hauke, and a siluer cup haue béene the occasion of your slacknes. When the subiects were preyed, you woulde be content, to wincke at their miserye, so that your mouth were stopt wyth bribery. And when you had gathered your crummes sufficiently togither, you held it for a prettye pollicie (and yet it was but a bare shifte) to charge the nobilitie wyth such packing, as you daily did practise.

But you must not think, that we are babes, or that wyth anye suche stale deuise, or grose iuggling trick, you may so easily duske or dazell our eyes.

Can any man, that is but sclenderly witted, so farre be caryed, as to beléeue, that master Uescy, being the Kinges deputie in Ireland, hauing hys Maiesties treasure, hauing the nobilitie at his beck, the Kings armie at hys commaundement, but that, if he were disposed to besturre himself, he were able to ferret out such barebrich bratts, as swarme in the English pale. If he say he could not, we must smyle at his simplicitie, if he could and would not, how may he coulour hys disloyaltie?

Yea, but I beare such stroke with the Irish, as that vpon any priuate quarrel I am able, to annoy them. What then? Bicause the baron of Dphaly can reuenge his priuate iniuryes wythout the assistaunce of the deputye, therfore the deputy may not vanquish weake and naked rebels, without the furtheraunce

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" of the baron of Ophaly, whereas the contrary " ought to be inferd, that if a pryuate person can " tame the Irish, what may thē the publique Ma- " gistrate doe, that hath the Princes pay.

" But in deede it is harde to take Hares with " Foxes. You must not thinke, master Uesey, that " you were sent gouernour into Ireland, to dan- " dle your trulles, to penne your selfe vp within a " towne or citie, to giue rebels the gaze, to pill the " subiects, to animate traytors, to fil your cofers, " to make your selfe by marring true men, to ga- " ther the birdes whilest other beate the bushes, & " after to impeach the nobilitie of such treasons, as " you onely haue committed.

" But for as much as our mutual complaints " stande vpon the one his Yea, and the other hys " Nay, and that you would be taken for a cham- " pion, and I am knowen to be no cowarde: let " vs, in Gods name, leaue lying for varlettes, " berdyng for ruffians, facing for crakers, chat- " ting for twatters, scoldyng for callets, bookyng " for scriueners, pleadyng for Lawyers, and lette " vs try with the dynt of swoorde, as become mar- " tiall men to doe, our mutuall quarrelles. Wher- " fore to iustifie that I am a true subiect, and that " thou, Uesey, art an archetraytor to God and to " my King, here in the presence of hys highnesse, and in the hearyng of this honourable assembly I challenge the combat. Whereat all the audi- tory shouted.

Nowe in good fayth, quoth Uesey, with a right good will. Whereupon bothe the parties beyng dismist vntill the Kings pleasure were further knowne, it was agreed at length by the counsayle, that the fittest tryal should haue bene by battayle. Wherefore the parties beyng as well thereof aduertised, as the day by the King appoynted, no small prouision was made for so eager a combat, as that was presupposed to haue bene. But when the prefixed day ap- proched neere, Uesey, turnyng his great boastes to small rost, beganne to crye creake, and secrete- ly sayled into Fraunce. King Edwarde, there- of aduertised, bestowed Ueseyes Lordships of Kyldare and Rathymgan on the Baron of O- phaly, saying that albeit Uesey conueyed hys person into Fraunce, yet he left his lands behind him in Ireland.

The Baron returned to Irelande with the gratulation of all his friendes, and was created Earle of Kildare, in the ix. yeere of Edward the second his raigne, the xiiij. of May. He deceased at Laraghbryne (a village neere to Maynooth) in the yeare 1316. and was buried at Kildare, so that he was Erle but one yeare.

The house of Kildare among diuers giftes, wherewith God hath aboundauntly endued it, is for one singuler pointe greatly to bee admi- red, that notwithstandyng the seuerall assaults of diuers enimies in sundry ages, yet this Earle that now liueth, is the tenth Earle of Kildare, to whom from Iohn the first Earle, there hath alwayes continued a lineall descent from father to sonne, which truely in mine opinion is a great blessing of God.

And for as much as this Erle now liuyng, as his Auncestors before him, haue bene shrewd- ly shooed at by his euill willers, saying that he is able, but not willyng to profite hys countrey: the Posie that is framed for him, runneth in this wise.

Quid possim, iactant: quid velim, scire recusant:
Vtraque Reginæ sint, rogo, nota meæ.

His eldest sonne is Lorde Giralde, Baron of Ophaly, for whom these verses are made. L. Giraldi

Te pulchrum natura facit, fortuna potentem,
Te faciat Christi norma, Giralde, bonum.

Syr Thomas Butler Erle of Ormond and Ossery. The Butlers were auncient Englysh gentlemen, and worthy seruitors in all ages. Earle of Ormond.

Theobald Butler Lorde of Carrick, & Iohn Cogan were Lorde Iustices of Ireland. This Butler died in the Castle of Arckelow, in the yeare 1285. 1247. The Butlers (as I am enfor- med) are tolde by auncient recordes too haue bene Earles of the Carrick.

The Lord Theobald Butler the ponger, and Sonne to the elder Theobald, was sente for by Edwarde the first, to serue against the Scots. This noble man deceased at Turuy, and his bo- dy was conueighed to Wency, a towne in the countie of Lymmericke. 1299.

Sir Edmund Butler a wise and valiaunt noble man, was dubbed knight at London by Edward the second. 1309.

This man beyng appoynted lieutenant of Irelande, vppon the repayre of Iohn Wogan, (who before was Lorde Iustice) to Englande, besieged the Obrenies in Glyndalozy: and were it not that they submitted themselues to the Kyng and the Lieutenantes mercy, they had not bene onely for a season vanquished, but al- so vtterly by him extirped. This noble man was in his gouernment suche an encourager and furtherer of seruitors, as that hee dubb'd on Saint Michael the Archangels day xxx. knights in the castle of Dublin. Hee was a scourge to the Scottes that inuaded Ireland, when he was Lieutenant. He discomfited Omourgh a no- torious rebell, neare a towne named Baly le- than. After diuers victorious exploites by him atchieued, he sayled into England, and so to Hi- spayne in pilgrimage to S. Iames. Upon his returne to England, he deceased at London, and his body beyng conueyghed into Ireland, was entombed at Ballygauran. 1312. 1313. 1315. 1316. 1321.

Iames Butler Erle of Ormond, was Lord Iustice of Ireland, in the yeare, 1359. 1359.

The

The Lord Butler and Vicecount Thurles, was dubd knight by Henry the ſixte in Englande, in the yeare 1425. at whiche tyme ſir James Butler, ſir John Butler, ſir Rafe Butler, were in like maner knighted. 1425.

1327. The firſte Earle of Ormond. James Butler, who maryed the Earle of Herfordes daughter, was preferred to the Erledome of Ormond in the firſt yeare of Edwarde the thirde: whiche fell vpon the heyres generall, laſtly vpon ſir Thomas Butler Erle of Wilſhyre, after whom it reuerſed to Pierce Butler, whom a little before King Henry the viij. had created Erle of Oſſery. Iread Butler Erle of Tipperary. Tipperary in the yeare 1300. The Latin hiſtory calleth him *Dominum de pincerna*, the Engliſh *le Butler*. Whereby it appeareth, hee had ſome ſuch honour aboute the Prince. His very ſurname is Becket, who was aduaunced by Henry the ſecondes eldeſt ſonne, Lorde Butler in recompence of the death of Thomas of Canterbury theyr kinneſman. His eldeſt ſonne is Lord Butler, Vicounte Thurles. For the Erle now liuyng, theſe verſes are made.

Magnas Auus, maiorque pater, ſed Natus vtroque
Corporis aut animi non bonitate minor.

Deſmon. Girald fitz Girald Erle of Deſmond.

Maurice fitz Thomas a Giraldine, was created Erle of Deſmond the ſame yeare, ſone after that Butler became Erle of Ormonde. His eldeſt ſonne is Lord fitz Girald of Deſmōd. The Erle now liuyng, thus ſpeaketh.

Euaſi tandem, iactatus fluctibus alti,
Et precor, in portu ſit mea tuta ratis.

Clenrichard. Sir Richard Bourke Erle of Clenrickard. A braunche of the Engliſhe family *de Burgo*. The Bourkes haue bene auncient noble menne before theyr commyng to Ireland: and in olde tyme they haue bene Erles of Ulſter. Hys eldeſt ſonne is Lorde Bourke Baron of Enykelline. His verſe is this.

Quam mihi maiorum famam bona geſta dederunt,
Hanc mihi natorum barbara facta negant.

Connogher Obren Erle of Tomonde: the name of Erle giuen to Murragh Obrene for terme of lyfe, and after to Donogh Obrene, in the fifte yeare of the raigne of Edwarde the ſixte, nowe confirmed to the heyres males. Hys eldeſt ſonne is Baron of Ibracan. Upon the Erle now liuyng, this fantaſie was deuiſed. Tomond. 1550.

Non decet externos, ſine cauſa, quærere reges,
Cum licet in tuta viuere pace domi.

Mack Carty More Erle of Clencare, created in the yeare 1565. Clencare.

Vicecount Barry. Barry.

Vicecount Roche. Roche.

Preſton Vicecount of Gormanſtowne: whereto is lately annexed the Barony of Lawnedreſſe. One of theyr auncestours Sir Robert Preſton, then chiefe Baron of the Eſchequer was dubd knight in the field by Lionel Duke of Clarence. This gentleman matcht in wedlocke with Margaret Bermingham lady of Carbry, who deceaſed in the yeare 1361. After whoſe death ſir Robert Preſton was ſeyſed of the ſayd Lordſhip in the right of his wife, and beyng moleſted by rebels, placed a garriſon in the caſtle, whereby the ſubiects were greatly eaſed, and the rebels dayly annoyed. Gormanſtowne. 1361. 1367.

There hath bene another ſir Robert Preſton of this houſe, greate graundfather to the Vicecount now liuyng. This gentleman was deputie to Richard, ſecond ſonne to Edward the fourth, in the xvj. yeare of the reygne of his father: and after likewyſe in the reigne of Henry the ſeuenth, hee was deputie to Jaſper Duke of Bedford, Erle of Pembroke, and Lieuetenaunt of Ireland, & at the ſame time was he appointed by the King generall receyuer of his reuenue in Ireland. How wiſely this noble man behaued hymſelfe in peace, and how valiauntly he bequit himſelfe in warre, ſundry of King Henry the ſeuenth his letters to him, beyng deputie, addreſſed, do manifeſtly witneſſe. There was a parliament holden before him at Drogheda, whiche was repealed in the x. yeare of Henry ỹ ſeuẽth. 1476. 1492. 1494

Sir Chriſtopher Preſton was dubd knight in the fielde by Edmund Erle of March, Lorde deputie of Ireland. William Preſton was L. Juſtice of Ireland in Henry the eyghts reigne. The houſe is auncient planted in Lankaſhyre, and from thence departed into Ireland, beyng to this day ſeyſed of a manour in Lankaſhyre, named of the houſe Preſton. The Vicount now liuyng ſpeaketh in this wyſe. 1397 Preſton came from Lanckaſhire

Si quantum vellem, tantum me poſſe putarem,
Nota eſſet patriæ mens mea firma meæ.

Euſtace *aliâs* Powar, Vicounte of Baltinglaſſe, Lord of Kylcullen to him and his heyres males, the 34. yeare of Henry the eight. Theyr auncestor Robart le Pouar, was ſent into Irelande with commiſſion, and hys offſpryng hath reſted there ſince the yeare 1175. Baltinglaſſ 1542

Powar *aliâs* Euſtace is written Baron of Domuyle in the yeare 1317. The Vicountes poeſie now liuing, is this. 1175

Cùm bonus ipſe manes, an non laus magna putatur,
Prudenter cuiuis poſſe placere viro?

Sir Richard Butler Vicount Mountgaret to him and his heyres males in the fift yeare of Edward the firſt. Mountgare 1550

Vicount Decce. Decce.

Lord Bermingham Baron of Athenry, now degenerate and become meere Iriſhe, againſt whom his auncestors ſerued valiauntly in the yeare 1300. Athenry.

John

John Bermingham was Lord of Athenry, anno 1316. John Bermingham Baron of Ardigh, called in Latine de Altio dei, in the yere 1318.

Mack Maurice, alias fitz Giralde, Baron of Kery.

L. Courcy, not very Irishe, the auncient descent of the Courcies, planted in Irelād wyth the conquest.

Flemmyng Baron of Slane. Simō Flemmyng was Baron of Slane, anno 1370. The L. now liuyng thus speaketh.

Slanius inuictus princeps mihi nomē adaptat,
In bello clarum nomen & omen habens.

Pluncket Baron of Kylline, his family came in with the Danes, whereof they haue as yet spectall monuments. Syr Chrystofer Pluncket Lord of Kylline, was Lord Lieuetenaunt of Ireland, which title is to be sēne at thys day in Kylline, engraued on hys tombe. The Baron that now lyueth, thus frameth hys poesie.

Ornant viuentem maiorum gesta meorum.
Talia me nequeunt viua cadente mori.

Nugent, Baron of Delwyn, an auncient house. Syr Gilbert de Nogent, or Nugent came into Irelande, with sir Hugo de Lacy one of the first and valiaunt conquerours of the countrey. This Gilbert matcht with Rosa de Lacy, sister to Hugo de Lacy. He had giuen hym vpon the conquest the Baronies of Foure, and of Delwyn, by the said sir Hugh, of whose brother Richard de Nogent, otherwyse called Richardus de Capella, the house of Delwin is descended. In a conueyghance, past from sir Gylbert to hys brother Richard, these wordes are inserted.

Dedi & concessi fratri meo Richardo de Capella totum conquestum meum in Hybernia, & terram quam dedit mihi dominus meus Hugo de Laci, quæ vocatur Delwyn, & totam terram meam in Anglia. The Baron now liuing, thus speaketh.

In patria natus, patriæ prodesse laboro,
Viribus in castris, consilijsq; domi.

S. Laurence, Baron of Howth in this wyse he speaketh.

Si redamus, redamo, si spernis, sperno. Quid ergo?
Non licet absq; tuis viuere posse bonis?

Pluncket Baron of Dunsany. Upon the Baron now liuyng, this deuise was framed.

Gratia quod dederat, si non fortuna negabit,
Dux tam præclaro stemmate dignus eris.

Barnewal, Baron of Trimlestowne. They came from little Britayne, where they are at this day a great surname. Upon their first arriuall, they wan great possessions at Beirhauen, where at length by conspiracy of the Irish, they were all slayne, except one young man, who then studied the common lawes in Englād, who returning, dwelt at Drūnagh besides Dublin, where his heyres to this day are setled. Drumnagh.

This house as well for antiquitie, as for the number of worshipfull gentlemen that be of the surname, beareth no small stroke in the English pale of Ireland. Howbeit of late it hath bene greatly maymed thorough the decease of three worthy and famous Barnewalles. The first was Robert Barnewall L. of Trimlestowne that last was, a rare noble man, and endued with sundry good gifts, who hauyng wholy wedded hymselfe to the reformation of hys miserable countrey, was resolued, for the whetting of his wit, which nathelesse was pregnant & quicke, by a short trade and methode he toke in his study, to haue sipt vp the very sappe of the common law, and vpon this determinatiō sayling into England, sickened shortly after at a worshipfull Patrones house at Cornubery, named Margaret Tyler, where he was to the great griefe of all hys countrey pierced with death, when the wealepublike had most nēede of his lyfe. Robert Barnwal. 1572.

The second Barnewall, that deceased, was M. Markus Barnewall of Donbroa, whose credite and authoritie had it bene correspondent to hys valure and abilitie, he woulde, I doubt not, haue bene accompted and knowen for as odde a gentleman (none dispraysed) as any in the English pale of Ireland. 1574. Marcus Barnwal.

The third of the surname that departed this lyfe, was sir Chrystofer Barnewall knight, the lanterne and light as well of his house, as of that part of Ireland where he dwelt: who, beyng sufficiently furnisht as well wyth the knowledge of the latin tongue, as of the common lawes of Englande, was zealously bent to the reformation of his countrey. A dēepe and a wyse gentleman, spare of speache, and therwithall pithy, wholy addicted to grauitie, beyng in any pleasaunt conceit rather giuen to simper, thē smile: very byright in dealing, measuryng all his affayres with the safety of conscience, as true as steele, close and secret, fast to his friend, stoute in a good quarell: a great householder, sparing without pinching, spendyng without wastyng, of nature mylde, rather chosing to pleasure, where he myght harme, then willyng to harme, where he might pleasure. He sickened the 23. of July of an hote burning ague, and ended his lyfe at his house of Turuy the fift of August, to the great losse as well of his friendes as of hys countrey, vpon whose death a sonne in law of his framed this epitaph. Sir Chrystofer Barnewal knight. 1575.

Læta tibi, sed mœsta tuis mors accidit ista.

Regna

Regna dat alta tibi, damna dat ampla tuis.
Lætus es in cœlis vllo sine fine triumphans,
Mœstus at in terris diues inopsq; iacet.
Nam sapiente caret diues, qui parta gubernet,
Nec, qui det misero munera, pauper habet.
Te gener ipse caret, viduæ, te rustica turba,
Atq; vrbana cohors, te (socer alme) caret.
Non est digna viro talis respublica tanto,
Nam sanctos sedes non nisi sancta decet.
Mira loquor, sed vera loquor, nō ficta reuoluo,
Si maiora loquar, nil nisi vera loquar.
Mortuus es? nobis hoc crimina nostra dederūt.
Mortuus es? virtus hoc tibi sacra dedit.
Viuus es in cœlo, dedit hoc tibi gratia Christi
Viuus vt in mundo sis, tibi fama dabit.

For the L. of Trimlestowne now liuing, this was deuised.

Quod mihi vita dedit, fratri Mors sæua negauit
Quod dederat fratri, det mihi fama precor.

Dunboyn. Edward Butler Baron of Donboyne, giuen to Edmund Butler Esquier, & his heires males, anno H. octaui. 33. For the Baron now liuyng, these verses are made.

1541.

Dum sequitur natus summi vestigia patris
Filius optato tramite cuncta geret.

Upper Ossery. Syr Barnaby fitz Patricke Baron of Upper Ossery, giuen to Barnaby Mack gullopatricke & his heyres males in the xxxiij. yere of Henry the eight. Donat Clonmagh mackgylpatrike was a peereles warriour in the yere 1219. Syr Barnaby fitz Patrike, now L. of Upper Ossery, was dubd knight by ye duke

1541.

1558. of Northfolke at the siege of Lieth in Scotland: for whom these verses are made.

Principis in gremio summi nutritus & altus
Hausit ab illustri regia dona schola.

Louth. Pluncket, Baron of Louth, to sir Christofer Pluncket and his heyres males, anno H. 8 33. This Barony was an Erledome pertey-

1541. nyng to the Berminghams, in the yere 1316. and soner. For the Baron now liuyng, this was deuised.

Nobilis, ingenuus, firmis quoq; firmus amicis,
Nubila seu cœlum luxue serena regat.

Dungauō. Dneyle, Baron of Dongauon, to whom the Erledome of Tyrone was entayled by gifte of Henry the eight.

Curraghmore. Power, Baron of Curraghmore.

Desert. Mack Surtan, L. Desert, hys auncestours were Lordes in the tyme of Lionel Duke of Clarence, Erle of Ulster, in the yeare 1360. now very wyld Irish.

Inshrkoin. Murtagh Obrene, Baron of Inshrkoyne, to hym and his heyres males an H. 8. 35.

1543.

Baronets. There are besides these noble men, certain gentlemen of worship, commonly called Baronets, whom the ruder sort doth register among the nobilitie, by termyng thē corruptly Barons, wheras in very deede they are to be named neyther Barons, nor Baronets, but Banrets. He is properly called a Banret, whose father was no carpet knight, but dubd in the field vnder the banner or ensigne. And because it is not vsuall for any to be a knight by birth, the eldest sone of such a knight with his heyres, is named a Bannerret, or a Banret. Such are they that here ensue.

B wi sig

Sentleger, Banret of Fleinarge, mere Irishe.
Den, Baret of Pormanstown, waring Irish.
Fitz Girald, Banret of Burnethureh.
Welleslly, Banret of the Norragh.
Husey, Banret of Galtrim.
S. Pighel, Banret of Serine.
Nangle, Banret of the Nauan.

English gentlemen of longest continuance in Ireland, are those which at this day eyther in great powerty or perill do kepe their properties of theyr auncestors landes in Ulster, beyng then companions to Courcy, the conquerour and Erle of that part. These are the Sauages, Jordanes, fitz Symons, Chamberlaines, Russels, Bensons, Audeleis, Whites, fitz Vrsulles, now degenerate, and called in Irish Mack Mahon, the Beares sonne.

The names or surnames of the learned men and authours of Ireland. Chap. 7.

Irle

ARdericus, whome Marianus Scotus terme Barbosus, because of his long beard a learned man greatly in olde time renowmed in Irelande. But for as much as in his age the countrey was not stored with such as employed theyr labours in gatherynge together the sayings and doyngs of sage persons, the discontinuance of hys fame is rather to be imputed to the ignorance of the tyme, thē to the want of hys desertes. He flourished in the yere 1053.

Alen.

Alen, a learned Phisition.

Arche

James Archer, a student of diuinitie.

Argob

Argobastus, the second bishop of Argentine, succeller for the holy prelate S. Amand, borne thus in Ireland, a learned and deuout clarke: who leauyng his country and liuyng in Heremite wyse, in certayne solitary places of France, instructed the people of that realme in ye feare of God, and the knowledge of the scriptures. In hys preaching he was noted to haue so singuler a grace, and so prosperous successe, that such as were by any worldly misaduenture afflicted, vpon the hearyng of his godly sermons would sodenly be comforted. The French kyng Dagobertus, aduertised of his lerning and vertue, caused hym to be sent for, vsing hym as hys chief counsailor in all his waighty

tie affayres. And after aduaunced hym to be bishop of Argentine. He wrote a booke of Homilies. He deceased in the yere 658. and was buried hard by a gybbet nere the city, pitcht on the top of an hill called S. Michaels hyll, which was done by his owne appointment, in that he would follow the example of hys master Christ, who did vouchsafe to suffer without the city of Jerusalem, where offenders and malefactors were executed.

Barnewall.

Brady, a preacher.

Brendan, an Abbot borne in Connaght, in hys youth trayned vp vnder Hercus a bishop: and beyng further kept in yeres, he trauelled into England, where he became a professe Monke, vnder an Abbot named Congellus. He flourished in the yere 560. and wrote these bookes ensuyng.

Confessio Christiana.lib.1.
Charta cœlestis hereditatis.lib.1.
Monachorum regula.lib.1.

Edmund Bernerden a Frier, he proceeded doctor of diuinitie in Dublin in the yere, 1320.

Brigide the virgin, borne in Leynster, she flourished in the yere 510. she wrote a booke of her reuelations.

Browne, a Ciuillian.

Burnell.

Butler, a Waterfordian, sometime scholer to M. Peter White. He translated Maturinus Corderius hys booke of phrases into English, in the yere 1562.

James Caddell, he wrote diuersa epigrammata.

Carbery, a profound ciuillian.

Celsus Archbishop of Armach, borne in Ireland and scholed in the vniuersitie of Oxford, he flourished in the yeare 1128. he wrote these bookes followyng.

Testamentum ad Ecclesias. lib.1.
Constitutiones quædam.lib.1.
Ad Malachiam epistolæ complures.

Clere, borne in Kylkenny, and proceeded M. of Arte in Oxford.

John Clinne, borne in Leinster, beyng professe a gray Frier, he bestowed his tyme in preaching chiefly in the towne of Kylkenny. This man was a good antiquary, as appeared by a chronicle he wrote, beginnyng at the Natiuitie of Christ, and stretchyng to ỹ yere 1350. in which yeare he flourished. He wrote these bookes followyng.

Annalium chronicon.lib.1.
De regibus Anglorum.lib.1.
De custodijs prouinciarum.lib.1.
De Franciscanorum cœnobijs, & eorum distinctionibus.lib.1.

Henry Cogy, doctor of diuinitie, proceeded in the vniuersitie of Dublynne, in the yeare, 1320.

Colme, a learned and an holy Monke. He flourished in the yeare 670. he wrote a booke entituled, Pro socijs Quartadecimanis. Colme.

Columbanus, borne in Ulster, and trayned in learnyng and knowledge as well in England as in Fraunce. For his learnyng & vertue, was elected to be Abbot. Hauyng trauelled diuers countreys, at length repayred to Italy, and there in an Abbey by hym founded, called Monasterium Bobiense, he ended his lyfe, the 21. of Nouember. He left to hys posteritie these bookes. 598. Colũbanus

In psalterium commentarios.lib.1.
Collationes ad Monachos.lib.1.
De moribus Monachorum metricè.lib.1.
Monasteriorum methodos.lib.1.
Epistolas ad comnilitones.lib.1.
Aduersus regem adulterum.lib.1.

Conganus an Irishe Abbot, of whom Saint Bernard maketh great accompt. He flourished in the yeare 1150. and wrote to S. Bernarde. Conganus. Bernardus in vita Malachiæ in præfat.

Gesta Malachię Archiepiscopi.lib.1.
Ad Bernardum Clareuallensem epist.plures.

Connour. Connour.

Walter Conton. He wrote in the latin tonge diuers epigrames and epitaphes. Conton.

Symon Coniel a deuine. Coniel.

Cornelius Hybernus, otherwyse named Historicus, by reason that he was taken in hys tyme for an exquisite antiquary, as may appeare by the Scottish Historian Hector Boetius, by whom he acknowledgeth hymselfe to be greatly furthered. He flourished in the yere 1230. and wrote, Maltarum rerum Chronicon. lib.1. Cornelius. Hector Boet. in præsul. Scot. Hist.

Richarde Creagh borne in Lymmericke, a deuine, he wrote Creagh.

Epistolas complures.
Responsiones ad casus conscientiæ.
De vitis sanctorum Hyberniæ:
Topographiam Hyberniæ, with diuers other bookes.

Henry Crumpe borne in Ireland, & brought vp in ỹ vniuersitie of Oxford, where he grew by reason of hys profound knowledge in diuinitie, to no small credite. Hauing repayred to his natiue coũtrey, minding there to defray ỹ talent wherwith god had endued him, he was sodenly apprehended by Symon Bysshoppe of Heath, and kept in duresse by reason that hee was suspected to be of no sound religion. He flourished in the yeare 1392. and wrote these bookes. Crumpe.

Determinationes scholast.lib.1.
Contra religiosos mendicantes.lib.1.
Responsiones ad obiecta.lib.1.

Edmund

Curren. Edmund Curren, archdeacon of old laghlin, there hath bene an Irish Bishop of the name.

Cusack. Patricke Cusacke, a Gentleman borne, and a scholler of Oxford, sometime schole-master in Dublinne, and one that wyth the learning, that God did imparte hym, gaue great light to his countrey. He imployed his studies rather in the instructing of schollers then in penning of bookes. He florished in the yeare, 1566. and wrote in latine Diuersa epigrammata.

Daly. Daly, schooled in the vniuersitie of Parise, hauing a pretty ensight in scholasticall Diuinitie, he made Diuersas Conciones.

Darcy. Sir Willielme Darcy knight, a wise gentleman, he wrote a booke entituled, The decay of Irelande.

Delahide. Dauid Delahide, an exquisite and a profound Clarke, sometime fellow of Merton colledge in Oxforde, very well seene in the latine and greeke tongue. Expert in the Mathematicals, a proper antiquary, & an exact Diuine. Whereby I gather, that his penne hath not bene lazie, but is dailye breeding of such learned bookes, as shal be auaileable to his posteritie. I haue seene a proper Oration of hys, in the praise of master Heiwood being Christmasse Lorde in Merton colledge, entituled, De ligno et fœno, also Scemata rhetorica in tabulam contracta.

Deuor. Deuor, there are two brethren of the name learned, the elder was sometime schoolemaster in Wexforde.

Dyllon. Peter Dyllen, a Diuine, and John Dyllo likewise a student in Diuinitie.

Doudal. Doudall, sometime primas of Armach, a graue, a learned, and a politique prelate. Very zealously affected to the reformation of his countrey, he made, Diuersas conciones.

Dormer. Dormer, a lawyer, borne in Rosse, scholler of Oxford. He wrote in ballade royall. The decay of Rosse.

Duns. Iohannes maior. li. 4. cap. 18. Iohannes duns scotus, an Irishe man borne, as in the forefront of this treatise I haue declared. Howbeit Iohanes maior, a Scottish Chronicler, woulde faine proue him to be a Scotte. Lelande on the other side sayeth, hee was borne in England: so that there shall as great contencion rise of him, as in olde tyme there rose of Homers countrey. For the Colophonias said that Homer was borne in their citie, the Chyans claymed him to be theirs, the Salamynians auouched, that hee was their countrey man, but the Smyrneans were so stifly bent, in proouing him to bee borne in their territory, as they would at no hand take no nay in the matter, and therevpon they did consecrate a church to the name of Homer. Cic. in orat. pro Arch. poeta. But what countreye man soeuer this Scotus were, he was doubtlesse a subtil and profound clearke. The onely fault, wherewith he was dusked, was a litle spice of vaine glory, being giuen to carpe and taunt his predecessour deuines, rather for blemmishing the fame of hys aduersaryes, then for aduaunceing the truth of the controuersies. Wherevpon great factions are growen in the scholes betweene the Thomistis and ỹ Scottistis, Thomas being the ringleader of the one sect, and Scotus the Thomist. Scotist. belweather of the other. Hee was fellowe of Merton colledge in Oxforde, and from thence he was sent for to Parise to be a professour of Diuinitie. Finally he repayred to Cullen wherein an Abbey of gray fryars (of which 1308. profession he was one) he ended his life. The bookes he wrote, are these.

Commentarij Oxonienses. lib. 4.
Reportationes parisienses. lib. 4.
Quodlibeta scholastica. lib. 1.
In Anialitica posteriora. lib. 2.
In Metaphisicam quæstiones. lib. 12.
De Cognitione dei. lib. 1.
De perfectione statuum. lib. 1.
Sermones de tempore. lib. 1.
Sermones de Sanctis. lib. 1.
Collationes parisienses. lib. 1.
Lectura in Genesim. lib. 1.
De rerum principio. lib. 1.
Commentarij in euangelia. lib. 4.
In epistolas pauli. lib. plures.
Quæstiones Vniuersalium. lib. 1.
Quæstiones prædicamentorum. lib. 1.
In Aristotelis phisica. lib. 8.
In Categorias Aristotelis. lib. 1.
Tentagreumata quædam. lib. 1.
Commentarij imperfecti. lib. 1.

Eustace. Eustace, a Doctor of Diuinitie, a very good scholeman, he florished in the yeare 1536.

Oliuer, or Oliuer Eustace, a student of the ciuile and Cannon law, a good humanitian, & a proper philosopher.

Nicolas Eustace, a Gentleman borne, surpassing birth by learning, and learning by vertue.

Maurice Eustace, a student of Diuinitie, one that notwithstanding he were borne to a faire liuing, yet did wholy sequester himselfe from the worlde.

Fagan. Fagan, bachyleur of Arte in Oxford, and schoolemaster in Waterford.

Ferrayle. Daniell Ferrayle, a Diuine, and a schoolemaster.

Fergus. Fergutius, sonne to Ferquhardus king of Ireland, the first king of Scottes, whome some affirme to be borne in Denmarke, the more

more part suppose to haue bene an Irishmã. He flourished in the yeare of the worlde 3678. and before the incarnation 292. in the twenty fiue yeare of hys reigne. He was by misaduenture drowned nére a rocke in the north of Irelande that of him is called to this daye Carregfergus. Upon whose mishappe these verses were made.

Icarus Icareis vt nomina fecerat vndis
Fergusius petræ sic dedit apta suæ.

This Fergusius wrote a booke intituled, Leges politicæ.lib.1.

Finnanus, scholer to one Nennius and Segenius, taken for a déepe Deuine in his age. He florished in the yeare 661. he wrote Pro veteri paschalis ritu.lib.1.

Fielde, a phisition.

Thomas Fielde, a maister of Art.

John fitz Giraldo, commonlye named John fitz Edmund, a very well letterd Ciuilian, a wyse gentleman, and a good householder.

Robert fitz Giraldo, aliàs Robert fitz Maurice, borne in the Countie of Kyldare.

Dauid fitz Giraldo, vsually called Dauid Duffe, borne in Kery, a Ciuilian, a maker in ỳ Irish, not ignorant of musike, skilful in phisike, a good and a generall craftes man, much lyke to Hippias, surpassing all men in ỳ multitude of craftes: who comming on a tyme to Pisa, to the great triumph, called Olympicum, ware nothyng but such as was of hys owne making. His shoes, his pattens, hys cloke, hys cote, the ryng that he dyd weare, with a signet therin very perfectly wrought, were all made by hym. He played excellently on all kynde of Instruments, and sang thereto hys owne verses, which no man coulde amend. In all partes of Logike, Rhetorike, & Philosophie he banquished all men, and was banquished of none.

Richard fitz Rafe, primate of Armach, scholer in the vniuersitie of Oxford, to Bacõthorp a good Philosopher, and no ignoraunt deuine. An enemy to Friers, namely such as went beggyng from doore to doore, whereby he purchased the hatred of all religious persons. He was by Edward the third hys meanes made Archdeacon of Lichfielde, after created Primate of Armacht, beyng cited before Pope Clement the first, for reprouyng the beggyng Friers. In the heat of the sayd contention he deceased in Italy, whose bones were caryed into Ireland, and buried at Dondalk, where he was borne. He wrote these bookes ensuing.

De paupertate seruatoris.lib.7.
Contra fratres mendicantes.lib.16.
In Extrauagantem Ioannis.23.lib.1.
Determinationes ad eundem.lib.1.
Contra suum Archidiaconum.lib.1.
Propositiones ad Papam.lib.1.
Contra fratrum appellationem.lib.1.
Sermones ad crucem Pauli.lib.1.
Sermones coram Pontifice.lib.1.
De statu Vniuersalis Ecclesiæ.lib.1.
Lectura sententiarum.lib 4.
Quæstiones earundem.lib.1.
Lectura theologica.lib.1.
Sermones ad clerum.lib.1.
Sermones de tempore.lib.1.
Sermones de Sanctis.lib.1.
Mariæ laudes Auenioni.lib.1.
Illustrationes Euangeliorum,lib.4.
De passione dominica.lib.1.
De peccato Ignorantiæ.lib.1.
De Iure spirituali.lib.1.
De Vafritijs Iudæorum.lib.1.
Propositionum suarum.lib.1.
Epistolæ ad diuersos.lib.1.
Dialogi plures.lib.1.

Walter fitz Symons, Archbishop of Dublyn, L. Iustice and L. Chauncellor of Irelãd all at one tyme, a famous clarke, & exquisitly learned both in Philosophy and deuinity: beyng in company with king Henry the vij. and hearyng an Oration that was made in hys prayse, the kyng demaunded hym, what fault he found most in the Oration: truly quoth he, and if it lyke your highnesse, no fault, sauyng onely that the Orator flattered your Maiestie ouermuch. Now in good sayth, our father of Dublyn (quoth the kyng) we minded to find the same fault our selues. Fitz Symons.

Thomas fitz Symons, a very proper deuine. He wrote in English, a treatise of the Church.

Leonard fitz Symons, a déepe and pithye clarke, well séene in the Gréeke and Latine tongue, somtyme fellow of Trinitie colledge in Oxford, perfect in the Mathematicals, and a paynefull student in deuinitie. He hath a brother that was trayned vp in learnyng in Cambridge now beneficed in Trim.

Michael fitz Symons, scholemaister in Dublyn, a proper student, and a diligent man in hys profession, he wrote Orationem in aduentum comitis Essexiæ Dublinium.
Epitaphion in mortem Iacobi Stanihursti.
Diuersa Epigrammata.

Phillip Flatisbury, a worthy gentleman, and a diligent antiquary, he wrote in the Latin tongue, at the request of the right honourable Girald fitz Girald Erle of Kyldare. Flatisbury.
Diuersas chronicas.

He florished in the yere 1517. and deceased at hys towne named Johnstowne nére the Naas.

Thomas Flemmyng: there is a Flemmyng now liuyng, of whome I heare great Flemming.

repoꝛt to be an absolute deuine, and a pꝛofessoꝛ therof.

Foillanus. Foillanus a learned Monke, he trauelled into Fraunce, where thꝛough the liberalitie of an holy Virgin, named Certrude, he founded an Abbey called Monasterium Fossense, where at length he suffred martyꝛdome. 654.

Furseus. Furseus peregrinus, so called, because he was boꝛne in Ireland, and did bestow his yeares as an estraunger in Fraunce, where he founded an Abbey named Cœnobium Latiniacense. He wꝛote certaine pamphlets, that by tract of tyme are perished. He flouriſhed in the yere 650. and was buried in his owne monastery. 647.

Garuye. Robert Garuy, fellow of Oriall colledge in Oꝛfoꝛde, a student of both the lawes, a man well spoken as well in the Englishe, as in the Latine.

Gogan. Robert Gogan a pꝛeacher.

Hardite. William Hardite a doctoꝛ of Deuinitie, pꝛoceeded in the vniuersitie of Dublynne, in the yere 1320.

Hycky. Hicky, Phisitious, the father and his sonne.

Hugo. Hugo de Hybernia, so called because his surname is not knowen. He was a gray Frier, and a great traueller. He flouriſhed in the yere 1360. He wꝛote, Itinirarium quoddam. lib. 1.

Huſey. Oliuer Huſey, a pꝛofessour of the Artes in Doway.

Hurly. Derby Hurly, a ciuilian, and a commendable Philosopher: he wꝛote In Aristotelis Physica.

Ioiſe. Robert Ioiſe, boꝛne in Kylkenny, a good humanitian.

Kelley. Radulphus Kelley, a Monke, bꝛought vp in the knowledge of the latin tonge in Kyldare, in which he pꝛofited so well, that foꝛ hys eloquence and wisedom, he was sent to Clemẽt the sixt, as the speaker oꝛ pꝛolocutoꝛ of all hys oꝛder, and also was appoynted the generall aduocate oꝛ deputie vnder Petrus de Casa, maister generall of the oꝛder. After he was aduaunced to be Archbishop of Cashell, in which honour he deceased, hauyng at vacant houres wꝛitten. 1342.

In iure canonico. lib. 1.
Epistolarum familiarium. lib. 1.

Kenedy. Thomas Kenedy, a Ciuilian.

Kerny. Kerny, he wꝛote in Irish Catachismum.
Translationem bibliæ.

Keuannagh. Cagher, a noble man boꝛne, in his time calleo Mack Murrough, descended of that mack Murrough that was somtyme king of Leinster, he was a surpassing deuine, and foꝛ hys learnyng and vertue was created bishop of Leighlyn, and Abbot of Grage. He flouriſhed in the yeare 1550. and was an hundꝛed yeres olde when he deceased.

King. Iames king, boꝛne in Dublyn, and scholer to M. Patrike Cusack, vnder whome beyng commendably trayned, he repayꝛed to the vniuersitie of Cambꝛidge, where he deceased befoꝛe he coulde attayne to that ripenesse of learnyng, whereto one of so pꝛegnaunt a wit was lyke in tyme to aspire. He wꝛote 1569.

Carmina in laudem Henrici Sydnæi.
Diuersa Epigrammata.

Ley. Ley, a learned and an expert Phisition.

Leuroſe. Leurouse a learned deuine, sometyme bishop of Kyldare, and Deane of S. Patrickes in Dublyn. 1556.

Loghlen. Æneas Loghlen, oꝛ Mackleighlen, M. of Arte, and a pꝛeacher.

Long. Thomas Long doctoꝛ of both the lawes, he pꝛoceeded at Paris, in the yeare 1576. in August. he is a pꝛoper philosopher, no straunger in scholastical deuinitie, a pꝛety Latinist. He wꝛote

De speciebus contra mendacem Monachum.
In Aristotelis physica.
Theses ex pꝛæcipuis iuris vtriusque partibus selectas Carolo Borbonio cardinali cõsecratas.

Lumbard. Peter Lumbard boꝛne in Waterfoꝛd, scholer to M. Peter White, hauing imploied two yeres and a halfe in the study of philosophy at Louaine, he was chosen when he pꝛoceeded M. of Arte, Primus Vniuersitatis, by the vniformꝛe consent of the foure pꝛincipals, which pꝛeferment did happen to none in such consenting wise, in many yeres befoꝛe, he wꝛote Carmen Heroicum in Doctoratum Nicolai Quemerfordi.

Mackcragh. Doꝛby Mackcꝛagh, a student in deuinitie.

Magrane. Magrane, a scholemaister in Dublinne, he wꝛote Carols and sundꝛy ballades.

Malachias. Malachias boꝛne in Ulster. His lyfe is exactly wꝛitten by S. Bernard, in whose Abbey he died in the yeare 1148. He wꝛote

Constitutorum communium, lib. 1.
Legum cœlibatus. lib. 1.
Nouarum traditionum. lib. 1.
Ad D. Bernardum, epist plures.

Malachias minoꝛita. Malachias, the minoꝛite oꝛ gray frier, a student in the Vniuersitie of Oꝛfoꝛd, where he attained to that knowledge in deuinitie, as he was the onely man in his tyme that was appoynted to pꝛeach befoꝛe the king and the nobilitie, a sharp repꝛouer of vice, a zealous embꝛacer of vertue, enemy to flattery, friend to simplicitie. He flouriſhed in the yeare 1310. he wꝛote

De peccatis & remedijs, lib. 1.
Conciones plures, lib. 1.

Mauricius. Mauricius Hybernus, of hym Ioannes Camertes thus wꝛiteth.

Iohannes Camert. in cap. 35. Soli. Annis ab his proximis excelluit, ex ea insula oriundus Mauricius, D. Francisci ordinis professus, In dialecticis, vtraq; philosophia, metaphisicis,

ficis,ac sacra theologia plurimùm eruditus. Vix insuper dici potest,qua humanitate, quaue morum sanctimonia præditus fuerit. Is cùm annis plurimis in Patauino Gymnasio bonas artes docuisset,cum summa omnium gratia, ob eius singularem eruditionem,ac candidissimos mores, à Iulio secundo pontifice maximo in Tuanensem archiepiscopum creatus est. Quo cùm relicta Italia bellis in ea sæuientibus proficiscereturꝫ non multum post,magna studiorum iactura, cùm nõdum quinquagesimum ætatis suæ attigisset annum,mortem obijt. Erant plurima suæ doctrinæ in manibus monumenta, sed ea ob immaturam eius mortem edere non licuit. Quantũ fuerit inter eum,dum viueret, & me necessitudinis vinculum testantur sexcentę epistolæ, quas plenas charitatis iudicijs, varijs temporibus ad me dedit. Eis (quanta veræ amicitiæ vis) post amici obitum,relegens soleo assiduè recreari.

There did (sayeth Ioannes Camertes) of late yeres one Mauritius borne in Ireland excell, a gray Frier professe, very well sẽne in Logike, depely grounded in philosophy,both morall and naturall,learned in the Metaphisikes, in deuinitie pẽreselle. Scantly may I tell with how great curtisie and vertue he was endued. Whẽ he had professed at Padua the liberall Artes many yeres with no small renowme. He was created by Julius the second, not onely for hys profound knowledge,but also for the sincerities of his lyfe,Archbishop of Tuen. When he was trauelyng thitherward, beyng departed from Italy,by reason of the vproares that there were daily encreasing,he ended his lyfe to the great losse of learnyng,before he was full fifty yeres olde. He had sundry workes in hand, which he coulde not haue finished by reason of his vntimely death. How dere and entier frendes he and I were one to the other during his life,the letters he addressed me from tyme to tyme, to the number of fyre hundred, thwackt with loue and kyndnesse,do manifestly declare. And by perusing of them after his death(such is ẏ force of friendship) I am greatly comforted. Thus far Camertes. This Mauritius wrote.

Commentarios super Scotum in prædicabilia.
In magistrum sententiarum.lib.4.

Mauricius Archbishop of Cashill, he florished in king Johns raigne. Giraldus Cambrienſe,vpon his commyng into Ireland, and debacing the country in the hearyng of this prelate,sayyng that albeit the inhabitauntes were wont to brag of the number of their Saintes, yet they had no Martyrs. You say very well sir (quoth the Archbishop) in dede as rude as this countrey is or hath bene, yet the dwellers had the saintes in some reuerence. But now that the gouernement of the countrey is come to your kings handes, we shall(I trust)shortly be stored with martyrs.

John Magh a deuine,he wrote a treatise, de possessione Monasteriorum. Magh.

Mouey,a Ciuilian and a good Latinist. Mouey.

Neylan,somtime fellow of Alsoules colledge in Oxford,a learned physition. Neylan.

Patrike Nigram a deuine. Nigram.

Phillip Norris a scholer of Oxford,and after Deane of S. Patrikes in Dublyn. He flourished in the yeare 1446.& wrote these workes. Norys.

Declamationes quasdam,lib.1.
Lecturas scripturarum,lib.1.
Sermones ad populum,lib.1.
Contra mendicitatem validam,lib.1.

Nugent,baron of Delwyn, scholed in the Vniuersitie of Cambridge. Nugent.

William Nugent a proper gentleman, and of a singuler good wit,he wrote in the English tongue diuers Sonets.

Dauid Obuge,borne in the town of Kildare. For hys learned lectures, and subtile disputations openly published in Oxford and Treuers in Germany,he was taken for the gemme and lanterne of his countrey. In his tyme Giraldus Bononiensis,beyng maister generall of ẏ Carmelites,was at iarre with William Lydington,the prouincial of the English Carmelites. Whereupon tenne of the wisest and learnedst Carmelits,that then were reliant in England beyng elected to resist their generall, Obuge was chosen to be the formã of al ẏ crew. Giraldus Bononiensis vnderstandyng that he beyng an Irishman, was so hote in the controuersie, was egerly bent agaynst Obug,because he assured hymself to haue had fauour at his hands, by reason Obuge was borne in that countrey where the Giraldines his kinsmen were planted,and therupon he was banished Italy. This storme in proceste of tyme beyng appeased,the outcast Carmelite was made the general garden of all his fraternitie in Irelande, which country by his continual teaching & preaching was greatly edified. Ouer this he was so politique a counsailor, that the nobilitie & estates in causes of weight, woulde haue recourse to hym as to an oracle. He was in philosophy an Aristotle,in eloquence a Tully,in deuinitie an Augustine, in the ciuill law a Iustinian, in the canon a Panormitane. He florished in the yere 1320. he deceased at Kyldare, leauyng these learned workes ensuyng to posteritie. Obuge. Giraldus Bononiẽsis.

Sermones ad Clerum,lib.1.
Epistolæ 32.ad diuersos,lib.1.
Propositiones disputatas,lib.1.
Lectiones Treuerenses,lib.1.
Regulæ Iuris,lib.1.
Contra Giraldum Bononiensem.

Owen Odowhẽ, a preacher, and a maker in Irishe. Odowhẽ.

Dheirnain Thomas Dheyrnayne, Deane of Cozcke, a learned deuine, he wrote in Latine,
Ad Iacobum Stanihurstum, epist. plures.

Dheirligh. Thomas Dhyrligh, bishop of Kosse, an exquisite deuine, brought vp in Italy.

Pander. Pander, a man zelously addicted to the reformation of his countrey, wherof he wrote a politike booke in Latin, entituled Salus populi.

Patricius. Patricius, who notwithstanding he be no Irish man borne, yet I may not ouerslip hym in the catalogue of Irish authors, for as much as hys whole workes tended to the conuersion and reformation of that countrey, he was surnamed Succetus or Magonius, an absolute deuine, adourning his deepe knowledge therin with sinceritie of lyfe. Beyng sent into Ireland by the appoyntment of Cœlestinus the first, accompanied with Segetius a priest, he conuerted the Island from idolatry and paganisme, to christianitie. He wrote these bookes followyng.

432. De antiquitate Analonica, lib. 1.
Itinerarium confessionis, lib. 1.
Odorporicon Hyberniæ, lib. 1.
Historia Hyberniæ ex Ruano, lib. 1.
De tribus Habitaculis, lib. 1.
De futura electorum vita. lib. 1.
Abiectoria quædam, 366. lib. 1.
Sermones, lib. 1.
Ad Cereticum tyrannum, epist. 1.
Ad Aualonicos incolas, epist. 1.
Ad Hybernicas ecclesias, epist. plures.
Ad Britannos, epist. plures.

He deceased, beyng 122. yeres old, in the yeare 458. or as some suppose 491. and lyeth buryed in an auncient city, in the North of Irelande, named Doune, accordyng to the old verse.

Hi tres in Duno tumulo tumulantur in vno.
Brigida, Patricius, atq; Columba pius.

Patricius Abbas. Patricius Abbas, a learned man, and much giuen to the edifiyng of his countreymen. He florished in the yere 850. and deceased at Glascõbury. Some ascribe the finding of S. Patrikes purgatory to this Abbot, not to Patrike that conuerted the countrey, but that errour hath bene before sufficiently reproued. This Abbot wrote,

Homelias, lib. 1.
Ad Hybernos, epist. plures,

Petrus Hybernicus. Petrus Hybernicus, professor of philosophy in Naples, at which time Thomas Aquinas that after became the lantern of scholemen, both in philosophy and deuinitie, was hys scholer, beyng therfore as highly renowmed, as Socrates is for beyng M. to Plato, or Plato is, for hauyng Aristotle to hys scholer. This Petrus flourished in the yere 1230. he wrote,

Quodlibeta theologica. lib. 1.

Pluncket. Pluncket, baron of Dunsany, scholer in Katough, to M. Staghens, after sent by sir Christofer Barnewall knight, hys friendly father in law, to the vniuersitie of Orforde. Where, how well he profited in knowledge, as such as are of hys acquaintaunce, presently perceyue, so hereafter when hys workes shall take the ayre, that now by reason of bashfull modestye, or modest bashfulnes are wrongfully emprisoned, and in maner stiefled in shadowed cowches, I doubt not, but hys fame and renowme in learnyng, shall be aunswerable to his desert and valure in writyng.

Pomrell. Pomrell, a bacheler of deuinitie, sometyme chapleine in newcolledge at Orford, after returnyng to his countrey, he was beneficed in Drogheda, from thence flitted to Louayne, where through continuall hearyng of lectures and disputations, more then by his priuate study, he purchased a laudable knowledge in deuinitie. Wherby he gaue manifest shewe of the profite that riseth of exercise and conference. The fruit of exercise. Upon this occasion one of hys acquaintaunce was accustomed to tell hym that he had all hys deuinitie by heare say. He deceased at Louain, in the yere 1573.

Quemerford. Nicholas Quemerford, doctor of deuinitie, procéeded the 23. of October, he wrote in English a very pithy and learned treatise, & therewithall exquisitely pend, entituled,

1575. Aunswers to certayne questions propounded by the citizens of Waterford.
Diuers sermons.

There lyued lately of the surname, a graue prelate in Waterford, and properly learned.

Ryan. Ryan, there lyued two brethren of the surname, both scholers of Orford, the one a good Ciuilian, the other very well seene in the Mathematicals.

Richard. Richard, Archdeacon of S. Patrikes, Chancellour of the Vniuersitie of Dublinne, procéded Doctor of the Canon law, in the yere 1320.

Rochesorde. Robert Rochesorde, borne in the Countye of Weisford, a proper deuine, an exact Philosopher, and a very good antiquary. There is an other Rochford, that is a student of philosophy.

Roth. Roth, bacheler of law, procéeded in the Vniuersitie of Orford. There hath bene an other Roth Vicar of S. Johns in Kylkenny, pretily learned.

De sacro bosco. Ioannes de sacro bosco, borne in Holywode, and therof surnamed de sacro bosco. He wrote an excellent introduction,
De Sphæra.

Sedgraue. Sedgraue, two brethren of the name, both studentes in deuinitie.

Shaghens. Shaghens fellow of Baliol colledge in Orford, after scholemaister in Ireland, a learned and a vertuous man.

Sheyne. Sheyne, scholer in Orforde and Paris. He wrote, De repub.

Elias

Elias Sheth, borne in Kylkenny, sometyme scholer of Oxforde, a gentleman of a passing good wit: a pleasant conteyned companion, full of mirth without gall. He wrote in English diuers Sonets.

Michael Sheth borne in Kylkeny, M. of Arte.

Skydmour borne in Cozcke, and gardein of Roghylle

Richard Smyth, borne in a towne, named Rackmackney, three myles distant frõ Wexford, surnamed Smyth of hys father, who was by occupatiõ a Smith, being 14. yeres of age, he stole into England, and repaired to Oxford where in tract of tyme he proceeded doctour of deuinitie, was elected doctour of the chaire, taken in those dayes for the peereless pearle of all the deuines in Oxforde, as well in scholastical as in positiue deuinitie. Vpon the death of Quéene Mary, he went to Louayne, where he red openly the Apocalips of S. Iohn, with litle admiration and lesse reprehensiõ. He wrote in English agaynst licentious fastyng, or the liberty of Fastyng.

The assertion of the sacrament of the aulter.

A defence of the sacrafice of the masse. lib. 1.

Of vnwritten verities. lib. 1.

Retractations. lib. 1.

In the latin tongue he wrote de cœlibatu sacerdotum. lib. 1.

De votis Monasticis. lib. 1.

De Iustificatione hominis. lib. 1.

Nicholas Stanihurst, he wrote in latine,

Dietam Medicorum, lib. 1. He dyed in the yeare 1554.

James Stanihurst, late recorder of Dublyn, ouer hys exacte knowledge in the common lawes, he was a good orator, and a proper deuine. He wrote in English, beyng speaker in the parliamentes. An oration made in the beginnyng of a parliament holden at Dublyn before the right honourable Thomas Erle of Sussex, &c. in the third and fourth yere of Philip and Mary.

An oration made in the beginnyng of the parliament holden at Dublyn, before the right honourable Thomas Erle of Sussex, in the second yere of the raigne of our soueraigne lady Quéene Elizabeth.

An oration made in the beginnyng of a Parliament holden at Dublyn, before the right honourable sir Henry Sidney knight, &c. in the xj. yeare of the raigne of our soueraigne Lady Quéene Elizabeth. He wrote in Latin,

Pias Orationes.

Ad Corcacienſem decanum, epist. plures.

He deceased at Dublyn, the 27. of December, beyng 51. yeres olde. Vpon whose death, I, as nature and duty bound me, made this epitaph.

Vita breuis, mors sancta fuit (pater optime) visa,
Vita timenda malis, mors redamunda bonis.
Vrbs est orba sopho: legum rectore tribunal,
Cansidicoq; cliens, atq; parente puer.
Plurima proferrem, sed me prohibere videtur,
Pingere vera dolor, fingere falsa pudor.
Non opus est falsis, sed quæ sunt vera loquenda,
Non mea penna notet, buccina fama sonet.
Hoc scripsisse satis, talem quandoq; parentem
Est habuisse decus, sed caruisse dolor.
Filius hæc dubitans talẽ vix comperit vsquam,
Vllus in orbe patrem, nullus in vrbe parem.
Mortuus ergo, pater, poteris bene viuus haberi,
Viuis enim mundo nomine, mente deo.

Walter Stanihurst, sonne to James Stanihurst, he translated into English. Innocent. de contemptu mundi.

There flourished before any of these a Stanihurst, that was a scholer of Oxford, brother to Gennet Stanihurst, a famous and an auncient matrone of Dublyn, she lieth buried in S. Michaels church. Circa annũ dom. 1506.

Sutton, one of that name, is a very good maker in English. Sutton.

Mathew Talbot scholemaister, a Student in Cambridge, William Talbot. Talbot.

John Talbot, sonne to William, a M. of Art, he wrote in Latine

Orationem in laudem comitis Essexiæ,
Diuersa Epigrammata.

Edmund Tanner, a profound deuine, he wrote Tanner.
Lectiones in summam D. Thomæ.

Taylor, bacheler of Arte, procéeded in the vniuersitie of Oxford, he wrote in Latine, Taylor.
Epigrammata diuersa.

Thomas Hybernus, borne in Palmerstowne nére the Naas. He procéeded doctor of deuinitie in Paris, a déepe clearke and one that red much, as may easily be gathered by his learned workes. He flourished in the yere 1290. and wrote with diuers other workes, these bookes ensuyng. Thomas Hybernus.

Flores bibliæ.
Flores doctorum, lib. 2.
De Christiana religione, lib. 1.
De illusionibus dæmonum. lib. 1.
De Tentatione diaboli. lib. 1.
De remedijs vitiorum, lib. 1.

Laurentius Toole, Archbishop of Dublyn. Toole.

Trauerse doctor of deuinitie, he flourished in the raigne of Henry the 8. There hath bene after hym a scholemaister in Dublyn of ỹ name. Trauerse.

Tundalus Magus, a knight, after he became a charterhouse monke, much giuen to contemplacion, wherin he is reported to haue séene diuers visions of heauen and hell, and thereupon he wrote Apparitionum suarum, lib. 1. Tundalus.

He flourished in the yere 1149.

Virgilius Solinagus, a noble man borne, being kept in yeares, he trauelled into Germany, Virgilius Solinagus.

where beyng knowen for a vertuous and learned prelate, he was chosen by Odilon Duke of
754. Bauaria, to be their rectour or gardein of an auncient Abbey, named S. Peters Abbey, placed in the city of Salisburge, after he was created Episcopus Iuuanienſis, and founded in the said town of Salisburge a church. In his time one Bonifacius an English man, beyng generall visitour in Bauaria, rebaptized certaine, whome he suspected not to haue bene orderly baptised. Virgilius detesting the facte, hauyng consulted with Sydonius Archbishop of Bauaria, withstood Bonifacius in his fond attempt. The controuersie beyng brought before Pope Zacharias, he decréd that Bonifacius held an error, and that Virgilius and Sydonius published in that poynte sounde doctrine, as who so wyll read Zacharias hys epistle to Bonifacius, shall playnely sée. Virgilius deceased in the yeare 784. and lyeth buried in hys church at Salisburge. He wrote,

Tomo primo concilio-rum.

Ad Zachariam Rom. pont. epist. 1.

Ultagh. Owen Ultagh a physition. His father procéeded doctor of Physike in Paris.

Vltanus. Vltanus a learned monke, fellow to Foillanus, with whom he trauelled into Fraunce, & wyth continuall preachyng edified the inhabitantes of that realme. He florished in the yere 640.

Vrgalius. Gilbertus Vrgalius, a professt Carmelite, and a student in Oxford. He florished in the yere 1330 he wrote in two great Tomes.

Summam quarundam legum.

De rebus theologicis, lib. 1.

Vsher. Vsher, or Vscher, a student in Cambridge, and a preacher.

Wadding. Wadding, a proper versifier, he wrote in latine vpon the burnyng of Paules steple.

Carmen Heroicum.

Diuersa Epigrammata.

Walshe. Edward Walshe, he florished in the yeare 1550. and wrote in English,

The duety of such as fight for their countrey.

The reformation of Ireland by the worde of God.

James Walsh, M. of Arte, and student in diuinitie, he translated into English, Giraldum Cambriensem, he wrote in latine,

Epigrammata diuersa.

Richard Walshe M. of Art, and student in diuinitie. There is a learned man of the name beneficed in S. Patrikes church in Dublynne, student in Cambridge, and now a preacher.

Peter Walshe a proper youth, and one that would haue bene an ornament to his country, if God had spared him lyfe. He dyed of a surfet at London, about the yere 1571.

There dwelleth in Waterford a lawyer of the surname, who writeth a very proper Latine verse.

Welleſley deane of Kyldare, there lyueth an other learned man of the name, who is Archedeacon of S. Patrikes. Welleſley

Peter White, borne in Waterford, fellow of Oriall colledge in Oxford, the lucky scholemaister of Mounster. He bestowed his tyme rather in the makyng of scholers, then in the pēnyng of bookes, and to the instruction of youth, he wrote White.

Epitom. in copiam Erasmi.

Epitom, Figurar. rhetoricar.

Annotationes in orat. pro Archia poëta.

Annotat. in orationem pro T. A. Milone.

Epigrammata diuersa.

John White, bachelor of deuinitie, borne in Clonmel, he wrote in latin,

Diuersa pia epigrammata.

Andrew White a good humanitian, & a prety philosopher.

Wise, of this surname there florished sundry learned gentlemen. There liueth on Wise in Waterforde, that maketh very well in the English. Wise.

Andrew Wise, a toward youth, and a good versifier.

William, an Abbote, and as it is thought a sothsater. He florished in the yere 1298. & wrote William.

Prophetias rerum futurarum lib. 1.

Dauid Wolfe, a deuine. Wolfe.

Thus farre gentle reader, haue I endeuored to heape vp together a Catalogue of suche learned Irishmē, as by diligent ensearch could haue ben found. Howbeit, I am to request thée not to measure the ample number of the learned of that countrey by this briefe abstract: cōsideryng, that diuers haue ben, yea and are yet liuyng, of profound knowledge that to me are vnknowen, and therefore in this register, not recorded.

The disposition and maners of the meere Irish, commonly called the wyld Irishe. Chap. 8.

BEfore I attempt the vnfoldyng of the maners of the mére Irish, I thinke it expedient, to forewarne thée reader, not to impute any barbarous custome that shall be here layde downe, to the citizens, townesmen, and the inhabitants of the english pale, in that they differ little or nothyng from the auncient customes and dispositions of their progenitors, the English and Walshmen, beyng therfore as mortally behated of ỹ Irish, as those that are borne in England. For the Irishe man standeth so much vpon hys gentilitie, that he termeth any one of the English sept, and planted in Irelād, Bobdeagh Galteagh, that is, English churle: but if he be an Englishman borne, then he nameth Irish gentilitie.

meth hym, Bobdeagh Saronnegh, that is, a Saxon churle: so that both are churles, and he the onely gentleman, and therupon if the baleſt peſant of them name hymſelfe with hys ſuperiox, he will be ſure to place himſelfe firſt, as I and Oneyle, I and you, I and he, I & my maiſter, whereas the curteſie of the Engliſhe language is cleane contrary.

The people are thus enclined, religious, feäke, amozous, irefull, ſufferable of infinite paynes, very glozious, many ſozcerers, excellent hozſemen, delighted with wars, great almesgiuers, paſſing in hoſpitality. The lewder ſozte, both clearkes and lay men are ſenſuall & ouer loſe in liuyng. The ſame beyng vertuouſly bzed vp oz reformed, are ſuch myzroꝛs of holynes and auſteritie, that other nations retaine but a ſhadow of deuotion in compariſon of them. As foz abſtinence and faſting, it is to them a familiar kynd of chaſtiſement.

They follow the dead cozpes to the graue wꝺ howlyng and barbarous outeries, pitiful in apparaunce, wherof grew, as I ſuppoſe, the pzouerbe, to weepe Iriſh.

Gréedy of pzayſe they be, and fearefull of diſhonoz, and to this ende they eſteme theyr Poets, who wzite Iriſh learnedly, and pen their ſonets heroicall, foz the which they are bountifully rewarded, if not, they ſende out libels in diſpzayſe, whereof the Lozdes and gentlemen ſtand in great awe. They loue tenderly theyr foſter childzen, and bequeath to them a childes pozcion wherby they nouriſh ſure friendſhip, ſo beneficiall euery way, that commonly, 500. cowes and better, are giuen in reward to win a noble mans child to foſter, they loue & truſt theyr foſter bzethzen, moze then their owne.

The men are cleane of ſkin & hew, of ſtature tall. The women are well fauoured, cleane coloured, faire handed, big and large, ſuffered frō theyr infancy to grow at will, nothing curious of theyr feature and pzopoztion of body.

Their infantes of the meaner ſozt are neither ſwadled noz lapped in lynnen, but folded vppe ſtarke naked in a blanket till they can go.

Pzoud they are of long criſped buſhes of heare which they terme glibs, and the ſame they nouriſh with all their cūning, to crop ẏ front thereof, they take it foz a notable piece of villany.

Water creſſes, which they terme ſhamrocks, rootes and other herbes they fēde vpon, otemeale and butter they cramme together, they dzinke whey, mylke, and bieſe bzothe. Fleſhe they deuour without bzead, and that halfe raw: the reſt boyleth in their ſtomackes with Aqua vitæ, which they ſwill in after ſuch a ſurfet by quartes & pottels: they let their cowes bleud, which growen to a gelly, they bake and ouerſpzed with butter, and ſo eate it in lumpes. No meat they fanſie ſo much as pozke, and the fatter the better. One of Iohn Oneales houſhold demaunded of his fellow whether bieſe were better then pozke, that, quoth the other, is as intricate a queſtion, as to aſke whether thou art better then Oneale. Pozcke.

Their noble men, and noble mens tenauntes now and then make a ſet feaſt, which they call, cosshering, whereto flocke all theyr retayners, whom they name followers, their rithmoues, their bardes, theyr harpers that fēde thē with muſike, and when the harper twangeth oz ſingeth a ſong, all the company muſt be whiſt, oz elſe he chaſeth like a cutpurſe, by reaſō his harmony is not had in better pzice. In their cosherring they ſit on ſtraw, they are ſerued on ſtraw and lie vpon mattreſſes and pallets of ſtrawe. The antiquitie of this kynde of feaſting, is ſet foꝛth by Virgill, where Dido entertayneth the Troyā pzince and his company. They obſerue diuers degrées, accozding to which ech man is regarded. The baleſt ſozt among them are little yong wags, called Daltinnes, theſe are lackies, & are ſeruiceable to the gromes oz hozſeboyes, who are a degrée aboue the Daltins. Of the third degre is the kerne, who is an ozdinary ſouldioz, bling foz weapon his ſwozd & target, and ſometimes hys pēce, beyng commonly ſo good markemen as they will come within a ſcoze of a great caſtle. Kerne ſignifieth, as noble men of dēepe iudgement infozmed me, a ſhower of hell, becauſe they are taken foz no better then foz rakehels, oz the deuils blacke garde, by reaſon of the ſtinkyng ſturre they kēepe, where ſo euer they be. Cosshering. Folowers. Lib. pri. En. circa finem Daltyn. Grome. Kearne. Righeyzen

The fourth degre is a galloglaſſe, bling a kind of pollar foz his weapon. Theſe men are commonly wayward rather by pzofeſſion then by nature, grim of countenāce, tall of ſtature, big of limme, burly of body, wel and ſtrongly timberd, chiefly fēding on bēefe, pozke and butter. Gollogla ſſe.

The fift degrée is to be an hozſman, which is the chiefeſt nert the lozd and capitaine. Theſe hozſemen when they haue no ſtay of their own, gad and range from houſe to houſe like arrant knights of the round table, and they neuer diſmount vntill they ride into the hall, and as far as the table. Hozſeman.

There is among them a bzotherhood of Barrowes, that pzofer to play at chartes all ẏ yere long, and make it their onely occupation. They play away mantle and all to the bare ſkin, and then truſſe themſelues in ſtrawe oz in leaues, they wayte foz paſſengers in the high way, inuite them to game vpon the grene, & aſke them no moze but companions to holde them ſpoꝛte. Foz default of other ſtuffe, they panne theyr glibs, the nailes of their fingers and toes, their dimiſſaries, which they léeſe oz redéeme at the Barrow.

cur-

curtesie of the wynner.

A taleteller. One office in the house of noble men is a taleteller, who bringeth his lord a sleepe with tales vayne and friuolous, whereunto the number giue ſoth & credite. Without eyther preceptes or obſeruation of congruitie, they ſpeake latin lyke a bulgar language, learned in their common ſchooles of leachecraft and lawe, whereat they begin childrē, and hold on 16. or 20. yeres, conning by rote the Aphoriſmes of Hypocrates, and the ciuill inſtitutes, with a fewe other parings of thoſe faculties. In their ſchooles, they grouel vpō couches of ſtraw, their bookes at their noſes, themſelues lye flat proſtrate, & ſo they chaunt out with a lowd voyce their leſſons by peecemeale, repeating two or three wordes 30. or 40. tymes together. Other lawyers they haue lyable to certaine families, which after the cuſtome of the countrey determine & iudge cauſes. These cōſider of wrongs offered and receyued among their neighbors: be it murther, felony, or treſpaſſe, all is remedied by compoſition (except the grudge of parties ſeeke reuenge) and the tyme they haue to ſpare from ſpoyling and preding, they lightly beſtowe in parling about ſuch matters. The Breighon. Breighon (ſo they call this kinde of Lawyer) ſitteth on a banke, the lordes and gentlemen at variance round about him, and then they proceede. To robbe and ſpoile their enemies they deeme it none offence, nor ſeeke any meanes to recouer their loſſe, but euen to watch them the lyke turne. But if neighbors and friendes ſend their purueyors to purloyne one an other ſuch actions are iudged by the Breighons aforeſaid.

Religious fauoured. They honour and reuerence Friers and pilgrimes, by ſuffring them to paſſe quietly, and by ſparing theyr manſiōs, whatſoeuer outrage they ſhew to the countrey beſides them. The lyke fauour do they extend to their Poetes and Rithmours.

Matrimony abuſed. In olde tyme they much abuſed the honourable ſtate of marriage, either in contractes vnlawfull, metyng the degrees of prohibition, or in diuorcementes at pleaſure, or in retaynyng concubines or harlots for wyues: yea euen at this day where the clergy is ſainte, they can be content to marry for a yeare and a day of probation, and at the yeres ende, or any tyme after, to returne hir home with hir marriage gwdes, or as much in valure, vpon light quarels, if the gentlewomans friendes be vnable to reuenge the iniury. In lyke maner may ſhe forſake hir huſband.

Latin ſpoken as a vulgare language.

Superſtitiō in baptiſme. In ſome corner of the land they vſed a damnable ſuperſtition, leauyng the right armes of their infantes vnchriſtened (as they terme it) to the intent it might giue a more vngracious & deadly blowe. Others write that gentlemens childrē were baptized in mylke, and the infantes of poore folke in water, who had the better or rather the onely choyce.

Iohn Caius 2. Cant. ans

Diuers other vayne and execrable ſuperſtitions they obſerue, that for a complete recitall, would require a ſeueral volume. Wherto they are the more ſtifly wedded, becauſe ſuch ſingle preachers as they haue, report not in theyr ſermons the pieuiſhneſſe and fondneſſe of theſe friuolous dreamers. But theſe and the like enormities haue taken ſo deepe rote in that people, as commonly a preacher is ſoner by their naughty lyues corrupted, then their naughty lyues by his preaching amended. Againe the very Engliſh of birth, conuerſant with the ſauage ſort of that people become degenerate, & as though they had taſted of Circes poyſoned cup, are quite altered. Such a force hath education to make or marre.

Irelande why ſuperſtitious.

God with the beames of hys grace, clariſie the eyes of that rude people, that at length they may ſee theyr miſerable eſtate: and alſo that ſuch, as are deputed to the gouernment therof, bend their induſtry with conſcionable pollicye to reduce them from rudeneſſe to knowledge, from rebellion to obedience, from trechery to honeſty, from ſauageneſſe to ciuilitie, frō idleneſſe to labour, from wickedneſſe to godlyneſſe, wherby they may the ſoner eſpy their blyndeneſſe, acknowledge their loſeneſſe, amende their liues, frame thēſelues pliable to ỳ lawes and ordinaunces of hir Maieſtie, whom God with his gracious aſſiſtance preſerue, as wel to the proſperous gouernment of hir realme of England, as to the happye reformation of hir realme of Ireland.

FINIS.

THE HISTORIE of Irelande.

ALthough vndoubtedlye, the Originall of all nations for the moze part is so vncertaine, that who so euer shall enter into the searche thereof further than hee syndeth in the holie scriptures, may seeme (as it were rather to talk with men that dreame) than to gather authorities sufficient wherevpon to grounde any warranted opinion: yet for as muche as the authors (whom in this Irish hystorie we chiefly followe) haue set downe what they haue founde in the Irishe antiquities, concerning the firste inhabitation of this countrey of Ireland: and bycause the reader also maye be peraduenture desirous to vnderstande the same, we haue thoughte good to recite what they haue written thereof, leauyng the credite vnto the due consideration of the circumspecte reader, and where the errours are to grosse, giuing by the waye some cautions, in lyke sorte as oure Authours themselues haue done.

l Cam-
s Cam-

Accozding therfoze to the ozder of al other nations and people that seeke to aduaunce the glozy of their countreyes in fetchyng their beginnyng with the farthest from some one of auncient antiquitie: so lykewise the Irishmen haue registred in their Chronicles, that their Countrey was firste inhabited by one of Noes neeces after this maner.

In the yeare of the world. 1525. the Patriarke Noe began to admonish the people of vengeance to followe for their wickednesse and abhominable sinnes, to buyld his arke, to foreshew his kinsfolk and frendes, of that vniuersal floud whiche was to come, wherewith the whole face of the earthe shoulde be couered with water, and that within fewe yeeres, except they amended in tyme. This did he before the generall Floud one hundred and xxb. yeeres. But when euery man seemed to neglect this wholsom admonition, one Cesara that was neece to Noe, hearyng hir vncles fearefull prophecie, doubted least the same should come to passe, and therfoze determined with certayne hir adherents to seeke aduentures in some forrayne region, perswading hir selfe, that if she might finde a countrey neuer yet inhabited, and so with synne vnspotted, the generall sentence of Gods wrathe shoulde not there take effecte. Wherevpon rigging a nauie, she committed hir selfe to the seas, sayling forth, till at length she arriued in Irelande only with three men, and fiftie women, hauing losse the residue of hir companie by misfortune of sundrie shipwracks made in that hir long & troublesome iourney. The names of the men wer these, Bythi, Laigria, and Fintan. The coast where she firste set foote a lande, and where also she lyeth buried, is called *Nauiculare littus*, ỳ is the shipping riuage or shore. The stones wherin the memorie hereof was preserued from violence of waters, haue bin seene of some (as they them selues haue reported,) but how truly I haue not to say. Within. xl. days after hir comming a land there, the vniuersall floud came and ouerflowed al that coast as well as all other partes of the worlde. But where this tale bewrayeth it selfe too manifestly to be a mere vntruth, if the time & other circūstances be throughly examined, I wil not stād longer about the proofe or disproufe therof, sauing that it is sufficient (as I thinke) to bring it oute of credite, to consider, how that the Arte of sayling was vnknowne to the world before the vniuersall floud, and no parte inhabited except the continent of Syria, and thereabouts. But to passe such a forged fable, with the recorde thereof grauen in a stone (A deuise borowed from Iosephus, as some thinke) it shal be sufficient for the glorie of the Irish antiquitie to graunt that Irelande was discouered and peopled by some of Noes kinrede, euen with the first Flandes of the world (if they will needes haue it so, as the likelyhood is great) according to that whiche is sette forth in their hystories, when aboute. 300. yeeres after the generall Floud immediately vpon the confusion of toungs, Japhet and his posteritie emboldened by Noes example, aduentured to cōmitte themselues by shippe to passe the seas, and to searche out the vnknowne corners of ỳ world, and so finding out diuers yles in these west parts of the worlde.

Anno mundi. 1556.

Rab. Isaac in Gene. 5.

Anno mundi. 1557.

After the beste authours make 300. yeres. and not. 100. betwene Noes floud and Babell.

There was (saye they) in that retinue one of the same progenie named Bertolenus, or Bastolenus, who encouraged with the late attempte and successe of Nimrod, kinsman to Ninus, (then newely intruded vpon the Monarchie of Assyria) reached so farre west, intending to atteyn vnto some gouernement where hee might rule

Bartolenus, or Bastolenus. Clem. lib. 4. Cambreid. lib. 2.

without any partener in authozitie) till at length Foztune bzoughte him and his people bppon the coaſt of Irelande. Here he ſettled himſelfe with his thzee ſonnes, Languinna, Salamis, and Ruthurgus, right actiue and ſtout Gentlemen, who ſearching the lande from ſyde to ſyde, and from ende to ende, lefte remembzaunces of their names in certayn notable places named after them as Languini, Stragruus, and mount Salanga ſince named Sainte Dominickes hill, and Ruthurgus his poole. Little is remembzed of Bartolenus, ſauing that in ſhozte ſpace with many handes wozking at once, he ridde and made playne a great part of the countrey ouergrowen with woddes and thickets.

Ruthurgi ſtagnum.

Ireland firſt inhabited.

Thus was Irelande inhabited by this people vnder the gouernemente of thoſe thzee ſonnes of Bartholenus and their offzyng, aboute the ſpace of thzee hundzed yeares.



Gyzunns.

Together wyth Bartolenus arriued in Ireland certayn godleſſe people of Nemrods ſtocke, wozthily termed Giants, as thoſe that in bodily ſhape exceeded the common pzopozcion of others, and vſed their ſtrengthe to gayne ſouereignitie, and to oppzeſſe the weake with rapine and violence. That linage (Chams bzode) grewe in ſhozte whyle to greate numbzes, and alway endeuozed them ſelues where ſo euer they came to beare ẏ rule ouer others. One cauſe herof was, their bodily ſtrength anſwerable to their hugeneſſe of ſtature, an other the examples of Cham oz Zozoaſtres that Magician & Nemrod grandfather to Ninus. Whiche two perſons in themſelues & their pzogenies were renoumed thzough the wozld, as victozious pzinces, ruling ouer two mighty kingdoms, Egypt and Aſſyzia. A thirde cauſe ther was, as this: They repined at the bleſſings beſtowed bpō Sem and Japhet, thinking it neceſſarie to withſtand and pzeuent all lawfull rule and dominion, leſt the curſe of ſlauerie pzophecied by Noe ſhould light bpon thē as at lēgth it did. Herebpon rebellioufly withdzawing theyz due obedience from their lawfull gouerners here in Irelande, and taking head, ſet bp a king of their own faction, maintepning his eſtate to ẏ oppzeſſion of the ſubiects, by bzinging them into continual bondage. The ſucceſſe was variable on both ſides, betwixt the lawful gouernozs & theſe vſurpers, with dayly reiſes & ſkirmiſhes, ſo much to ẏ griefe of them that coueted to liue in quiet vnder their rightful pzinces, that they determined with the chaunce of one general battayle eyther wholly to ſubdue thoſe pzoud rebellious tyzants, oz els to end their lyues in freedom, & ſo to be rid of further miſerie. But firſt, where there had growen certain debate & eminitie amōg thēſelues, wherby they had enfebled their own fozces, they thought gwd to make peace togither, befoze they put their whole ſtate in hazard of one bataile againſt the Giants, concluding therfoze an agreement, & ioyning in league, with pzomiſe to aſſiſte eche other to ſubdue their cōmon enimies, they aſſem-

Bergon the ſonne of Neptune and brother to Albiō, as I. Bale hath, cōquered Irelande, and the Orkneys.

Euil example ſoon folovved.

Rebellion againſt gouernours.

A vvorthy reſolution.





ble theyz power fozth of all parts of the land, and comming to ioyne batail with the Giants, after they had fought righte fiercely togither foz the ſpace of certaine houres, the victozie enclined to the

the rightful part, ſo that the lawful kings preuayling againſt ỹ wicked tyrãts, great ſlaughter was made on the whole brode of that miſchieuous generation. For the kings meaning to deliuer themſelues of all daunger in tyme to come, vſed theyr happie victorie with great crueltie, whiche turned to their owne confuſion: for where they neyther ſpared man woman nor chylde that came in the way for more deſpite, & fuller ſatisfying of theyr whole reuenge, they did not vouchſafe to bury the carkaſſes of their ſlayne enimies, but caſte them out lyke a ſort of dead dogges, wherof thorough ſtenche of the ſame, ſuche an infectiue peſtilence enſewed in all places thorough corruption of ayre, that fewe eſcaped with lyfe, beſyde thoſe that got them away by ſea.

And hereby lyeth a vayne tale among the Iriſhmen, that one of the Giants named Ruanus chancing to be preſerued from this mortalitie, liued forſoth about. 2041. yeres, which is more thã twice the age of Mathuſalem. By this man (ſay they) S. Patrike was enformed of all the eſtate of the countrey: and after that vpon requeſt he had receiued baptiſme of the ſayd Patrike, he deceaſed in the yere after the birth of our ſauior. 430. as in the Iriſhe hiſtories hath bene vnaduiſedly regiſtred. But ſuche fooliſhe tales and vayne narrations may warne the aduiſed reader how to beware of yelding credite vnto the lyke idle fantaſies & forged tales, when they hap to lyght vpon ſuche blynde Legendes. For where ſome of the Poets vſed for inuention ſake to fayne ſuch dreãming Fables, for exerciſe of their ſtiles and wits, afterwarde thorough errour and lacke of knowledge, they haue ben taken with the ignorant for verie true and moſte aſſured hiſtories.

But nowe to the matter as we fynde it recorded of an infinite number of Giants ſlayne and made away in maner afore reherſed, certain there were that got them into ſome lurking dennes or caues, and there kept them till lacke of victuals enforced them to come forth, and make ſhift for ſuſtenaunce, and perceyuing no reſiſtance becauſe the lande was in maner lefte deſolate, they waxed bolder, and when they vnderſtode howe things had paſſed, they ſettled them ſelues in the beſt part of the countrey, eaſily ſubduing the poore ſillie ſoules that remayned, and ſo reuiuing theyr lignage, they became lordes of the whole Iland, keping the ſame in ſubiection for the ſpace of three ſcore yeares together.

Among Japhets ſonnes we reade in Geneſis, that Magog was one, who planted his people in Scythia neere Tanais, from whence aboute the yeere of the worlde. 2317. Nemodus with his. iiij. ſonnes Starius, Earbaneles, Inuinus, Fergus ſins capitaynes ouer a faire companye of people, were ſent into Ireland, who paſſing by Grecia, and taking there ſuche as were deſirous to ſeeke aduentures with them, at length they landed in Irelande inhabited the countrey, and multiplyed therein, although not without continuall warre, which they helde with the Giauntes, for the ſpace of two hundred and ſixteene yeres, in the ende of whiche terme the Giauntes preuayling, chaſed them thence again, ſo that they retired into Syria.

Irelande eſſõnes inhabited by the offſpring of Iapher.

The Giaunts preuayle.

This was aboute the yeere after the creation (as by their accounpte it ſhoulde ſeeme) 2533. from whiche tyme the Giauntes kepte poſſeſſion of the lande without forrain inuaſion till the yeare. 2714. but yet in all that ſpace they were not able to frame a common welth: for falling at diſſaunce among them ſelues, and meaſuring all things by might, ſeditiouſly they vexed eche other. Whiche thyng comming to the knowledge of the Grecians, moued fiue brethren, ſonnes to one Dela, being notable ſea men and ſkilfull Pilots to rigge a nauie, and to attempte the conqueſt of this Iſlande. Theſe were of the poſteritie of Nemiodus, and named Gandius, Genandius, Sagandus, Rutherantus, and Slanius. When all things were readye and their compaynies aſſembled, they toke the ſea, and finally arriuing here in Irelande, founde the puiſſance of the Giants ſore weakened thoughe their owne ciuill diſſention, ſo that with more eaſe they atchieued theyr purpoſe, and wanne the whole countreye, vtterly deſtroying and rooting out that wicked generation, enimies to mankinde, and after deuided the Iſlande into fyue partes, and in eche of them they ſeuerally reigned.

2533.

The ſonnes of Dela a Grecian ſkilfull in the arte of ſayling.

They paſſe into Ireland, and deſtroyed the Giaunts.

They deuide the countrey into four parts.

Furthermore to ſatiſfie all fydes, and auoyde contention, they concluded to fire a mereſtone in the myddle poynte of Irelande, to the whiche eche of their kyngdomes ſhoulde reache, ſo as they myght bee equally partakers of the commodities founde within that countrey ſoyle.

Theſe are alſo ſuppoſed to haue inuented the diſtribution of ſhires into Cantredes, euery cantred or baronie conteyning one hundred townſhippes. At lengthe deſyre of ſouereaigntie ſette the fyue brethrene at variance, and greatly hindered theyr growyng wealthes. But Slanius gettyng the vpper hande, and bringing his four brethren to a lowe ebbe, toke vpon him as chiefe aboue his other brethren, encrochyng rounde aboute the myddle ſtone for the ſpace of certayne myles, whiche plotte in tyme obteyned the priuiledge and name of one entier parte, and nowe maketh vp the number of fyue partes, (into the whiche Irelande is ſayde to bee deuided) and is called Methe, and in Latine *Media*, taking that name (as ſome haue gueſſed) for that in reſpecte of the other, it conteyned but the moytie of cantredes, that is, xxx. (where eche of the other comprehended. xx. a peece) or elſe for that it lyeth in the

A cantred.

Deſire of ſouereaintie cauſe of variance.

middeſt of the lande. This parte Slanius ioyned as a ſurpluſage ouer and aboue his inheritaunce, vnto the Monarchie, whiche parte notwithſtanding grewe to a ſeuerall kingdome. Thirtie yeares the monarchie yet continued in this order, but finally Slanius departed this lyfe, and was buryed in a mountayne of Meth, that beareth hytherto (as they ſay) the name after him.

Slanius departed thys lyfe.

Then the Princes ſubiecte to him, beganne to ſtomacke the matter, and denied their obeyſaunce to his ſucceſſour, wherevpon enſued continuall warres betwixte them, falling ſtill at debate for the lande of Methe, whiche ſtrife of long tyme might neuer fully be appeaſed.

In the necke of theſe troubles alſo there arriued in Irelande a new armie of Scythians, who made clayme to the land by a title of right which they pretended from their forfather Nemodus: & ſo taking and making partes, they ſet all in an vproare, that hauocke was made on eche ſide with fire and ſworde in moſte miſerable maner.

A nevv armie of Scythians lande in Irelande.

Partakings.

To be ſhort, they ſpent themſelues in purſuing one an other with ſuche outrage, that nowe they cared not what nation or what Souldiour they receiued to their ayde, to keepe vp or beate downe a ſyde.

By whiche occaſion the Britons alſo put in a foote among them, who procured Brennus the brother of Belinus, to directe his courſe thyther with the ſame nauie whiche he had made ready to paſſe ouer into Gallia, now called Fraunce, to the ayde of Segwin then kyng of the Allobroges that inhabited the countreis called Sauoy and the Delphinate.

Brennus called into Ireland to ayde one parte of the factious people.

Segvvyne. Allobroges.

But his enterpriſe into Ireland toke ſmal effect though there were other kings of the Britons that got dominion there, in ſo muche that Gurguntius, or Gurgwintius, the ſonne of Belinus, accompted Ireland among other his dominions, to belong to him by lineall deſcente, notwithſtanding the Britiſh Princes neuer enioyed the quiet poſſeſſion thereof longer than they helde it by mayne force, but were often repulſed and put to the worſe with ſeeking after it, finding there ſmall gaine other than ſtripes, wherof they bare away great plentie.

But nowe to come to the Spanyards, that laſtly vnder the conduct of foure Capitains paſſed into Irelande from Biſkaye, and inhabited that Iſlande, it ſhall not bee impertinent in following the order whiche oure Authour keepeth, to ſpeake ſomewhat of their originall, that it maye appeare from whence the Iriſhe nation had their firſt beginning.

2436. In the yeare of the worlde. 2436. after the vniuerſall floud. 780. whyleſt the Iſraelites ſerued in Egypte, Gathelus the ſonne of one Neale, a great lord in Grecia, was vpon diſfauor exiled his countrey with a number of his factious adherents and frendes. This noble Gentleman being right wiſe, baliant, and wel ſpoken, comming into Egipte, gote honourable entertainmente of Pharao ſurnamed Opus, as in the Scottiſhe hiſtorie more plainly appeareth. And afterwards departing that countrey, trauerſed the ſeas, and landing firſt in Portingall, after ſome bickering with the inhabitants, at length yet he got by their conſent a portion of the countrey lying by the banks of the riuer auncientlie called Munda, and nowe Mondego, where ſhortly after he began to buyld a citie firſt named Brachara but nowe Barſalo, as Hector Boetius hath. After this, when Gathelus his people began to increaſe in power, thorough perſuaſion of the Spanyardes their neighbors, they remoued into Galicia, where they alſo builded a citie named Brigantium, whiche is nowe called Coruna. Finally when they grew into ſuche an huge multitude, that Galicia was not able to ſuſteyn them, Gathelus with a certain number of thē paſſed ouer into Irelande, and there grewe into ſuch eſtimatiō with the barbarous people, that for his knowledge ſpecially in all languages, he was highly honored: for he not only enriched and beautified the Iriſh toung, but alſo taught them, letters, ſought vp their antiquities, practiſed their youth in warlyke feates after the manner of the Grekes and Egyptians, from whence he deſcended.

See more of this matter in the beginning of the Scottiſh hiſtorie.

The ryuer of Munda, nowe Mondego. Brachara. Brachara nowe Braga.

Brigantium.

See more hereof in Scotland. Gathelus paſſeth into Irelande.

To conclude, he was ſo acceptable to thē, that to gratifie ſuch a benefactor, they agreed to name the Iland after him Gathelia, and after his wyfe Scotia.

The name of Irelande, and vvherof the ſame vvere deriued, as they hold opinion.

This is one opinion but yet incredible, not onely to Humfrey Lluyd, but alſo to other learned men, and diligent ſearchers of antiquities, by reaſon of the ſundry arguments of improbabilitie, aſwel in the miſcompt of yeres, as other vnlikelyhoods found therin, when the circumſtances come to be duly examined, throughly weyed and well conſidered.

Yet certaine it is, that Irelande was auncientlye named Scotia, and the people Scottes, as by diuers olde writers it may bee ſufficiently proued, albeit by what occaſion it firſt toke that name, or from whence they came, it is as yet doubted,

But to proceede with the hiſtorie as we fynde it. The reſidue of Gathelus his people whiche remayned in Spayn, founded the citie of Bayon in the confines of Gaſcoigne, and replenifhed the ſea coaſtes of Spayn with ſtore of inhabitants, and well neere aboute two hundred yeeres after their firſt arriuall there, when they were eftſoones peſtered with multitude of people) they beganne to fanſye a newe voiage, but whether at that tyme they paſſed ouer into Irelande, or ſome whi-

whither elſe it is vncertayne.

Notwithſtanding, ſure it is, that in the dayes of Gurguntius kyng of the Britons the chiefe gouernour of Bayon with .iiij. brethren Spaniardes of the whiche two are ſayde to be Hyberus and Hermion not the ſonnes (ſome thynke) of Gathelus, (as Hector Boetius affirmeth) but ſome other perhappes that were deſcended from him, who vnderſtanding that diuers of the Weſterne Iles were emptye of inhabitantes, aſſembling a greate number of men, women, and children, embarqued with the ſame in. 60. great veſſels, and directing their courſe Weſtward, houered a long time in the ſea aboute the Iles of Orkeney, vntill by good happe they met with Gurguntius then returning frō the conqueſt of Denmarke (as in the Britiſhe hiſtorie it appeareth) whome they beſoughte in conſideration of theyr wante of victuals and other neceſſaries, being ſuche as they were not able longer to abyde the ſeas, encombred with a ſort of women and children, to direcke and appoynt them to ſome place where to inhabite, promiſing to holde the ſame of hym, and to become liege people to hym and to his heyres for euer.

Gurguntius aduiſing himſelf hereof, remembred with what trouble he held the Iriſhe in ſubiection, and conceyuing hope that thoſe ſtrangers ſhould eyther ſubdue or wholly deſtroy that vnruly generation, toke the othes of thoſe Spanyardes with hoſtages, and furniſhyng them and theyr ſhippes with all things needfull ſet them ouer into Irelande, where aſſiſted with ſuch Britons as Gurguntius had appointed to goe with them for their guides, they made a conqueſte of the whole countrey, and ſettled them ſelues in the ſame.

Some write, that Ireland was before ỳ preſent, voyde of all inhabitants, yet they agree that theſe Spanyards wer guided thither by the Britons, and that vnder ſuche conditions (as before is recited) ſo that it apereth, the kings of thys our Britayn had an elder right to the realme of Ireland than by the conqueſt of Henry the ſeconde, whiche title they euer mainteyned, and ſomtimes preuayled in purſuing thereof, as in the dayes of king Arthure, to whome the Iriſhe (as in ſome hiſtories is remembred, (acknowledged their due ſubiection, with payemente of their tribute, and making their appearance at the Citye called in in the Britiſhe toung Caer Lleon. Whereunto when their owne free aſſente, the ſubmiſſion of their princes with lawfull conqueſt and preſcription are adioyned, an inuincible title muſte needes be enforced.

But now to oure purpoſe: The Spanyardes ſubſtanciallye ayded by the Britons, ſettled them ſelues, and deuided theyr ſeates in quarters, ỳ foure brethren raigning ſeuerally a part in foure ſundry portions in good quiet and increaſe of wealth vntill their pryde and ambition armed two of them agaynſt the other two, as Hiberus and one of his brethren, againſte Hermion and the other brother. In this diſſention Hermion ſlewe his brother Hiberus. Of whome at the ſame tyme the countrey (as ſome holde) was named *Hybernia*, as in the deſcription therof further appeareth, althoughe ſome rather holde, that it toke the name of yron, of the plentifull myncs of that kinde of mettall wherwith that lande aboundeth: And ſo thoſe auncient writers which name it Ierna, named it more aptely after the ſpeeche of the inhabitantes than others, whiche name it *Hibernia*.

Diſſention betwixt the brethren.

Suche are the frutes of ambition.

See more hereof in the deſcription.

But to proceede, Hermion hereupon to auoide the yll opinion of men for that he had thus attained to the ſouerantie by the vnnaturall ſlaughter of his brother in that vnhappie ciuil warre purged hymſelfe to his ſubiects, that neyther maliciouſly nor contentiouſly, but for his neceſſarie defence and ſafetie he had borne armes againſte his brethren: and to witneſſe how farre he was from all deſire to rule alone, he appointed certaine Capitaines as kings, to rule vnder him ſeuerall countreys, reſeruing to hymſelfe but one fourth parte, and the portion of Meth allotted to the Monarchie for the better mayntenance of his eſtate.

No crime ſo manifeſt or deteſtable that vvanteth a colourable preteuce to excuſe it.

Theſe partes appoynted forth in thys wyſe at lengthe grew to fiue kingdoms, Leynſter, Connagh, Vlſter, and Mounſter deuided into two partes, and ſometyme to more, by blurping or compoundyng among themſelues, but euer one was choſen to be chief ſouereigne Monarke ouer them all.

Ireland deuided into fiue kingdomes.

One ſouerayne ruler ouer the reſt.

Thus it ſeemeth that certaynely the Spanyardes of the north partes of Spayne, inhabiting the countreys about Biſkeye and Galicia, came and peopled Ireland (as both their owne hiſtories and the Britiſhe do wholly agree) but frō whence they came firſte to inhabite thoſe countreyes of Spayne, verily I haue not otherwiſe to auouch: For no other writers that I can remember, but (ſuch as haue regiſtred the Scottiſh Chronicles) make mencion of the commyng thither of Gathelus with his wyfe Scota and their people, in manner (as by the ſayde Chronicles is pretended.

But nowe to oure purpoſe: An hundred and thirtie chief kings are reckned of this nation from Hermion to Laogirius, the ſonne of Nealus Magnus, in whoſe tyme that holye eſteemed man Patrike conuerted them to Chriſtianitie.

But nowe in the meane tyme whyleſt the Iriſhmenne lyued in ſome tollerable order and reſte vnder their ſeuerall kings, one Rodorike a Scythian Prince with a ſmall companye of

men, being weather driuen rounde about the coaſts of Britayn, was by chaunce caſt vpon



the ſhore of Irelande.

Pictes arriue in Irelande.

Theſe were Pictes, and the firſt that hadde bin heard of in theſe parties (as ſome authors haue recorded) a people from their verie cradle giuen to diſſention, landeleapers, mercyleſſe, fierce and hardy. They being brought and preſented to the Iriſhe king, craued interpreters, which granted, Roderike their chieftain made this requeſt for him and his, as followeth:

The oration of Roderik K. of the Pictes king of Ireland.

Not as degenerate from the courage of our anceſtours, but faſhioning our ſelues to fortunes courſe, wee are become to craue of Irelande, as humble ſuppliantes that neuer beefore this preſent haue ſo embaſed our ſelues to any other nation. Beholde ſir king, and regarde vs well, no light occaſion cauſeth theſe luſty baliant bodies to ſtoupe. Scythians we are, and Pictes of Scythia, no ſmalle portion of glorie reſteth in theſe two names. What ſhal I ſpeake of the ciuill warre that hath expulſed vs from our natiue homes, or rip vp old hiſtories to moue ſtraungers to bemoane vs, let our ſeruantes and children diſcourſe therof at leyſure, if perhappes you will. vouchſafe to graunt vs ſome time of abode in your land, to the whiche effecte and purpoſe our vrgent neceſſitie beſeecheth your fauors, a king of a king and men of men, are to craue aſſiſtance: princes can well diſcerne and conſider howe neere it toucheth their honour and ſurette to vphold and relieue the ſtate of a king, by treaſon decayed: And manifeſt it is to all men of reaſonable conſideration, that nothing more beſeemeth the nature of mã, than to be moued with compaſſion, and as it were to feele themſelues hurte, when they hear and vnderſtand of other mennes calamities. Admit (we beſeeche you) and receyue amongſt you theſe fewe ſcattered remnauntes of Scythia: if your romes bee narrowe, wee are not manye: if the ſoyle of your countrey be barreyne, wee are borne and enured to hardeneſſe: if you liue in peace, wee are at commaundemente as ſubiectes: if you warre, we are readie to ſerue you as ſouldiours: we demaunde no kingdome, no ſtate, no pompous triumph in Irelande: we are heere alone, and haue lefte ſuche things behynde vs with our enimies: howſoeuer you eſteeme of vs, we ſhall content our ſelues therwith, and learne to frame our liking to yours, calling to mynd not what we haue bin, but what we ar.

Great conſultation was had about this requeſt of theſe ſtrangers, and many things debated to and fro. In concluſion, the Iriſhe layde forth for anſwere the opinions of their Antiquaries, that is, ſuche as were ſkilfull in old hiſtories & ſayings of their elders, wherunto they gaue credite, & therfore they gathered, it coulde not be expedient to accept the Scythians into the land, for that mingling of nations in one realme, breedeth quarels: moreouer that the multitude of the inhabitantes was ſuche, as ſcarſly in the whole Ile was vneth able to receyue them, and therefore thoſe fewe newe commers being placed among ſo many olde inhabitants, might breede quickely ſome diſturbance to bring al out of ioynt. But (ſaid they) though we may not cõuenientlie receiue you among vs, yet ſhall you fynd vs readie to further you to be our neighbours.

Doubtfull conſultation.

The anſwere of the Iriſhe to the requeſt of the Pict.

Not farre hence there lyeth the great Ile of Britayne, in the northe parte whereof, beeing voyde of inhabitantes, your manhode and policies maye purchaſe for you roomthes to place yourſelues at eaſe, we ſhall appoynt you captaines to guide you thither, we ſhall aſſiſt to ſettle you with oure forces in that countreye, make readie your ſhippes that ye maye paſſe thither with all conuenient ſpeede. Encouraged with this perſuaſion they toke their courſe towardes the northy parts of Britain now called Scotland, where contrarie to their expectation Marius king of Britayne was readye to awayte their comming, and with ſharp battayle vanquiſhing them in fielde, ſlewe Roderike with a greate number of his retinues. Thoſe that eſcaped with lyfe, and ſoughte to him for grace, he licenced to inhabite the vttermoſt end of Scotland. This Marius Hũfrey Lluyd taketh to bee the ſame whome the Romain writers name Aruiragus, and reigned about the yere of our Lord. 70. a Prince of a noble courage and of no ſmall eſtimation in his dayes (as ſhould ſeeme by that which is written of him.) His right name (as the ſayde Humfrey Lluyd auoucheth) was Meurig.

The Iriſh perſuadeth the Pictes to place themſelues in Britayn.

Marius otherwiſe called Aruiragus king of Britons.

But now concerning the Pights, whether that thoſe that eſcaped with lyfe, got ſeates by

king

king Meurigs graunte (as aboue is ſpecified,) or that getting to their ſhippes, they withdrew into the Iles of Orkeney, and there remayned. Wiues they wanted alſo to increaſe their iſſue: and bycauſe the Britons thoughte ſkorne to matche their daughters with ſuch an vnknown and newe comen nation, the Pictes continued theyr firſte acquaintaunce with the Iriſhe, and by entreatie obteyned wyues from them, with condition, that if the crowne ſhould happe to fall in contention, they ſhoulde yelde thus muche to the prerogatiue of the woman, that the Prince ſhoulde be elected rather of the bloud royall of the female kind than of the male. Which order (ſayth Beda) the Pictes were well knowne to keepe vnto his tyme.

But howe ſoeuer wee ſhall giue credit to this hiſtorie of the firſt comming of Pictes into this lande, if we grant that to be true which Geffrey of Monmouth reporteth of this victorie obteyned by Marius agaynſt the Pictes, yet haue I thought good to aduertiſe the Reader, that the Britons of this Ile were diſquieted by ỹ nation long before the ſuppoſed tyme of the ſayde king Marius. For Mamertinus in his Oration entitled *Panegiricus*, Max. Dictus hathe theſe wordes, (ſpeakyng of the conqueſt whiche Julius Ceſar had heere agaynſt the Britons) but in that age (ſayeth he) Britayn was neyther furniſhed with anye ſhippes of warre for battayle on the Sea, and the Romaynes after the warres of Affrike and Aſia, were well practiſed wyth the late warres agaynſte Pyrates, and after that agaynſte Mithridates, in whiche they were exerciſed as well by ſea as lande.

Moreouer, the Britiſhe Nation was then vnſkilfull, and not trayned to feates of warre, for the Britons then beeyng onely vſed to the Pictes and Iriſhe enimyes, people halfe naked throughe lacke of ſkill, eaſily gaue place to the Romayns force, ſo that Ceſar myght onely as it were glorie in this, to haue paſſed in that iourney ouer the Ocean ſea.

Hereby it ſhoulde ſeeme, that the Pictes and Iriſhe, did diſquyet the Britons before the commyng of Julius Ceſar into thys Ile of Britaine: But whether they inhabited at that tyme in ſome parte of Irelande, or in ſome of the out Iles by Scotlande, eyther in any parte of Germanye, or Scandinauia, or elſe whether they were already ſettled in the farthеſt partes of Scotlande, as in Cathneſſe, towardes Dungeſbie heade, wee haue not to affirme, other than that whyche in Scotlande wee haue written, in followyng Hector Boetius, whoſe opynion howe farre it is to bee ſuſpected in matters of antiquitie, I leaue to the conſideration of others.

But for the fyrſte comming as well of the Pictes as Scottes, (whome hee maketh inhabitauntes within thys Iſle ſo long before) eyther the name of the one nation or the other is remembred to haue had any gouernement heere, by any auncient or approued writer. I can not perſwade my ſelfe, that eyther Scottes or Pictes hadde any ſettled ſeates within the boundes of this Iſle of Britayne, till after the birthe of oure Sauiour: but that rather the Scottes, as yet inhabiting in Irelande, and in the weſterne Iſles called by the Romayne writers Hebrides, and the Pights, in the Iles of Orkneye called in Latin *Orchades*, dyd vſe to make often inuaſions vppon the Britons, dwelling vpon the coaſtes that lye neere to the ſea ſyde ouer againſte thoſe Iſles.

From whence they comming ouer in ſuche veſſells or boates, as the Fiſhermenne yet vſe, at lengthe the Pights firſt aboute the yeare of our Lord. 290. as Humf. Lhuyd hath noted, entred nerally into Cathneſſe, and other the north partes of Britaine, where they ſettled them ſelues, and remoued the Britons that there inhabited before that time: and ſhortely the Scottes likewiſe came ouer and got ſeates in the weſt partes ouer againſte the Northe of Irelande, and in thoſe Weſtern Iles, which Iles they firſt got into their poſſeſſion. And in this ſorte thoſe nations Pightes and Scottes came firſt to inhabite here in this our Iſle of Britayn, as the ſayd Humfrey Lhuyd not without aduiſed coniecture grounded vpon good reaſon and ſufficient authorite to leade him ſo to eſteeme, hath written in his ſhort commentaries of the deſcription of Britayn.

And verily I thinke we maye more ſafely beleue that whiche he auoucheth in this behalf than that which Hector Boetius ſetteth down, ſith for any thing I can perceiue, his authorities bryng no ſuche warrant with them, but wee may with good reaſon ſuſpecte them. But for the man himſelfe, euen as he hath verie orderly, and with no leſſe cunning than eloquence, ſet downe dyuers thinges incredible, and reported ſome other contrarie to the truth of the hiſtorie, for the glorie of his nation, as we may take it, ſo in his excuſe it may be alledged, that hee was not the Authour of thoſe matters, but wrote what hee founde in Cambell, Veremounde, Cornelius Hibernenſis, and ſuche other in lyke caſe, as Geffreye of Monmouth wrote what hee founde in olde auncient Britiſhe monumentes, and was not the deuyſer him ſelfe (as ſome haue ſuſpected) of ſuche thinges as in hys Booke are by hym expreſſed.

But now to returne to the Pictes. It may be that they came at ſeuerall tymes in like manner as the Scottes didde out of Irelande, of whome the fyrſte is remembred to be Ferguſe, the ſonne

See more here of in England.

The Pictes vvhen they firſt inhabited Britayn.

The Scottes in Britayne.

Hũfrey Lhuyd

Geffrey Monmouth the trãſlater not the authour of the British hiſtory.

The doubt of the tyme of the cõming of Picts & Scots into Britayne.

Fergus kyng of Scots.

of Ferquhard, a man right ſkilful in blaſon of armorie, hee himſelfe bare a Lion gules in a field of gold. The marble ſtone wherof in the Scottiſhe hiſtorie is mencioned, brought into Ireland by Symon Brechus, and kepte tyll thoſe dayes as a precious iewell, this Fergus obteyned towardes the proſpering of his iourney, for that it was thoughte, who ſo had the ſame in poſſeſſion, coulde not but obteyne ſouerayntie and rule ouer others as a king, namely thoſe of the Scottiſhe nation.

The marble ſtone.

This ſtone Fergus brynging into Scotland left it there. But although that Fergus be put in ranke among thoſe Scottiſhe kings that ſhuld reigne in Britayn, yet he bare ſmal rule there, and was diuers tymes beaten back into Irelande, where finally he was drowned by myſfortune within the creeke of Knockfergus.

Knockfergus.

That hee encountred with Coilus king of Britons (as the Scots write) is not poſſible, as oure author hathe verie well noted, excepte they myſtake the name of Coilus for Cailus, with whome the age of Fergus might well meete: the rather for that in the firſte yeare of Cailus reigne the Pictes entred, Fergus immediately after them. 330. yeeres ere Chriſte was borne, where Coilus reigned in the yeare after the incarnation. 124. about whiche tyme befell the ſecond arriuall of the Pictes in Britayne.

124.

And thus it maye bee they miſtake, by errour of the name, Coilus for Cailus, and the ſecond arriuall of the Pictes for the firſt.

But now to the courſe of the hiſtorie. Whileſt the Pictes were ſeated in the north of Britaine, and grew to a great multitude, the Iriſh made ſundry errandes ouer, to viſite theyr daughters, nephues and kinſfolk: and by their often comming and going, they were aware of certayn waſte corners, and ſmall Ilandes boyd of inhabitants, as that which ſeemed rather neglected and ſuffred to lye waſte.

Reuther, or, Reuda.

Hereof they aduertiſed their princes, namely Reuther or Reuda, who beeing deſcended of Fergus, determined to inueſt himſelf in certaine portions of lande beſide the Pictes. He therfore wel appointed, paſſed ouer, and partly by compoſition, & partely by force, got poſſeſſion of thoſe quarters, whiche were deſolate, and began to erecte a kingdome there, by little and little: encreaſing his limites and finally got betwixte the Pictes and Britayns, poſſeſſing that countrey which toke the name of him called Rheuderdahal, and now Riddeſdale, (as you would ſay) Rheudas part, for dahal in ỹ old Scottiſh tong, ſignifieth a part.

In theſe quarters he coulde not ſettle hymſelfe, but that he was oftentymes aſſayled by the Britons that bordered next vnto him, and at length his chaunce was to be ſlayne, but the kingdome continued ſtill in the handes of his ſucceſſours: and the Pictes and Scottes grew in frendſhip togither, permitting eche other to lyue in quyet.

The amitie betwixt Scotes and Pictes.

The Scots neſtled them ſelues in the Iles and coaſts alongſt the ſea ſide. The Picts held the middle part. But ſhortely after, the peace began to hang doubtfull betwixt them: for the diuerſitie of people, place, cuſtom & language, together with the memorie of olde grudges, moued ſuch iealoſy and inward hate betwixte thoſe nations, that it ſeemed they were redy to breake out into open diſſention vpon the firſte occaſion. And as in ſuche caſes there neuer wanteth one deuiſe or other to rayſe tumults: it chaunced that certaine of the Scottiſh nobilitie had got out of Greece (as ſome write) a Molollian hound, which both in ſwiftneſſe of foot, and pleaſantneſſe of mouth, was accompted peerleſſe.

Their falling out.

This hounde being ſtollen by a Picte, was cauſe of the breache of peace, ſo that cruell warres therof enſued (as in the Scottiſh hiſtorie more at large appeareth. But where ſome write, that Eugenius ſhoulde reigne ouer the Scottes, when this quarell fell out for ſtealing of this hound, Hector Boetius ſayeth, it was in king Crathlinths dayes.

Stryfe about a dogge.

Moreouer it ſhould ſeme by that which the ſame Boetius writeth, that the hound or greihound for the which this trouble roſe, was not fetched ſo far as out of Grecia, but rather bred in Scotland: notwithſtãding bicauſe the Latiniſts call ſuch kinde of dogs *Moloſſi*, for that the firſt generation of them, or the like, came from a citie of Gretia called Molоſſe, it may be, that ſome haue thoughte, that this greyhounde came from thence, for that he was ſo called after the name of that place frõ whence the breed of him firſt came. But to returne to the hiſtorie.

After the Scottes and Pictes had tugged togither a whyle at lengthe one Carauſius a Bryton, laboured a frendſhip betwixt them and bringing his purpoſe to paſſe, perſwaded them to lend him their help to expulſe the Romaines out of Britayne: but his happe was ſhortly after to be ſlayne by the Romaine capitayne Alectus. And ſo newe ſturres were in hand betwixt the Britons and Romaines, the Scottes and Pictes, for the moſt parte taking parte with the Britons, till at length Maximus the Romayne lieutenant founde meanes to ſet the Scots and Picts at variance, & ioyning with the Picts in league, vſed their ayde

Carauſius agreeth them. Anno Chriſti 288.

againſt

againſt the Scots, whome he ſo earneſtly purſued with all the power he might make, that in the end they were vtterly expulſed out of all the coaſtes of Britayne, ſo that they fledde ſome into one parte, ſomme into an other, but the moſte number gotte them ouer into Irelande, and the Iles, wher they remained for the ſpace of. 43. yeares, and then at length returned thither, vnder the leading of their prince Fergule, being the ſecond of that name, as they accompt him. From thencefoorth the Scots kepte ſuche foote in Britayn, that they encroched vpon their neighbors, in ſuche wyſe as they waxed ſtronger then the Pictes, whom in the end they quite roted forth, and neſtled themſelues in their ſeates, althoughe nowe at their firſte retourne, they concluded a firme amitie with the ſame Pictes, that ioygning theyr forces together, they might the better make head againſt bothe Romayns and Britayns, whome they reputed as common enimies to them bothe.

Thus the Scots a liuely, cruell, vnquiet, antient and victorious people, got place within this Ile of Britayne, mixed firſt with Britons, ſecondly with Pictes, thirdly and chiefly with the Iriſhe, whiche after this tyme lefte their name of Scots vnto thoſe in Britayne, and choſe rather to be called Iriſhe: and then came vp the diſtinction of the name, as *Scotia maior* for Irelande, *Scotia minor*, for the countreye inhabited by the Scots within Britayne.

But Cambrenſis ſayth, that the Scots chiefly preuailed vnder the leading of. 6. valiant gentlemen, ſonnes to Murious king of Ulſter, who in the time of Neale, ſurnamed the greate, that enioyed the Monarchie of Ireland, paſſing ouer into Scotlãd to ſuccour their coũtreymen there, at length toke vp for themſelues certain parcels of ground, which their poſteritie were owners of in the time that Cambrenſis liued, to wit, about the yeare of our Lord. 1200. who treateth hereof more largely in his Booke intitled *Topographia Britanniæ*. Sith which time they haue bene euer taken, reputed and named Scots, the Pictiſh nation being driuen into corners, albeit the mountaine partes and out Iles euen vnto thys day are inhabited with a wilde kinde of people called Redſhankes, eſteemed by ſome to be mingled of Scots and Pictes.

The Scottes write, that their king Gregorie the ſonne of Dongall, who began his reigne in the yeare of oure Lorde. 875. pretending a title to Irelande, as belonging to hym by ryghte of lawfull ſucceſſion, made a iourneye thither, and wythin a ſmall tyme made a conqueſte of the countrey.

Thys Gregorie lyeth buryed in one of the out Iles called Iona, or Colmekyll, where they ſpeake naturally Iriſhe: and therefore ſome of the Scottes woulde ſeeme to make the conqueſt of Henry the ſeconde in Irelande, a reuoltyng from the righte inheritours, although they confeſſe they can not tell howe they came from the poſſeſſion of it, otherwyſe than by forging a tale that they willingly forewent it, as reaping leſſe by reteyning it, than they layde forthe, and ſo not able to diſcharge that whiche was to bee defrayed aboute the keeping of it, they gaue it ouer, perſwading themſelues, that the Kyngs of Englande haue gayned little or nothyng by the hauyng of Irelande. And yet in the tyme whyleſt Syr Henry Sydney was gouernor there, Sir Henry Sydney. when the Countie of Ulſter was auouched to belong to the Crowne, it was proued in open Parliament, that the reuenues of that Erledom, in the dayes of Edwarde the thirde were reckened, and founde to amounte vnto the ſumme of xxxj. thouſande markes yearely, the ſame being but a fyfte parte of Irelande: ſo that if thinges were well loked vnto, and ſuche enprouemente made as mighte bee, Irelande woulde ſuffice to beare the neceſſarie charges, and yelde no ſmall ſurpluſage vnto the Princes coffers.

But nowe as it falleth forthe in the hiſtorie. We haue thoughte good heere to ſhewe in what ſorte Irelande came to receyue the Chriſtian fayth. We fynde in deede that immediatly after Chriſtes tyme, Saynt James the Apoſtle, and other, trauayling into theſe Weaſt partes, didde firſt inſtructe the Iriſhe people, and teache them the glad tidyngs of the Goſpell, ſo that diuerſe amongeſt them euen then were chriſtened, and beleeued, but not in ſuche numbers (as maye be thought) wherby it ſhould be ſayd, that the coũtrey was generally conuerted. Ireland inſtructed in the faithe by S. Iames the Apoſtle.

Notwithſtanding, the Scottiſhe Chronicles auouche, that in the dayes of their king Fincomarke, who departed this lyfe in the yeare of our Redemption. 358. Irelande was conuerted to the faith by this meanes.

A woman of the Pictiſh bloud, chaunced (ſay they) to ſerue in thoſe dayes the Queene of Irelande, whiche woman being a chriſtian hir ſelfe, firſt inſtructed hir miſtreſſe in the faith and true pointes of Chriſtianitie, and the queene hir huſbande, who conuerted the whole Iriſhe nation. Howbeit, by report of ỹ Iriſh writers thẽſelues, this ſhoulde not ſeeme altogether true: for they affirme, that their countrey was rather ſtil eſteemed as one of the vnchriſtened Iſles, tyll about the yeare foure hundred twentie and ſixe, whileſt Celeſtine the firſt of that name, gouerned the ſea of Rome, who vpon conference hadde wyth his Clergie, touching the reſtoring of the chriſtian Faythe in the Weaſte partes of the Worlde

greatly decayed there by the hereſie of Pelagius, vnderſtode that Ireland alſo by reſon of diſtance from the hart of Chriſtendome, and rudeneſſe of the nation, had receyued little fruite at all of true religion, a thing muche to be lamented.

Paladius offereth to go into Irelande.

Among other that then were aſſembled to treate of thoſe matters was one Paladius Archdeacon of Rome, who offered his charitable trauayle towardes the conuerſion of any of thoſe landes whether it ſhould pleaſe them to appoynt hym to goe.

He is conſecrated bishop.

Celeſtine knowing the ſufficiencie of the mã, conſecrated him Biſhop, authoriſed his iourney by letters vnder his ſeale, furniſhed his wantes, and aſſociating to him ſuche Religious perſones and other, as were thoughte neceſſarie to aſſiſte him, deliuered to him the Bible with greate ſolemnitie and other monumentes in furtherance of his good ſpeede.

Paladius landed in Irelande.

At length he landed in the north of Irelande, from whence he eſcaped ryght hardely with hys lyfe into the Iles adioyning, where hee preached the Goſpell, and conuerted no ſmal number of Scots to the chriſtian beleef, and purged that part that was chriſtened from the infection of the Pelagians, as in the Scottiſhe hiſtorie more at large apereth. He was required by ẏ Scots that inhabited here in Britayne, to leaue the Iles & to come ouer vnto them, there to inſtruct the people in the way of true ſaluation, to the whiche with the Popes licence, he ſeemed willyng ynough, and the Biſhop of Rome the more readily condeſcended thereto, for that in the inſtante tyme when Paladius was to departe, one Patrike attended at Rome ſuyng for licence to be ſent into Irelande.

Patrike ſente into Ireland.

The Pope therefore graunted, that Paladius might paſſe ouer to the Scottes in Britayn, and appoynted Patrike to goe with authoritie from hym into Ireland, where vpon his arriuall hee founde the people ſo well bent to heare his admonitions, contrarye to their accuſtomed frowardneſſe, that a man woulde haue thought that had ſeene their readineſſe, howe that the lande hadde bin reſerued for him to conuerte, and bycauſe it pleaſed God to beſtow ſuche an vniuerſall benefite to thys lande by his meanes, we haue thoughte good in following our Authour herein to touche ſome part of the courſe of his life.

Paladius apointed to go into Scotland.

The towardneſſe of the Iriſhmen to hear Patrikes preaching.

VVhere ſaint Patrike vvas borne.

This Patrike in Latin called Patricius, was borne in the marches betwixte Englande and Scotland, in a towne by the ſea ſyde called Eyburne, whoſe father hight Calphurnius, a Deacon and ſonne to a Prieſt. His mother named Conches, was ſiſter to Saint Martine that famous Biſhoppe of Towers in Fraunce.

The life of S. Patrik in brief.

Patrike of a chylde was brought vp in learning, and well inſtructed in the faith, and muche giuen to deuotion.

The Iriſhmenne in thoſe dayes aſſiſted with Scottes and Pictes were become archpyrates, ſore diſquieting the ſeas about the coaſts of Britayne, and vſed to ſacke little ſmall villages that laye ſcattered along the ſhore, & wold often leade awaye captiue the inhabitantes home into theyr countrey.

S. Patrike vvas taken priſoner vvhen he vvas yong.

And as it chaunced, Patrike being a ladde of xvj. yeares olde, and a ſcholer then in ſecular lerning, was taken among other, and became ſlaue to an Iriſh lord called Mackbuain, from whom after. vj. yeares terme he redeemed himſelfe with a peece of gold which he found in a clod of earth, that the ſwyne had newly turned vp as he followed them in that tyme of his captiuitie, beeyng appointed by his maiſter to keepe them.

Affliction maketh men religious.

And as affliction cõmonly maketh men religious, the regarde of his former education, printed in him ſuche remorſe and humilitie, that beyng thencefoorth weaned from the worlde, he betoke himſelfe to contemplation, euer lamenting the lacke of grace and truthe in that land: and herewith not diſpairyng, but that in continuaunce, ſome good might bee wrought vpon them, he lerned their tong perfectly, and alluring one of that nation to beare him companie for exerciſe ſake, he departed from thence, & got him into France, euer hauing in his mynd a deſire to ſee the conuerſion of the Iriſhe people, whoſe babes yet vnborne ſeemed to him in his dreames (from oute of theyr mothers wombes) to call for chriſtendome.

He paſſeth into Fraunce.

In this purpoſe he ſought out his vncle Martine, by whoſe meanes he was placed with Germanus the biſhop of Auxerre, continuing wyth him as ſcholer or diſciple for ẏ ſpace of. xl. yeres: All whiche tyme he beſtowed in like ſtudie of the holie ſcriptures, prayer, and ſuch godly exerciſes. Then at the age of. lvij. yeares, being renoumed through the Latine Churche for his wiſedome, vertue and ſkill, he came to Rome, bringing letters with him in his commendation, from the Frenche biſhops vnto Pope Celeſtine, to whome he vttered his full mynde and ſecrete bow, which long ſithence he hadde conceyued touching Irelande.

Patrike is inueſted archbiſhop of Irelande.

Celeſtine inueſted him Archbiſhoppe and primate of the whole Iſlande, ſette him forewarde with all fauor he could deuiſe, and brought hym and hys diſciples onwarde of theyr countrey.

In the 23. yere therfore of the Emperor Theodoſius the yonger, beyng the yeare of our Lorde 430. Patrick landed in Irelande, and bycauſe hee ſpake the tong perfectly, and withall beeing a reuerente perſonage in the eyes of all menne, many lyſtened and gaue good eare to hys preachyng, the rather for that as wryters

530.

haue

haue recorded) hee confirmed his doctrine wyth diuers miracles: but ſpecially thoſe regarded his wordes before all other that had ſome taſte of the chriſtian faith afterwarde, either by the cõming into thoſe parties of Paladius and his diſciple one Albius an Iriſhe Biſhoppe, or otherwyſe, by ſome other: for it is to be thought, that continually there remayned ſome ſparke of knowledge of Chriſtianitie, euer ſith the firſte preaching of the Goſpel, (whiche was ſhortly after the Aſcention of our Sauior) by S. James, (as before is mencioned.) In continuaunce of time Patrike wan the better part of that kingdom to the faith.

Irish diſciples.

Laigenus ſon of Neale the great Monark, although he receyued not the Goſpell him ſelfe, yet permitted all that would to embrace it. But ſith he refuſed to be baptiſed, and apply to his doctrin, the Biſhop denounced againſt him a curſe from God accordingly, but tempered yet with mercye and iudgement, as thus: that during his lyfe he ſhoulde be victorious, but after him neyther the kingdom ſhould ſtande, nor his lignage inherite. From thence he toke his way vnto Conill lorde of Conagh, who honourably receyued him, and was conuerted with al his people. And after ſent hym vnto his brother Logan king of Leyniſter, whome he likewyſe conuerted.

In Mouniſter he found great frendſhippe and fauour by meanes of an Erle there, called the erle of Daris, who honoured him highly, and gaue hym a dwelling place in the eaſt angle of Ardmagh called Sorta, where he erected many celles and monaſteries both for religious men and women. He trauailed .xxx. yeres in preachyng thorough the lande, planting in places conuenient Biſhops and Prieſtes, whoſe learning and vertuous converſation by the ſpeciall grace and fauour of GOD, eſtabliſhed the fayth in that rude nation. Other thirtie yeares he ſpent in his prouince of Ardmagh among his brethren, placed in thoſe houſes of Religion, whiche by his meane were founded, and ſo he liued in the whole about one hundred twentie two yeares, and lyeth buryed in Downe.

Of Saint Patrikes Purgatorie, ye ſhal fynd in the deſcription of the countrey, and therefore we dor here omitte it: but yet becauſe we are entred to ſpeake of the fyrſt fundation of Churches and religious houſes here in Irelande, in following our Authour in that behalfe, wee will ſpeake ſomewhat of ſuche other holye men and women as are renoumed to haue liued in Irelande, as ornamentes to that Ile, more glorious than all triumphes and victories of the worlde, if their zeale hadde bin ſeaſoned with true knowledge of the Scriptures, as it maye well be, that in ſome of them it was, howſoeuer myſtaken by the iudgement and report of the ſimple, which hath reſted not only of theſe perſons, but alſo of the very Apoſtles themſelues, certaine fantaſticall tales which with the learned are out of all credite.

But this matter I will leaue to diuines to diſcuſſe, truſting that the Reader will contente himſelfe to heare what we fynde recorded by olde writers, whiche we ſhall ſette downe, and offer to their conſiderations to thinke therof, as reaſon may beſt moue them.

Giral. Camb. telleth, that in S. Patriks tyme flouriſhed Sainte Bride the Virgine, and S. Colme, which two, with the ſame Patrike, were buryed in Downe, (as in the Scottiſhe hiſtorie ye may fynde) and (as the ſame Giraldus ſayth) their three bodies were founde there ſhortly after the conqueſt. Giraldus Cambrenſis.

Sir John Conway being preſidẽt of Vlſter, in viewyng the ſepulture, teſtifyed to haue ſeene three principall iewels, whiche were then tranſlated, as honourable monumentes worthie to be preſerued. Of ſainct Colme it is doubted in what age he lyued. Brigide, otherwyſe called Bride, was baſe daughter to one Dubtacius, a Capitayne in Leyniſter, who perceyuyng the mother wyth chylde, ſolde hir ſecretely (fearing the ielouſie of his wyfe) to an Iriſhe Peet, reſeruing to himſelfe the fruite of hir wombe. Sir Iohn Conwvey preſidente of Vlſter. Saint Colme. Peet, that is, Magus in latin or (as vve may ſay) a Magitia or ſoothſayer in English.

She was there delyuered of thys Bridget, whome the Peet trayned vp in learning, and vertuous education, and at lengthe brought hir home to hir father. An. do. 439.

The damoſell alſo was inſtructed in the faith by ſaynte Patrike, that preached then in thoſe quarters, wherupon ſhe became ſo religious and ripe in iudgement, that not only the multitude of people, but alſo a whole Synode of Biſhops aſſembled neere to Dinelyn to heare hir aduiſe in weightye cauſes. Suche eſtymation they had of hir. One fact of hir beyng yet a childe, made hir famous. The eſtimation vvherin she vvas had.

The king of Leyniſter had giuen to hir father Dubtacius as a token of his good liking towardes him for his valiant ſeruice a riche ſworde, the furniture wherof was garniſhed with many coſtly iewels. And as it chaunced, the Damoſel viſiting the ſicke neighbours, diuerſly diſtreſſed for wante of neceſſarie relicke (hir father beeing a ſterne man and his ladie a cruell ſhrew) ſhe could deuiſe no other ſhift to helpe to relieue the wante of thoſe poore and needye people, but to impart the ſame iewelles of that yolde ſworde among them. The king of Leyniſter.

This matter was heynouſly taken, and being brought to the kings eares, it chaunced that ſhortely after he came to a banket in hir fathers houſe, and calling the maide afore him that was not yet paſt .ix. yeres of age: He aſked hir howe ſhee durſte preſume to deface the gyfte of

a king,

a king in such wise as she had done his. She answered that the same was bestowed vpon a better king than he was, whom (quoth shee) finding in such extremitie, I woulde haue giuen all that my father hath, and all that you haue, yea your selues to and all, were ye in my power to giue, rather than Christ should starue.

She professed virginitie.

She professed virginitie, and allured other noble yong Damosels vnto hir felowship, with whō she continued in hir owne Monasterie, where she was first professed, vnto the yere of our lord. 500.

Anno 500 Brigit departed this life.

and then departing this life, shee was buryed in Downe in Saint Patrikes tombe.

Geraldus Cambrensis reporteth of his owne knowledge, that among other monumentes of hirs, there was founde a Concordaunce of the foure Euangelystes, seeming to be written with no mortall hande, beautifyed with mysticall pictures in the Margent, the colours and cunning workemanshippe whereof, at the first blushe appeared darke and nothing delectable, but in the heedfull viewe of the diligent beholder, very liuely and wonderfull artificiall.

A concordance of the foure Euangelistes.

Cenanus first a man of war, and after a bishop.

Cenanus that was first a Souldier, succeeded Saint Patrike in the Sea of Ardmagh, after he had certaine yeares followed the warres.

Abbot Brendan.

Brendan Abbot, at the age of tenne yeares was of such incomparable holynesse (as they say) and therewith so wise and learned, that hys father and mother thinking themselues to haue gayned the mosse worthie fruite that myght ensue of theyr maryage, by mutuall consent professed continencie, and abandoned matrimoniall companie. He flourished in the dayes of Saint Brygget, and lyued in familyer societie wyth Saynt Arons the Bysshoppe, and Fyntan the Abbot.

Madoc.

Madoc, alias Edan of noble parentage taken prysoner by the king of Temore and kept in his Court with dyuerse yong men his schoolefelowes, openly adiured the king to licence him and them to depart, that they might serue God as they were accustomed, ꝑ which being now kept in sunder and restrayned of libertie, they were forced to discontinue. Hereupon immediately they were dismissed.

He dyed Bishoppe of Fernes, and layde the foundation of that Borow.

Melingus.

His successor Melingus, although hee was Bishop, gaue himselfe yet to voluntarie labour, and with his owne handes derued and brought a running spring to his Monasterie, enduring that trauayle dayly after prayer and studie, for the space of. viij. yeares togither.

Colm king of Leynister.

Fyntan Abbot was had in such reuerence, that where as Colm king of Leynister kept Cormake the kings sonne of Tensil prisoner, he went boldly with. xij. of his disciples through the preasse of all the souldiers, and in sight of the king was suffered to borow the yong Prince. For the Irishe are not sterne agaynst those of whome they haue conceyued an opinion of holinesse.

I remember (sayth our Author) that Cambrensis writeth himselfe merily to haue obiected to Moyice then Archbishop of Cashell, that Ireland in so many hundred yeares had not brought forth one Martyr. The Bishop answered pleasantly (alluding to the late dispatching of Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury) our people (quoth he) notwithstanding their other enormities, yet haue spared euer the bloud of vertuous men. Marie now we are deliuered to such a nation that is well acquainted with making Martyrs, so that from henceforth I trust no complaynt shall need for want of Martyrs.

The answere of the archbishop of Cashell to Geraldus Cābrensis.

Malachias was borne in Ardmagh of noble progenie, brought vp in vertue by the example of his mother, and trayned forth in learning, profited greatly in deuotion, so that being yet a very babe, he was espied diuerse tymes to steale away from his companions to pray in secrete. He was so graue and modest, that of himselfe he chose the most graue and seuere Schoolmaisters, refusing an excellent Clearke, because he sawe him somewhat lightly demeaning himselfe at game.

Malachias.

In the beginning of his youthfull yeares, he became the disciple of Imarius an olde recluse, whose austeritie of conuersation the whole towne had in great reuerence.

There hee became a Deacon, and at. xxv. yeares a Priest. The Archbishop for the fame and opinion of his worthinesse receyued him to be assistant to him in office, in the which he so behaued himselfe, that he reformed superstitions, and reuiued ꝑ force of religion, namely in the vniformitie of their Church seruice, wherein before time they iarred.

The famous Monasterie of Banchor he redified of the patrimonie and legacies by his vncle left him. The same Monasterie was of old time gouerned by Congellus, and after him by Columbanus the father of many religious houses in Fraunce.

The Monasterie of Banchor repaired.

This Abbey being spoyled, and nintie of the brethren murthered in one day by the Prior, the possessions whereof being come to the handes of Malachias by his vncles assignement, he restored forthwith and aduaunced the foundation. At the age of. xxx. yeares, he was by canonicall election forced to accept the Bishoprike of of Concreth, a people of all the Irish then most sauage and wild, whome with inestimable trauaile he reclaymed from theyr beastly maners.

In the meane while died Celsus Bishop of Ardmagh, after whom succeeded Malachias, at the age of. xxxviij. yeares. But before this neare

hande

hande the ſpace of two hundred yeares togither, a cuſtome had crepte into the countrey, that the Metropolitane ſea was conferred vpon ſuch Biſhops as were maried, and were of the bloud royall) in maner by way of inheritance: Wherfore Nigellus or Neale the next of kinred, animated by the parcialitie of ſome princes, and getting into his cuſtodie the Bible and ſtaffe, & other monumentes of S. Patrike, whereunto opinion of the common people tyed the prelacie, came to his Palace with a bande of ſouldiors to haue ſlayne the Biſhop: When al the people wept and howled for his perill, he alone ſtepped into the boſome of his enimies, demaundyng what was theyr purpoſe: The bloodie ſouldiers letting fall theyr weapons in ſted of executing the pretenced murder, fell to reuerence him, and at length departed from him as freendes.

Three yeares he ſate in the primacie rather to diſcontinue the horrible corruption before vſed, than with intent to ſettle himſelfe there.

After he hadde remoued the abuſe, he procured Malachias to ſucceede him in the Archbiſhops ſea, and he returned to his former ſea of Downe, to the which as then was annexed the Biſhoprike of Conor, but Malachias vnderſtanding that in tymes paſt they were.vj. ſeuerall ſeas, he deuided them againe, & ordeined an other to the Biſhoprike of Conor, deſirous rather to leſſen his cure than to enlarge the frutes by taking more charge vpon hym.

Malachias being demaunded of his brethren the Monkes of Benchar, where and when hee would wiſh to die and to be buried, if it lay in his choyce, he anſwered: If in Irelande, beſide the bodie of S. Patrik, if beyond the ſeas at Clareuale where S. Bernarde was then reſiant, and in the feaſt of all ſoules. He purpoſed within few dayes to ſue to Pope Eugenius for increaſe of the nũber of Metropolitans, whiche requeſt was ſhortly after accompliſhed. And in this voyage which he thus made, hee ſtayed at Clareuale, and there diuers tymes openly foreſhewed, that the yere of his departure forth of this worlde was come, and accordingly when he had taken leaue of Sainte Bernarde and the brethren, hee wente downe from his chamber to the churche, and there diddo communicate: Whiche donne, hee returned to his lodgyng, and there on All Soule daye in the yere of his age. 54. he gaue vp the ghoſt ſo mylde lye and quietlye that it ſeemed rather a ſleepe than a death.

Malchus, thoughe borne in Irelande, yet he ſpente the moſte parte of his tyme in the monaſterie of Wynchceſter in Englande, and from thence was taken & admitted biſhop of Liſmore. Saint Bernard remembreth of him by occaſion, he cured a lunatike childe in confirming, or elſe (as they termed it, in biſhopping him.) This miracle ſeene and conſtſſed by many hundredes of people was blowen throughe the worlde.

The ſame tyme happened diſcord betwixt the king of Mounſter and his brother, and as the matter was handled, the king was ouermatched and fled into England, where he viſited Malchus in his Abbey, and would by no meanes departe from hym, but remayne there vnder his rule and gouernmente ſo long as it pleaſed God to denie hym quiet returne into his countrey: hee contented himſelfe with a poore celle, vſed dayly to bathe himſelfe in colde water, to aſſuage the wanton motions of his fleſhe, and for dyet receyued none other delicates than breade, water and ſalte, daye and nyghte ſobbing and bewayling with greate remorſe of conſcience his former myſdemeaned lyfe. Diſcorde betwixt the king of Mounſter and his brother.

At lengthe the other Kings and people of Irelande beganne to repine at the vſurper, ſet vpon him with open warre, banquiſhed him in a pight fielde, and called home the rightefull Prince his brother agayne, to reſume his kingdome, who with many graue perſwaſions of Malchus and Malachias coulde vneth bee broughte to forſake that trade of lyfe and companye, the whyche he had wyth ſuche delectation enured him ſelfe vnto.

Thus farre of the Iriſhe Sainctes. Of the whyche (as ſome of them are to bee eſteemed right vertuous and godlye menne, ſo other of them are to bee ſuſpected, as perſons rather holye by the ſuperſtitious opinion of the people, than induced with any ſuche knowledge of true godlyneſſe and ſyncere Relygion, as are worthye to be Regiſtred in the number of thoſe that of right ought to paſſe for ſayntes, as by certayne late writers may appeare. Foxe. Bale.

But this we leaue to the iudgemente of the aduiſed Reader, for that in ſuche matters wee mynde not to preiudice any mans opinion, but onely wiſhe the Reader to take heed howe he giueth credite to that whych oftentymes is found written by Authours touching feigned miracles, and other vayne ſuperſtitious dealings, wherethorough many zelous perſons haue often bene deceyued.

Nowe therefore to leaue Sayntes, and returne to other matters, touchyng the Iriſhe hiſtorie.

In the yeare. 586. the Norwegians had got dominion ouer the Flandes in the north Weaſt Ocean called the Iles of Orkeney, and ſkoured the Seas that none other nation durſte vnnethe appeare in ſight for dread of them. A people giuen greately to ſeeke the Conqueſtes of other Realmes, as they that coulde not fayle to fynde more warme and fruitefull places for to in- 586. The Norwregians ſkoure the ſeas, and inuade the yles of Orkney.

to inhabite than theyr owne.

They inuade Irelande.

These fellowes chaunced to light into Irelande by this meanes, Caraticus king of Brytaine ranne into suche hatred of his people that they rayled warres agaynst him.

The Saxons that possessed now fiue seuerall kingdomes in the Ile of Brytayne, reioyced not a little at this ciuill discorde betwixt the Brytayne king and his subiects, whereupon meaning to make a full conquest of the Brytaines, and vtterly to expulse them forth of the whole Ile, assembled their powers & ioyned to the same Gurmundus, a notable rouer of the Norwegians, who hauing at all tymes a Nauie in a readinesse, and men to furnishe it, holpe the Saxons to chase the Brytaynes into the Marches of Wales. For from thence (being retyred into the Mountaynes and Woodes) they coulde not dryue them.

Gurmundus an Archpyrate of the nation of Norway.

This Gurmound (as some thinke) buylded at the same tyme the towne of Gurmondchester, and after being assysted by the Saxons, hee made a voyage into Irelande, where hee spedde not greatly to his desire, and therefore the Irishe account not this for any of theyr conquests, as some of their antiquaries informed oure Authour.

Champion.

Gurmounde therefore fynding but sorie successe, buylt a fewe sleight Castelles and Fortes in the frontiers, and so lefte the lande, and sayled from thence into Fraunce, where at length hee was slaine. Our Chronicles in deede name him King of Irelande, but the Irishe affyrme that before Turgesius there was none of the Easterne people that obteyned dominion in theyr Countrey.

Turgesius.

Geraldus Cambrensis, to make the matter whole, (a Gods name) thinketh Turgesius to haue conquered the lande as Lieutenaunt or Deputie vnder Gurmundus. But thys being graunted, there ryseth a more manifest contradiction than the former, for hee himselfe numbreth betwixte Laogirius King of Irelande, that lyued in the yeare. 430. and Edlumding, whom Turgesius vanquished, xxiij. Monarkes, whose raignes comprehended foure hundred yeares, so that Turgesius lyued in the yeare after the incarnation. 830.

Laogerius. 430

Then it is too playne, that hee coulde not haue any doynge wyth Gurmundus, who ioyned with the Saxons agaynst Careticus, in the yeare. 586.

The doubt resolued.

This knotte (saith our Authour) might be vntwyned with more facilitie thus. Gurmundus made much of that little he gotte, and wrote himselfe King, which title our Hystories doe allowe him, because hee made the waye playne, enioyed it a whyle, and set open the gate vnto his Countreymen.

Turgesius atchieued the whole exployte, and brought it to perfection, and in these respectes eyther of them may bee called King and Conquerour of Irelande.

Turgesius what he did.

Turgesius therefore with hys Norwegyans the seconde tyme inuaded Irelande, susteyned diuerse losses and ouerthrowes: but in the ende forsakyng himselfe by the Sea coastes, and receyuing thereby hys friendes at hys pleasure, waxed so strong that hee subdued the whole Ile, styll erecting Castelles and Fortresses as hee wanne grounde, so to mayster the Irishe, that with suche maner of strengthes of Walles and Rampyres had not as yet beene acquaynted, for tyll those dayes they knewe no defence but Woods, Bogs, or strokes.

He buylded Fortresses.

Turgesius so bryded the Irishe Kinges, and kepte them in awe, that without interruption hee raigned lyke a Conquerour thirtie yeares.

Turgesius raigned in Ireland. xxx. yeares.

He cryed hauocke and spoyle where anye riche pray was to bee had, sparing neyther those of the laytie, nor of the Cleargie, neyther Church nor Chappell, abusing hys victorie verie insolently, Omalaghlilen King of Methe, was in some trust with the tyrant. His onely daughter Turgesius craued for his Concubine.

Omalaghlilen king of Meth.

The father hauing a readie witte, and watching his tyme, beganne to breake with Turgesius in this wise, sauing your fancie (my Lorde quoth he) there are dyuerse Ladyes of bloud in thys Countrey meeter bedfellowes for a King than that browne gyrle, and therewyth he beganne to recken vppe a number of hys Neeces and Cousins, indowed (as he set them forth) with such singular beautie, as they seemed rather Angels than mortall creatures.

The tyrant as it were rauished, and doting in loue of those Peereleese peeces before hee sawe them, by reason of such exceeding prayses as hee thus heard of them, doubted yet least Omalaghlilen extolled them to preserue his daughter out of hys handes, and the subtile father cloked his drift with modest behauiour, lyngering tyme to enflame the Leachers folly, as he that wished anye thing more to bee suspected than that which hee ment most earnestly to bring to passe.

The policie of Omalaghlilen.

At length when Turgesius seemed to take his delaying thus of tyme somewhat displeasantly, he bled thys or the like speech.

If I shoulde saye (quoth hee) that I gaue you my sole daughter wyth good wyll to be deflowred, your highe wisedome woulde some gesse that I didde but flatter you, and yet if tenne Daughters were dearer to mee than your good pleasure and contentation, by whose bountifull goodnesse both thee and I, and wee all are

supported,

ſuppozted, I were vnwozthie that ſecrete and neare frendſhip wherin it lyketh you to vſe me. As foz the wenche it will be in parte honourable to hir to be required to the bedde of ſuch a prince, ſith Queenes haue not ſticked to come from far and yelde the vſe of their bodyes to noble conqueroꝛs, in hope by them to haue iſſue: and how ſoeuer it be taken, tyme will weare it out, and redeeme it: but ſuche a friende as you are to mee and myne, neyther I noꝛ myne ſhall lyue to ſee. And verily I mean not to hazard your diſpleſure if it were foꝛ a greater matter than the value of twentie maydenheads, ſeeyng fathers haue not ſticked to giue vp their owen wiues to quench the luſtes of their ſonnes. Therefoꝛe am I thus agreed, name the daye and place, ſeparate youre ſelfe from the viewe of your court, conferre with thoſe that haue a deyntie inſight and ſkilfull eyes in diſcerning beauties, I wil ſend you my daughter, and with hir the choyce of .xij. oꝛ .xvj. gentlewomẽ, the meaneſt of the which may be an Empreſſe in compariſon: when they are beſoꝛe you, make youre game as you lyke. And then if my chylde pleaſe your fantaſy, ſhe is not too good to be at your cõmaundement. Only my requeſt is, that if any other ſhall preſume vpon youre leauings, your maieſtie will remember whoſe chyld ſhe is. This liberal proffer was of Turgeſius accepted (whoſe deſire was inſaciable) with many good woꝛdes, thankes and faire promiſes.

To be ſhoꝛte, the ſame day Omalaglilen put his daughter in princelyke apparell, attired after the trimmeſt wyſe, and with hir .xvj. proper yong men, beautifull and amiable to behold: and ſo being ſent to the king were preſented vnto him in his priuie chamber, hauyng none aboute him but a fewe diſſolute youthfull perſons wherupon thoſe diſguiſed yong ſtripplyngs drew forth from vnder their long womanniſhe garmentes theyr ſkeynes, and valiauntly beſturring them ſelues, firſt ſtabbed their weapon poyntes, thoꝛough the bodie of the tyrant, and then ſerued all thoſe yonthes that were aboute him with the lyke ſawce, they making ſmall oꝛ no reſiſtance at all.

The bruite of this murder was quickly blowen abroade thoꝛoughe all Irelande, and the Princes readye to catche holde on ſuche aduauntage, roſe in armes wyth one aſſente in purpoſe to delyuer themſelues from bondage, and recouer libertie.

All Meathe and Leyniſter were ſpeedyly got together, reſoꝛtyng vnto Omalaglilen the authour of this practiſe, who lyghtly lept to horſſe, and commending their foꝛwarde readyneſſe in ſo naturall a quarrell, ſayd: My loꝛdes and frends, this caſe neyther admitteth delaye, noꝛ requireth a policie, Harte and haſte is all in all, whyleſt the matter is freſhe and greene, and that ſome of oure enimies lye ſtill and ſleepe, ſome lamente, ſome curſe, ſome are togither in counſell, and all the whole number diſmayed, lette vs preuente theyr furye, diſmember theyr force, cut off their flyght, ſeyſe vppon theyr places of refuge and ſuccoure. It is no victoꝛie to plucke their feathers, but to breake their neckes: not to chaſe them in, but to roufe them out: to weede them, not to rake them: not to treade them downe, but to rote them vp. This leſſon the tyraunt himſelfe did teache me: I once demaunded of him as it were in a parable, by what good huſbandrie the lande might be ridde of certayne rauening fowles that anoyed it. He aduyſed vs to watch, where they bredde, and to hyre their neſts aboute their eares. Goe wee then vpon theſe Cozmozantes whyche ſhowde themſelues in oure poſſeſſions, and let vs ſo deſtroye them, that neyther neſt noꝛ rote, neyther ſeede noꝛ ſtalke, neyther braunche noꝛ ſtumpe ſhall remayne of this vngratious generation.

The perſuaſion of Omalaglileñ.

Scarce hadde he ended his tale, but that wyth greate ſhoutes and clamoures they extolled the Kyng, as defendoure of theyr lyues and libertyes, aſſuring hym both of theyr bolde and hardye ſtomackes and ſpeedfull expedition ioyned with theyr confederates, and with a runnyng Canpe ſwepte euerye cozner of the lande, raſed the Caſtelles to the grounde, chaſed away the ſtraungers, ſhewe all that abode battayle, eche man recouerynge hys owne, wyth the ſtate of gouernement.



Thus in effecte haue the Iriſh writers reꝛted of Turgeſius a Noꝛwegian, whether he did reygne before the ſuppoſed tyme of Gurmond, oꝛ whether that hee came thyther as Lieue-

tenant

tenaunt to him, whiche if it ſhoulde bee true, no doubte the ſame Gurmonde was ſome Kyng of the Danes, or Norweygians, and not of the Affricanes, (as ſome of our countreymen name hym.) Which errour is ſone committed, Gurmonde. in takyng one Heatheniſhe nation for an other, as thoſe haue done that haue named the Hungarians (when they inuaded Gallia before they were Chriſtians) Sarazins: And ſo lykewyſe might that authour (who ſo euer he was) whom Geffrey of Monmouth followeth, fynding Gurmonde written to be a king of the myſcreantes, miſtake the Norwegians for Affricanes, becauſe both thoſe nations were Infidels: and therefore ſith haply the Affricanes in the dayes when that Author lyued, bare al the brute aboue other Heatheniſhe nations then, as the Turkes do nowe, he named them Africanes.

Howe ſoeuer it was, certayne it is, that the Danes or Norwegians made ſundrie inuaſions into Irelande, and that at ſeuerall tymes. But for Turgeſius, whether hee were an abſolute Kyng, or but a Lieutenant of ſome armye, vnder ſome other king named Gurmonde, or peraduenture Gormo, (as ſuche names are ſone corrupted,) I can not affirme, becauſe that no certayne tyme is ſette downe in the Chronicles, whyche are written of thoſe Nations, whereby they maye bee ſo reconciled together, as ſuffiſeth to warrant any lykely coniecture in this behalfe.

But if I ſhoulde ſaye, (with the Readers licence) what I thinke, this Gurmonde what ſo euer he was, made no ſuche conqueſt of Irelande nor of this our Ile of Britayn (as by ſome writers is ſuppoſed:) but yet myght he peraduenture lande in Wales, and eyther in fauoure of the Saxons, then enimyes to the Britons, or in hatred of the Chriſtian name, perſecute by cruell warres the Britiſhe nation, and vſe ſuche crueltie as the Heatheniſhe nations then were accuſtomed to practiſe agaynſt the Chriſtians, in all places where they came, and chaunced to haue the vpper hande. The chiefeſt cauſe that moueth me to doubte therof, is for that I fynd not in any of our approued auncient Engliſhe writers, as Bede, Malmeſburye, Huntingdon, Houeden, or ſuche lyke, anye playne mention made of hym, whereby I may be throughly induced to credite that whyche I fynde in Geffrey Monmouth and others, recorded of hym, except his name be miſtaken, and ſo therby ſome errour crept in, which I am not able to reſolue.

But ſith we are entred to ſpeake thus farre of the Norwegians, heere by the waye I haue thoughte it not impertinente to the purpoſe of thys Iriſhe hiſtorie to write what wee fynde recorded in the Chronicles of thoſe northernlye Regions Denmarke, Norwey, and Sweden, written by Saxo Grammaticus, Albertus Crantz, and others, concernyng the ſundry inuaſions made by the Danes, Norweygians or Normans, (whether we lyſt to cal them) into Irelande. Alber. Crantz, Saxo Gram.

Fridley or Fridleuus king of Denmarke, that ſucceeded Dan the thirde of that name, ſurnamed the ſwift, arriuing in Irelande, beſieged the citie of Dublyn, and perceyuing by the ſtrength of the walles, that it wold be an hard matter to wynne it by playne force of hand without ſome cunning policie, he deuiſed to catche a ſorte of ſwallowes that had made their neſtes in the houſes within the towne, tyed wylde fire to their wyngs, and therwith caſte them vp, and ſuffered them to flye their wayes, wherupon they comming to their neſtes, ſet the houſes on fire, whiche whyles the citizens went aboute to quenche, the Danes entred the citie, and wanne it. Fridleuus. Dublyn beſieged. Dublyn ſet on fyre, and vvon by the Danes.



Secondly

Secondly, Frotho King of Denmarke, the thirde of that name, after he had ſubdued the Britons here in this Ile, made a voyage into Ireland alſo, where hee landed with ſome daunger, for the Iriſhmen had ſtrawed all alongſt ẏ ſhore a great number of Caltroppes of iron, with ſharp prickes ſtanding vp to wounde the Danes in the feete as they ſhoulde come forth of theyr Ships to follow them, for they meant to flee of a pretẽded policie for that purpoſe. But Frotho perceyuing their deceytfull craft, followed them more aduiſedly than raſhly, and ſo put their Captayne named Keruill to flighte, and ſlewe him in the fielde, whoſe brother remaynyng in life, and miſtruſting his owne puiſſance, yeelded hymſelfe to Frotho, who deuiding ẏ pray amõgſt his Soudiers and men of warre, ſhewed thereby, that hee only ſought for glory, and not for gayne, referuing not a peny of all the ſpoyle to his owne vſe. After this, in the dayes of king Frotho the fourth of that name, which raigned ouer the Danes, one Starcater a Giant, in cõpany of Haco a Daniſh Captaine, made a iourney likewiſe into Ireland, where in the ſame ſeaſon, one Huglet raigned as Monarke ouer that Ile, who hauing plentie of treaſure, was yet ſo giuen to couetouſneſſe, that by ſuch vnprincely partes as he played, to ſatiſfie his gredy deſire to fill his cofers, he became ryght odible, and farre out of all fauor with his ſubiects, yet there were of his nobles, very valiaunte and worthy men, namely two, Gegathus, and Suibdauus: wherevpon, when it came to paſſe that he ſhoulde ioyne in battell with his enimies the Danes, the moſt parte of all his people fledde out of the fielde, ſo that Gegath and Suibdaue were in maner left alone: for they regarding their honors and dutie that appertayned to menne of their calling, woulde not flee, but manfully dyd what lay in theyr powers, to beate backe the enimies, in ſo much, that Gegathus raught Haco ſuch a wound, that the vpper part of his liuer appeared bare. Hee alſo wounded Starcather in the head righte ſore, ſo that in all his life dayes, he had not before that time receyued the like hurt, in the ende yet Huglet the Monarke of Irelande was ſlayne, and Starcather obteyning the victory, made greate ſlaughter of the Iriſhe ſubiectes the which had followed their King to this battell, being menne through his corrupt example and ſlouthfull trade of lyfe, degenerate from all warlike order and vſe of manlike exercyſe.

Keruil gouernor of the Iriſhme ſlayne.



After this, the Danes went to Dublin, which towne they eaſily tooke, and founde ſuche ſtore of riches and treaſure therein, that euery man hadde ſomuche as hee coulde wiſhe or deſire, ſo as they needed not to fall out among themſelues for the partition, ſith there was ſo muche for each mans ſhare as hee coulde conueniently carrie away.

Dublin wonne

Thus hath Saxo Grammaticus written in effect of Starcaters comming into Irelande, of whome the Daniſh writers make ſuch mention, both for his huge ſtature and greate manhode. Some haue thoughte, that Starcater was the very ſame man whiche the Scottes name Finmackcole, of whome in the Scottiſhe Hiſtorie we haue made mention: but where as the Scottiſh writers affirme that he was a Scottiſhman borne, the Daniſh writers reporte that hee was borne in Eaſtlande, among the people called Eſtones.

Reignirus the ſonne of Siwardus, the ſecond King of Denmarke, hauyng atchieued ſundry victories in England and Scotlande, and ſubdued the Iſles of Orkney, hee paſſed likewiſe into Irelande, ſlewe Melbricke King of that lande, and tooke the Citie of Dublin by ſiege, where hee remayned the whole tearme of twelue moneths before he departed from thence.

Reignirus.

Melbrick K. of Irelande ſlayne.

Gurmo the third of that name king of Denmarke.

He marieth Thira daughter to Ethelred King of Englande. Canute and Harolde.

After this, Gurmo the third of that name king of Denmarke, although an Infidell hymſelfe, and a cruell perſecuter of the Chriſtian Religion, yet toke to wife a Chriſtian Ladie named Thyra, daughter to Etheldred King of Englād, who had iſſue by him two ſonnes Knaught, or Canute, and Harold, proning men of high valiancie and notable prowes, in ſo muche, that after the atchieuing of dyuers worthy victories againſte the enimies neere houne, they made a voyage into Englande, not ſparing to inuade the Dominions of theyr Graundfather King Etheldred, who rather reioycing, than ſeeming to be offended with thoſe manlike enterpriſes of his couſins, proclaymed them hys heyres to ſucceede after hym in all hys landes and dominions, although of ryghte, the ſame were to deſcende fyrſt vnto theyr mother Thira.

They inuade Irelande. Canute is ſayne.

The yong menne beeyng encouraged with theyr Graundfathers bountifull magnificence, attempted the inuaſion of Irelande, where at the ſiege of Dublin, Canute or Knought the elder brother was ſhotte into the body with an arrowe and dyed of the wounde, howbeit, hys deathe was kept cloſe by hys owne commaundemente gyuen before hee dyed, till hys people hadde gote the Citie into their poſſeſſion. But the gayne was ſmall in reſpect of the loſſe whiche was thoughte to redounde vnto the whole Daniſhe nation by the deathe of that noble yong Gentleman Canute, who for hys high prowesſe and valiancie was moſt tenderly beloued of all menne, but namely, of his father King Gormo, in ſo muche, that hee ſware to kill hym with hys owne handes who ſo euer ſhoulde firſt tell hym newes of hys deathe.

The policie of Thira to ſignifie to hir husband the death of theyr ſonne Canute.

This Gormo was nowe a man farre ſtriken in age, and blinde, hauyng ſmall ioy of anye worldly pleaſures otherwiſe, than to heare of the welfare & proſperous proceedings of his ſonnes. When therefore hys wife Queene Thira hadde perfect aduertiſemente of hir ſonnes deathe, and that neyther ſhe nor any other durſt breake the matter vnto hir husbande, ſhe deuiſed a ſhifte how to ſignifie that to hym by outwarde ſignes, whyche by worde of mouth ſhe was afrayde to expreſſe, as thus, She cauſed mourning apparell to be made for hir husbande, and putting off hys royall robes, cladde hym therewith, and other thyngs appertayning to mourners, ſhe alſo put about hym, and prepared all ſuche furniture and neceſſaries as were vſed for funerall exequies, witneſſing the lamentable griefe conceyued for the loſſe of ſome friende, with that kinde of mourning weede and funerall ceremonies. Whiche when Gurmo perceyued: Woe is mee (ſaith hee) you then ſignifie the death of my ſonne Canute. Whereunto ſhee made aunſwere, that hee and not ſhee dyd diſcouer the trueth of that whiche was meante by thoſe mourning garmentes, and with that ſpeeche miniſtred cauſe of hir husbandes deathe, whereby ſhee became preſently a Widdowe, not openly mourning for hir ſonne, before ſhee mourned likewiſe for hir husbande: for hee toke ſuche griefe for Canutes deathe, that immediately he dyed through ſorowe and dolor, ſo as Thyra was thus driuen to lamente, as well the deathe of hir ſonne, as of hir husbande both at once: but nowe to the purpoſe of the Iriſh hiſtorie.

Gurmo dyeth of ſorowe.

Yee haue thus partly heard what the Daniſhe writers doe recorde in their hiſtories touchyng the Conqueſtes whych theyr people made in Irelande, but whether the ſame bee meante of that whyche goeth before, or rather of that whiche followeth, touchyng the trade whyche the Norwegian Merchauntes vſed thither, or whether the Iriſhe writers haue paſſed theſe iourneys ouer with ſilence whiche the Daniſhe writers in forme (as before is touched) doe make mention of, I cannot affirme: But lyke it is that as the Danes, or Normans, whether you will call them, dyd inuade Irelande as well as England, France, and Scotlande, in thoſe days, according to the reporte of theyr writers, and that by way of open warre, as well to conquere the countrey, as to take praye, priſoners and booties, and not for trade of Merchandiſe, onely albeit that they myghte peraduenture ſo get entrie at the firſte, as by the Iriſh hiſtories it ſhould ſeeme they dyd ſhortly after the ſlaughter of Turgeſius, and afterwards when they ſaw themſelues ſetled, and perceyued that they beganne to growe to be enuyed of their Iriſhe neyghbors, who therevpon woulde not ſticke to moleſt them as occaſions ſerued, they ſaw no better meane to aſſure themſelues againſt their aduerſaries, than to ſend vnto their cōtreymen, which in thoſe dayes roued abrode (as before I haue ſaid) in euery quarter of this our weſt Ocean, wayting for opportunitie to aduance their conqueſts in each countrey where any thing might be gotte: and ſo this may agree very well with the Iriſhe writers, whome as I do not take vppon me to controll, but rather to report the hiſtorie as I find it by them writte, I will proceede with the order whiche they followe. After the countrey was deliuered of the tyrannie wherewith it was oppreſſed by the ſame Turgeſius and his people Danes or Norwegiās whether they were (for ſo Cambrenſis eſteemeth them) the Iriſhe deliuered of ſeruile bondage, fell to their old wonted vomit, in perſecuting each other: and hauing lately defaced theyr fortifyed Townes and Caſtels, as receptacles & couertes for the enimie, all ſides lay more open to receyue harme.

This

This beeing perceyued and throughly conſidered, the Princes that in ỹ late rule of Turgeſius, had eſpied ſome towardneſſe to wealth & eaſe, fell in hand to diſcourſe the madneſſe and folly of their auncęſtors, whiche ſawe not the vſe of that which their enimies abuſed, they begunne to loth their vnquiet trade of life, to will eyther leſſe diſcord, or more ſtrēgth in each mans dominion, to eaſt the danger of naked countreys, ready to eaſt in the enimies, as the ſtrength of fortes and Caſtels was a meane to preſerue them from loſſe. Fayne would they haue prouided remedie in this caſe, if they had knowne how.

The former ſubiection, though it ſeemed intollerable, yet they felt therein proceeding ſteppes towards peace. The gayne that roſe of Merchādiſe, reſt and ſuretie to the whole eſtate of the Countrey. For the differēce was great betwixt the endeuors of the two nations, Norwegians and Iriſh.

The firſt knew the way to thriue, might they get ſome commodious ſeates and ſoyle. The other had commodities plentie, and cared not for them.

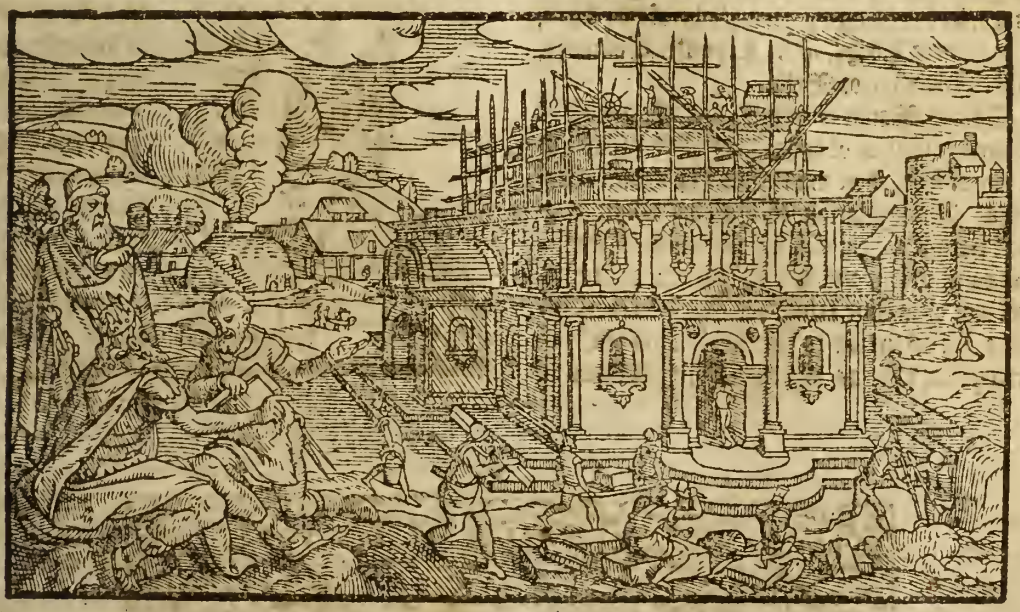
While the Princes and Potentates ſtayed vpon ſuche a good conſideration, certayne Merchants of Norway, Denmarke, & of other thoſe parties, called *Oſtomanni*, (or as in our bulgar lāguage wee tearme them Eaſterlings) becauſe they lie Eaſt in reſpect of vs, although indeede they are by other named properly Normans, and partly Saxons, obteyned licence ſafely to arriue here in Ireland with their wares, and to vtter the ſame.

Eaſterlings began to trade into Irelande.

Herevpon, the Iriſh, through traffike and bartering with theſe Normans or Danes, (for ſo are they called alſo in our Engliſh Chronicle, by exchanging of wares and money) finding them ciuill and tractable, and delting alſo with gay conceyts, brought in to them by thoſe Merchāts, (ſuch, as till they ſawe them) they neuer eſteemed needefull, they began to enter into a deſire, that a trade might be open betwixt them, and the other nations, whereupon, to allure other, they licenced theſe Merchāt ſtrangers to build, if they thought good, hauen Townes in places moſt commodious: this was no ſooner graunted, than begunne, and with ſpeede finiſhed.

They builde townes on the Sea coaſts.

Amlanus founded Waterforde, Sutarcus, Waterforde, Limerick, Inorus, Dublin: ſo by others diuers



other townes were built as leaſure ſerued.

Then by the help and counſell of theſe men, many Caſtels, Fortes, Steeples, and Churches euery where were repaired. And thus are the Iriſhe mingled alſo with the bloud of the Danes, Norwegians or Normans, who from thenceforth continually flocked into Irelande, to the greate commoditie of the inhabitants, liuing amongſt them obediently, till welth pricked and moued them to reyſe rebellion, but they could not haue holden out, had not the conqueſt enſuing determined both their quarrels. In the meane while they became Lordes of the hauens and burrowe townes, planted men of warre in the ſame, and oftentimes ſkirmiſhed with their aduerſaries, but yet meaſured their fortune with indifferent gain, and crept no higher than the ſame would gyue them leaue, onely a memorie is left of their fielde in Clontars, where diuers of the Iriſhe nobilitie were ſlayne, that lie buried before the Croſſe of Kylmaynā. Theſe are by our author not without good iudgemēt reported to be Danes, which people then beeing Paganes, ſore afflicted Englande, and after that France, from whence they came again into England with William Conqueror, ſo that thoſe people called *Oſtomanni*, Eſterlings, Normās, Danes, Norwegiās, & Sueueners, are in effect al one nation, borne in ỹ huge

The fielde of Clontars.

The ſeuerall names of the ſtrangers whiche in theſe dayes afflicted France, England, Scotland and Irelande.

region called Scandinauia, and as it appeareth by conference of times and Chronicles, muchwhat about one ſeaſon, vexed the Frenchmen, afflicted Scotland, ſubdued Englande, and multiplyed in Irelande. But in the yeere of Chriſt 1095. perceyuing greate enuie to remayne and lurke in the diſtinction of the names Eaſterlings and Iriſhe, that were altogither Weſterne, and the Eaſterlings not Eaſterne indeede, but rather ſimplye Northern: in conſideration whereof, and bycauſe they magnifyed themſelues in the late conqueſt of theyr countreymen, who from Normandie comming ouer into Englande ruled there at their pleaſure, theſe ſtrangers in Irelande would algate nowe bee alſo called and accompted Normans.

1095

The Eaſterlings will be called Normans.

Long before this tyme (as ye haue heard) Irelande was beſtowed into two principall kingdomes, and ſometime into more, whereof one was euer elected and reputed to be chiefe, and as it were a Monarke, whome in their Hiſtories they name *Maximum Regem*, that is, the greateſt King, or elſe without addition, *Regem Hiberniæ*, the King of Ireland, the other they name *Reguli* or *Reges*, that is to witte, ſmall Kings, or elſe kings, by limitting the places wherof they were, to be reputed Kings, as of Leynſter, Connagh, Ulſter, Monſter, or Meth.

Maximus Rex The great king or Monarke of Irelande.

To the Monarke beſides hys allowance of Dominion, titles of honor, and other priuileges in iuriſdiction, there was graunted to him a negatiue in nomination of Biſhops when they were vacant: for the Cleargie and laitie of the dioces commended one, whome they thought conueniente vnto their King, the King to the Monarke, the Monarke to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury: for that as yet the Metropolitanes of Ireland had not receyued their palles.

The power of the Monarke in election of Biſhops.

In this ſorte was nominated to the Biſhoprike of Dublin then voyde, in the yeere of Chriſt 1074. at the petition of Goderius King of Leynſter by ſufferance of the Cleargie and people there, with the aſſente of Terdienatus the Monarke, a learned Prelate called Patricius, whome Lanfranke of Canterbury conſecrated in Paules Churche at London, and ſware hym to obedience after the manner of his auncеſtors.

Goderius king of Leynſter.

Terdienatus the Monarke.

Patricius conſecrated Biſhop of Dublin by Lanfranke.

1152

Chriſtian Biſhop of Liſmore legate to Eugenius the thirde, ſummoned a prouinciall counſell in Irelande, wherein were authoriſed foure Metropolitane Seas, Ardmach, Dublin, Caſſel, and Tuen, of the whiche places were Biſhops at that preſente, Gelaſius, Gregorius, Donatus, Edonius, for hitherto though they yelded a primacie to the Biſhop of Ardmach in reuerence of Saint Patricke the firſte Biſhop there, yet the ſame was but of good will, and confirmed rather by cuſtome than by ſufficient decree, neyther dyd that Archbiſhop take vppon him to inueſt other Biſhops, but ſente them to Canterbury (as before is mentioned) whiche from hencefwyth they vſed not to doe, in ſomuche, that the nexte Biſhop named Laurence, ſometime Archbiſhop of Sainte Keuins in Golādilah, was ordered & installed at home by Gelaſius Primate of Ardmach.

Chriſtian Biſhop of Liſmore.

Foure Metropolitane Seas in Irelande.

The Biſhop of Ardmach.



Laurence Archbiſhop of Saint Kewins.

1162

Clergye & Laytie Commend a Commended to the Monarke The Monarke to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury for ye the Metropolitans of Ireland had not receyued their pallis



The seconde Booke of the Histories of Irelande, in which the conquest made by Henry the second of that name, King of Englande, is comprehended.





Ermucius or Dermote Macmurche Kyng of Leynister, and gouernor of the fifte parte of Irelande, possessed all ẏ East partes of the Ile alõgst by ẏ Sea coast, an oppressor of the nobilitie, vsing much cruelties towardes the Lords and great men of his countrey. To serue his lecherous lust, hee secretely made sute in dishoneste wise vnto the Queene of Meth, the daughter of Amalachelmus, and wife vnto Moyice King of Meth, which Moyice going vpon a iourney into farre parts forth of his countrey, left his Queene in a certayne ile in Meth, but before his returne, shee condiscending vnto Dermotes desire, was voluntarily stolne away by the same Dermucius. King Moyice of Meth hir husband sore moued herewith, determineth to bee reuenged, and the better to bring his purpose to passe, he maketh complaynte of the whole iniurie vnto Rotherick Ochonor King of Connagh, that was in those dayes Monarke of Ireland, beseeching him of assistance in that enterprise, which he meant to take in hand against that vile adulterer Kyng Dermote. The people of Leynister detesting the quarrell, and hauing long agoe conceyued no small hatred against theyr K. for his outragious crueltie vsed against his subiects, forsooke hym in his greatest necessitie, so that hee being left desolate of all comforte, with muche difficultie gote a vessell, and fledde for succour vnto Henry the second King of Englande then remayning in Aquitayne, where hee was occupied in warres against the Frenchmen.

Somewhat before this presente season it chaunced, that Adrian, the fourth of that name, then Pope of Rome, an Englishman borne, in the towne of Saint Albons, who before time had bin sente into Norway, to instruct that lande in the Christian religion, where he learned perfectly the state of Ireland, & how that although Christ was there taught and beleeued, yet the multitude being a furious and sauage generation, were growen to suche a licentious and shamefull kinde of libertie, making no accounte of the necessarie pointes of doctrine, more than serued their sensuall and wilfull lustes, that it was greatly to bee doubted, least they would at length vtterly abandon Christianitie, and giue themselues ouer to a beastly order of liuing, nothing agreeable with the lawes and rites of other people that professed Christes Religion.

Adrian the fourth Bishop of Rome an Englishman borne.

Hereto Henry the second, presuming vpon the Popes fauour, that was his borne subiect in the very first yeere of his raigne, had sente Ambassadors to Rome for licence, to attempt the conquest of Irelande. Pope Adrian wishing that a reformation of the abuses in that people might be had, granted his Bull for proofe of his consent to king Henries request, which Alexander that succeeded him confirmed and ratifyed with like conditions as his predecessor Adrian had giuẽ forth ẏ same.

Henry the second of that name King of England.

Now when Dermote was come in the nicke to further by occasion this enterprise thus pretended by Henry afore hand, hee presented his complaint, profering the interest of his Crowne, with condition hee might be restored to some parte of his lands.

The offer of Dermucius to king Henry

See more here in England.

This matter beeyng thus broched, although King Henry had his handes full of warres with the Frenchmen, yet hee receyued Dermote into his protectiõ, taking of him both his bond of subiection and othe of fidelitie: and where the Kyng coulde not then attende to goe with hym ouer into Irelande, yet, because of the earnest suite that Dermote made, for speede of assistaunce hee sente him into Englande, honorably attended and furnished with hys letters patents, the tenor whereof ensueth.

Henry King of Englande, Duke of Normandy, and Aquitaine, and Earle of Anion, to all our faithfull subiects Englishmen, Normãs, Welchmen, and Scottes, and to all other nations whatsoeuer subiecte to our Dominion, sendeth greeting.

The tenor of King Henries letters with the whiche Dermote returneth into England.

When these letters shall come to your handes

know ye that we haue receyued Dermot, Prince of Leynister, into ỳ bolome of our grace and benevolence. Wherefore, whiche of you soeuer oure louing subiects within the limits of our dominions, will imploy your aids to help him forward, and reckon him as our liege man and faithfull subiect, be you assured by these presentes, to haue not only in that behalfe our licence, but also fauour and thankes at our handes. With these letters and many further promises, hee arriued at Bristow, where he remayned for a time, that by suche as came forthe of Irelande by Sea and landed there, hee might learne and vnderstande in what state thyngs stode in hys countrey.

He commeth to Bristowe.

While he continued thus at Bristowe, procuring by all meanes to get some ayde, it chanced, that vppon conference hadde with Richarde Strangbowe Earle of Penbroke, sonne to Gilbert Earle of Penbroke, to whome he couenanted to giue to him his daughter and heire in mariage, vppon promise, that the nexte Spring hee shoulde helpe to bring hym home into his countrey, and place hym agayne in hys Kingdome, whyche in remaynder was, to distend vnto the sayde Earle, by the marriage promised to him of Dermots daughter.

Richard Strangbowe Earle of Penbroke.

Dermucius or Dermotes couenants with him.

When all the couenauntes and agreementes were concluded vpon in order, whyche were necessary to passe betwixte them, Dermote departed from Bristowe, and wente into the parties of South Wales towardes Sainte Dauies, that hee myght bee the neerer vnto hys Countrey.

The same tyme, there were planted in Wales two Gentlemen, the one named Roberte Fitz Stephens, and Maurice Fitz Geralde, brethren of one Mother, alied to Rise ap Griffin then Prince of Wales, whose Grandfather was surnamed Rise the greate, whose daughter named Vesta, was Mother to the sayd Fitz Stephans, and Fitz Gerald.

Robert Fitz Stephans and Maurice Fitz Geralde.

Rice ap Griffin Prince of Wales.

The Lady Vesta mother to Fitz Stephans and Fitz Geralde.

Fitz Stephãs dwelled at Aberteiui in Southwales, and had bin high Connestable there vnder the King of England, and for his rigorous dealing against the Prince of Wales his seruantes, hee was layde for, and through treason of hys owne menne taken, and kepte in prison three yeeres by the Prince, and woulde neyther raunsome nor accept libertie promised him, but with suche conditions as stode with his honor, and so as his loyaltie to the Crowne myght in each behalfe remayne vnspotted. At length, by the mediation of Dauid Bishop of Sainte Dauid (that was brother vnto the said Fitz Stephans) and of his other brother Fitz Gerald, and also at the instante suite of Dermote (whome the Prince of Wales fauored in his enterprise for recouerie of his Kingdome,) Fitz Stephans was conditionally deliuered, that hee and his brother Maurice shoulde the next Spring (while the Earle of Penbroke prouided his army) assist Dermote to make entrie into his countrey, who in consideration thereof, assured them of an estate for euer in the towne of Wexforde, with two cantredes adioyning. Thus muche firmely concluded on eache side, King Dermote came to the towne of Saint Dauid about the Kalendes of August, and watching till a fauorable winde blewe, when the same came once about, hee stale ouer into Irelande and at Fernes wintered in secrete wise amongst the Cleargie there, that receyued hym with as muche fauour as coulde bee deuised, keeping hym close without making any greate bruite of his there being, till the next spring, that Robert Fitz Stephans with thirtie Knightes of his bloud, threescore Esquires or men at armes (as wee may learne them) and three hundred archers footemen, according to couenaunte, embarqued in three Shippes, passed ouer, and landed at Bannian about the kalendes of May.

Fitz Stephans deliuered.

Promise of reward to Fitz Stephans and Fitz Geralde.

Fitz Stephans passeth ouer into Irelande.

The morrowe after their arriuall, a righte valiaunte Captayne, one Maurice de Prendelgast, following Fitz Stephans to the ayde of King Dermote, landed there also with a tenne Knightes, and a good bande of Archers, whome hee hadde Shipped at Millefordе Hauen in Wales in two vessels prouided for that purpose.

1169

Maurice de Prendelgast.

Dermote aduertised of their landing, forthwith sente one of his base sonnes named Dunwalde with fiue hundred menne to ayde them, whereupon they marched forth toward the towne of Wexforde.

Dunwald bastard sonne to Dermote.

The Townesmen vnderstanding that they were comming towardes them, issued forthe against them: but after they were aware of suche a power of armed menne, set in order of battell, diuerslie arrayed and weaponed, with barded Horses, and all other furniture of warre necessarie, they began to shrinke, and losing courage, retired backe to their Towne, brenning the Villages rounde about them, and all the prouision of victayles which they could not conuey with them, they made themselues within so strong as they coulde deuise, and stode manfully at defence of theyr gates and walles agaynste theyr enimies.

They were sharply assayled for the space of three dayes togither.

On the fourth day, by mediation of a certaine Bishop that lay in that Towne, the Townesmen were perswaded to yeeld themselues to their King, so that they rendred the Towne into hys handes.

Wexforde yeelded.

King Dermote hauing seene the proofe of the Welchmens prowes, meante not to deale with

with them otherwiſe than promiſe, and therefore deliuered forthwith the poſſeſſion of the towne of Werforde, with the appurtenances, vnto Fitz Stephan and to hys brother Maurice Fitz Geralde.

To Heruie de Monte Mauriſco, he gaue two Cantheedes that lie betwixt ẏ townes of Werforde and Waterfourde, alongſt by the Sea ſide, to hold the ſame in fee.

After this, they gote togither to the number of three thouſand mẽ, with the ſupply of ẏ townemen of Werforde, and marched forth towardes the vpper Oſſorie, to be reuenged of the Lordes there, that had ſhewed themſelues moſt cruell and ſpitefull of all other towards the king in time of his troubles and baniſhment.

The chiefe gouernour of that quarter named Duncuald, gathering togither the people to defende their countrey, was trayned forth into the playnes and harde grounde, where with a violent charge of the horſemen, his army was eaſily diſcomfited and broken in peeces, ſo that the Iriſhe

Duncuald a prince of the vpper Oſſorie.



footemen following, and comming in among them, ſlew thoſe that they found borne downe by the horſemen, and brought two hundred of theyr heads whiche they had cut off, and threw them downe at Dermote his fote. The valiancie of two yong Gentlemen appeared greatly in thys exployt, the one called Robert de Barre, and the other Meiller, both Nephewes to Fitz Stephan, the one by hys brother, and the other by hys ſiſter.

To be ſhorte, thoſe Lordes of vpper Oſſorie, were cõpelled to returne to their olde ſubiection, & ſweare fealtie. Roderike the Monarke appalled with the brute hereof, reyſed all the vnder Kings to defend the land from this inuaſiõ of ſtrangers, fearing leaſt all would goe to naughte, if timely prouiſion were not had. But yet firſt they ſent to Fitz Stephan certaine perſonages of credite, with courteous wordes and riche preſentes, requiring him to depart the land quietly, and not to moleſt them by warre without cauſe. His anſwer was, that he marueiled much at ẏ folie of thoſe Princes, who to ſatiſfie their diſpleaſure and malice, had opened ſuch a gappe to their owne deſtructiõ, not conſidering howe the ſubiectes whome they had ſchooled to breake their allegaunce anenſt theyr naturall Prince the King of Leyniſter, would not be as ready to rebell againſt the King of Connagh. But for his owne parte, although hee myghte with better reaſon inuade ſtraungers, than they mighte expell theyr neyghbours, and one that was their paire, yet if they would ſuffer the Kyng of Leyniſter to repoſſeed and enioy hys right, they ſhoulde not hynde hym vnreaſonable. Otherwiſe, they ſhoulde well perceyue, that the Welchmen wanted neyther habilitie nor faithe to mayneteyne theyr worde.

Welchmen.

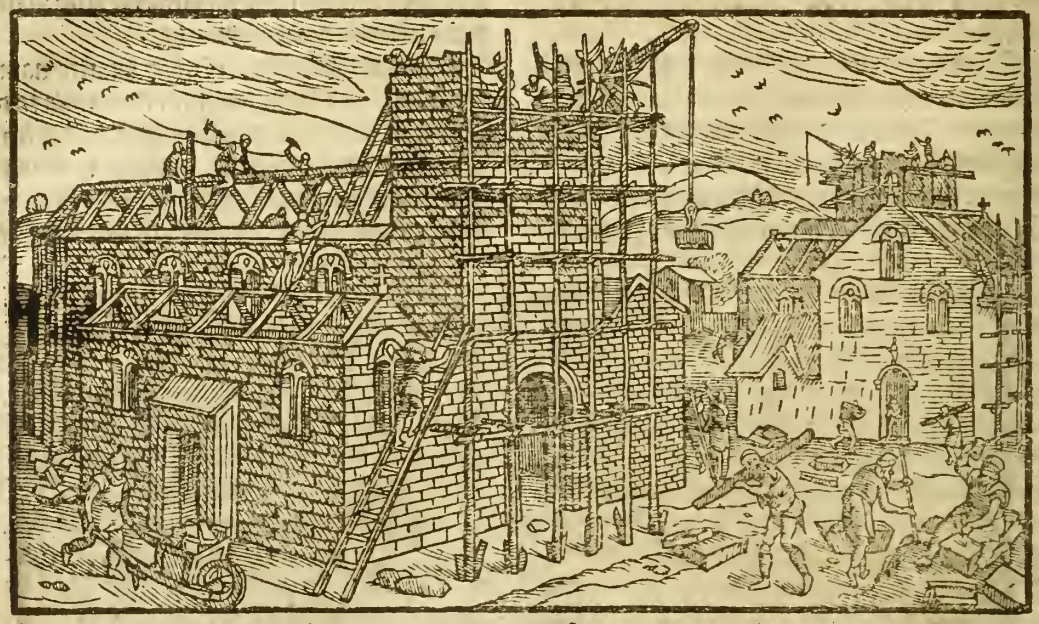
Roderieke perceyuing it was no bote to ſtriue againſte the ſtreame, reſolued to growe vnto ſome agreemente, whiche at length was concluded, with theſe conditions. Firſte, that Dermote Macmourche, receyuing a newe othe of allegeance to the Monarchie, ſhould quietly repoſſeſſe thoſe partes of the Kingdome of Leyniſter, whyche Roderieke withheld by ſuſpenſion.

The agreemente betwixt Roderike and Dermote.

Secondly, that for aſſurance thereof, hee ſhoulde pledge hys deereſt bale begotten ſonne Conthurus, to whome Roderieke promiſed hys daughter if this peace continued effectuall.

Thirdlye, that beeyng eſtabliſhed in hys Kingdome, hee ſhoulde diſcharge the Welche Armye, and from thenceforthe, ſhoulde at

no time call them ouer againe in his defence. About the ſame time, the King of Argias founded the Abbey of Melleſunt, the eldeſt that is recorded ſince the arriuall of the Danes, excepte Sainte Mary Abbey belyde Dublin erected. Anno.948.



Maurice Fitz Gerald landed at Wexforde.

In this meane while, there landed at Wexford, Maurice Fitzgerald, with .x. knightes. xxx. Eſquires, and an hundred good bowmen. Hereupon K. Dermote greatly encouraged, purpoſed with all ſpeede to ſeeke his reuenge againſte them of Dublin, that had ſhewed themſelues great enimies diuers wayes, both to him and his father. He aſſembled therefore his power togither, and marched toward Dublin, whileſt Fitz Stephen remayned two miles from Wexforde, where on the height of a Rocke called Karreck, hee built a Caſtell. But Fitzgerald with the Engliſh army went forth with King Dermote againſte Dublin, hauing the chiefe conduct of all the whole enterpriſe. They ſo beſturred them, that all the territorie about the Citie, and the countreys adioyning, were in manner brought to vtter ruine, with ſpoyle, ſlaughter, and fire, in ſomuche, that the townesmen of Dublin, perceyuing in what daunger they ſtode, ſubmitted them ſelues, and put in good ſuretie for their loyall demeanor in time to come.

Dublin ſubdued.

When Dublin and the Countrey about were thus recouered and reduced to their former ſubiection, there fell out variance betwixt Rodorike the Monarke, and Dunenald King of Limerik. To whoſe ayde his father in lawe Dermote ſent Fitz Stephans with his power, by whoſe high prowes, Roderike in diuers conflictes was put to the worſt, and forced to withdrawe home into his countrey with diſhonor.

Variance betwixt the Monark and the king of Lymerike.

Nowe was Dermote growen into ſome fauor and liking of his people, inſomuche that hee began to fancie a further conqueſt, hauing alreadye recouered his whole kingdome of Leymſter. And becauſe he knewe it ſhoulde be to ſmall purpoſe to attempt any ſuch thing, without the help of his Engliſh confederates, hee conſulted with the two brethren Fitzſtephans, and Fitzgerald, about the inuading of Connagh, for hee meante to giue a puſh for the obteining of that countrey, with the whole monarchie of Ireland, and for as much as hee founde them ready to further him in that enterpriſe, he wrote ouer into England vnto ỳ Erle of Penbroke, requiring his aſſiſtãce, in renuing ỳ former couenants paſſed betwixt thẽ.

Dermucius ſendeth to the Earle of Penbroke.

This Erles anceſtors came into this Realme of Englãd with Willam Conqueror, but now eyther through riotous prodigalitie, or diſfauor of the Kings, they were runne farre behinde hand with the world, and therefore this man gaue the more willing eare vnto Dermots letters, & thereupon paſſed ouer to the King, beſeeching him eyther to reſtore him to ſuch landes as he withheldе



of his, or elſe licẽce him in forraigne parts to ſeke his fortune. The King as one ỳ ſpake in ſcorne, bade

bade him go forward in the name of God ſo farre as his feete woulde beare him.

The Earle diſſembling to vnderſtand the hollowneſſe of the Kings heart and good will towardes his preferment, firſt furniſhed forth hys couſin Reymond le Grace, nephew by an elder brother vnto Fitz Stephans, and Fitz Geralde, with .x. knightes and .lxx. Archars about the Kalendes of May, appoynting him to paſſe ouer before him into Irelande. Who landing neare to a rocke by the Sea ſide called Dundenolfe (foure myles from Waterforde, towarde Wexforde by ſouth) began there on the ſayde rocke to buylde a Fort of earth and fagots. The Citizins of Waterforde, and with them Machlachelin Ophelan hauing in a ielouſie the neighborhood of ſtraungers, aſſembled togither three thouſand men and paſſed ouer the ryuer that deuideth the Countrey of Deſmound from Leyniſter vnder their towne walles towardes the Eaſt, and deuiding themſelues into three battails marched forth, and valiantly approched to the ditches where Reymonde with his companie was intrenched. Reymonde perceyuing them thus to approche, boldly iſſued forth agaynſt them with ſuch ſmall companie as he had there with him. Howbeit not able to make his partie good, he was forced to retyre vnto hys ſtrength, but beyng purſued vnto the very gates by the Iriſhe, thinking to enter with the Engliſhe men, Reymond at the very entring of the gate turned backe vppon them, and thruſt his ſworde through the firſt of his enimies that preſſed next to follow him at the heeles, and calling to his people to turne vpon the aduerſarie, he ſo encouraged his companye, and ſtroke ſuche a feare into the Iriſh mens hearttes, that they toke themſelues to flight, and were ſo egerly followed of their aduerſaries, that aboue fiue hundred of the were ſlaine, beſide a great number that were dryuen to take the ſea, where they were loſt & drowned

The Iriſh men diſcomfited.



The valiancie of one William Ferrando a knight was much noted in this conflict. Seuenty townſmen of Waterford were taken, and afterwardes (contrarie to the minde of Raymond) caſt into the ſea and drowned, through the perſwaſion of Heruie de Monte Mauriſco, in which doing the Engliſh men did great hurt to themſelues, for the aduauncement of their proceedings in Ireland. In the meane time the Erle of Pembroke hauing made all his prouiſion readie, toke the ſea in Mylforde hauen with two hundred knightes, and a thouſand other men of warre, and arriued at Waterforde on Bartholmewe euen, and the morow after Bartholmew day, being Tueſday, they aſſaulted the Citie, and were twiſe repulſed, but yet at length breaking downe an houſe that ioyned to the wall, they entred by force, and cleaſing the Citizins, obteyned a bloudie victorie.

Shortly after came king Dermote thither with Fitz Stephans and Reymonde, and there according to couenant, gaue vnto Erle Strangbow, his daughter Eue in mariage, with the ſucceſſion of his kingdome. When Waterford was thus gotten, and Leyniſter pacified, and the princes of Oſſorie tamed, and a choſen power of men of warre placed in gariſon, King Dermote was become ſo terrible that none durſt ſtyre agaynſt him.

Dermote not yet ſatisfyed in his minde agaynſt them of Dublin, got his army on foote, and drew towardes that Citie by the bending coaſtes of the Mountaynes of Glindelachan, auoyding the wayes that lay through the woodes, becauſe hee knew ỹ ſame to be beſet with his enimies. Therfore hauing ſtill in remembrance the iniurie done to his father, kept him out of the woods, hating the Citizins of Dublin chiefely becauſe they had trayterouſly ſlaine his father in tyme paſt, in the

middeſt of a great houſe, whither they were wont to repayre as to a place where cauſes were vſually heard: and to adde a repꝛoche to their cruell murthering of their Pꝛince, they buried him togither with a dog. At the kings apꝛoch to the city, whileſt Imbaſſadoꝛs were ſent, and that by mediation of the Archbiſhoppe of that Citie named Laurence, a treatie of peace was in hande, while Reymond on the one ſide, and Myles Cogan a right valiant knight on the other, with their companies of yong luſtie ſoldiers aſſaulting ẏ walles fꝛthwith obteined the victoꝛie, not without great ſlaughter of the Citizens, the better part of them yet with Captaine Haſtulf got them to ſhipboꝛd with their beſt goods, & haſted thẽce vnto ẏ noꝛth Iles. Dermote hauing thus wonne the Citie of Dublyn, & ſet things in oꝛder there, he left Miles Cogan to gouern the ſame, & marched fꝛth togither with the Erle of Pẽbꝛoke, & the reſt of the army into Methe, & entred into the confines of that countrey, waſted & ſpoiled with fire & ſwoꝛde the whole region of Methe. Rotherike king of Connagh ſent vnto Dermote to put him in remembꝛance of the couenant paſſed betwixt them, & ſpecially to reſtraine the excurſions of the ſtrangers, that were in his companie, foꝛ elſe he would not faile to put to death his ſonne whom he had with him as a pledge. Which to do, when Dermote did not onely refuſe, but alſo declared plainly that he would not ſtay from purſuing his purpoſe, till he had ſubdued al Cõnagh, & obteyned the Monarchie of ẏ whole Ile appertaining to him by right diſcẽded frõ his anceſtors: Roderik taking indignatiõ wꝛeat, cauſed his ſõnes head to be ſtrikẽ off.

Dublin taken.

Miles Cogan left in Dublyn to keepe the Citie.

Rotherike ſendeth meſſengers to Dermote.

Rotherike cauſeth the heade of Dermot his ſonne to be ſtriken off.



The Iriſh Clergie perceyuing in whar daunger the countrey ſtood, aſſembled thẽſelues togither at Ardmagh, and with one accoꝛd pꝛoteſted, that foꝛ their ſinnes, & ſpecially foꝛ their barbarous kind of tyꝛannie which they vſed in buying and ſelling, and vilely abuſing ſuch Engliſh captiues as they bought, aſwel of Merchants as Pirates, the land was now like to be tranſlated to that nation whõ they had ſo cruelly intreated. Theꝛfoꝛe to appeaſe the wꝛath of God, they decreed that all the Engliſh people whereſoeuer any of them remayned in ſeruitude within the Ile, ſhoulde fꝛthwith be releaſed, and if it pleaſed God to lay his ſcourge vpon them, they determined to ſuffer the ſame patiently, as a puniſhment a great way beneath the fulneſſe of their deſertes.

King Henry although he was well contented to ſo beare the preſence of the Erle of Pembꝛoke, yet he liked nothing at all to ſee him thus aduanced in Irelande, ſith he might in time atteyne to ſuch power there, that the ſame adioyned to hys faction in Wales, he ſhould be able to countenance the Cꝛowne of Englande. An Edict theꝛfoꝛe was made and publiſhed, charging all ſubiects to returne home into Englande befoꝛe Eaſter next, vpon peꝛill to foꝛfeyt landes and goodes, and to be baniſhed the Realme foꝛ euer. Alſo that none ſhoulde pꝛeſume to paſſe into Irelande from any of the Kings dominions by ſhippe, to conuey any wares oꝛ pꝛouiſions thither. Wherevpon Reymond was ſent ouer to ſpeake with the king, remayning as then in France. Whileſt he followed the Court, and the king lingring time to deſpatch him with anſwere, Thomas Archebiſhop of Canterburie was diſpatched out of life, as in the Engliſh Hiſtoꝛie is mentioned. 1171

King Henrie miſtruſteth the increaſing ſtate of the Erle of Pembroke.

An Edict ſet forth to reuoke the Engliſhmen forth of Irelande.

Reymond is ſent to king Henrie.

Thus had the Iriſhe a bꝛeathing ſpace, and ſo continued all the Winter without any greate troubles, which ſeaſon being paſt, King Dermote Mac Mourche departed this life at Fernes, about the Kalendes of May, being a man well ſtriken in yeares.

The deceaſe of Dermote Mac Mourchie.

The ſame time, that is, about Whitſuntide, Haſtulfus that in times paſt had beene gouernoꝛ of Dublyn, with .lx. ſayle fꝛaught with Noꝛwegians and Iland men, arriued neare to Dublin, and landing his people vnder the gouernment of one that had the leding of thẽ, named John Henuode, a foꝛwarde man of warre, they pꝛepared themſelues to aſſault the Citie. They were well appoynted foꝛ the warre, clad in long habergeons oꝛ plate cotes cunningly wꝛought, with rounde targettes coloured redde, and bound about with a ring of yꝛon, ſo that both themſelues and theyꝛ weapons were couered with yꝛon. They aſſaulted the Citie at the Eaſt gate, but Miles Cogan then captain of that Citie manfully made a ſally fꝛth vpon the enimies, but not able to abyde the impreſſion of ſuche an huge multitude, having loſt part of his ſmall number, he was conſtrayned to retyꝛe backe into the Citie, till his bꝛother Richard Cogã iſſuing fꝛth wᵗ a few at the poſterne of the ſouthſide, ſet vpõ the enimies behind, raiſing ſuch a noiſe & hobub, ẏ ſtriken vpon a ſodain with a maruellous feare, they toke themſelues to flight, ſo that being fiercely purſued, ẏ moſt part of them were

Haſtulfus.

Iohannes Inlanus.

The Noꝛwegians aſſault Dublin.

They are diſcomfited.

were ſlaine togither with Iohn Henuode theyr Captaine.

Haſthulf alſo as he woulde haue fledde to the ſhips, was ouertaken by one Manne Gili, and brought priſoner into the Citie. He was at the firſt courteoully vſed, but when he began arrogantly to forget himſelfe, vttering certaine preſumptuous ſpeeches, ſaying, well, we came now but with a ſmall power to trie what might bee done, this is but a beginning of a prouiſe made, for if God ſpare me life, greater attemptes ſhall follow. Theſe wordes comming to the knowledge of Myles Cogan, hee commaunded that he ſhould forthwith be brought to a blocke, where he was puſht downe and had his head ſwapped off: and ſo for his vntemperate tongue hee loſt his life, that otherwiſe with great curteſie had bin preſerued. His intemperate talke coſt him his life.

After this the Iriſhmen aſſembled theyr powers togyther on eche hande, ſo that with an infinit number of men they came and beſieged Dublin, at the procuring of Laurence Archbiſhop of that Citie, who vpon a zeale to his Countreymē trauayled earneſtly therein. Dublin beſieged.



Gothredus king of Man being writtē vnto, as well by the Archbiſhop, as by Rotherike king of Connagh, came to further this enterpriſe with other Iland men embarked in. xxx. ſhips fraught full of warlike people, and arriuing in the hauen of Hauenliph, came forwarde to cloſe vp the hauen of Dublin.

After that the Earle of Pembroke being ſhut vp within the walles of Dublin, had abyd the ſiege for the ſpace of two Monethes togither, and coulde recouer no vytayles for the releefe of hys people, ſo that famine began ſore to annoy them within: The malice of theyr enimies was not thus contented to moleſt the Engliſh men with keping them beſieged within Dublin, but Dunualde, Mac Dermicius or Dermote, alſo comming forth of the confines of Kencelie, got togither an armie (what of ſuche as he brought with him forth of Kencelie, and of the townelmen of Wexford) in all to the number of three thouſand, with which power hee enuironed Fitz Stephan that with a few lay within his Caſtel of Karree, and conſtrayned him ſo ſore, that he wrote vnto the Earle, aduertiſing him, that if he were not reſcued within three dayes, all ſuccour would come to late. There were beſieged within Dublyn in company of the Erle, Maurice Fitz Geralde and Reymonde that was lately returned from King Henrie: the one brother, and the other nephew to Fitz Stephan: wherevpon when aduertiſement was come in what daunger he ſtood, being ſo beſet of enimies that he might by no meanes eſcape without preſent reſcue, they vſed ſuch perſwaſion with the Earle, that it was reſolutely determined to make a ſally forth vpon the enimies, and to trie the hazarde of battaile, ſo to deliuer themſelues and other from inſtant perill: eyther with victorie or death, ſithe otherwiſe they knewe not howe to prouide remedie in ſuch deſperate ſtate of things. The beſieged determin to ſally forth vpō their enimies.

Herevpon they choſe forth a conuenient number to leaue behinde them in the Citie for the gard thereof, and with the reſidue marched forth, deuided into three troupes, the firſt being led by Reymonde accompanied with. xx. knightes. The ſeconde was gouerned by Myles, who had with him. xxx. knightes: and laſtly in the rereward went the Erle himſelfe, and Fitz Geralde, hauing with them. xl. knightes beſide other horſmen, and a fewe Citizens that were ioyned with them in eche of thoſe three wardes ſome: with ſo ſmall a cōpanie they manfully ſet vpon the whole campe of theyr enimies, being fewe leſſe than. xxx. thouſand, and ſo beſtyred themſelues, that with great ſlaughter they obteyned a glorious victorie, chaſing their enimies, and ſleaing them as they ouertooke them, till the euening came vpon them, and cauſed them to returne into the Citie with ſuch vytayles and other ſpoyles as they founde in the enimies campe. Rotherike being in his bane when the fight firſt began, got away as well as he might, and ſo eſcaped. A notable victorie gotten by a fewe agaynſt a great number.

The

The Engliſh men hauing thus got the victory and deliuered the citie quite from the ſiege on eche ſide, the next day leauing a competent gariſon within Dublin, they marched forth with their victorious enſignes towards Wexford to the ſuccor of Fitz Stephan, but before their comming he had yelded himſelf to the enimies: for cauſing him to beleeue by the aſſured report of the Biſhops of Wexford and Kildare, that Dublin was taken, & all the Engliſh men put to the ſworde, they perſwaded with him to yeelde before that the armies of Connagh and Leynſter came, promiſing that if he would commit himſelf vnto their fayth, they would ſee that he ſhoulde be ſafely conueyed ouer into Wales, and ſo eſcape the daunger of al other his enimies. But after he had yelded himſelf diuerſe of his people being ſlaine, the reſidue were beaten and maymed, and thruſt into priſon.

Fitz Stephan yeeldeth himſelfe to the enimies.

After this, the Iriſh hearing that the Engliſhe men were comming as victorers to the reſcue of their friends, they burnt their citie and fled to the Ile that lieth in the mouth of the hauen there called holy Iland, with al their riches, goodes, & captiues. In the meane time the Erle of Pembroke paſſing forth towards Wexford, was encountred at the paſe of Odrone by the army of Lynſter ỳ was got thither before him to defende the paſſage there againſt him. But ſuch was the force of the Engliſh power, though but a handfull in cõpariſon to the number of their aduerſaries, that with ſlaughter of a great number of the Iriſh, they got through into the plaines without any leſſe at all, except of one yong gentleman. In this cõflict the accuſtomed prowes of Meiller was ſufficiently apparãt. The Engliſhmẽ then drawing towards Wexford, & hearing what had chaũced vnto Fitz Stephans, they were highly diſpleaſed & troubled in mind, and forthwith turning on the right hand toward Waterford, where they found Hervey that was come from the king of Englãd, to whom he had bin ſent, and now vpon his returne, brought letters, by the tenor wherof he was authoriſed to perſwade the Erle to returne home into Englãd, who not only ſhewed the letters, but alſo in ſpeech vſed what perſwaſions he might to induce ỳ Erle to accompliſh the king's pleaſure. The Erle perceyuing the kings ielouſie ſtill to continue, & again how no ſmal part of his army was decayed through ſickneſs, & in deface of diuerſe good townes which king Roderik had aſſaulted, he determined to returne into Englande, & to ſeeke to pacifie the kings minde, ſo as he might purchaſe ſome aſſiſtance to go through with that he had begon touching the conqueſt of Ireland, and ſo hauing taken order for ỳ defence of thoſe places which were in his poſſeſſion, he paſſeth the ſea, and came to the king whom he found at Mytcham, not farre from Glocester redy there with an army to paſſe forward towards Ireland. Here after much talke and reaſoning of matters, by the mediation & interceſſion of Hervey, the Erle was reconciled to the kings fauor, yeelding to the king the chiefeſt parcels of all his winnings, as Dublyn with the Cauthredes adioyning, & all the townes & caſtels alongſt by the ſea ſide, and for the reſidue which it pleaſed the king to permit him to inioy, he couenanted to acknowledge that he helde the ſame of the king & his heyres for euer. Theſe things thus accorded, the K. toke his iourney directly towards Wilford hauen, where he rigged a goodly nauy of ſhippes. About this time the Abbay *de caſtro dei* was founded. In the meane time Ororike ſurnamed *Monoculus*, that is with the one eie, King of Methe, taking occaſion by the abſence of the Erle & alſo of Reymond that remained as yet at Waterforde about the kalendes of September, came to Dublin with a great multitude of men, and finding in the Citie but a few to defende it a-

Hervie returneth from the king of Englande.

The Earle of Pembroke receyued into the kings fauor againe.

1171

Ororike king of Meth commeth to aſſaile Dublin.

Meiller.



gaynſt

gaynſt him with great noyſe and violence aſſayled the walles and rampyres, in hope to haue entred by fine force at the firſt aſſault: but Myles Cogan gouernour of the Citie, although he had no great number to make account of about him at that preſent, yet knowing that thoſe few which he had, were men of approued manhode, ſallyed forth, and ſetting vpon the enimies on the ſodain, made ſuch ſlaughter amongſt thē, that the whole number beeing vtterly diſcomfited, he returned backe into the Citie with a glorious victorie. Among other of the Iriſh that were ſlaine, a ſonne of king Moyice a iolly luſtie yong Gentleman was one.

Whileſt theſe things were a doing in Ireland king Henrie was buſie to prouide all things readie to paſſe ouer, and ſo taking the Sea, landed at Waterford about Saint Lukes day, with fiue hundred knightes, beſide other horſemen, and a great number of Archers. This was in the.xvij. yeare of his raigne. and.xlj. of his age. Whileſt he remayned for a fewe dayes ſpace in Waterford, thither came vnto him the townſmen of Werford to make their way for pardon and fauour at his handes, and for a policie to nouriſh the ſuſpition which was entred the kings minde againſt thoſe gentlemen that firſt had attempted the inuaſion of Irelande, they preſented vnto him Fitz Stephans in Irons, as it were to gratifie him, for that contrarie to his aſſent he had bene the firſt that came thither, and occaſioned al the other that after followed to do the like.

The king for that cauſe ſeeming highly offended againſt him at the firſt, dealt verie ſtraitly with him, and ſent him back togither with one of his fellowes to be kept bounde and chained in fetters within Reighnalds tower.

Immediatly hereupon, Dermote or Dermucius king of Cork, came to the king of England, and ſubmitting himſelfe to his obeyſance, made his othe of fidelitie, and deliuering pledges for further aſſurance thereof, couenanted to pay a certaine yearely tribute.

The king departing from Waterford, went to Liſmore, and ſtayed there but two dayes, and frō thence went to Caſhill where Doualde the Prince of Limerike the morrow after came to him at the Water of Suit, and couenanting for a tribute to holde his landes of king Henrie, became his liegeman, vpon good aſſurance by ſolemne oth, and deliuering ſufficient pledges. Theſe and other the Princes of the South partes of Ireland, as Doualde, and Onialaghlen, right puiſſant Lordes, and as they were termed kings of Oſſorie, hauing ſubmitted themſelues to king Henrie, and eche of thē being ſent home into their countreys with honourable giftes and good entertaynment, he returned to Waterford, cauſing Fitz Stephan to be brought vnto him, and conſidering the high manhood of that noble Gentleman, and what daungers he had paſſed in aduenturing about the conqueſt of that Countrey, he reſtored him to libertie, and through the earneſt ſuyte of diuerſe noble men, receyued him into fauor, confirmed the graunts made to him by king Dermote, of Werforde and the Cantredes adioyning, taking from him onely the towne of Waterford, and the appurtenances.

The king leauing in Waterford Robert Fitz Bernard for the ſafe keeping of that towne, departed from thence towardes Dublyn through Oſſorie, and comming thither, remayned there for a time, during the whiche, all the Princes of thoſe parties, came in and humbly ſubmitting thē ſelues to his obeyſaunce beſought him to graunt them peace, and to receyue them into his protection, as Machelan, Dphelan, Omachealewy, Dthurthell. Gillemcholmoch, Otadheſi, Dearuell

The king departeth from Waterford.

Donald prince of Limerike ſubmitteth

The kings of Oſſorie ſubmit themſelues.

King Henrie returneth to Waterford.

Fitz Stephans reſtored to libertie.

Robert Fitz Barnard.

The king goeth to Dublin.

Princes that ſubmitted thē ſelues to the king of Engelande.



of Vriell, and Dzoyck of Mythe.

Roderike king of Connagh, mette the kings Ambaſſadours, Hugh Lacie, and William Fitz Aldelme at the water of Shenyn, which deuideth Myth & Connagh aſunder: where the ſayde Roderike obteyning likewiſe the kings peace and appointing what tribute he ſhould pay, aſſured hys fidelitie with firme bounds of ſubiection.

Roderik king of Connagh the Monark of of Ireland ſubmitted himſelf

Thus all the Pzinces of the whole Iland, and ſpecially this Roderike King of Connagh that was reputed Monarke of Irelande for himſelfe and al other, acknowledged king Henrie for the ſupreme Lozde and ſoueraigne Pzince of all the Iland, ſo that there was not one of any name or accompt within the bounds thereof (thoſe of Ulſter onely excepted) that refuſed to exhibite due reuerence vnto hys royall Maieſtie. And ſo was the prophecie of Merlyn fulfilled (as ſome toke it.)

King Henrie acknowledged to be ſupreme Prince of all Irelande.

The Prophecy of Merlin.

The firſt ſhall ouerthzow the Walles of Irelande, and againe fiue pozcions ſhall be bzought into one.

This firſt they conſtrued now to be this king Henrie in whome the fiue vnderkingdomes were vnited.

Of the ſame conqueſt prophecied their fourt notable Saints, Patrike, Bzachan, Colme, and Moling.

In Chriſtmaſſe hee called all theſe Pzinces that were thus become his ſubiects vnto Dublyn where he made them a royall dinner. Here they began firſt to feed on Cranes fleſh, a foule til that ſeaſon vtterly abhozred of the Iriſh. The ſumptuous ſeruice, and noble traine of thoſe that wayted at this feaſt, was marueylous in the eyes of thoſe coũtrimẽ that had neuer ſene the like before.

King Henry feaſted the Iriſh Princes. Cranes fleſh not in vſe in Ireland till the comming of the Engliſh.

King Henrie not vnmyndfull of his charge enioyned him by the Popes Adzian and Alexander, for a reformation to bee had in matters of the Iriſh Churche, called a Synode of all the Iriſhe Clergie at Caſhell, whither came as chiefe the biſhop of Liſmoze, Legate of the ſea of Rome, Donate of Caſhell, Laurence of Dublyn, & Catholicus of Thomond, Archbiſhops with their Suffraganes & fellow Biſhops, Abbots Archdeacons, Pzioz, Deanes, and other pzelates of the land.

A Sinode or Counſell of the Cleargie holden at Caſhill.



There were alſo ſent thither from king Henrie, Rauſe Abbot of Buldewis, Rauſe Archedeacon of Landaffe, and one of his Chapleynes named Nicholas, with other Chapleynes & Counſellors of the ſame king.

In which Synode the enormious abuſes of ỹ Iriſh Church being propoſed and put in writing vnder the Legats ſeale, they ſet in conference for the reforming thereof, and in the ende they concluded vpon the ſame, which were regiſtred in eight articles.

Articles agreed vpon in this counſell.

Fyrſt, that they ſhoulde not contract any vnlawfull mariages with their couſins or neare allyes, but in the ſame obſerue the rules of the Canons.

Mariages.

Secondly, that their Infants ſhould be Catechiſed at the church dozes by the prieſts, & after baptized in the Fontes of their Churches.

Infantes baptiſed.

Thirdely, that all thoſe that toke themſelues for Chriſtian men ſhoulde duelye pay their Tythes of corne and Catell, and other increaſing things.

Tythes to be payed.

Fourthly, that the landes and poſſeſſions belonging to the Church, ſhoulde be enfranchiſed of all ſecular exactions, and ſpecially that neyther the Kinges nor Erles, nor anye other Lozdes of Irelande nor theyr ſonnes, with theyr families ſhoulde demaunde nor preſume to exact violently from thence forth any meate or drinke, or harborow within the Church poſſeſſions, as they had beene vſed, and that the dyet which had beene exacted foure tymes in the yeare of Churche

Liberties of the Church.

mennes

mennes fermes ſhould not any moze be demaun-
ded noz anſwered.

Fiftly, that foz murthers conuitted when the offender compoũded with the kinſmen of the partie dead, Churchmen that were couſins to the offender ſhould not be fozced to beare any part of the fine, except they were acceſſaries to the offence.

Sixtly, that the ſicke ſhould cauſe his teſtamẽt to bee made and read in preſence of credible perſons, and if they had wyues, theyz debts and ſeruantes wages deducted, the reſidue of theyz goods ſhould be deuided into thzee parts, whereof ẏ wife was to haue one, the childzen another, and the thirde to be employed about his funerals, and otherwiſe as he ſhould appoynt. If he had no lawfull iſſue, then his goodes to bee deuided betwixt him and his wife, and if he had childzen and hys wife deceaſſed, then the ſame to bee deuided betwixt him and his childzen.

Seuenthly, that the funerals of the dead be deuoutly and ſolemnly kept and executed.

Eightly, foz as much as it had pleaſed God to deliuer them vniuerſally into the gouernment of the Engliſhe Nation, it was decreed that in all poyntes, rytes and ceremonies, they ſhould agree in foꝛme with the Church of England.

Thus where in many things befoze the king of Englands comming into Irelande, many inoꝛdinate and heynous cuſtomes were crept into the gouernment, as well eccleſiaſticall as ciuil, by his good diligence and politike meanes, the ſame were in part refoꝛmed, ſo that what good ozders either foz maintenance of peace oz increace of religion, remayned afterwardes among them, was to bee aſcribed to him.

The Articles befoze rehearſed were eſtabliſhed and confyꝛmed with conſent of all the Synode.

Galas the Primate of Ardmagh was not there by reaſon of infirmitie and great age, but yet he came afterwardes to the King at Dublyn, and gaue his conſent in all things, fauoꝛing the kings ozder and diſpoſition herein. He dyed two yeares after, ſo aged a man, that his onely ſuſtenaunce was the mylke of a white Cowe, which he toke with him whither ſoeuer he trauayled. The winter was ſo tempeſtuous, that vneth any ſhip durſt venter to paſſe either to oz fro betwixt Englande and Irelande, ſo that aduertiſements were verye geaſon both with the king in Irelande, and with his counſell at home here in Englande, not hearing (but very ſeldom) they frõ him, oz he frõ them. Thus whileſt he lay foz the moſt part of ẏ winter ſeaſon in Waterfoꝛd, longing dayly to here foꝛth of Englãd, he practiſed to procure certain knights that ſerued vnder the Erle of Pembꝛoke, as Reymond, Miles Cogan, Williã Maſkarel, & others being mẽ of right approued valiancie & experience in warlike exploytes to foꝛſake the Erles ſeruice, & to ſerue him, taking it to be no ſmal policie ſo to make his part the ſtroger, & the Erles the weaker, foꝛ he had the Erle ſtil in a iealouſie, & miſtruſted leaſt his puiſſance might in time breed danger to his eſtate. After midſent ſhips arriued there, both foꝛth of England and Aquitaine, by who it was ſignified that there were come into Noꝛmandie two Cardinals frõ Pope Alexander the third, menacing to put the K. & his whole dominions vnder the ſentence of interditing, if he came not the ſooner to meete them, & to excuſe himſelf of things they had to charge him with, touching the death of the Archbiſhop Thomas: & herevnto an other miſchief appeared, foꝛ it was infoꝛmed him ẏ hys ſonne Henry whõ his father had foꝛ good purpoſe crowned king, was thꝛough euil aduice ſo miſled, that he ment to thꝛuſt himſelf into the actuall poſſeſſion of the crown, in his fathers life time. Theſe newes ſoꝛe troubled the king, bycauſe he muſt needes returne home & leaue Irelande foꝛ that time, where he ment to haue remayned til in that ſommer following, he might aſwell with building caſtels & foꝛtreſſes haue made himſelf ſtrong, as alſo eſtabliſhed the cuntry in perfect peace, whiche he much deſired. But ſith there was no helpe but ẏ vrgent occaſiõ of buſineſſe (as ye haue heard) called him thence, he took ozder foꝛ the ſafe keeping of the cuntry in his abſence, & appoynted captaines with cõpetent numbers of men of warre to lie in gariſon within ſundꝛie townes where he thought neceſſarie. In Dublin he left Hugh Lacy (to whõ he had giuen the cuntry of Meth to hold of him in fee) & with him .xx. knights: Robert Fitz Stephã, and Maurice Fitz Gerald with .xx. other knights were alſo appoynted to the gard of the ſame citie. Humfrey de Bohun, Robert Fitzbernard, & Hugh de Gundeuile with .xl. knights were left in Waterfoꝛd. Williã Fitz Aldelme, Philip de Haſtings & Philip de Bꝛewſe wt .xx. knights had the charge of Wexfoꝛd cõmitted to them. The king hauing thus pꝛouided foꝛ the ſafe keeping of theſe townes & other places, & leauing ozder foꝛ the gouernmẽt of the cuntry in the beſt wiſe he might, he toke the ſea at Wexfoꝛd on Eaſter Monday in the moꝛning, & with pꝛoſperous wind and weather paſſed the ſeas, & landed in Southwales in an hauẽ there not paſt .xij. miles diſtãt frõ Hauerfoꝛd weſt, & ſo haſted foꝛward, not ſtaying much till he got ouer into Noꝛmandy, where he met the Cardinals at Conſtance (as in the Engliſh hyſtoꝛie you may read moꝛe at large.) After that the king was thus departed foꝛth of Ireland, Oꝛoꝛick king of Meth ſurnamed Monoculus, that is, with the one eye, made ſuite to come to a Parley with Hugh de Lacie, but Oꝛoꝛick had deuyſed to murther the ſayde Lacie, and had bꝛought hys purpoſe to paſſe, if a Knight that was Nephewe to Maurice Fitz Geralde named Griffyne admoniſhed

Cardinals ſent to the king.

Hugh Lacie.

The king returneth forth of Irelande.

Oroꝛick king of Meth.

Maurice Fitz Geralde.

by

by a dreame had not deliuered him from that daunger.

This Griffin (gelling by interpretation of his dreame, that ſome ſuch thing would come to paſſe as followed in deede) in tyme of the parley with ſeuen knightes of his lynage, whom he had choſen forth of purpoſe to that effect, withdrewe a part to the backe ſide of the hill (on the whiche they were appoynted to meete and talke togyther) were furniſhed with ſhieldes and ſpeares, the ſaid Griffyn and his mates mounted on horſebacke, exerciſed themſelues in running and turneying, after the maner of Fraunce, in whiche meane while Dorſike (after they could not agree in talke, but that they grewe to open defiance,) he gaue ſigne to ſuch as he had layde in ambuſh for that purpoſe, to come forth and help to worke the feate which he had determined before hande to accompliſh. And he himſelfe being withdrawen by a certaine ſpace from the ground where they had talked, after his companie was once come forth vnto him, he with his Axe maketh againe towardes the place where Hugh Lacie ſtoode, and had ſlaine him vpon the ſodaine, if Maurice Fitz Gerald drawing forth his ſworde had not warned him to take heede and to loke about him: and yet ſuch was the violent rage of the traytor, that ſtryking at Lacie, he cut off the arme of one that was interpretour betwixt them, who faythfully thruſt himſelfe betwixt Lacie and the blow. Beſide this, ſo fierce were the Iriſh vpon Hugh Lacie, that twice by reaſon of haſt in ſtepping backe he fell, and vneth eſcaped by the helpe of Fitz Gerald, who manfully layde about him to beate back the enimies. Herewith no ſmall number of thoſe that brake out of the Ambuſhe came with an hideous noiſe, running to the place, that they might make an ende of Lacie and Fitz Geralde, which vndoubtedly they had eaſily done (for by appointment they came to the grounde where they thus talked but with a fewe about them and thoſe vnarmed) if Griffyn with his companions hearing the noyſe and clamour, had not come to the ayde of theyr friendes. But they perceyuing how the game went, came gallopping in vpon the ſpurres with ſuch violēce that they diſperſed the enimies, and Griffyn with his ſpeare running at Dorſike as he was about to haue mounted on horſebacke, ſtroke through both horſe and man, and ſo the diſloyall wretch ended his life. Three of his ſeruants alſo that brought him his horſe, were there ſlaine. The reſidue of the Iriſhe were ſlaine, as they coulde bee ouertaken, being followed by the Engliſh men euen vnto the entrie of the Woods, to the which (being a good way off) they fled ſo faſt as their feete might beare them.

A trayterous practiſe.

Dorſike ſlain.

The head of the king of Methe was ſent ouer into Englande vnto king Henrie, for a witneſſe of that which had chaunced.

Dorſikes head ſent to king Henrie.

Among other, deſeruing great commendation for their manhode ſhewed in this bickering, one of Fitz Stephans ſonnes named Raufe, was highly commended.

The Engliſh men perceyuing ſuch diſloyall practiſes to bee dayly attempted againſt them, toke from the Iriſh (as farre as they might) all truſt of gouernment, fenced themſelues with gariſons, placed Captaynes, Gouernours, and Conſtables euerie where within the compaſſe of theyr conqueſtes.

But king Henrie was troubled with the rebellion of his ſonnes, which brake forth in Aprill next after his returne forth of Ireland, that he had no leyſure to attend greatly to the doings in Irelande. But ſtill yet his iealouſie increaſed towardes Earle Strangbow, whom he miſtruſted as one eaſie to be caried away by any light occaſion of chaunge of fortune.

King Henries iealouſie towardes Earle Strangbow.

The Earle was a man of great byrth, but (as ye haue partly heard) as well by his auncеſtors diſſauour with their Princes, as his owne, and likewiſe his ryotous expences in his youth, bee bare no great name, till the good happe of his mariage had aduaunced him, and euen after alſo knowing himſelfe neyther byroked in ſight, nor truſted in abſence, kept ſtill one rate in all his doings, bare a low ſaile, fed no quarels, and ſhunned all ſuſpitious conference.

Earle Strangbow his wiſe dealing.

Thus whileſt the king was diſquieted at home, and doubting of the ſtate of Ireland, becauſe letters came dayly ouer, how faintly the Princes in Ireland perfourmed their obedience, for (except in Leyniſter, all other partes reteyned theyr auncient kinde of gouernment, and onely acknowledged a tribute) it was thought expedient by king Henries Counſell, to eaſe his mynde of that care, and ſeeing there was buſineſſe more than ynough on all ſides, and that it was harde to prouide remedie eche way forth at once, they determined to venter the keeping of Irelande to the fidelitie of Strangbow, who was like for his owne wealth and aſſurance to procure all poſſible meanes to bridle and keepe vnder the Iriſh, with a kinde of ſome conſtrayned obedience, for otherwiſe it woulde not be.

The Erle therfore being about the ſame time come ouer to the king into Normandie, who remayned as then in the Citie of Rouen, he was made gouernor, (or Lorde Deputie as we call him) of Ireland, hauing Reymond le Grace ioyned with him in commiſſion, for otherwiſe the Erle refuſed to take the charge vpon him.

Earle Strangbow made the kings lieutenant in Ireland hauing Reymond le Grace ioyned with him.

The King alſo the ſame time gaue to the Earle the Citie of Wexforde, with the Caſtell of Guikalone.

The Earle thus with his commiſſion returning

ning into Irelande appointed Lord Lieutenant, found the countrey farre out of order, for in maner all the princes were become rebelles, ſo that within ſhort time hee had ſpent all the treaſure which he brought ouer with him, and nowe that he wanted to pay his men of warre their wages, they began to mutine, finding themſelues grieued againſt Heruey, that in Reymonds place had taken vpon him as quarter maſter to lead them: and becauſe alſo they were now kept ſhort, ſo as they profited not by gayning of bootes as they were woont to do. they came to the Earle and told him flatly, that if Reymonde were not appointed to lead them againe, they would ſurely forſake him, and eyther returne into Englande, or elſe withdrawe to the aduerſaryes, and ſerue amongeſt the. Herevpon Reymond being appoynted to gouerne them, forth they went againſt certaine rebelles, and wanne great plentie of bootes to refreſh their wantes, and furniſhed themſelues with horſe and armor.

The citie and prouince of Liſmore, they ſpoyled, and meaning to returne vnto Waterforde by water, they fraught with ſpoyle. xiij. ſhippes, of the which ſome they founde there in the hauen, and the reſidue were come thither from Waterforde. Whileſt they ſtayed for a proſperous wind, there came. xxxij. ſhippes, which they of Corke had made forth, well appoynted and throughly manned, the which aſſayled the Engliſh men in their ſhips with great fury, ſo that the battail was right dangerous, whileſt the one part with ſtones and Axes, and the other with arrowes and other weapons, enforced to bring eche other to deſtruction. At length yet the Iriſh were vanquiſhed, and their captain ſlain, ſo that the Engliſh men with their captaine Adam de Herefordе, hauing encreaſed the number of their ſhips with thoſe which they toke from their enimies, returned with honor vnto Waterford. Reymond that was aduertiſed of this victory, marching thitherwards alongſt the ſhore with. xx. knights, & lx. other horſmen, met with Dermote K. of Deſmond coming towards Liſmore with a great power to ayd the of Corke, but Reymond putting him to flight, got & brought wt him to Waterf. a booty of. 4000. head of cattel.

Adam de Hereforde.

Reymonde diſcomfiteth the king of Deſmond.



About the ſame time, William Fitz Geralde, father to Reymond, departed this life, and therefore Reymond returned home into Wales, & in the meane time Heruey eftſoones toke vpon him to gouerne the men of warre, & brought the Erle with his houſhold vnto Caſhell. The Citizens of Dublin by appoyntment comming to theyr ayde, and lodging one night in Oſſory, Donald of Lymerike a prince in that nation not improuident about his buſineſſe, early in the morning aſſayling them that thus were come from Dublyn in their lodging, toke them ſo at vnwares, that he ſlue foure hundred of them, togither wyth foure knights that had the leading of them. By reaſon of this chance, the reſidue of the Iriſh princes toke ſuch courage and boldneſſe, that by they ſtart in euery corner, tagge and ragge, in purpoſe to expell the Engliſhmen out of the whole Countrey, ſo that the Erle being returned vnto Waterford, was kept ſo ſhort, that he durſt vneth peepe out. Rotherike king of Connagh paſſing ouer the ryuer of Sheynyn, with a mightie power inuaded Weth, and finding the caſtels in that Countrey voyde without garde, he brought into aſhes and layd flat with the ground all that he met with by the way, euen hard to the walles of Dublyn.

Rotherike king of Connagh.

The Erle remembring how Reymond had bin an earneſt ſuter to his ſiſter Baſill, to haue hir in mariage, & that there was no ſtay but the graunt of his good will, to bring him ouer againe wyth more ſpeede to his ayde, he wrote to him louing letters, with promiſe that if hee woulde make

Earle Strangbow ſendeth for Reymond promiſing him his ſiſter in mariage.

haſt to come, and bring with him ſome power to ſtrengthen his parte agaynſt the Rebelles, hee ſhoulde haue hys ſyſter and all things at hys pleaſure.

Reymonde vnderſtanding in what diſtreſſe the Earle and other his friendes ſtoode in Irelande, and deſirous withall to enioy the Ladie Baſill whome he entirely loued, hee communed with his couſin Meiller, and other worthie Gentlemen of his lynage, whome he perſwaded eaſily to goe ouer with hym: ſo that hauing aſſembled thirtie luſtie Knightes, with an hundred other horſemen, and three hundred Archers footemen, choſen forth of the Welche Nation, he embarked them in .xv. ſhippes, paſſed ouer with them and landed at Waterford, where the Citizens the ſame time rayſing a tumult, were about to haue ſlain the Engliſh men, but by the arriual of Reymond which chaunced ſo in the nicke, the vprore was pacified, and all things brought to quiet. This done, Reymõd brought the Erle to Wexford, and as Frecell gouernor of Waterford was about to follow the Erle in a veſſell by the water of Suire, he with diuerſe of his companie were ſlaine by thoſe mariners that vndertooke to paſſe him ouer, which murther committed, the murtherers returning to the Citie, ſlue all ſuch Engliſhe people as they mette with, either in the ſtreetes or houſes, not ſparing either ſexe or age. But they miſſed yet of winning the full poſſeſſiõ of the city. For an Engliſh gẽtleman ẏ remayned in charge with keeping it, ſo handled ẏ matter, that the traitors were ſubdued and brought to quiet, with worſe opinion and ſtate than they were in before.

Frecell gouernor of Waterford ſlaine by the Mariners that vndertook to conuey him ouer the water there.

Reymond landeth at Waterford.

Reymonde not forgetting the Earles promiſe conteined in his letters, would not depart forth of Wexford, till the Ladie Baſill was fetched from Dublyn, and coupled with him in mariage. The ſolemnization whereof being finiſhed, vnderſtanding that Roderike king of Connagh, hauing vterly deſtroyed the Countrey of Meth, had nowe inuaded the confines about Dublin, the morrow after his mariage feaſt, Reymonde with his bandes of men of warre, iſſued forth and marched towardes thoſe parties, wherof Roderike hauing knowledge, withdrew backe into his Countrey.

Reymonde marieth the Ladie Baſill, ſiſter to Erle Strangbow.



Thoſe parties then once reformed, and the caſtels of Trim, and Duuels being eft ſones repayred, that had beene forſaken of Hugh Tirell theyr keeper and deſtroyed, the whole Ile for a time reſted in meetly good quiet. So that the Engliſhe Nobilitie that lay there, had tyme the better to ſettle themſelues, and for more increaſe of ſtedfaſt amity, to match themſelues in mariage according to their degrees. Hervey maried Reymonds ſiſters daughter, whiche Ladie was the daughter of Maurice Fitz Geralde, and by procurement of Reymond, the Erle gaue his daughter Alma in mariage vnto Williã the eldeſt ſon of Maurice Fitz Gerald, to which Maurice, being ſente for forth of Wales) the Earle gaue the middle Candred of Ophelan (which he had poſſeſſed before by the kings aſſignment) togither with the caſtel of Guikinlou, to holde the ſame in fee.

The Caſtels of Trim and Duuels.

Mariages.

Wicklowe.

Ye muſt here note, that the king of Englãd to aſſure his title to Ireland with a color of further right, procured of Pope Adriã that was an Engliſh man borne (as before ye haue heard) bulles of confirmation, to the ende (as the tenor of thoſe bulles ſignified) that he ſhould root out ſuch abuſes & euill cuſtomes as were commonly practiſed there among the people, cõtrarie to the order of all Chriſtiantie. And ſo in reforming the ſtate of religion, and reducing the people to liue within the compaſſe of honeſt lawes & more ciuill ordinances, he graunted to him the ſupreme dominion of that land, commanding all the inhabitants therof to receiue him for their ſouerain lord & gouernor.

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The Clergie therfore now of late hauing perused thoſe Bulles, and perceyuing that vnder ſtreight paynes they were commaunded to owe their allegiance vnto the king of Englande, they buſily did their diligence to repreſſe the furie of their Countrey men, and by authoritie aſwell of the Bulles of Pope Adrian, as Pope Alexander, which had beene publikely read in the Counſel at Caſſhell, they denounced all thoſe accurſed that maliciouſly ſhoulde withſtande or ſeeke to make fruſtrat the ſame. By ſuch meanes ẏ land reſting from any great troubleſome rebellios for a while, the firſt that began to ſtyre, was Donalde king of Lymerike, who leaping out, renounced his allegiance to the king of Englād, wherupon Reymond aſſembling togither an army of .C. and .xx knights w̄. CCC. other horſmē, & .CCCC. archers on foot, about the Kalends of Octobet marched boldly towards Lymerike, & cōming to the water that runneth round about that towne, paſſeth the ſame, notwithſtanding the aduerſaryes were readie there to keepe him off. One of Reymonds nephews, a yong ſtripling called Dauid, and ſurnamed Welch, becauſe he was borne in Wales, though not of the Welch linage, was the firſt that lept into the riuer, & led the way to giue example to others. The ſecond (ſaue one knight that was drowned) was Meiller, and Reymond the third that entred the water. When the whole army was once got ouer, with ẏ loſſe only of that one knight that hight Guy, & two other horſmen, they followed their enimies, and making of them great ſlaughter, ceaſſed not til they brake into the citie, and wan the ſame with great riches which they found within it. Here is to be noted, that Lymerik was taken vpon a Tueſday, and Waterford likewiſe was taken vpon a Tueſday, and alſo Dublyn. Neither came this to paſſe of any purpoſe, but fell out euen ſo as chaunce gaue it.

Reymond diſpoſing things in order for the ſure gard of that citie, cauſed vitails from ech ſide to be brought into it, and leauing there .l. knights two hundred horſmen, and .CC. archers, vnder the gouernment of Miles of S. Dauid hys couſin that was appoynted captaine of that citie, he returned and drew into Leyniſter with the reſidue of his people in ſafetie, hauing thus obteyned a notable victorie. But as enuie is euer a companion to well doing, though not to further, but readie ſtill to hinder the ſame, ſo Heruie bearing a continuall ſecrete grudge agaynſt Reymonds glorie, that neyther reſpect of affinitie, nor other reaſonable conſideration coulde cauſe him to forget it, ſticked not to ſende Meſſengers to the King, with ſiniſter informations agaynſt Reymonde, wrongly interpreting all hys doings, in ſo muche that he put into the kings head, how he went about as one fully determined therupon, not onely to vſurpe to hymſelfe and his, the Citie of Lymerike, but alſo all Irelande, greatly agaynſt the kings honour and his owne promiſed fidelitie.

Reymond marcheth toward Limerik.

They paſſe the riuer.

Limerike wonne.



The king crediting ſuch reports, ſent ouer foure commiſſioners into Ireland to examine the matter, & to make a true certificat of the ſtate of that land. The names of thoſe commiſſioners were theſe, Robert Poer, Olbert de Herloter, Adam de Gernemuth, and William de Bendenges. Two of them he appoynted to returne backe, & to bring Reymonde with them: the other two hee commaunded to remaine there with the Erle.

Foure Commiſſioners ſent into Irelād to enquire of Reymondes demeanor.

As Reymond then was readie to paſſe the ſea to come ouer, ſtaying only for a proſperous wind, there came meſſengers from them that lay in Lymerike, bringing word ẏ Donald prince of Thomond had beſieged thē with an infinit multitude of people, and becauſe they had ſpent all their prouiſiō of vitails, there was no remedie but to ſuccor them

Donald Prince of Thomond.

them with ſpeed, for otherwiſe they could not endure agaynſt the force of their aduerſaries.

The Earle carefull to ſend ayde to relieue his men thus brought into that extremitie, vpon moouing the matter to his men of warre, whome he ment to ſent forward about that enterpriſe, hee found them ſo diſmayd for the departing of Reymonde, that with one generall voyce they flatly denied to go on that iourney without him.

The loue which the ſoldiers bare to Reymond.

The Erle conferring vpon this refuſall of his men of warre with the Commiſſioners, it was agreed by their conſents, that Reymonde ſhoulde haue the leading of the army vnto Lymerike, and ſo ſetting forward with. lxxx. knightes, two. C. other horſemen, and three hundred archers, beſide ſuch Iriſhe men as he toke with him, vnder the conduct of Murchard Kenceili, & Dunald of Oſſorie, with this power he went firſt vnto Caſhell, hearing by the way that the enimies hauing left the ſiege of Lymerike, were layde in the paſe of Caſhell, which being of it ſelfe a very combroſom ſtrayt, & hard to get through by nature of the place, they had made it much more noyſome to thoſe that ſhould attẽpt to paſſe that way, in laying trees ouerthwart and caſting ditches a trauerſe, which they kẽced with hedges plaſhed aloft vpon the rampire.

Murcharde Kenceili.

The Engliſhmẽ deuided their army into three wards, the vantgard being led by Meiller, ruſhed forth to the hedge with ſuch violẽce, that they bare down & tore the ſame in peeces, as it had bin ſome ſtrange tempeſt of wind, & with their ſwords they made way & opened ẏ paſſage, not without great ſlaughter of them that ſtood there at defence agaynſt them.

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The paſſage being thus wonne, and the enimies put to flight on Eaſter eue, vpon the Tueſday in Eaſter weeke they came through like victorers vnto Lymerike, and as it was wonne vpõ a Tueſday (as before ye haue heard) ſo nowe it was likewiſe relieued vpon a Tueſday.

The kings of Connagh, and Thomond come to a parley with Reymond.

After this, the king of Connagh, and the king of Thomond came to a parley with Reymonde about. xxj. myles diſtant from Lymerike beyond Kelleleonyne in one ſelfe day, though not togyther, nor in one ſelfe place. They grew in both the places to this effect in their talk, that either prince deliuering hoſtages, renued their othes of fidelitie vnto the king of Englande; and ſo in louing wiſe they departed eche from other.

Dermucius Marcharthy prince of Deſmond vexed by his ſonne Kormac Olecham.

The ſame time Dermote or Dermucius Macharthy, prince of Deſmond, was by his eldeſt ſon Kormac Oletham in maner expulſed out of his countrey, wherevpon he ſued vnto Reymond for ayde againſt his vnnaturall ſon. Reymond moued aſwel at the ernеſt prayer, as promiſe of large entertainment, toke vpon him that enterpriſe, and turning his victorious enſignes towards Cork, he ſo bled the matter that his armye was in ſhort ſpace greatly enriched, what with ſpoile & wages, & plenty of vitailes, which they recouered in thoſe parties, in ſuch wiſe that they ſent great abũdance vnto Limerik, for Dermote Macharthy by ẏ help of Reymond reſtored now wholy again vnto his dominion, ſought to pleaſure him and his cõpany in all things he might. But yet Kormac vnder colour of peace, led forth his father Dermote craftily with fayre wordes, till he got him into his hands, & committed him to priſon, but within a while after, the father recõpenſing his ſonne with like curteſie, practiſed his ſonnes death, whileſt he ſo remayned in priſon, and bringing his purpoſe to paſſe, was ſo deliuered.

The crafty diſſimulation of the ſonne to intrappe the father.

To what ends it came.

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About the kalends of June, Richard Strangbow Erle of Pembroke departed this life, wherof Reymond aduertiſed, conſulting with his truſtie friends, betaketh Lymerike to the keeping of Donald prince of Thomonde, as to one of the kings faythfull Barons, receyuing of him both pledges, and ſwearing him alſo to preſerue that Citie frõ hurt, and to reſtore it to the king of Englands vſe whenſoeuer he was thervnto required. This done, he with the army departed towards Leyniſter, to defend that countrie and the hauen townes there, for the more ſuretie of the Engliſh poſſeſſions in Ireland. But he was no ſooner come to the further end of the bridge, but the other end next to the Citie was broken downe, and the Engliſh men might behold fire ſet in foure corners of the Citie, to their great grief, which was done by treaſon of Donald, ſhewing a taſt what credit was to be giuen vnto the people of that nation by that his diſloyall periurie and breach of othe ſo lately taken, without all feare of Gods vengeance to follow, or ſhame of the world that might be imputed to him amongſt men of honeſt reſpect.

The treaſon of Donalde.

At Reymonds comming to Dublin, the bodie of the Earle was buried in Chriſtes Church within that Citie, the Archebiſhop Laurence doing the office of the funerals. For the Earle in his life time had commaunded that his bodie ſhoulde be kept aboue grounde till Reymond were come, and till his comming the Earles death in deede was kept ſecrete, ſo that few vnderſtood therof.

Earle Strangbow buried.

This Earle was of colour ruddye and freckled, with great eyes, of a feminine viſage, ſmall voyce, ſhorte necke, of ſtature tall, and a goodly perſonage, liberall and curteous, and where ſubſtaunce wanted to ſhewe his franke heart, hee ſupplyed it with gentle wordes, more readie to obey than to commaunde. At home more lyke a Souldier than a Captayne, but abrode in the warres he ſhewed himſelfe a Captayne, and not a Souldier. Although he neuer would enterpriſe any exployt of himſelfe without the aduice of other, being once ioyned in fight with his enimies,

he

he ſtode as an aſſured ſtandard for his people to haue recourſe to, for their ſafetie. And howſoeuer the chance of battail turned he was euer conſtant and ſtable, neyther drowping as one in diſpayre whē fortune ſeemed to frowne, nor too ioyful whē ſhe was diſpoſed to fawne. He left no iſſue behind him in life but one daughter named Iſabell, maried after .viij. yeares to William Earle Marſhall.

After this, the king of Englands Commiſſioners perceyuing what eſtimation and opinion the ſouldiers & men of warre had conceyued of Reymonde, they authoriſed him lieutenaunt, tyll the kings pleaſure therein might be further knowne: and herewith they returned into Englande to informe him of the chaunge of things in Irelande by the Earles death. The king throughly informed how things ſtode, ſent William Fitz Aldelme, one of his truſtie ſeruants as his lieutenāt into Ireland with .xx. knights ioyning with him in commiſſion Iohn de Curcy, with other fenne knights, alſo Fitz Stephans & Miles Cogā, with xx. knights, which two laſt remembred captaines had ſerued the king right valiauntly in thoſe late ciuil warres, which his ſonnes had reyſed againſt him. Reymond vnderſtāding that they were arriued, met them with a braue number of knights, in the borders of Wexford, deliuering all the Cities, townes, & caſtels togither with ſuch hoſtages as he had into Aldelmes hands as the kings lieutenant of that kingdome. Fitz Aldelme moued with enuie, to ſee Reymond furniſhed with ſuch a traine of luſtie youthes, he threatned to abate ſuch pride, and to make a ſcatter of thoſe chieldes. Frō that time forth, aſwell he as other lieutenāts of Irelād that ſucceeded him, ceaſed not (as it had bene by ſome purpoſed conſpiracie) to hinder the good fortune of Reymond, Meiller, Fitz Moyice, Fitz Gerald, Fitz Stephans, & all that whole generation, although no cankred enuy was able to rote out the plants of ſo plentifull an offſpring.

Now foraſmuch as we haue to make ſo often mention of Reymond, Meiller, Heruie, Fitz Aldelme, & Fitz Stephans, being chiefe doers in the reducing of Irelād vnder the Engliſh ſubiection, we haue thought it not impertinent to ſhew what maner of men in perſonages and qualities they were, as Giraldus Cambrenſis doth deſcribe thē.

Reymond therefore was of a large & mightie ſtature, with yellow heares a little curling, great eies, gray and round, his noſe ſomewhat in height rayſed, well coloured of viſage, with a pleaſant & merrie countenance. And although he was verie corpulent, yet with a liuelineſſe of ſpirit he recompenced the vnweldineſſe of his fleſhe, and ſo ouermatched the groſſenes of his bodie with the vertue of his mind. He would paſſe the nights without ſleep, to ſee to the ſafetie of his army, and as a ſurueyer of the watch, he would go vp and down about the campe with marueylous care and diligence, ſo that ſuche bandes as were vnder hys charge, ſeldome or neuer attempted anye thing raſhly, or through negligēce came to hinderance, neither delicate in his feeding, nor fine in his apparell. He would endure both heate and cold alike, yeelding to neither of them both, able to bryde wrath, & to abide al maner of painful trauails. He ſeemed rather to profite than to rule ouer thē that were vnder his gouernment, rather as a ſeruant than a maiſter: and to conclude, he was bountifull, curteous, and wiſe. And although he was right vertuous, and readie to bide battaill, yet he excelled moſte in prudent policie and prouident foreſight, ſo as he iuſtly deſerued to be cōmended, both for a valiant ſouldiour, and a circumſpect Captaine. Thus much for Reymond.

The deſcriptiō of Meiller.

Meiller was browne of colour, with black eies, and of countenaunce grim and ſterne, of ſtature ſomewhat leſſe than the common ſort, but yet of paſſing ſtrēgth for the quantitie of his body, with a brode breaſt, and ſlender waſt, his armes and other limmes being greater of bone and ſinewes than filled with fleſh, a right hardy knight & ready to attēpt any enterprice ẏ was to be atchieued either alone or accōpanied: the firſt to giue the onſet in euery battel, & the laſt ẏ would depart forth of ẏ field, & nothing in him might be diſpraiſed, but ẏ he was giuen ouer much to ſpilling of bloud, and ſo deſirous of praiſe, that he eſteemed honor more than life. This with more doth Giraldus Cambrenſis report of the foreſayd Meiller.

The diſcriptiō of Heruey.

Now as cōcerning Heruey, he was of perſon beautiful, with gray eies, & ſomwhat ſtāding outward, or (as we terme it) bol eied, a round vpright neck, crump ſhoulders, with lōg armes & handes, brode breſted, but in ẏ waſt ſlēder with due proportiō, thighes, legs, & feet anſwerable to ẏ ſame, in height not much exceeding the cōmon ſtature. But as nature had garniſhed the outward partes of the man with ſundry graces, ſo had ſhe diſgraced the inner parts with ſundry vices, for euen frō his youth he was giuē to ſenſuall luſt, not caring with what womā he delt, ſo he might ſatiſfie hys liking, not ſparing kinſwoman nor other. Beſide this, he was enuious, ſlanderous, a ſower of iniſter reports, & double in all his dealings, crafty, faire ſpoke, & deceitful: in meaſtancy only cōſtant, ſometime ſet aloft through fortunes fauor, & after caſt downe without hope of recouery. In the French warres he had ſhewed good proufe of his valiancy, but after his cōming into Ireland, his praiſe wōderfully decayed. As by Giral. Cam. it ſhould appere. At length he became a Monk at Canterbury, as in another place is ſpecified.

Giral. ſeemeth to ſpeake enuiouſly of this man.

Now as cōcerning Fitz Aldelm, he was of ſtature ſomwhat bigger thā ẏ mean ſort, of hādſom

The diſcription of Fitz Aldelme.

proportion, a man liberall and pleaſant, but ſubtill and deceytfull ynough, in outwarde countenaunce curteous, friendly, and gentle, but inwardly conteyning more gall than honie, hys wordes were as ſoft as Dyle, but they proued pearcing Dartes: whom this day he honoured, to morow he would ſpoyle, oppreſſing the weake and bearing with the rebell: harde to thoſe that were ouercome, and eaſie to them that helde good agaynſt him, giuen to wine and women, and as he was Courtly, ſo was he couetous.

Fitz Stephans was a man of a large and ſound body, of a right ſeemely countenance, of ſtature ſomwhat exceeding the common ſort, bountifull, liberall, and pleaſant, but giuen to wine and women aboue all meaſure.

Thus much of theſe gentlemen, being accounted among the chiefe of thoſe Captaynes that cõquered Ireland. Of Earle Strangbow hath bene ſayde before, of Curcy and Lacie ye ſhall heare partly hereafter.

But now to returne where we left: The firſt attempt that Fitz Aldelme made to the hynderance of that progenie, was agaynſt the ſonnes of Maurice Fitz Gerald, taking occaſion by the deceaſſe of the ſame Maurice, who departed this life about the Calendes of September.

Maurice Fitz Gerald departeth this life. 1177

After whoſe death Fitz Aldelme toke from his ſonnes the Caſtelles of Guikinlo by a craft, aſſigning to them as it were by exchaunge, the towne of Ferue, where although it ſtoode in the myddeſt of the enimies Countrey, they had buylded a ſtrong Caſtell.

Walter Almain also Aldelmes nephew toke from Reymond ſuch lands as he was ſeyſed of in Dublin dale, and aboute Wexford.

Walter Almaine.

Moreouer, where Aldelme had in commaundement from the king, to reſtore vnto Fitz Stephans the Cantred of Ophelan, being brybed to the contrarie, he did not as he was commaunded, but ſtill remoued thoſe captaines ẏ were knowne to be of any approued valiancie into places farre within the Countrey, and where moſt daunger was ſuſpected: ſpecially he ſought by all wayes & meanes to keepe vnder thoſe of the lynage of Fitz Gerald, deuiſing how to bring them out of credit, and to depriue them of ſuch liuings, rowmthes, and offices as they helde, and had bene gyuen to them in recompence of their good ſeruice.

But whileſt Fitz Aldelme went about only to eſtabliſh himſelfe and his friendes in the beſt and moſt quiet partes of Irelande, his aſſociate that valiant knight John de Curcy victoriouſly conquered the countrey of Ulſter, which hitherto had not bene ſubiect to the king of England.

We reade in Giraldus Cambrenſis, that he fought fiue times with the enimies before he could eſtablish his conqueſt there in any ſuretie, twiſe at Doune, as firſt ſhortly after Candlemaſſe, ſecondly about Mydſommer, where with a ſmall power of men he diſcomfited. xv. thouſand of his enimies.

The third conflict chaunced at Ferly in taking a bootie, where by reaſon of the ſtraytes & narrow paſſages, his people were put to the worſe, ſome ſlaine, and ſome ſcattered and diſperſed here and there among the Woodes, ſo that he had vneth xj. knightes left with him, and yet through hys high valiancie and manhood, with thoſe few he retyred ſtill in keeping off the enimies, paſſing by the ſpace of. xxx. myles a foote (for they had loſt theyr horſes) and at lengthy got home to his caſtell, after he had bene purſued by his enimies for the ſpace of two dayes and two nightes, not once ſuffred to reſt, nor to take any refection in all that time. A thing ſtraunge and worthy to be had in memory.

The fourth battayle which he fought wyth his aduerſaryes, was at Vzcell, where alſo hee loſt many of his men, and the reſidue were put to flight.

The fifth encounter was at the bridge of Ivory, vpon his returne forth of England, in which place he went away with the victorie. And thus in three battayles he had the vpper hande, and in two taſted the chaungeable fortune of warre, although with no leſſe domage redounding to the enimie than to him ſelfe at both thoſe times when he was ſo foyled at their handes.

To eſtabliſh the conqueſt of Ulſter, and other the parties of Irelande before enioyed, Alexander the third of that name Biſhop of Rome, ſent a Cardinall named Viuianus to ſignifie the tytle that king Henrie had to the ſoueraigne gouernement of that lande, with a reſeruation of Peter pens to be payde to the Church of Rome, and beſide to denounce them accurſed that would not yeeld and ſubmit themſelues vnto the ſayd king, but ſhew themſelues rebels contrarie to their dutifull allegiance, who being as they were deſpiſers and breakers of the eccleſiaſticall Canons, yet for a colour to mainteine their vnruly miſdemeanors they had deuiſed to make Churches their barnes, filling the ſame full of their corne & graynes, that the vitaylers and purueyours of the kings campe ſhould not in any wiſe meddle with the ſame, for feare to run into the offence of ſacrilege. Therfore he licenced the kings officers in this behalf, in curteous wiſe & diſcretly to cõmune with ſuch perſõs as made the Church a ſanctuarie for their graine, and in time of neede to take thereof at reaſonable prices. Little good did Fitz Aldelme, and leſſe was he like to do, becauſe he went about to croſſe his Peeres, and was therewith croſſed agayne in his courſe of gouernment, wherevpon Hugh Lacie was made generall lieutenant ouer the whole Ile, vnder whõ Miles Cogan, Philip de Brewſe Fitz Stephans,

John de Curcy conquereth Vlſter.

Peter pens.

Churches made Barnes.

Hugh Lacie made lieutenant of Ireland

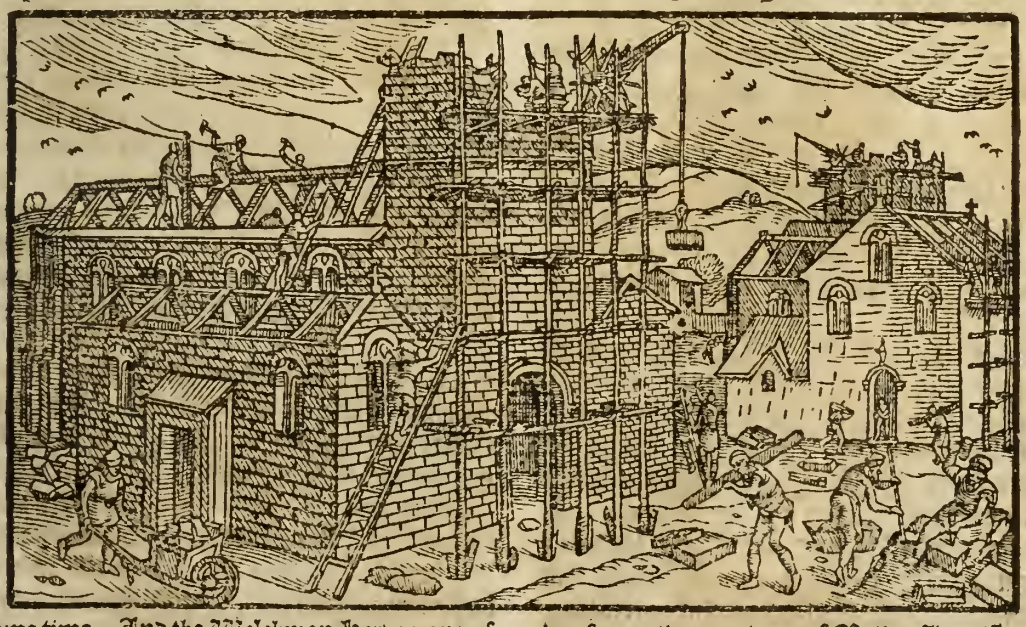
Fitz Stephans, Power and diuers other were appointed to the rule of diuerſe countreys ſeuerally & apart by themſelues. Lacy builded diuerſe caſtels and foꝛtreſſes thꝛough the coũtreys of Leyniſter & Meth. The ſame yeare Miles Cogan & his ſonne in law Rauf Fitz Stephans, the ſonne of Robert Fitz Stephans, were ſlaine betwixt Waterfoꝛde and Liſmoꝛe by a traytoꝛ named Machtire, as they ſat abꝛode in the fieldes togither, ſtaying foꝛ the men of Waterfoꝛde, with whom they ſhoulde haue talked: but the traytoꝛ with other in his cõpanie came behinde them, & with their Axes ſlue them out of hand. They were appoynted to haue lodged with the ſayde Machtire the night following, as with him whome they toke to be theyꝛ aſſured friend. And immediately hereupon, al the countreys of Deſmond and other there about, beganne to reuolte from the Engliſhe obedience after that the ſame had continued in meetely good quiet vnder the gouernment of Robert Fitz Stephans, and Miles Cogan, foꝛ the ſpace of .v. yeres but togither nowe the rebels ſtarting vp in euery coꝛner, ſet all in a bꝛoyle, and dꝛoue Fitz Stephans to that extremitie, that he was glad to kepe him within the Citie of Coꝛg, beſet on eche ſide by his eniuies that lay rounde about him, till hys couſin Reymond came by water from Wexford with .xx. knightes, and diuers other men of armes and archers to his ayde, by whoſe aſſiſtance the enimies were in ſundꝛie conflictes ouerthꝛowne, and partly dꝛiuen out of the Countrey, and partly reduced to their foꝛmer obedience: and ſo that tempeſtuous ſtoꝛme within a while was well calmed, and all things bꝛought into quiet: foꝛ ſhoꝛtly after, Richard Cogan, bꝛother to Miles Cogan, was ſent from the king of Englande to ſucceede in rule of the Countrey in his bꝛothers place. And ſhoꝛtly after there aꝛriued Philip de Barre, the nephew of Fitz Stephans, aſwell to ayde his vncle as to defende his poſſeſſions of Olethan giuen to him by Fitz Stephans, and after iniuriouſly taken frõ Rauke the ſon of Fitz Stephans. The ſame time Giraldus Cambꝛenſis, bꝛother to the ſame Philip de Barre, and nephewe likewyſe to Fitz Stephan, came ouer in companie with his bꝛother to ſuruey the Countrey, the deſcription whereof, with the Hiſtoꝛie, he afterwardes wꝛote, out of whom we haue gathered the moſt part of that whiche we haue wꝛitten here in the beginning of this Iriſhe hiſtoꝛie, the whiche foꝛ want of getting ſight of his booke in time, we haue bene conſtrayned to inſert confuſedly, foꝛ ẏ leyſure hath not ſerued vs to wꝛite out the copy again after we had firſt wꝛittẽ it, as firſt we found it bꝛiefly cõpiled by Campion, who gathering foꝛth bꝛief notes, hath handſomely ioyned them togither, but omitted many things likewiſe foꝛ haſt where otherwiſe that which he hath done in this behalf, deſerueth vndoubtedly ſingular cõmendation. But nowe to the matter. In this ſeaſon diuers caſtels, abbeys, & bꝛidges were ereſted, & builded in Ireland. Foꝛ the Engliſh & Welch nobilitie now ſetled there, ſtudied both to reduce ẏ people to ciuilitie, & likewiſe to beautify the cũtry wt buildings, ſeruing both foꝛ defẽce & cõmoditie.

Richard Cogã.

Philip de Barre.

Giraldus cambrenſis goeth into Ireland.

The Abbey of Roſglas was founded about the



ſame time. And the Welchman Hꝛuey, one of the ſpeciall conquexoꝛs of Irelande, founded the Abbey of Donbꝛothy. And afterwards about this ſeaſon, to wit, in the yeare .1179. he renounced the woꝛld, & became a Monke in Trinity Abbey at Canterbury. In this meane while, Hugh Lacie had fenced the countreys of Meth & Leyniſter wt diuers caſtelles & foꝛtreſſes which he had built, the better to bꝛidle the Iriſh from their rebellious attempts, and with ſuch politike gouernment as he vſed to bꝛing the people in loue with lawes, and to like of reſt and quietneſſe. The ſtate of thoſe

Countreyes whereof he had the rule, was in ſhort time brought to a perfite frame of a well ordered Prouince, for he behaued himſelfe ſo courteouſly among them that ſhewed themſelues ductifull, and hampered the other that woulde abyde no order, ſo as he was both greatly loued and feared, inſomuche at length ſome ſuſpition grewe, leaſt hee woulde haue vſurped a Kingdome to himſelfe, wherevppon John Lacie the Conſtable of Cheſter, and Rycharde de Peche were 1182
ſent ouer into Irelande from king Henrie to take vppon them the gouernment in Hugh Lacyes rowmth, who was commaunded to returne into England to the king.

They arryued in Irelande aboute the latter ende of Aprill, remayning there all the Sommer following: diuerſe Caſtelles were by them builded with the aduiſe of Hugh Lacie before he departed homewardes, as at Fothred, Dualan, at Treſtelder mot, at Collacht, and ſundrye other.

Where as Meiller enioyed the Countrey of Kildare giuen to him by Earle Strangbow, they remoued him from thence into the Countrey of Leys, exchaunging with him in the Kings behalfe to haue the one for the other. And this was done of purpoſe, that he being a warrelyke perſonage, ſhoulde poſſeſſe a Countrey wylde and full of enimies whereby to bring the rebels into ſome conformitie by force, ſith otherwiſe they were not to be tamed.

In the Winter following, the Conſtable of Cheſter and his aſſociate returned into England, and Hugh Lacie was againe appoynted Lorde Lieutenant of Irelande, hauing one of the kings Chaplaynes ioyned with him, named Robert de Shrewſburie, to be as it were an aſſyſtaunt to him, and a witneſſe of all his dealings. Who vpon his returne nowe into Irelande, fell in hand to buylde more Caſtelles in places where he ſawe it expedient, ſo to reſtrayne the attemptes of vnruly perſons, and to defende others from ſuſteyning iniurie.

The deſcription of Hugh Lacie.

This Hugh Lacie was a man right diligent in his buſineſſe, and carefull, and as he was an expert warriour, ſo yet was he not verie fortunate in iourneys nowe and then which he made vpon the enimyes. He was of vyſage browne, blacke eyed and hollowe, flat noſed, with his cheeke on the right ſyde diſfigured, by reaſon hee had beene burnt by chaunce in his youth, ſhort necked, his bodie hearie, but ſtrong ſinewed. And to conclude, of ſtature ſmall, and of ſhape deformed.

After the deceaſſe of his wife, he was noted to be verie diſſolute of lyfe, vſing the companie not of one but of manye Concubines, couetous to heape vppe ryches, and ambicious beyonde meaſure.

But nowe to the Hyſtorie. In the yeare laſt paſt, to witte, 1182. (or as others haue in the yeare. 1180. dyed Laurence Archbiſhop of Dublyn, after whō ſucceeded John Cumyn an Engliſh man, that was brought vp in the Abbey of Eueſham founder of Saint Patrikes in Dublyn, which before that time was a pariſh Church, and by him conuerted into a Colledge, with ſufficient reuenues aſſigned for the maintenaunce of parſons, vicars, clearkes and choriſters.

There hath riſen great contention betwixt this and chriſts Church for antiquitie, wherin doubtleſſe (ſayth our Author) Saint Patrike ought to giue place. They are in deed both written cathedrall Churches, and both reputed the Biſhops Chapiter, in whoſe electiō they ought to come togither in the Church of the Trinitie, commonly called Chriſts Church, which in all recordes hath the preeminēce of place. The party diſturbing this order of election, forfeyteth to the Archebiſhop of Dublyn. 200. lb. The foundation of S. Patrikes was greatly aduaunced by king John.

Contention betwixt Churches for preeminence of antiquitie.

In the yeare. 1183. died king Henrie the ſonne reconciled to his father, but preparing a new war againſt his brother Richard Duke of Aquitaine. And ſhortly after died another of king Henries ſonnes named Geffrey Erle of Brytaine. And ſo were left Richard, and John that was after Erle of Glouceſter, ſurnamed without land, to whome the father conueyed all his intereſt and Lordeſhip of Irelande, and ſent him thither honourably accompanied, being then but. xij. yeares olde, & with him in eſpecial truſt Geraldus Cambrenſis a lerned man, and a diligent ſearcher of antiquities. 1183

The death of king Henrie the ſonne.

Ireland giuen to Iohn the ſonne of king Henrie. 1185

About this yong gentleman were placed ſeruants & Counſellers of three ſundry ſortes, fyrſt Normās great quaffers, ſlouthful perſōs, prowd, gluttons, trayned vp in extorcions & briberie, to whom he moſt leaned. Secondly Engliſh men, that went ouer with him, bad ynough and vnſkilfull. Thirdly the Engliſhe men whiche hee founde in the land, whom being beſt worthy and moſte forwarde in all good ſeruice, hee leaſt regarded.

Counſellers about the lord Iohn the kings ſonne.

Hereof ſprung factions and diſdaine, ſo that the knightes whiche were moſte valiant and readieſt to doe their duetyes, were greatly diſcouraged, and the enimies in hope highly recomforted.

With the bruite of his arriual at Waterforde, the kings of Thomond, Deſmōd, and Connagh, put themſelues in order after the braueſt maner they could to meete him, and to ſubmitte theyr Countreys to his grace. Before they came the Iriſh franklins with rich preſents (and as they are verie kynde hearted where they are willing to ſhew obedience) made vnto the childe their ſouereine Lorde, the moſt ioy and gladneſſe that might bee, and though rudely, yet louingly, and

after

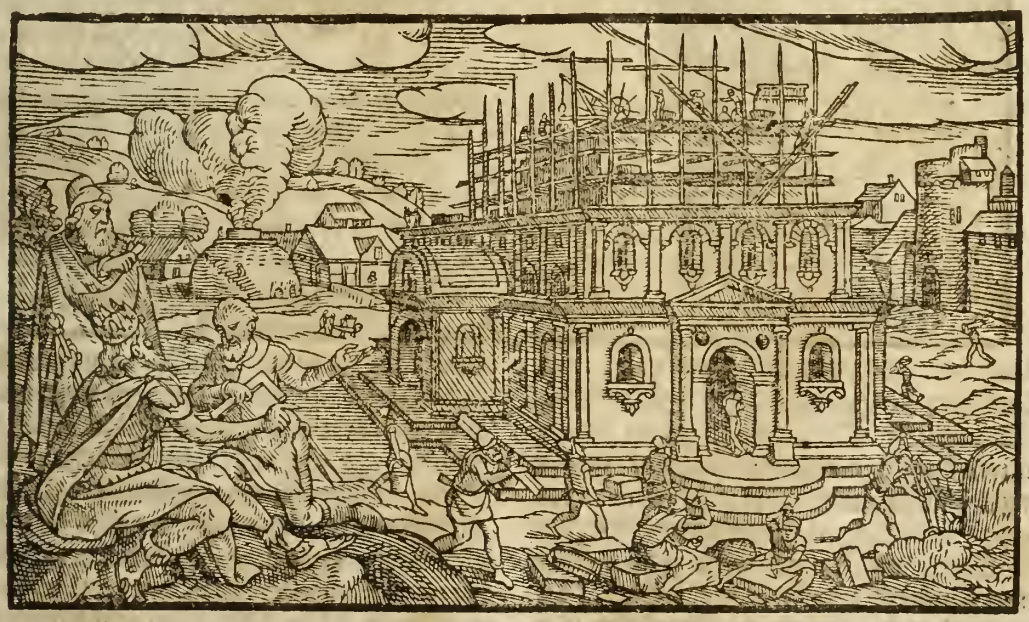
after the vſage of their countrey offered to kiſſe him after ſuch a friendly familiaritie as they were accuſtomed to ſhewe towardes their Princes at home. Two Normans that were of the garde pikethankes, and diſdaynefull clawbackes ſhoke and put backe the Clownes very roughly, tearing them by their clibbe heades and beardes churliſhly and vnmannerly, thruſting them out of preſence, whome they ſhoulde rather haue borne with, and curteouſly inſtructed. The Iriſhmen thus miſuſed, went againſt the forenamed kings, ſhewed the rebukes and villanies done to them in recompence of their humbleneſſe and meeke demeanor, declaring playnely, that their Lorde to whome they were going to do honor, was but a boy, peeuiſh and inſolente, gouerned by a ſorte of yong flattering bribers, that ſith to them whyche were buxome and tractable, ſuch deſpite and diſhonor (for that tearme they vſed, hauing borrowed it of the Spanyardes) little good mighte the ſtates of Irelande looke for in continuance, when the Engliſh once had yoked thē and pawed them in their clouches. This reporte lightly alienated the mindes of thoſe princes, not yet very reſolute, and turned them with greate othes and leagues concluded among them ſelues, and cauſed alſo the mightieſt Captaynes elſewhere to ſticke together, couenanting not to giue ouer whileſt their liues laſted for any manner earthly thing, but manfully to ſtande in defence of their auncient liberties. Immediately hereupō, ſeditious ſturres, mutinies, and commotions were reyſed in ſundry partes, ſo that the yong gentleman and hys company were glad to referre the quieting of ſuch broyles vnto Lacie, Brews, Curcy, Fitz Gerald and others, he himſelfe returned backe into England the ſame yeere he came, leaning the Realme by a great deale in worſe plight than he found it. Commotions reyſed.

The Lorde Iohn returneth into Englande.

Thus farre Cambrenſis, and now for that which followeth: Our Authour (as he himſelfe writeth) vſed ſuche notes as were written by one Philip Flatſburie, out of a certayne nameleſſe authour, from this place vnto the yeere 1370. and wee hauing none other helpe beſide (except only Henry of Marlebourrow,) do ſet downe that whiche wee finde in our oftmentioned authour, and in ẏ ſame Marleburgh in all the whole diſcourſe that followeth, excepte in ſome certayne particuler places, where we ſhew from whence we haue drawē that whiche we write as occaſion ſerueth. To proceede then with the matter where we left, Lacie the rather to meete with ſuche hurlyburlies as were like to put the ſtate of the countrey in danger if the ſame were not the ſoner brought to quiet, erected and built a number of Caſtels in places conuenient, well and ſufficiently garniſhed with men munitions and vitayles, as one at Derwath, where diuers of the Iriſh prayed to be

Giraldus Cambrenſis endeth his Chronicle.

A Caſtel buile at Derwath.



ſet a worke for wages.

Lacie came ſundry tymes thither to further the worke, full glad to ſee them fall in vre with any ſuch exerciſe wherein might they once begin to haue a delight, and taſt the ſweeteneſſe of a true mans life, he thought it no ſmall token of reformation: for whiche cauſe hee viſited them the oftner, and merily would commaund his gentlemen (to giue the labourers example) to take theyr tooles in hande, and to worke a ſeaſon, whyle the poore ſoules looking on might reſt them. But this paſtime grewe to a tragicall end: for on a time as each man was buſily occupied, ſome lading, ſome heauing, ſome plaſtring, ſome grauing, the generall alſo himſelfe digging with a pickaxe, a deſperate villayne among them, whoſe tole the noble man vſed, eſpying both his hands occupyed, and his body enclining downewards, ſtill as he ſtroke watched when hee ſo ſtouped, and with an axe cleft his head in ſunder, little eſteeming the tor-

1186

Lacy is trayterouſly ſayne

nients that for this trayterous acte enſued. This Lacie was reputed to be the conqueror of Meth, for that hee was the firſte that broughte it to any due order of obedience to the Engliſhe power. His body the two Archbiſhops, Iohn of Dublin, and Mathew of Caſſeill buried in the Monaſterie of Beeſtie, and his head in Sainte Thomas Abbey at Dublin.

By occaſion of this murder committed on the perſon of Hugh Lacie, Iohn Curcy and Hugh Lacie the yonger, with their aſſiſtants, did ſtraight execution vpon the Rebels, and preuenting euery miſchiefe ere it fell, ſtayed the Realm from vproares. Thus they knitting themſelues togither in friendſhip, continued in wealth and honor vntill the firſt yeere of King Iohns raigne, who ſucceeding his brother King Richard, tooke his nephew Arthur, ſonne to his brother Geffrey Earle of Britaine, and diſpatched him, ſome ſayde with his owne handes, becauſe he knew what clayme he made to the Crowne, as diſcended of the elder brother, and therefore not only the French King, but alſo certayne Lordes of Englande and Irelande fauored his title, and when they vnderſtoode that he was made away, they tooke it in maruellous euil part. And Curcy either of zeale to the truth, or parcialitie, abhorring ſuch barbarous crueltie, whereof al mens eares were full, ſpake bloudy words againſt K. Iohn, whiche his lurking aduerſaries (ẏ lay ready to vndermine him) caught by ẏ end, & vſed ẏ ſame as a meane to lift him out of credit, which they did not only bring to paſſe, but alſo procured a commiſſion to attach his body, & to ſend him ouer into England. Erle Curcy miſtruſting his part, & by like getting ſome inckling of their drift, kepte himſelfe alowe, till Hugh Lacy lorde Iuſtice was fayne to leuie an army & to inuade Vlſter, from whence he was oftētimes put backe: whervpō he proclaimed Curcy traytor & hired ſundry gētlemē with promiſe of great recōpence, to bring him in, eyther quicke or dead. They fought once at Doune, in whiche battell,

Curcy and Hugh Lacy the yonger keepe the Realme in quiet. 1199

King Iohn ſlayeth his nephew Arthur.

Curcy vttereth diſpleaſant words againſt King Iohn.

He is accuſed.

He is proclaymed traytor.



there dyed no ſmall number on both partes, but Curcy gote the vpper hand, and ſo was the Lord Iuſtice foyled at Curcies hands, but yet ſo long hee continued in practiſing to haue him, that at length Curcies owne Captaynes were inueyghed to betray their maiſter, inſomuche, ẏ vppon good Friday, whileſt the Earle out of his armour viſited barefooted certayne Religious houſes for deuotion ſake, they leyde for him, tooke him as a Rebell, and ſhipped him ouer into Englande the next way, where hee was adiudged to perpetuall priſon. One Saintleger addeth in his collections, as Campion ſaith, that Lacie payed the traytors their money, and forthwith there vppon hanged them.

He is taken.

Tranſlation of Prebendaries to Mōks.

This Curcy tranſlated the Church and Prebendaries of the Trinitie in Doune, to an Abbey of blacke Monkes brought thither from Cheſter, & cauſed the ſame to be conſecrated vnto S. Patrick: for which alteration, taking the name from God to a creature, he deemed himſelfe worthily puniſhed. Not long after (as ſay the Iriſh) certain French knightes came to king Iohns court, and one among them required the combate for triall of the right to the Duchie of Normandy. It was not thought expedient to iooperd the title vpō one mans lucke, yet the chalenge they determined to anſwer. Some friende put them in minde of the Erle impriſoned, a warriour of notable courage, and in pitch of body like a Giant. K. Iohn demāded Curcy, whether he could be content to fighte in his quarrel, not for thee ſaid ẏ Erle, whoſe perſon I eſteeme vnworthy ẏ aduēture of my bloud, but for ẏ crowne and dignitie of the Realme, in which many a good man liueth againſt thy will, I ſhall be content to hazard my life.

A chalenge for a combate made by certayne French Knightes.

Curcies anſwer to king Iohn.

He taketh vpon him to defende the chalenge.

Theſe

Theſe woꝛdes were not conſtrued in the woꝛſt part as pꝛoceeding from an offended mind of him that was therein eſteemed, moꝛe playne thā wiſe. Therefoꝛe being cheriſhed and muche made of, he was fedde ſo wōderfully (nowe he came to large allowaunce in dyet after harde keeping) that the Frenche chalenger toke him foꝛ a Monſter, and fearing to deale with him, priuily ſtale away into Spayne. It is further repoꝛted, that the French King, being deſirous to ſee Curcy, requeſted K. John that he might come beſoꝛe them, and ſhewe of what ſtrength hee was by ſtriking a blowe at an helmet. Herevpon foꝛth he was bꝛoughte, and pꝛeſented beſoꝛe the Kings, where was an Helmet ſet vpon a blocke. Curcy taking a ſwoꝛde in his hande, and with a ſterne frowning countenance caſt vpon the Kings, gaue ſuch a ſtroke to the helmet, that cleauing it in ſunder, the ſwoꝛde ſticked ſo faſt in the logge, that no mā there was able to plucke it foꝛthe, excepte Curcy him ſelfe. When he therefoꝛe had plucked foꝛth the ſwoꝛd, the Kings aſked him what he meant to looke vpon them with ſuch a grimme and froward cōuntenance beſoꝛe he gaue the blowe to the helmet; he aunſwered, that if he had miſſed in his ſtroke, he would haue killed all the whole company, as well the Kings as other. Then was he releaſed of bondes, and croſſing the Seas towards Ireland whether he was boune, was fifteene times beaten backe agayne to the Engliſhe ſhoꝛe: and going into France to change the coaſt dyed there. This Curcy was whyte of colour, mightie of limmes, with large bones and ſtrong of ſynewes, tall and bꝛoade in pꝛopoꝛtion of body, ſo as hys ſtrength was thought to exceede, of boldneſſe incomparable, and a warriour euen from his youth, the foꝛmoſt in the front of euery battell where hee came, and euer ready to hazard himſelfe in place of moſt daunger, ſo foꝛeward in fight, that oftentimes foꝛgetting the office of a Captaine, he toke in hande the part of a Souldiour, pꝛeſſing foꝛthe with the foꝛmoſt, ſo that with his ouer raſh violence, and deſire of victoꝛy, he might ſeeme to put all in daunger. But although he was thus haſtie and hote in the field againſt his enimies, yet was hee in conuerſation modeſt and ſober, and very religious, hauing Churchmen in great reuerence, aſcribing all to the goodneſſe of God, when he had atchieued any pꝛayſeworthy enterpꝛiſe, yeelding thankes to his diuine Maieſtie accoꝛdingly. But as ſeldome times any one man is founde perfecte in all things, ſo theſe vertues were ſpotted with ſome vices, namely too much nigardneſſe in ſparing, and inconſtancie. He maried the daughter of Godꝛed King of Man, and after many conflicts and battayles had againſt the Iriſhe, he conquered (as beſoꝛe ye haue heard) the countrey of Vlſter, and building diuers ſtrong Caſtels therein, he eſtabliſhed the ſame vnder his quiet rule, and gouernement, till he and Lacy fell out as beſoꝛe is expꝛeſſed.

After Curcies deceaſſe, bicauſe he left no heires, the Earledome of Vlſter was giuen vnto Hugh Lacie, in recompence of his good ſeruice. There was one of the Curcies remayning in Irelande, that was Lorde of Rathemy and Kilbarrocke, whome (as an eſpiall of all their pꝛactiſes, and informer thereof to the King Walter and Hugh, the ſonnes of Hugh Lacy ſlew, by reaſon wherof, great trouble and diſquietneſſe enſued, thoſe Lacies bearing themſelues (nowe after the deceaſſe of their father) foꝛ gouernoꝛs out of checke. To ſet the Realme in quiet, King John was fayne to paſſe thither himſelfe in perſon, with a mayne army, baniſhed the Lacies, ſubdued the reſidue of the countrey, yet not conquered, toke pledges, puniſhed malefactoꝛs, eſtabliſhed the execution of Engliſh lawes, coyned money of like valew currant ſterling in both Realmes.

king Iohn went into Ireland.

See more here of in England.



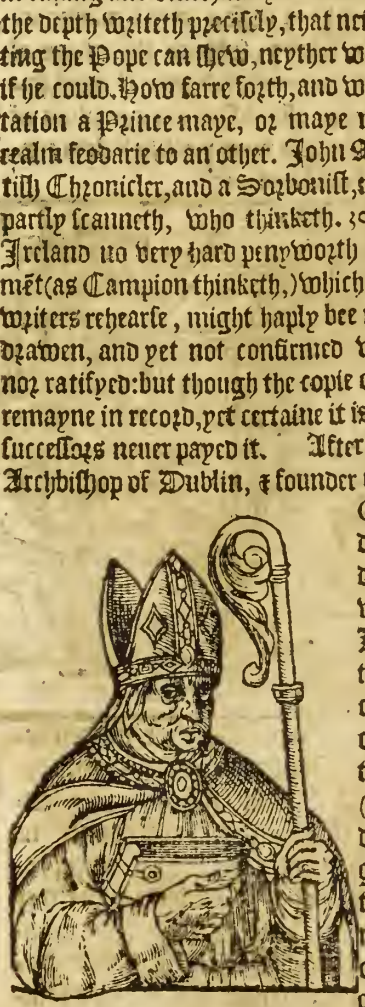
The two Lacies repenting their miſdemeanoꝛs, fledde into Fraunce diſguiſed in poꝛe apparell, and ſerued there in an Abbey as gardiners, vntill the Abbot by their countenaunce and behauiour began to geſſe their eſtates, and apposed them ſo farre, that they diſcloſed what they were, beſeeching the Abbot to keepe their counſels, who commending their repentant humblenеſſe, aduiſed thē yet to make ſute foꝛ their pꝛinces fauoꝛ, if it might be hadde, pꝛomiſing to doe what he could in the matter, and ſo toke vppon him to bee a ſutoꝛ foꝛ them vnto the King, that was his godcept and well acquainted with him. He trauelled ſo earneſtly herein, that at length he obteyned their pardons. But yet they were fined; Walter at four thouſand, and Hugh at fiue and twentie hundꝛed markes, and herevpon, Walter was reſtoꝛed vnto ẏ Lordſhip of Meth, & Hugh, to the Earledome of Vlſter.

They fled into Fraunce.

They are pardoned and put to their fynes.

King John appoynted his Lieutenauntes in Irelande, and returning home, ſubdued ẏ Welchmen,

men, and lone after, with Pandulfus the Legate of Pope Innocentius the thirde, who came to releasse hym of the censure, wherein hee stoode excommunicate, to whome as to the Popes Legate he made a personal surrēder of both Realms in way of submission, and after hee was once assoyled, he receyued them againe. Some adde, that he gaue away his kingdomes to ỳ Sea of Rome for him and his successors, recognising to holde the same of the Popes in fee, paying yeerely therefore one thousand markes, as seuen hundred for England, and three hundred for Ireland. Blondus saith *Centum pro vtroque auri marchias.* Sir Thomas More (as Campion saith) a man both in calling and office, likely to sound the matter to the depth writeth precisely, that neither such writing the Pope can shew, neyther were it effectuall if he could. How farre forth, and with what limitation a Prince maye, or maye not addict hys realm feodarie to an other. John Maior a Scottish Chronicler, and a Sorbonist, not vnlearned, partly scanneth, who thinketh. 300. markes for Ireland no very hard peny worth? The instrumēt (as Campion thinketh,) which our Englishe writers rehearse, might haply bee mocioned and drawen, and yet not confirmed with any seale nor ratifyed: but though the copie of this writing remayne in record, yet certaine it is, King Johns successors neuer payed it. After John Comin Archbishop of Dublin, & founder of S. Patricks Church, succeeded Henry Loūdoris in ỳ See, who builded ỳ Kings Castell there, being lord chiefe Justice of Ireland, him they niknamed (as the Irishe doe commonly giue additions to their gouernors in respecte of some fact or quality) Scorch Willein, that is, burne bill, bycause hee required to perse the writings of his tenantes, colorably pretending to learne the kinde of eache mans seuerall tenure, and brent the same before their faces, causing them eyther to renue their takings, or to hold at will.



An hundred markes of gold. Blondus.

John Bale in his Apologie against vowes.

In the yeere. 1216. King John departed thys life. In his dayes, diuers monasteries were builte in Ireland as (beside those that before are mentioned) in the fourth yeere of his raigne, the Abbey of Dowish was founded, in the sixt the Abbey of Wetherham in ỳ countie of Limerike, by Theobald le Butler Lorde of Cactacky, and in the twelfth yeere, Richard Dute builded the Monasterie of Grenard. In the dayes of Henry ỳ thirde that succeeded his father K. John, great warres were reysed in Ireland betwixt Hugh Lacy and William Marshal, so that the countrey of Meth was greeuously afflicted.

Henry the third.

Warres betwixt Lacy and Marshall.

In the yeere. 1228. after the death of Loundoris Archbishop of Dublin, that was Lord chiefe Justice, King Henry the third vnderstanding the good seruice done by the Giraldines euer sith their first comming into Irelande, though by wrong reportes the same had bin to their preiudice for a time sinisterly misconstrued, so as the Gentlemē had still bin kept backe, and not rewarded according to their good desertes: The King nowe enformed of the troth, made Morice Fitz Geralde, the sonne of Morice aforesaid, Lord chiefe iustice of Irland. Lucas succeeded Loundoris in the Archbishops See, and was cōsecrated in the yeere 1230.

1228

The Geraldines.

Morice Fitz Geralde.

Lucas Archbishop.

Richarde Marshall was taken prisoner in battell at Kildare. Some write, ỳ he was wounded there, and within fewe dayes after died of the hurt at Kilkenny, and was buried there in the quier of the Churche of the Friars Preachers, neere to the place where his brother William was enterred, who departed this life in the yeere 1231.

1230

1234

In the yeere. 1241. Walter Lacy Lorde of Meth departed this life in Englande, he left two daughters behinde hym that were hys heires, Margaret maried to the Lord Verdon, and Mathild wife to Geffrey Genneuille. King Henry in the. xxvj. yeere of his raigne, gaue to Edward his eldest sonne, Gascoigne, Irelande, and the county of Chester.

1241

The Lorde Verdon.

Geffrey Geneuille.

1252

In the yeere following, Hugh Lacy Earle of Ulster departed this life, & was buried at Cragfergus, in the Church of the Friers Minors, leauing a daughter behind him, that was his heire, whome Walter de Burgh or Bourke married, and in right of hir, was created Earle of Ulster, as after shall appeare.

1253

Morice Fitz Gerald Lord Justice of Ireland, being requested by this Prince to come and assist him with a power of men againste the Welche Rebels, left a sufficiente garrison of meane in the Castell of Scligath, which he had lately builded, and then came ouer with Phelin Ochonher, and a lusty bande of Souldiers, and meeting the Prince at Chepstow, behaued themselues so valiantly, that returning with victory, they greatly encreased the fauoure of the King and Prince towardes them: and vppon theyr returne into Irelande, they ioyned with Cormacke Mack Dermote Mack Rori, and made a notable iourney againste Odonil the Irishe enimie; that

The Castell of Scligath.

Odonil.

When

when Lacie was once dead, inuaded and ſore annoyed the Kings ſubiectes of Ulſter. Odonil being vanquiſhed, the Lord Juſtice forced pledges and tribute of Oneale to keepe the Kings peace, and diuers other exployctes prayſeworthy dyd he, during the time of his gouernement, as Flatſberie hath gathered in his notes, for the Lorde Gerald, Fitz Gerald, Earle of Kildare in the yeere 1517. After Mozice, Fitz Gerald ſucceeded in office of Lord Juſtice, John Fitz Geffrey Knight, and after him Alayne de la Touch, whome the Earle of Surrey Fitz Warren ſlew. And after de la Touch, in the yeere. 1258. being the. 42. of Henry the third his raigne, was Stephan de lõg Eſpee ſent to ſupply that rome, who ſlew Oneil with. 352. of his men in the ſtreetes of Doune, & ſhortly after departed this life, then Willia Dene was made Lorde Juſtice, & Greene Caſtell was deſtroyed. Alſo Mac Carey played the Deuill in Deſmonde.

In the yeere. 1261. Sir William Dene Lord Juſtice of Irelande deceaſſed, and Sir Richarde Rochell (or Capell as ſome copies haue) was ſent to be Lord Juſtice after him, who greatly enuyed the familie of the Giraldines, during his gouernemente, the Lorde John Fitz Thomas, and the Lord Mozice his ſonne were ſlayne.

In the yere. 1264. Walter de burgh was made Earle of Ulſter, and Mozice Fitz Mozice toke ẏ Lord Juſtice of Irelãd togither with Theobald Butler, Miles Cogan, and diuers other greate Lordes at Triſſildermot, on S. Nicholas day. And ſo was Irelande full of warres, betwixt the Burghes and Giraldines.

In the yeere. 1266. there chanced an Earthquake in Ireland.

In the yeere following, King Henry toke vp the variance that was in Ireland betwixt ẏ parties, and diſcharging Dene, appoynted Dauid Barry Lord Juſtice in his place, who tamed the inſolent dealings of Mozice Fitz Mozice, couſin Germane to Fitz Gerald.

In the yeere. 1268. Conhur Obzen was ſlaine by Dermote Mack Monerd, and Mozice Fitz Gerald Earle of Deſmond, was drowned in the Sea, betwixt Wales and Ireland. And Roberte Uffort was ſente ouer to remayne Lord Juſtice of Ireland, and Barry was diſcharged, who cõtinued till the yeere. 1269. and then was Richarde de Exeter made Lord Juſtice. And in the yeere following, was the Lorde James Audley made Lord Juſtice. Richard Uerdon, and John Uerdon were ſlayne, and Fulke Archbiſhop of Dublin deceaſſed. Alſo the Caſtels of Aldleck, Roſcoman, and Scheligagh, were deſtroyed. The ſame yeere was a greate dearth and mortalitie in Irelande.

In the yere. 1272. the Lorde James Audley was ſlayne by a fal from his horſe in Thomoũd, and then was Mozice Fitz Mozice made Lorde Juſtice of Irelande, and the Caſtell of Randon was deſtroyed. Randon.

In the yeere. 1272. King Henry the thirde departed this life, and the Lorde Walter Genuille lately returned home from his iourney into the holy land, was ſent into Ireland, and made Lord Juſtice there. The deceſſe of king Henry the thirde. 1272 Walter Genuille.

In the yeere. 1275. the Caſtell of Roſcoman was eſtſoones repaired and fortifyed. 1275

1276

In the yeere. 1276. there was an ouerthrowe giuen at Glenbury, where William Fitz Roger, Prior of the Knightes Hoſpitallers, & many other with him, were taken priſoners, and a greate number of other were ſlayne. An ouerthrow at Glenburry.

The ſame yere, John de Uerdon departed this world, and Thomas de Clare, married ẏ daughter of Mozice Fitz Mozice.

In the yeere following, Robert Uffort was appointed to ſupply ẏ romth of Genuille, being called home, and ſo was this Uffort the ſeconde time ordeyned Lord Juſtice of Irelande. He hauing occaſion to paſſe into Englande, made hys ſubſtitute Fulborne Biſhop of Waterford til his returne, and then reſumed the gouernemente into his owne handes agayne.

In the yeere. 1277. Thomas de Clare ſlewe Obzenroth King of Tholethmound, and yet after this, the Iriſh cloſed him vp in Slewbant, togither with Maurice Fitz Maurice, ſo that they gaue hoſtages to eſcape, and the Caſtell of Roſcoman was wonne. 1277

In the yeere next enſuing, was John de Derlington cõſecrated Archbiſhop of Dublin. There was alſo a Councell holden at Grenok, & Macke Dermot ſlewe Cathgur O Conthir King of Connagh. 1278

In the yeere. 1279. Robert Uffort vpon occaſion of buſineſſe, came ouer into Englande, and left Friar Fulborne Biſhoppe of Waterforde to ſupply his romth, and Rauſe Piphard, and O Haulan chaſed Oneil in a battell.

In the yeere. 1280. Roberte Uffort came the third time to occupie the romth of Lorde chiefe Juſtice in Irelande, reſuming that romth into his hands againe.

In the yeere following, the Biſhop of Waterford was eſtabliſhed by the King of Englande Lord Juſtice of Irelande. Adam Cuſack ẏ younger ſlewe William Barret, and many other in Connagh. And in the nexte yeere to witte. 1282. Penqueit ſlew Murertagh, and his brother Arte Mac Murch at Athlone. Alſo the Lorde James de Bzimmingham, and Peers de Tupt departed this life. Alſo the Archbiſhop Derlington deceaſſed. And about the ſame time, the Citie of Dublin was defaced by fire, & the Steeple of Chriſts 1281

Church

Church vtterly deſtroyed. The Citizens before they wente about to repaire their owne priuate buildings, agreed togither to make a collection, for repayring the ruines of that auntient building firſt begun by the Danes, and continued by Citrius Prince of Dublin at the inſtaunce of Donate ſometime Biſhop of that Citie, and dedicated to the bleſſed Trinitie. At lengthe Strangbow Erle of Pembroke, Fitz Stephans, and Laurẽce, that for his vertue was called S. Laurẽce Archbiſhop of Dublin, and his foure ſucceſſors, John of Eueſham, Henry Seorchbill, and Lucas, and laſt of all, John de Saint Paule finiſhed it. This notable building, ſith the time that it was thus defaced by fire, hath bin beautifyed in diuers ſorts by many zealous Citizens. Strangbowes tombe

Chriſt Church repaired.

Donat Biſhop of Dublin.

defaced, by the fall of the roſe of the Church, Sir Henry Sidney, when he was Lord Deputy, reſtored, and likewiſe did coſt vpon the Earle of Kildares Chappell for an ornament to the quier, ouer the which he left alſo a monumente of Captayne Randolfe, late Coronell of the Engliſhe bandes of footemen in Vlſter that dyed there valiantly, fighting in his Princes ſeruice as after ſhall appeare.

Strangbowes tombe reſtored by Henry Sidney.

Captayne Randol.

In the yeere. 1283. Furmund, Chancellor of Ireland, and Richarde Tute departed this life, and Friar Stephan Fulborne was made Lorde Juſtice of Irelande.

In the yeere. 1285. the Lorde Theobald butler fled from Dublin, and died ſhortly after, and the lord Theobald Verdon loſt his men and horſ- 1285



les as he went towards Oſſali, and the next daye Gerald Fitz Maurice was taken, and John Sãfoord was conſecrated Archbiſhop of Dublin.

John Samford conſecrated Archbiſhop of Dublin.

Moreouer at Rathode, the Lord Geffrey Gẽuille fled, and ſir Gerard Doget, and Rauſe Petit were ſlayne, with a great number of other.

An ouerthrow at Rothode.

The Norwagh & Ardſcoll with other townes and billages were brente by Philip Stanton the xbj. day of Nouember, in the yeere. 1286. Alſo Calwagh was taken at Kildare.

Norwagh and Ardſcol brent.

1286

In the yeere. 1287. diuers nobles in Irelande deceaſſed, as Richard Deceter, Gerald Fitz Morice, Thomas de Clare, Richard Taffy, and Nicolas Teling Knightes.

The yeere next enſuing, deceaſſed Friar Fulborne Lord Juſtice of Ireland, and John Sãfort Archbiſhop of Dublin, was aduaunced to ỹ rowth of Lorde Juſtice. Alſo Richard Burgh Erle of Vlſter beſieged Theobald Verdon in the Caſtell of Athlone, and came with a great power vnto Trim, by the worſking of Walter Lacie.

1288

Samfort Archbiſhop of Dublin Lorde Iuſtice.

In the yeere. 1290. was the chaſe or diſcomfiture of Oſſali, and diuers Engliſhmen ſlayne.

1290

Alſo Mack Coghlan ſlewe O Molaghelin King of Meth, and William Burgh was diſcõfited at Deluin by Mac Coghlan.

The ſame yeere. 1290. William Veſcy was made Lord Juſtice of Irelande, and entred into that office on Saint Martins daye. Vnto thys Juſtice, Edward Ballioll King of Scotland did homage for an Erledome which he helde in Ireland, in like manner as he did to king Edwarde for the Crowne of Scotland.

William Veſcy Lorde Iuſtice.

In the yere. 1292. a fiftenth was graunted to the King, of all the temporall goodes in Ireland, whileſt Veſcy was as yet Lord Juſtice.

This Veſcy was a ſterne manne and full of courage, he called John Earle of Kildare before him, charging him with riots foule & miſdemeanors, for that he ranged abroade, and ſoughte reuenge vpon priuate diſpleaſures out of all order, and not for any aduauncemente of the publike wealth or ſeruice of his ſouereigne.

1294

The Earle as impaciente to heare himſelfe touched as the Juſtice to ſuffer euill doing, aunſwered thus, By your honor and mine my Lord,

The Earle of Kildare.

and

and by King Edwardes hand (for that was accompted no ſmall oth in thoſe dayes among the Iriſh) you would if you durſt appech me in plain tearmes of treaſon or felonie: for where I haue the title, & you the fleece of Kildare, I wote well how great an eye ſore I am in your ſight, ſo that if I might be handſomly truſſed vp for a fellone, then might my maſter youre ſonne become a Gentleman: a Gentleman quoth the Juſtice, thou proude Erle, I tell thee, the Uelcies were Gentlemen before Kildare was an Earledome, & before that Welch bankrupt thy couſin, fethered hys neſt in Leynſter. But ſeeing thou dareſt me, I will ſurely breake thy hart, and therewith he called the Earle a notorious theefe and a murderer. Then followed facing and bracing among the Souldiers, with high words, and terrible ſwearing on both ſides, vntil either parte appeaſed his owne.

The Lord Juſtice ſhortly after, leauing his deputie William Hay, toke the ſea, and haſted ouer to ỳ King. The Earle immediatly followed, and as heynouſly as the Lorde Juſtice accuſed him of felony, Kildare no leſſe appealed hym of treaſon. For triall hereof, ỳ Erle asked ỳ cõbate, & Uelcy refuſed not: but yet when the liſtes were prouided, Uelcy was ſlipt away into Fraunce, & ſo diſenherited of all his lãds in ỳ countie of Kildare, which wer beſtowed vpõ ỳ Erle & his heires for euer. The Erle waxing loftie of mind in ſuch proſperous ſucceſſe, ſquared with diuers nobles, Engliſh & Iriſh of ỳ land. The ſame yeere dyed John Samford Archb. of Dublin, & John Fitz Thomas Earle of Kildare, & John de la Mare tooke priſoners, Richard Burgh Erle of Ulſter, & William Burgh within ỳ countrey of Meth, & the Caſtell of Kildare was taken, and all ỳ cõ-

1294

The death of the Archbiſhop Samford. The Earle of Ulſter taken priſoner.



trey walked by the Engliſh on the one ſide, and the Iriſh on the other, and Calwagh brent al the Rolles and tailes concerning the recordes and accomptes of that countie. Greate dearth and death raigned in Ireland this yeere, and the two yeeres nexte enſuing. The Earle of Kildare deteyned the Earle of Ulſter priſoner, vntill by authoritie of a Parliamente holden at Kilkenny, he was deliuered out of the Caſtell of Ley, for hys two ſonnes, and for the inuaſion which the Erle of Kildare had made into Meth, and other hys vnruly and miſordred partes was diſſeyſed of the Caſtell of Sligagh, and of all his lands in Connagh.

William Dodingſils being this yere made Lord Juſtice of Ireland, after Uelcy dyed, in the yeere next following, that is. 1295. and. 23. of King Edwarde the firſte. After hym ſucceeded in that rowth the Lorde Thomas Fitz Maurice. In the yeere. 1296. Friar William de Bothum was conſecrated Archbiſhop of Dublin.

In the yeere. 1298. and. 26. of Edwarde the firſt, the Lorde Thomas Fitz Maurice departed this life, and an agreement was made, betwixte the Earle of Ulſter, and the Lorde John Fitz Thomas, Earle of Kildare, by John Wogan that was ordeyned Lorde Juſtice of Irelande.

Record Turris.

In the yeere. 1299. William Archbiſhop of Dublin departed thys life, and Richarde de Fringis was conſecrated Archbiſhop in hys place. The King wente vnto John Wogan Lorde Juſtice, commaunding hym to gyue commonaunce vnto the nobles of Irelande, to prepare themſelues with Horſe and armour to come in theyr beſt aray, for the warre, to ſerue hym againſte the Scottes: and withall, wrote vnto the ſame Nobles, as to Richarde de Burgh Earle of Ulſter, Geffrey de Genuill, John Fitz Thomas, Thomas Fitz Maurice, Theobalde Lorde Butler, Theobalde Lorde Verdon, Piers Lorde Bzimingham of Thetemoy, Euſtace Lorde Power, Hugh Lorde Purcel, John de Cogan, John de Barry, William de Barry, Walter de Laſtice, Richarde de Exeter, John Pipard, Walter Lenfante, John of Oxforde, Adam de Stantoun, Symon de

1299

Phepde,

Pheybe, William Cadell, John de Vale, Maurice de Carre, George de la Roche, Maurice de Rochford, and Maurice Fitz Thomas de Kerto, commaunding them to bee with him at Withwelaun the firſt of March. Such a precept I remember I haue redde, regiſtred in a cloſe rolle among ẏ recordes of the Tower, but where Marleburrow ſayeth, that the ſayde John Wogan Lord Juſtice of Irelād, and the Lord John Fitz Thomas, with many other, came to King Edward into Scotland in the. xxix. yeare of Kyng Edwards raigne, Campion noteth it to be in the yeare. 1299. which fell in the. xxvij. of the raigne of King Edward, and if my remembrance fayle me not, the cloſe rolle aforementioned beareth date of the. xxiiij. yere of King Edwards raygne: all which notes may bee true, for it is very lyke, that in thoſe warres againſt the Scottes, ẏ King ſent diuers times to the Iriſh Lordes to come to ſerue him, as it behoued them to do by theyr tenures: and not only he ſent into Ireland to haue the ſeruices of men, but alſo for prouiſion of victayles, as in cloſe rolles I remember I haue alſo ſeene recorded of the. xxvij. and. xxx. yeere of ẏ ſayd King Edward the firſt his raigne. For this we finde in a certaine abſtract of the Iriſh Chronicles, whiche ſhoulde ſeeme to be collected out of

Chr. Pembrig.

Flatſburie, whome Campion ſo much followed, that in the yeere. 1301. the Lorde John Wogan Lorde Juſtice, John Fitz Thomas, Peter Bermingham, and diuers other went into Scotland in ayde of King Edward, in whiche yeere alſo a great part of ẏ Citie of Dublin, with the Church of Saint Werburgh was brente in the nighte of the feaſt daye of Saincte Colme. Alſo the Lorde Genuille married the daughter of John de Mortfert, and the Lorde John Mortimer married the daughter and heire of Peter Genuille, alſo the Lord Theobald de Verdon, married the daughter of the Lorde Roger Mortimer. The ſame yeere in the winter ſeaſon, the Iriſhe of Leynſter reyſed warre againſt ẏ townes of Wicklow, and Rathdon, doing muche hurte by brenning in the countrey all about, but they were chaſtiſed for their wickednelle, loſing the moſt part of their prouiſion and Cattell, and in the Lent ſeaſon the more parte of them had bin vtterly deſtroyed, if diſcorde and variance had not riſen among the Engliſhmen to the impeachmente of their purpoſed enterpriſes.

1301

Iriſhmen inuade Scotland

In harueſt, there were three hundred theeues ſlayne by the Phelanes.

Alſo Walter Powir walked a greate parte of Monſter, brenning many ſeruices and places in

Walter Power.



that countrey.

1302 In the yeere. 1302. Pope Boniface demaunded a tenth of all the ſpirituall liuings in Englande and Ireland, for the ſpace of three yeres, to maintaine warres in defence of the Church of Rome, againſt the King of Arragone.

1303 Erle of Vlſter. In the yeere. 1303. the Earle of Vlſter, and Richard Burgh, and ſir Euſtace le Power, with a puiſſant Army entred Scotlād. The Earle made xxiiij. knightes at Dublin, before he ſet forward. The ſame yeere Geralde, ſonne and heire to the Lord John Fitz Thomas, departed this life, and likewiſe the counteſſe of Vlſter. William de Wellisley, and Sir Roberte de Perciuall were ſlayne the. xxij. of October.

In the yeere. 1304. a great parte of the Citie of Dublin was brent by caſuall fire. 1304

In the yeere next enſuing, Jordayne Comin with his complices, ſlew Maritagh Oconghuir King of Offalie, and his brother Calwagh, with diuers other within the Courte of Peeres de Birmingham at Carrick in Carbrie. Alſo, Sir Gilberte Sutton, Stewarde of Wexforde, was ſlayne by the Iriſhmen, neere to the Ferme of

Raymond

Haymond de Grace, which Haymond bare himſelfe right valiantly in that fight, and in the ende through his great manhoode eſcaped.

In the yeere. 1306. a great ſlaughter was made in Offalie neere to the Caſtell of Geſchil, the thirteenth day of Aprill vpon Oconchur and his friends by the Odempcies, in whiche place were ſlayne a great number of men. Alſo Owen king of Thomond was ſlayne. Moreouer, Donalde Oge Maccarthy ſlewe Donald Ruſſe King of Deſſemond, and vpon the twelfth of May in the confines of Meth, a great ouerthrow chanced to ỳ ſide of the Lord Peers Butler, and Balymore in Leyniſter was brent by the Iriſh, where Henry Calfe was ſlayne at that preſent time. Balimore brent.

Hereof folowed great warres betwixt ỳ Engliſh and Iriſh in Leyniſter, ſo that a great army was called togither forth of diuers partes of Ireland, to reſtrayne the malice of the Iriſh in Leyniſter, in which iourney, Sir Thomas Mandeuill Knight entred into a conflict with the Iriſh neere to Glenfell, in the whiche he bare himſelfe right manfully, till his horſe was ſlayne vnder him, and yet then to his greate prayſe and hyghe Warres in Leyniſter.



commendation, he ſaued both himſelfe and many of his company

The Lord Chancellor of Irelande, Thomas Caucocke, was conſecrated Biſhop of Imaley, within the Trinitie Churche at Dublin, and kept ſuch a feaſt, as the like had not lightly bene ſeene, nor heard of before that time in Ireland, firſt to the Rich, and after to the poore.

Richarde Flemings Archbiſhop of Dublin deceaſſed on the euen of Saint Luke the Euangeliſt, to whom ſucceeded Richard de Hauerings, who after he had continued in that See about a fiue yeeres, reſigned it ouer by diſpenſation obteined from Rome, and then his Nephewe John Leech was admitted Archbiſhop there.

In the yeere. 1307. the firſt of Aprill Murcod Ballagh was beheaded neere to Werton by Sir Dauid Caunton Knight, and ſhortly after was 1307



Adam Daun ſlaine.

Alſo, a greate diſcomfiture and ſlaughter fell vpon ỳ Engliſhmen in Connagh by ỳ Oſcheles the firſt day of May, and the robbers that dwelte in ỳ parties of Offaili, raſed ỳ Caſtel of Geiſchell, and in the vigil of the tranſlatiõ of Thomas Becket, being ỳ ſixth of July, they brent ỳ towne of Ley, and beſieged the Caſtell: but they were conſtreyned to depart from thẽce ſhortly after, by John Fitz Thomas & Edmond Butler ỳ came to remoue that ſiege. In the yere. 1308. King Edward ỳ firſt departed this life the ſeuenth of July. 1308

D. Edwarde

¶ Edwarde the ſeconde.

RIchard Archbiſhop of Dublin, after he hadde gouerned that Sea the ſpace of fiue yeeres, by reaſon of a viſion that he ſawe in his ſleepe, feeling himſelfe troubled in conſcience, with conſideration of that dreame, reſigned the nexte morrow al his title to the Archbiſhops dignitie (as before ye haue heard) and contented himſelfe with other eccleſiaſticall benefices, as ſeemed conuenient to his eſtate. This yeere by vertue of letters directed from the Pope to the K. of England, hee cauſed al the templers as wel in Englād as Ireland, to be apprehended, & committed to ſafekeeping. The profeſſion of theſe templers beganne at Ieruſalem, by certayn Gentlemen ẏ remained in an Hoſtell neere to the Temple, who til ẏ counſel of Troiz in France, were not increaſed aboue the number of. 9. but frō that time forth, in little more than fiftie yeeres, by the zealous contributiō of al Chriſtian Realmes, they had houſes erected euery where, with liuings bountifully aſſigned to ẏ ſame for their maintenance, in ſo much, as they were augmented vnto the number of three hundred, that were Knightes of that order, beſide inferiour brethrē innumerable: but now with welth they ſo forgot themſelues, that they nothing leſſe regarded, than the purpoſe of their foundatiō: and withal being accuſed of horrible hereſies (whether in all things iuſtly or otherwiſe the Lorde knoweth) they were in the counſel at Lions in Frāce condemned, and their liuings tranſpoſed to the knights Hoſpitalers, otherwiſe called ẏ Knights of the Rodes, and nowe of Malta. The manner of their apprehenſion and committing was ſuddayne, and ſo generally in all places vppon one day, that they had no time to ſhift for thēſelues. For firſt, the King ſente forth a precept to euery Sheriſe within the Realme of Englande, commaunding them within each of their roumths to cauſe a preſcribed number of Knightes, or rather ſuch men of credite, on whoſe fidelities he might aſſure himſelfe, to aſſemble at a certayne towne, named in the ſame writte, the Sunday next after the Epiphany, and that each of the ſame Sheriſes failed not to bee there the ſame day to execute all that ſhoulde be enioyned them by any other writte, then and there to be deliuered. The Sheriſe of Yorke was commaunded to gyue ſommonance to. 24. ſuch Knightes, or other ſufficient men, to meete him at Yorke. The Sheriſe of Norfolke and Suffolke, was appoynted to ſommone twentie to meete him at Thetford, the other Sheriſes were appoynted to call to them ſome tenne, ſome twelue, or ſome fourteene, to meete them at ſuch Townes as in their writtes were named. The date of this writte was, from Weſtminſter the fifteenth of December, in the firſte yeere of thys King Edwarde the ſeconde raigne: the other writte was ſent by a Chapleyne authorized both to deliuer the ſame writte, and to take an othe of the Sheriſe, that he ſhould not diſcloſe the contentes, till he had put the ſame in execution, which was, to attache by aſſiſtance of thoſe aforementioned Knightes, or as many of them as he thought expedient to vſe, al the templers within the precinct of hys roumth, and to ſeaze all their landes, goodes, and Cattells, into the Kings handes, and to cauſe an Inuentarie of the ſame indented be made in preſence of the Warden of the place, whether he were Knighte of the order, or any other, and in preſence of other honeſt men neyghbours thereabouts, keeping the one counterpane with himſelfe, ſealed with hys ſeale that made the ſeazure, and leauing the other in the hands of the ſayde Warden: and further to ſee the ſame goodes and Cattels to bee put in ſafekeeping, and to prouide that the quicke goodes might be well kept and looked vnto, and the groundes manured to the moſt profit, and to cauſe the bodies of the templers attached, to be ſo detayned in al ſafetie, as that they be not yet cōmitted to Irons nor to ſtreyght priſon, but to remayne in ſome conuenient place other than their owne houſes, and to be found of the goods ſo ſeazed, accordingly as falleth for their eſtates, till he haue otherwiſe in commaundemente from the King: and what is done herein, to certifie into the Eſcheker the morrowe after the Purification. The date of this ſeconde writte was, from Biſket the twentith of December. There was lykewiſe a writte directed to John Wogan, Lorde Iuſtice of Irelande, ſignifying vnto him what ſhould be done in England, touching the apprehēſion of the Templers, and ſeazure of their lāds and goodes, commaunding him to proceede in ſemblable manner againſt them in Irelande: but the day and place when the Sheriſes ſhould there aſſemble, was lefte to the diſcretion of the ſayde Iuſtice and Treaſorer of the Eſcheker there, but ſo as the ſame might be done, before any rumour of this thing coulde be brought ouer out of England thither. Alſo a like commaundemente was ſent vnto John de Britaigne Erle of Richmōd, Lorde Warden of Scotlande, and to Euſtace Cotelbache Chamberlayne of Scotland: Alſo to Walter de Pederton Lorde Iuſtice of Weſt Wales, to Hugh Aldigheleygh, Alias Audeley Lord Iuſtice of North Wales, and to Roberte Holland Lord Iuſtice of Cheſter. Thus muche for the Templers. But now to other doings in Irelande. In the yeere. 1308. the. xij. of Aprill, deceaſſed Peter de Birmingham a noble warriour, and one that had bin no ſmall ſcourge to the Iriſh. The eleuenth of May, the Caſtell of Kennun was brente, and dyuers of them that hadde it in keeping were ſlayne by William Macwabther

1308 The order of the Templers ſuppreſſed.

1308

Macbalther, and other of the Iriſhe, and likewiſe the towne of Courcouly was brente by the ſame malefactors. And the ſixth of June, John Lorde Wogan Lorde Juſtice was diſcomfited neere to Glindelorie, where John de Saint Hogelin, John Norton, John Breton, and many other were ſlayne.

The ſixteenth of June, Dunlouan, Tobir, and many other Townes were brent by the Iriſh Rebels.

About thys ſeaſon, John Decer Maior of Dublin builded the highe Pipe there, and the bridge ouer the Liffie towardes Saint Ulſtons, and a Chappell of our Ladie at the Friers Minors, where he was buried, repaired the Churche of the Friers Preachers, and euery Friday tabled the Friers at his owne coaſtes.

John Wogan hauing occaſion to paſſe into England, William Burgh ſupplied his rowmth, vnto whome Kyng Edwarde recommended Peers de Gauceſton, when contrary to the kings minde he was baniſhed by the Lordes of Englande, and about the Natiuitie of oure Lady, hee came ouer into Irelande, beeyng ſente thyther by the King with many Jewels, and beſide the letters which he brought of recommendation from the King, he had aſſigned to him the commodities royall of that Realme, whiche bredde ſome trouble and bickerings there, betwixte Richarde Burgh Earle of Ulſter, and the ſayd Gauceſton, who notwithſtanding bought the good willes of the Souldiers with his liberalitie, ſlew Dermot Odempey, ſubdued Obren, edifyed ſundry Caſtels, Cauſeys, and bridges, but the next yeere, he was reuoked home by the King, as in the hiſtory of England it may appeare.

In the vigill of Simon and Jude, the Lorde Roger Mortimer landed in Irelande with hys wife, righte heire to the Seigneurie of Meth, as daughter to Piers Genuille, that was ſonne vnto the Lord Geffrey Genuille, whiche Geffrey became a Frier at Trym of the order of ẏ Preachers: by reaſon whereof, the Lorde Mortimer and his wife entred into poſſeſſion of the landes of Meth. In the yeere. 1309. on Candlemas day, the Lorde John Bonneuill was ſlayne neere to the towne of Ardſcoll, by the Lorde Arnold Power, and his complices, his body was buried at Athy in the Church of the Friers Preachers. In the yeere following, at a Parliamente holden at Kildare, the Lord Arnold Power was acquit of that ſlaughter, for that it was proued it was done in his owne defence.

Lord Roger Mortimer.

1309

Lord John Bonneuille ſlayne.

1310

In the yeere. 1311. or (as ſome bookes haue) the yeere. 1309. John Wogan Lord Juſtice ſummoned a Parliamente at Kilkenny, where diuers

1311

A Parliament at Kelkenny.



wholeſome lawes were ordeyned, but neuer executed. There fell the Biſhops in contention about their iuriſdictions, namely, the Biſhop of Dublin forbade the Primate of Ardmagh to reyſe his croſſier within the prouince of Leyniſter.

Shortly after, Rowland Joice the Primate ſtale by night in his Pontificals, from Howthe, to the Priory of Grace dieu, where the Biſhops ſeruants met him, and with force chaſed him out of the dioceſſe. This Biſhop was named John a Leekes, and was conſecrated not long before hee kept this ſturre.

Richard Earle of Ulſter with a greate armie came to Bonrath in Thothmond, where Sir Roberte or rather ſir Richard de Clare diſcomfited his power, toke Sir William de Burgh priſoner, or (as ſome bookes haue) the Earle hymſelfe. John Lacie the ſonne of Walter Lacie, & diuers other were ſlayne. The. xij. of Nouember this yere Richard de Clare ſlewe. 500. of the Ealagheghas, & John Margoghedan was ſlaine by

Sir Richarde de Clare.

John Lacy ſlayne.

Dmolmoy. Alſo Donat Obzene was murthered by his owne men in Cothemonde.

1312 Robert Verdō reyſeth a riotous tumulte. Iohn Wogan Lord iuſtice.

The one and twentie of Febzuarie, beganne a riot in Vrgile, by Roberte Uerdon, foz the appealing whereof, an Army was ledde thither by John Wogan Lozd chiefe Juſtice, in the beginning of July, but the ſame was diſcomfited, and diuers men of accompt ſlayne, as Sir Nicholas Auenell, Patricke de Roch, and other. At lengthe, yet the ſayde Roberte Uerdon, and many of hys complices came, and ſubmitted themſelues to pziſon, within the Caſtell of Dublin, abidyng there the Kings mercie.

The Lozd Edmond Butler was made deputie Juſtice vnder the Lozde John Wogan, who in the lent next enſuing, beſieged the Obzenes in Glindelowe, and compelled them to yeelde themſelues to the Kings peace.

Alſo in the yeere aboueſayde. 1312. Mauriee Fitz Thomas married the Ladye Katherine, daughter to the Earle of Ulſter, at Greene Caſtell, and Thomas Fitz John married an other of the ſayd Earles daughters in the ſame place, but not on the ſame day: foz the firſt of thoſe two marriages was celebzated the mozrow after S. Dominikes day, and this ſeconde marriage was kept the mozrow after the feaſt of the aſſumption of our Lady.



Alſo Robert de Bzuce ouerthzew the Caſtell of Man, and toke the Lozde Donegan Odowil on Saint Barnabies day.

1313 Campion.

In the yeere. 1313. John a Leekes Archbiſhop of Dublin departed this life. After whoſe deceaſe were elected in ſeiſme and deuiſion of ſides two Succeſſoz, Walter Thozneburie Lozd Chancelloz, and Alexander Bignoz Treſurer of Ireland. The Chancelloz to ſtrengthen his election, haſtily went to ſea, and togither with. 156. other perſons periſhed by Shipwzacke.

The other ſubmitting his cauſe to the pzoces of lawe, tarried at home and ſpedde.

The Earle of Vlſters ſonne and heire deceaſſeth.

Mozeouer, the Lozde John de Burgh, ſonne and heire vnto the Earle of Ulſter, deceaſſed at Galby on the feaſt day of Sainte Marcell and Marcellian.

1314

Alſo the Lozd Edmond Butler created. xxx. Knightes in the Caſtell of Dublin, on Sainte Michaels day, being Sunday. The Knightes Hoſpitallers oz of Sainte Johns as they were called, were inueſted in the lāds of the Templers in Ireland.

The ſame yeere was the Lozde Theobalde Uerdon ſent Lozd Juſtice into Irelande.

In the ninth yeere of King Edwards raigne, Edward Bzuce, bzother to Robert Bzuce King of Scottes, entred the Nozthe part of Irelande with fiue thouſand men. There were with hym diuers Captaynes of high renowne among the Scottiſhe Nation, of whome the chiefe were theſe, the Earles of Murrey and Menteth, the Lozd John Stewarde, the Lozd John Cambell, the Lozde Thomas Randolfe, Fergus de Indzeſſan, John Wood, and John Biſſet. They landed neere to Crag Fergus in Ulſter the fiue and twentith of May, and ioyning with the Iriſh, conquered the Earledome of Ulſter, and gaue ẏ Engliſh there diuers great ouerthzowes, toke the towne of Dundalke, ſpoyled and bzente it, with a greate parte of Vrgile: they bzente Churches and Abbeyes, with the people whome they founde in the ſame, ſparing neyther manne, woman noz childe. Then was the Lozd Edmonde Butler choſen Lozde Juſtice, who made the Earle of Ulſter and ẏ Giraldines friends, and reconciled himſelfe with Sir John Maundeuill, thus ſeeking to pzeſerue the reſidue of the Realme which Edwarde Bzuce meant wholly to conquere, hauing cauſed himſelfe to be crowned

1315 Edward Bruce inuadeth Irelande.

Captaynes of name with Bruce.

Dundalke taken and brent

Edmonde Butler Lord iuſtice.

ned K. of Ireland. The Lord Juſtice aſſembled a great power out of Mounſter and Leyniſter, and other parties thereaboutes, and the Earle of Ulſter with an other armie came vnto him neere vnto Dundalke, where they conſulted togyther how to deale in defending the countrey agaynſte the enimies: but hearing the Scottes were withdrawen backe, the Erle of Ulſter followed them, and fighting with them at Coyners, hee loſt the fielde.

There were many ſlayne on both partes, and William de Burgh the Earles brother, Sir John Mandeuill, and Sir Alane Fitz Alane were taken priſoners. Heerewith the Iriſhe of Connagh and Meth began forthwith to rebell againſt the Engliſhmen, and brente the Caſtell



of Athlon and Randon. And the Bruce comming forwarde, brente Kenlis in Meth, and Granard, alſo Finnagh and New Caſtell, and kept his Chriſtmas at Loghſudy. From thence he went through the Countrey vnto Rathymegan and Kildare, to the parties about Triſteldermot and Athie, then to Raban and Sketlier nere to Ardſcoll in Leyniſter, where the Lord Juſtice Butler, the Lord John Fitz Thomas, the Lorde Arnold Power and other the Lords and Gentlemen of Leyniſter and Mounſter came to encoũter the Bruce: but through diſcorde that roſe among them, they left the field vnto the enimies, Sir William Prendergaſt Knighte, and Haymond le Grace a righte valiaunte Eſquire were ſlayne there. And on the Scottiſhe ſide, Sir Fergus Indreſſan, and Sir Walter Morrey, with diuers other that were buried in the Churche of the Friers Preachers at Athy. After this, the Bruce in his returne towardes Meth, brente the Caſtell of Ley, and ſo paſſed forthe till hee came to Kenlys in Meth. In which meane time, Roger Lorde Mortimer, truſting to winne hymſelf fame if he might ouerthrow the enimies, called forthe fifteene M. men, and vnderſtanding ẏ the Scottes were come to Kenlys, made thytherwards, and there encountring with them, was put to the worſe, his men (as was ſuppoſed) wilfully ſhrinking from him, as thoſe that bare him hollow hartes. With the newes of this ouerthrowe, vpſtart the Iriſh of Mounſter, the Otoolies, Obriens, Omores, and with fire & ſworde waſted all from Arelowe to Leix. With them coped the Lorde Juſtice, and made of them a great ſlaughter. 80. of their heades were ſente to the Caſtell of Dublin.

In time of theſe troubles and warres in Irelande by the inuaſion thus of the Scottes, certayne Iriſhe Lordes, faithfull men and true ſubiectes to the King of England, did not only promiſe to continue in their loyall obeyſance towards him, beeing their ſoueraigne Prince, but alſo for more aſſurance, deliuered hoſtages to bee kept within the Caſtell of Dublin. The names of whiche Lordes that were ſo contented to aſſure their allegiance were theſe, John Fitz Thomas Lord of Offalie, Richard de Clare, Morice Fitz Thomas, Thomas Fitz John le Power Baron of Donoille, Arnolde le Power, Morice de Rochfort, Dauid de la Roche, and Miles de la Roche. Theſe and diuers other reſiſted with all their might and mayne the iniurious attempts of the Scottes, although the Scots had drawen to their ſide, the moſt parte of the wilde Iriſh, and no ſmall number alſo of the Engliſhe Iriſhe, as well Lordes, as other of meaner calling, ſo that the countrey was miſerably afflicted, what by the Scottes on the one parte, and the Iriſh Rebels on the other, which Rebels notwithſtanding were ouerthrowen in diuers par-

Aſſurance giuen by the Lords of Irelande for their loyaltie.

ticuler conflicts. But yet to the further ſcatte-
ring of the Engliſh forces in Irelande, there roſe
foure Princes of Connagh, but the Burghes and Birminghams diſcomfyted them, and ſlewe ele-

A great ouer-throwe.



uen M. of thē beſide Athenri. Amōgſt other were ſlayne in this battell Fedelmicus, Oconghur King of Connagh, Okelly, & diuers other greate Lordes and Captaynes of Connagh and Meth. The Lord Richarde Birmingham had an Eſquire that belonged to him called John Huſley, whome by commaundemente of his maiſter, went forthe to take view of the dead bodies, and to bring him worde, whether Okelli his mortall foe were ſlayne among the reſidue. Huſſey comming into the fielde with one man to turne vp and ſurvey the dead carcaſſes, was ſtraight eſpyed by Okelli, that lay lurking in a brake buſhe thereby, who hauing had good proofe of Huſſey his valiancie afore that time, lōged ſore to traine him from his Captayne, and preſuming nowe vpon this good opportunitie, diſcouered hymſelfe, not doubting, but eyther to winne him with curteous perſwaſions, or by force to worke hys will of hym, and ſo comming to him, ſayde: Huſſey, thou ſeeſt I am at all poyntes armed, and haue my Squire here likewiſe furniſhed with Armour and weapon, ready at myne elbow, thou arte naked with thy Page, a yongling, and not to bee accōpted of, ſo that if I loued not thee, and ment to ſpare thee for thyne owne ſake, I might nowe do with thee what I would, and ſlea thee for thy maſters ſake, but come and ſerue me vpon thys requeſt heere made to thee, and I promiſe thee by Sainte Patricks ſtaffe, to make thee a Lorde in Connagh of more poſſeſſions, than thy maiſter hath in Irelande. When theſe words mighte nothing way him, his owne man (a great ſtoute lubber) beganne to reproue hym of follie, for not conſenting to ſo large an offer, which was aſſured with an oth, whereupon he durſt guage hys ſoule for performance. Now had Huſſey three enimies, and firſt therefore turning to his knaue, he diſpatched him, next he raught vnto Okellyes Eſquire ſuch a knocke vnder the pitte of the eare, that downe he came to the grounde, and there hee laye. Thirdly, he layd ſo about hym, that ere any help coulde be looked for, he had alſo ſlaine Okelly, and perceyuing the Eſquire to be but aſtonied he recouered him, and holp him vp againe, and

The King of Connagh ſlayne.

Okelly ſlaine.

after he was somewhat come to hymſelfe, he forced hym vpō a troncheō, to beare his Lords head into the high towne before him, who did ſo, and Huſſey preſented it to Birmingham, who after the circumſtaunces declared, hee dubbed Huſſey Knight, aduaūcing him to many preferments. The ſucceſſors of that familie afterwardes were Barons of Galtrim. Sir Thomas Mandeuill and other in this meane while made oftentymes enterpriſes againſt the Scottes, and ſlew diuers of them in ſundry conflictes. But howſoeuer it chanced, wee fynde recorded by Henry Marlebugh, that eyther the ſayd Sir Thomas Mandeuill (that thus valiantly behaued hymſelfe againſt the Scottes) or ſome other bearing the ſame name, and his brother alſo called John Mandeuill were both ſlayne ſhortly after at Downe vppon their comming forthe of Englande, by the Scottes that were readye there to aſſayle them.

Sir Thomas Mandeuill ſlayne.

Thus may wee ſee, that thoſe Lordes and Knightes, whiche had giuen pledges for theyr loyaltie to the King of Englande, ſought by all wayes and meanes howe to beate backe the enimies, whiche they mighte haue done with more eaſe, if the Iriſh had not aſſiſted the Scottes, and preſuming of theyr ayde, rebelled in ſundry parts of the countrey, who neuertheleſſe, were oftentimes well chaſtiſed for their diſloyall dealings, as partly we haue touched, although wee omitte diuers ſmall ouerthrowes and other particuler matters, ſith otherwiſe wee ſhould encreaſe thys Booke further than our firſte purpoſed intente woulde permitte.

Whileſt the Scottes were thus holden vp in Irelande that they could not in all things worke theyr willes, Roberte le Brews King of Scots came ouer himſelfe, landed at Cragfergus to the ayde of his brother, whoſe Souldiers moſt wickedly entred into Churches, ſpoyling and defacing the ſame of all ſuche tombes, monumentes, plate, Copes, and other ornamentes whiche they founde, and myghte lay handes vppon.

Campion. 1316

The King of Scottes in Irelande.

The Caſtell of Cragfergus, after it had beene ſtraightly

ſtraightly beſieged a long time, was ſurrendred to the Scottes, by them that had kept it, till they for want of other victayles were driuen to eate lether, and eyght Scottes (as ſome write) whiche they had taken priſoners.

The Lorde Thomas, ſonne to the Earle of Ulſter departed this life.

And on the Sunday next after ẏ Natiuitie of our Lady, ẏ Lord John Fitz Thomas deceaſſed at Laragh Brine neere to Maynoth, & was buried at Kildare, in the Church of ẏ Friers Preachers. This John Fitz Thomas, a little before his deathe, was created Earle of Kildare, after whome ſucceeded his ſonne Thomas Fitz John a right wiſe and prudent perſonage.

The fourteenth of September, Conhor Mackele, and fiue hundred Iriſhmen were ſlayne by the Lord William de Burgh, and Lord Richard Birmingham in Connagh. Alſo on ẏ Monday after the feaſt of all Saintes, John Loggan and Sir Hugh Biſſet ſlewe a great nũber of Scots, among the whiche were. 100. with double armours, and. 200. with ſingle armours: ſo that of their men of armes, there dyed three hundred beſide footemen.

The fifteenth of Nouember chanced a mighty tempeſt of wynde and rayne, whiche threwe downe many houſes, with the Steeple of the Trinitie Church in Dublin, and did much other hurt both by land and water.

The fifth of December, Sir Alane Stewarde that had bin taken priſoner in Ulſter by John Loggan, and Sir John Sandale, was brought to the Caſtell of Dublin.

1317 After Candlemas, the Lacies came to Dublin, and procured an inqueſt to be impanelled to inquire of their demeanor, for that they were accuſed to haue procured the Scottes to come into Irelande: but by that inqueſt they were diſcharged, and therewith toke an oth to keepe the kings peace, and to deſtroy the Scots to the vttermoſt of theyr power.

In the beginning of Lent, the Scottes came in ſecret wiſe vnto Slane, with twẽtie thouſand armed mẽ: and with them came the army of Ulſter, deſtroying all the countrey before them.

Moreouer, on Monday before the Feaſt of S. Mathias the Apoſtle, the Earle of Ulſter lying in the Abbey of Sainte Mary neere to Dublin, Robert Notingham Maire of that Citie, with the communaltie of the ſame went thither, toke the Earle, and put him in priſon within the Caſtell of Dublin, ſlew. vij. of his men, and ſpoyled the Ibbey.

The ſame weeke, Edwarde Bruce marched towardes Dublin, but heerewith, turning to the Caſtell of Cnocke, he entred the ſame, and toke Hugh Tyrrell the Lorde thereof, togither with his wife, and raunſommed them for a ſumme of money. The Citizens of Dublin brent all theyr ſuburbes for feare of a ſiege, and made the beſt purueyance they coulde to defende their Citie, if the Bruce had come to haue beſieged them: but he turning another way, went vnto the towne of Naas, and was guided thither by the Lacies, cõtrary to their othe.

From thence, he paſſed vnto Triſtledermot, and ſo to Baliganam, and to Callan, at length he came to Lymerike, and there remayned till after Eaſter.

They of Ulſter ſent to the Lorde Juſtice lamentable informations of ſuche cruelties as the enimies practiſed in thoſe partes, beſeeching hym to take ſome order for their reliefe in that theyr ſo miſerable eſtate. The Lorde Juſtice deliuered to them the Kings power with his ſtandard, wherewith vnder pretence to expell the Scottes, they gote vp in armour, and ranging through the countrey, did more vexe and moleſt the ſubiectes, than did the ſtrangers. The Scots proceeded and ſpoyled Caſſhels, and whereſoeuer they lyghte vpon the Butlers lands, they brente and ſpoyled them vnmercifully.

The Kings ſtanderd deliuered to them of Vlſter.

In this meane while, had the Lord Juſtice, and Thomas Fitz John Earle of Kildare, Richard de Clare, and Arnold le Power, Baron of Donnoill, leuied an armie of thirtie thouſande men, readie to goe againſte the enimies, and to giue them battayle, but no good was done, for about the ſame time, the Lord Roger Mortimer was ſent into Irelande as Lord Juſtice, and lãding at Poghall, wrote his letters vnto the Lord Butler, and to the other Captaynes, willing thẽ not to fighte, till he came with ſuch power as he had brought ouer with him. Whereof the Bruce being warned, retired firſt towardes Kildare: but yet after this he came vnto foure miles of Trym, where he lay in a wood, and loſt many of his men through famine, and ſo at length. about the beginning of May, he returned into Ulſter.

Roger Mortimer iuſtice of Irelande.

The Lorde Edmonde Butler made greate ſlaughter of the Iriſhe neere to Triſtledermot, and likewiſe at Balitehan, hee hadde a good hande of Omorthe, and ſlewe manye of hys men. The Lorde Mortimer pacifyed the diſpleaſure and variance betwixt Richarde Earle of Ulſter, and the Nobles that had put the ſayde Earle vnder ſafekeping within ẏ Caſtell of Dublin, accuſing him of certaine riots committed to the preiudice and loſſe of the Kings ſubiectes, whereby the Scottes increaſed in ſtrength and courage, whoſe ſpoyling of the countrey cauſed ſuch horrible ſcarcitie in Ulſter, that the Souldiers which the yeere before abuſed the Kings authoritie to purueay themſelues of ouer fine diet, ſurfetted with fleſhe and Aqua vite all the Lente

Slaughter of Iriſhmen.

1317

The Earle of Vlſter deliuered out of priſon.

Scarcitie of victayles in Vlſter.

long, prolled & pilled inſatiably, where ſoeuer they came without neede, and without regarde of the poore people, whoſe onely prouiſion they deuoured.

Theſe people nowe liuing in ſlaucrie vnder the Bruce, ſterued for hunger, hauing firſt experienced many lamentable ſhiftes, euen to the eating of dead carcaſſes.

The Earle of Vlſter deliuered.

The Earle of Vlſter was deliuered by maine price, and vpon his oth, by the whiche hee vndertoke neuer to ſeeke reuenge of hys apprehenſion otherwiſe, than by order of lawe, and ſo had daye giuen him vnto the feaſt of Natiuitie of Sainte Iohn Baptiſt, but he kept not his day, whether for that hee miſtruſted to ſtande in triall of hys cauſe, or through ſome other reaſonable let, I can not tell.

Great dearth.

A great dearth this yeere afflicted the Iriſhe people, for a meaſure of Wheate called a chronecke was ſold at foure and twentie Shillings, and a cronecke of otes at ſixteene Shillings, and all other victayles likewiſe were ſolde, accordyng to the ſame rate, for all the whole countrey was ſore waſted by the Scottes and them of Vlſter, in ſo muche that no ſmall number of people periſhed through famine.

About the feaſt of Pentecoſt, the Lord Iuſtice Mortimer toke his iourney towards Droghda, and ſent to the Lacies, commaunding them to come vnto him: but they refuſed ſo to do: whereupon he ſente Sir Hugh Croftes vnto them to talke with them about ſome agreement of peace, but they ſlew the meſſenger, for whome greate lamentation was made, for that he was reputed and knowne to be a right worthy knighte.

Sir Hugh Croftes ſlayne.

The Lord Iuſtice ſore offended herewith, gathereth an army, and goeth againſte the Lacies, whome he chaſed out of Connagh, ſo that Hugh Lacie, withdrewe into Vlſter, and there ioyned himſelfe with Edward Bruce. Whereupon, on the Thurſday next before the feaſt of Sainte Margaret the ſaid Hugh Lacie, and alſo Walter Lacie, were proclaymed Traytours.

The Lacyes reuolte to the Scottes.

This yeere paſſed very troubleſome vnto the whole Realm of Irelād, as wel through ſlaughter betwixt the parties enimies one to another, as by dearth and other miſfortunes.

Hugh Cannon the Kyngs Iuſtice of hys bench was ſlayne by Andrew Bermingham, betwixt the towne of Naas and Caſtell Warten. 1318

Alſo in the feaſt of the purification, the Popes Bulles were publiſhed, whereby Alexander Bignore was conſecrated Archbiſhop of Dublin. About the ſame time was great ſlaughter made of Iriſhmen, through a quarrell betwixt two greate Lordes in Connagh, ſo that there dyed in fighte

Bignore conſecrated Archbiſhop of Dublin.



to the number of foure thouſande men on bothe parties.

Walter Iſlep treaſorer of Irelande.

After Eaſter, Walter Iſlep Treaſurer of Irelande, was ſent ouer into ẏ Realme, who brought letters to the Lorde Mortimer, commaundyng hym to returne into England vnto ẏ king: which he dyd, and departing forth of Ireland, remayned indebted to ẏ Citizens of Dublin for his proviſiō of victayles, in the ſumme of a thouſand pounds, wherof he payde not one farthing, ſo that many a bitter curſe he carried with him to the ſea, leauing William Archbiſhop of Caſſhell Lord Chancellor, gouernor of the lande in his place: ſo by this meane was the ſayd Archbiſhop both Chancellor and Iuſtice, and ſo continued till the feaſt of S. Michael, at what time Alexander Bignor Archbiſhop of Dublin arriued at Pogball, beeing conſtituted Lorde Iuſtice, and came to Dublin on Saint Dionile day, being ẏ ſeuenth of Octobre.

But here is to be remembred, ẏ a little before the departure of the Lord Mortimer forth of Ireland, to witte the fifth of May, the Lord Richard de Clare with foure Knightes, ſir Henry Capell, Sir Thomas de Naas, Sir James Caunton, and Sir Iohn Caunton.

The Lord Richard de Clare ſlayne.

Alſo Adam Apilgard and other, to the number of foureſcore perſons, were ſlayne by Obrene and Maccarthy.

It was ſayde, that the enimies in deſpite, cauſed the Lorde Richardes bodie to bee cut in peeces, ſo to ſatisfye their malicious ſtomackes: but the ſame peeces were yet afterwardes buried in the Churche of the Friers Minors at Limerike.

Alſo before the Lorde Mortimers returne into Englande, Iohn Lacye was hadde forthe of the Caſtell of Dublin, and carryed to Trim, where hee was arreygned and adiudged

iudged to be preſſed to death, and ſo he died in priſon.

But now to returne vnto the doings in time of Bignors gouernment. Immediatly vpon his arriuall the Lorde John Birmingham being generall of the fielde, and hauing with him diuerſe Captaines of worthie fame, namely ſir Richarde Tute, ſir Miles Verdon, ſir Hugh Trippetton, ſir Herbert Sutton, ſir John Cuſacke, ſir Edmõd Birmingham, ſir William Birmingham, Walter Birmingham the primate of Ardmagh, ſir Walter de la Pulle, and John Maupas, ledde forth the kings power to the number of .1224. able men againſt Edward Bruce, who being accompanied with the Lord Philip Mowbray, the lord Walter de Soules, the Lorde Alaine Stewarde, with his three brethren, ſir Walter, and ſir Hugh, ſir Robert, and ſir Aymerie Lacies, and others, was encamped not paſt two miles from Dundalke with three thouſande men there abyding the Engliſhmen, to fight with them if they came forward, which they did with all conuenient ſpeed, being as deſirous to giue battaile as the Scottes were to receyue it.

Bir- and aines ynſhe ctes

The Primate of Ardmagh.

The battaile of Ardmagh.

The Scottes vanquiſhed.

The Primate of Ardmagh perſonally accompanying the Engliſh power, and bleſſing their enterpriſe, gaue them ſuch comfortable exhortation as he thought ſerued the time, ere they began to encounter. And herewith buckling togither, at length the Scots fully and wholy were van-





quiſhed, and two thouſande of them ſlaine, togi- ruce ther with their captaine Edward Bruce. Maupas that preſſed into the throng to encoũter with Bruce hande to hande, was founde in the ſearche deade aloft vpon the ſlaine bodie of Bruce.

The victorie thus obteyned vpon Saint Calixtus day, made an end of the Scottiſh kingdom in Irelande, and Lorde Birmingham ſending the head of Bruce into Englande, or as Marleburgh hath, being the meſſenger himſelfe, preſented it to king Edwarde, who in recompence gaue to him and his heyres Wales, the Earledome of Louth, and the Baronie of Ardich and Athenrie to him and his heyres generall for euer.

Shortly after ſir Richard de Clare with foure other knightes of name, and many other men of warre were ſlaine in Thomond, the Lord Roger Mortimer came againe into Ireland to gouerne as Lorde iuſtice there nowe the ſecond time, and the townes of Athelſell and Plebs were brent by the Lorde Fitz Thomas, brother to the Lorde Maurice Fitz Thomas. And about this ſeaſon the bridge of Kilcolyn was buylded by Maurice Jakis.

d de e ſlue. 13

In the yeare following, to wit. 1320. which was the .xiiij. of king Edwards raigne, Thomas Fitz John Erle of Kildare was made Lord Iuſtice of Irelande.

Here is to be remembred, that about this time also, Alexander Bignore Archbiſhop of Dublyn, ſent to Pope John the .xxij. for a priuiledge to inſtitute an Vniuerſitie within the citie of Dublyn, and his ſuite toke effect. And the firſt three Doctors of Diuinitie did the ſayde Archbiſhop himſelfe create, William Hardity a Frier preacher, Henrie Cogie a Frier minor, and Frier Edmond Bermerden: and beſide theſe one Doctor of Canon, to wit, Richard Archdeacon of S. Patrikes, that was Chauncellor of the ſame Vniuerſitie, who kept their termes and Cõmencements ſolemnly: neyther was this vniuerſitie at any time ſince diſcontinued, but onely through chaunge of tymes diſcontinued, and now ſince the diſſoluing of Monaſteries vtterly decayed.

An Vniuerſitie erected at Dublyn.

A motion was made (as Campion hath noted) in a Parliament holden there whileſt ſir Henrie Sidney was the Queenes Lieutenant to haue it againe erected, by way of contributions to be layd togyther, the ſayde ſir Henry offering .xx. pounde landes, and an hundred pound in money: Other there were alſo, that according to their abilities and deuotions followed with their offers. The name was deuiſed, A worthie Plantation of Plantagenet and Bulleigne But while

they diſputed of a cõuenient place for it, & of other circumſtances, they let fall the principall.

1321 In the yeare. 1321. there was a great ſlaughter made of the Oconhurs at Balibagan, by ỳ Engliſh of Leyniſter & Meth. And John Birminghã Earle of Louth was made L. iuſtice of Irelande.

Rec. Turris. Unto this man whileſt he was Lord iuſtice, the king wrote, cõmaunding him to be with him at Carleil in the Octaues of the Trinitie, in the. xv. yeare of his raigne, with. three. C. men of armes, one. M. hobellares, and ſixe. M footemen, eche of them armed with an aketon, a ſallet, and gloues of Male, which number was to be leuied in that land, beſide three. C. mẽ of armes which the Erle of Ulſter was appoynted to ſerue with in that iourney, which the king at that time intended to make againſt the Scottes. The date of the letter was the third of Aprill.

1322 In the yere. 1322. diuerſe nobles in Ireland departed this life, as the Lord Richard Birminghã, the Lord Edmond Butler, & the Lorde Thomas Percenale. Moreouer the L. Andrew Birminghã, & ſir Richard de la Lõd were ſlain by Onolã.

1323 In the. xviij. yeare of King Edward ỳ ſecond his raigne, the L. John Darcie came into Irelãd to be L. Iuſtice, and the kings lieutenant there.

John Darcie Lord iuſtice.

The Ladie Alice Kettle accuſed of ſorcerie. In theſe dayes liued in the Dioces of Oſſorie the Ladie Alice Ketell, whom the Biſhop aſcited to purge hirſelfe of the faine of inchantment and witchcraft impoſed vnto hir, & to one Petronille and Baſill hir complices. She was charged to haue nightly cõference with a ſpirit called Robin Artiſſon, to whõ ſhe ſacrificed in the high way. ix. red cockes, & ix. peacocks eies. Alſo that ſhe ſwept the ſtreetes of Kilkenny betwene Cõplene & twilight, raking al the filth towardes the dores of hir ſon William Outlaw, murmuring theſe words:

To the houſe of VVilliam my ſonne,
Hie all the wealth of Kilkenny towne.

At the firſt conuiction they abiured and did penance, but ſhortly after they were found in relapſe, and then was Petronille burnt at Kilkenny, the other twaine might not be heard of.

She at the houre of hir death accuſed the ſayd William as priuie to their ſorceries, whome the Biſhop helde in durauncc. ix. weekes, forbidding his keepers to eate or to drinke with him, or to ſpeake to him more than once in the day. But at length through the ſuite and inſtance of Arnold le Poer then Seneſchall of Kilkenny, he was deliuered, and after corrupted with brybes the Seneſchal to perſecute the Biſhop, ſo that he thruſt him into priſon for three Monethes. In rifeling the cloſet of the ladie, they found a Wafer of ſacramentall bread, hauing the diuels name ſtamped thereon in ſtead of Jeſus Chriſt, and a Pipe of oyntment, wherewith ſhe greaſed a ſtaffe, vpõ the which ſhe ambled and galloped through thick and thin, when and in what maner ſhe liſted.

This buſineſſe about theſe witches troubled al the ſtate of Ireland, the more, for that the Ladie was ſupported by certaine of the nobilitie, & laſtly conueyed ouer into England, ſince which time it could neuer be vnderſtood what became of hir.

In the yeare. 1326. and laſt of king Edwarde the ſecondes raigne, Richard Burgh Erle of Ulſter departed this life.

Edward the third.

1326 VNneth was the buſineſſe about the Witches at an ende, when it was ſignified that a gentleman of the familie of the Otwlies in Leyniſter named Adam Duffe, poſſeſſed by ſome wicked ſpirit of erroz, denyed obſtinately the incarnation of our ſauiour, the trinitie of perſons in the vnitie of the Godhead, & the reſurrectiõ of the fleſh: as for the holy ſcripture, he ſayde it was but a fable: the virgin Marie he affyrmed to be a womã of diſſolute life: ỳ Apoſtolike ſea erronious. For ſuch kind of aſſertions, he was burnt in Hogging greene be-

1327

Adam Duffe an heretike.



ſide Dublin. About the ſame time, Fitz ark Macmorch, & ſir Henry Trahern were take priſoners.

In the yeare following, the lord Thomas Fitz John Earle of Kildare, and the Lorde Arnolde Poer, and William Erle of Ulſter, wer ſent ouer into Ireland, and Roger Outlaw prior of ſaint Johns of Ieruſalem in Ireland, commonly called the prior of Kilmaynam, was made Lorde Iuſtice. This man by reaſon of variance that chaunced to riſe betwixt the Giraldines, the Butlers, and Birminghams, on the one ſide, and the Poers and Burghes on the other, for terming the Earle of Kildare a rimor, to pacifie the parties called a Parliament, wherin he himſelfe was fain to make his purgation of a ſlaunder impoſed to him, as ſuſpected of Hereſie.

The Prior of Kilmaynam Lord iuſtice.

Arnald Poer accuſed of hereſie. The Biſhop of Oſſorie had giuen an information againſt Arnalde le Poer conuented and conuicted in his Conſiſtorie of certaine hereticall opinions, but becauſe the beginning of Poers acculation concerned the Iuſtices kinſman, and

the

the Biſhop was miſtruſted to proſecute his own wrong, and the perſon of the man rather than the fault: a day was limitted for the iuſtifying of the byll, the partie being apprehended and reſpited therevnto.

This dealing the Biſhop (who durſt not ſtyrre out of Kilkenny to proſecute his accuſation was reputed partiall, and when by meanes herof the matter hanged in ſuſpence, he infamed the ſayde Priour as an abettor and fauourer of Arnolds hereſie. The Priour ſubmitted himſelfe to the tryal, and therupon were ſeueral Proclamations made in Court, that it ſhoulde bee lawfull to any man to come into the Court, and to inferre, accuſe, and declare what euidence he coulde, againſt the Lorde Iuſtice, but none came. Then paſſed a decree by the Counſaile, commaunding all Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, & the Maiors of Dublyn Corke, Lymerike, Waterford, and Droghdagh, the Shirifes, Knightes, and Seneſchals of euerie ſhire, to appeare at Dublin. From amongſt all theſe, they appointed .vj. inquiſitors, which examining the biſhops & other perſons aforeſayd ſingularly one by one, found that with an vniuerſal conſent they depoſed for the Priour, affyrming that to their iudgments he was a zealous and a faithfull childe of the Catholike Church. In the meane time, Arnold le Poer the priſoner deceaſed in the Caſtel, and byeauſe he ſtode vnpurged, long hee lay vnburied.

In the yeare. 1329. John de Birmingham Erle of Louth, and his brother Peter, with many other of that ſurname, and Richard Talbot of Malahide were ſlain on Whitſon euen at Balibragan by men of the Countrey. Also the Lord Thomas Butler, and diuerſe other noble men were ſlaine by Mac Gogoghdan and other Iriſh mē neare to Molinger, for the Iriſh aſwell in Leyniſter as in Meth, made inſurrections in that ſeaſon, and ſo likewiſe did they in Mouſter vnder the leading of Odzen, whom William Erle of Vlſter, and Iames Erle of Ormond vanquiſhed. So outragious were the Leyniſter Iriſh, that in one Church they brunt foure ſcore innocent ſoules, aſking no more but the life of their prieſt thē at Maſſe, whō they notwithſtāding ſticked with their Iauelins, ſpurned the hoſt, & waſted al with fire, neither forced they of ẏ Popes interdictiō, nor any eccleſiaſticall cenſures denoūced againſt thē (matters of no ſmal cōſideratiō amōg thē namely in thoſe days) but malicioully perſeuered in ẏ courſe of their furious rage, till the citizens of Wexford ſomwhat tamed thē, & ſlue. 400. of thē in one ſkirmiſh, ẏ reſt fleeing were all drenched in the water of Slane.

1329 The Earle of Louth ſlaine.

The Lorde Butler ſlaine.



In the yeare. 1330. the Earle of Vlſter with a great army made a iourney againſt Odzen, and the priour of Kilmaynā Lord iuſtice put Maurice Fitz Thomas Erle of Deſmond in priſon in the Marſhallee, out of the which he freely eſcaped, and the Lord Hugh Lacie returned into Ireland, and obteyned the kings peace and fauour.

In the yeare. 1331. the Earle of Vlſter paſſed ouer into Englande, and great ſlaughter was made vpon the Iriſh in Okenſly. Also the caſtell of Arclo was taken by the Iriſh men, and great ſlaughter made of the Engliſhe in the Cowlagh by Otothell and other.

Also the Lorde Anthonie Lucie was ſent ouer Lorde Iuſtice into Irelande, and great ſlaughter was made of the Iriſh at Thurlis by the knightes of the Countrey, and at Finnath in Meth, there were manye of them ſlaine by the Engliſh, but yet was the Caſtell of Fernis taken and burnt by the Iriſh.

Anthony Lucy Lord Iuſtice.

On the feaſt day of the Aſſumption of our Ladie, which falleth on the .xv. of Auguſt, Maurice Fitz Thomas Erle of Deſmond was apprehended at Limerike by the Lorde Iuſtice, and ſent vnto

The Earle of Deſmond apprehended.

vnto the Caſtell of Dublyn.

Moreouer the Lord Juſtice toke ſir William Birmingham at Clomell by a wile, whileſt hee was ſicke in his bed, and ſent him togither with his ſonne Walter Birmingham vnto the Caſtel of Dublyn, the .xxx. of Aprill.

1332 William Birmingham executed.

In the yeare .1332. the ſayde ſir William was hanged at Dublin, but Walter was deliuered by reaſon he was within orders.

Campion.

Campion following ſuche notes as he hath ſeene, writeth that the death of this William Birmingham chaunced in time of the gouernment of William Outlaw Prior of Kilmaynã, being lieutenant vnto John Lorde Darcie, that was made Lorde Juſtice (as the ſayd Campion hath noted) in the yeare .1329. Although Marleburgh affyrmeth that hee came thither to beare that office, in the yeare .1332. after the Lord Lucie was diſcharged, as hereafter ſhall be recyted. But whenſoeuer, or vnder whom ſoeuer Birmingham was executed, hee was accounted an odde Knight, and ſuche one as for his baliancie, hys matche was not lyghtly to bee any where founde.

The Caſtell of Clonmore was taken the ſame yeare by the Engliſhmen, and the caſtell of



Bonrate was deſtroyed by the Iriſh of Thomõd.

Alſo Henry de Mandeuile was taken and ſent priſoner to be ſafely kept in Dublyn.

Likewiſe Walter Burgh with two of hys brethren were taken in Connagh by the Earle of Ulſter, and ſent to the Caſtell of Norburgh.

This yeare the Lord Antonie Lucie was diſcharged of his rowmth by the king, and ſo returned with his wife and children into Englande,

The Lorde Darcie iuſtice.

and the Lorde John Darcie was ſent ouer Lord Juſtice in Lucies place, and great ſlaughter was made vpon Bren Obren, and Mac Carthi, in Mounſter, by the Engliſh of that Countrey.

This John Darcie (as ſhoulde appeare by gyftes beſtowed vpon him by the King) was in ſingular fauour wyth him. Amongeſt other things which hee had of the kings gyft, we fynde that hee had the Manours of Louth, and Baliogarie, and other landes in Irelande which belonged to the Earle of Ew, and for that the ſayd Earle was a Frenchman, and toke part wyth Philip de Valois the kings enimie, they were ſeyſed into the kings hande.

The Earle of Ew.

1333 A Parliament.

The Earle of Deſmonde vpon ſureties was ſet at libertie, and by the Parliament holden at Dublyn in this yeare .1333. was ſent ouer into Englande vnto the King, and William Earle of Ulſter a yong Gentleman of twentie yeares of age, in goyng towardes Knockfergus the .vij. of June, was ſlaine neare to the fourdes in Ulſter, by his owne people: but hys wyfe and daughter eſcaped into Englande: and the daughter was after maryed vnto the Lorde Lionell the kings ſonne. She deceaſſed afterwards at Dublyn, and left a daughter behind hir that was hir heyre, maryed to Roger Mortimer Earle of March, and Lorde of Trym.

The Earle of Vlſter ſlaine.

This murther was procured by Robert Fitz Martine Mandeuile, who was the firſt that preſumed to giue to the Earle any wounde.

To reuenge the death of this Erle of Ulſter (ſlaine as ye haue heard beſide Knockfergus) the Lorde Juſtice Darcie with a great power went into Ulſter, to purſue thoſe that through Mandeuiles ſeditious tumultes had ſo trayterouſly murthered their Lord. At his ſetting forward, the ſaide Juſtice Darcie appoynted ſir Tho. Burgh Treaſurer, to gouerne as lieutenant to him in his abſence. When the Lorde Juſtice had puniſhed the trayters in Ulſter, hee paſſed ouer into Scotlande, there to make warre agaynſte the Scottes that were enimies at that preſent to the

Sir Thomas Burgh.

The Lorde Iuſtice inuadeth Scotland.

king

king of England, and on the feaſt day of Saint Margaret, greate ſlaughter was made of the Scots by the Iriſh men, and ſo what by the king in one part, and the Lorde Juſtice of Irelande in another, Scotland was in maner wholy conquered, and Edwarde Ballioll was eſtabliſhed king of Scotland. The Lord Juſtice might haue poſſeſſed the Iles if they had bene worth the keeping, into the which Iles, except the ſayd Darcy & the Earle of Suſſex late Lieutenant of Irelande, no gouernor at any time yet aduentured.

At Darcyes comming backe into Irelande, and exerciſing the office of Lorde Juſtice, he deliuered Walter Birmingham out of the Caſtell of Dublin.

In the yeare. 1336. and tenth of Edward the thirdes raigne, on Saint Laurence day, the Iriſh of Connagh were diſcomfited and put to flight by the Engliſh men of the Countrey there, with the loſſe of one Engliſh man, and ten thouſande

1336



of the enimies. The Lord John Charleton baron came into Irelande to be Lord Juſtice, and with him his brother Thomas Biſhop of Hereforde Lord Chancelor, & John Rice Lorde Treaſorer, and two hundred Welchmen ſouldiers. The Biſhop was ordeyned afterward Lorde Juſtice, in whoſe time all the Iriſh of Ireland were at defiance with the Engliſh, & ſhortly brought againe into quiet by the Erles of Kildare and Deſmond. The Lorde John Darcy by the kings letters patents, was during life ordeyned Lorde Juſtice of Irelande, in the. xiij. yeare of king Edwarde the thirds raigne, which king abuſed by euill counſell and ſiniſter informers, called in vnder his ſignet royall, the franchiſes, liberties and grants whatſoeuer had bin deuiſed, made & ratified to ỹ realm of Ireland, and to euery eche perſon thereof. This reuoking of liberties was diſpleaſantly take. The Engliſh of byrth, and the Engliſh of blond falling at wordes, were deuided into factions about it, for which contention the Iriſh ſtill wapted, ſo as the realme was euen vpon the point to giue ouer all and to rebel. For redreſſe whereof the lorde Juſtice called a Parliament at Dublin, to the which the nobles refuſed to come, & in quiet wiſe aſſembled thẽſelues togither at Kilkenny, where they with the commons agreed vpon certain queſtions to be demaũded of the king by way of ſupplication, ſignifying in the ſame partlye their griefs. Which queſtiõs were in effect as foloweth.

Howe a Realme of warre might bee gouerned by one both vnſkilfull and vnable in all warlike ſeruice. Articles or queſtions.

How an officer vnder the king that entred very poore, might in one yeare grow to more exceſſiue wealth, than men of great patrimonie and liuelode in many yeares.

Howe it chaunced, that ſithe they were all called Lordes of theyr owne, that the ſouereigne Lord of them all, was not a pennie the richer for them.

The chiefe of them that thus ſeemed to repine with the preſent gouernment, was Thomas Fitz Maurice Erle of Deſmonde, through whoſe maintenance and bearing out of the matter, the Countrey was in great trouble, ſo as it had not lightly beene ſeene, that ſuche contrarietie in myndes and diſlyking had appeared amongeſt thoſe of the Engliſh race in that realme at any time before.

Herewith Rauſe Vffort was ſent ouer Lord Juſtice, who bringing hys wyfe wyth hini, the Counteſſe of Ulſter arryued about the. xiij. of Julie.

1343

Rauſe Vffort Lord iuſtice.

Thys man was verye rygorous, and through perſwaſion (as was ſayde) of his wyfe, he was more extreeme and couetous than otherwyſe hee would haue beene, a matter not to bee forgotten: for if thys Ladie had beene as readie to moue hir huſbande to haue ſhewed hymſelfe gentle

The Counteſſe of Vlſter.

gentle and mylde in his gouernment, as ſhe was bent to pricke him forwarde vnto ſharpe dealing and rygorous proceedings, ſhee had beene nowe aſwell reported of, as ſhee is infamed by theyr pennes that haue regyſtred the doyngs of thoſe tymes.

But to ỳ purpoſe. This Vffort Lord iuſtice in paine of forfeyture of all his lands commaunded the Erle of Deſmonde to make his perſonall appearance at a Parliament which he called to bee holden at Dublin, there to begin the viij. of June, and bycauſe the Erle refuſed to come (according to the ſummonance, he rayſed the kings Standard, and with an army marched into Mounſter, The Earle of Deſmonde.



and there ſeyſed the Earles poſſeſſions into the kings handes, letting them forth to ferme for an annuall rent vnto other perſons.

And whileſt hee yet remayned in Mounſter, he deuiſed wayes how to haue the Earle of Deſmonde apprehended, whiche being brought to paſſe, hee afterwarde deliuered him vpon mainprize of theſe ſureties whoſe names enſue: William de Burgh Earle of Vlſter; James Butler Earle of Ormonde, Rycharde Tuyt, Nicholas Verdon, Maurice Rochefort, Euſtace le Power, Geralde de Rochefort, John Fitz Robert Power, Robert Barry, Maurice Fitz Gerald, John Welleſley, Walter le Fant, Richard Rokelley, Henrie Traherne, Roger Power, John Lenfaunt, Roger Power, Mathew Fitz Henrie, Richarde Walleys, Edmonde Burgh ſonne to the Earle of Vlſter, knightes: Dauid Barry, William Fitz Gerald, Foulke de Fraxinus, Robert Fitz Maurice, Henry Fitz Berkley, John Fitz George de Roche, Thomas de Lees de Burgh.

Sureties for the Earle of Deſmonde.

These (as ye haue heard) were bounde for the Earle, and by cauſe hee made default, the Lorde Juſtice verily toke the aduauntage of the bonde agaynſt the mainpernours, foure of them onely excepted, the two Earles, and two knightes.

Vffort euill ſpoken of.

The lord Juſtice is charged with ſtrayte dealing by writers in this behalfe, for that the ſame perſons had aſſiſted him in his warres agaynſte Deſmond: but truly if we ſhal conſider the matter with indifferencie, he did no more than law & reaſon required. For if euery ſurety vpo forfeyture of his bonde ſhoulde be forborne, that otherwyſe doth his dutie, what care woulde men haue eyther to procure ſureties, or to become ſureties themſelues?

But ſuch is the affection of writers, ſpecially when they haue conceyued any miſlyking towardes thoſe of whome they take occaſion to ſpeake, ſo as many a worthie man hath bene defamed, and with ſlaunder greatly defaced in things wherein he rather hath deſerued ſingular commendation. But howſoeuer this matter was handled touching the Earle of Deſmonde, vpon the death of the Lord Juſtice, whiche enſued the nexte yeare, Bonfyres were made, and greate ioye ſhewed throughout all the Realme of Irelande.

Ioy conceyued for the death of the lord Iuſtice Vffort.

His Ladie verily (as ſhoulde appeare) was but a miſerable woman, procuring him to extortion and bryberie. Much he abridged the prerogatiues of the Churche, and was ſo hated, that euen in the ſight of the Countrey he was robbed without reſcue by Mac Cartie, notwithſtanding he gathered power, and diſperſed thoſe Rebels of Vlſter.

Robert Darcy was ordeyned Juſtice by the Counſell, till the kings letters came to ſir John Fitz Mozice, who releaſed Fitz Thomas Earle of Kildare left in durance by Vfford at his death. 1346 Robert Darcie Lord iuſtice.

Fitz Mozice continued not long, but was diſcharged, and the Lorde Walter Birmingham elect to ſucceede in that rowmth, who procured Iohn Fitz Morice Iuſtice. Lord Birmingham Iuſtice.

a ſafeconduct for Deſmonde to pleade his cauſe before the King, by whome he was liberally entreated, and allowed towarde his expences there twentie ſhillings a day at the Princes charge, in conſideration of whiche curteſie ſhewed to hys Kinneſman, the Earle of Kildare, accompanied with dyuerſe Lordes, Knightes, and choſen Horſemen, ſerued the King at Calyce, a towne thought impregnable, and returned after the winning thereof in greate pompe and ioylitie

Wee finde that Thomas Lorde Berkeley, and Reignalde Lord Cobham, and Sir Norice Berckley became mainpernours for the ſayde Earle of Deſmonde, that her ſhoulde come into England and abide ſuch tryall as the law would awarde.

John Archer Prior of Kylmaynam was ſubſtituted Lieutenaunt to the Lorde Juſtice. To whome ſucceeded Baron Carew, and after Carewe followed Sir Thomas Rokeſbye Knight, vnto whome was aſſigned aboue his ordinarie retinew of twentie men of armes, a ſupplie of tenne men of armes, and twentie Archers on Horſebacke, ſo long as it ſhould bee thought needfull.

Greate mortalitie chaunced this yeare, as in other partes of the worlde, ſo eſpecially in places aboute the Sea coaſtes of Englande and Irelande.

In the yeare following, departed this life Alexander Bignor Archbiſhop of Dublin. And the ſame yeare was John de Saint Paule conſecrated Archbiſhop of that ſea.

This yeare deceaſed Kenworyke Shereman ſometime Maior of Dublin, a great benefactor to euery Churche and religious houſe within. xx. myles rounde aboute the Citie. His legacies to the poore and other, beſides his liberalitie ſhewed in his lyfe tyme, amounted to three thouſande Markes.

In this ſeaſon dwelled in Ulſter a wealthie knight, one Sir Robert Sauage, who the rather to preſerue his owne, began to wall and fortifie his Manor houſes with Caſtelles and pyles againſt the Iriſh enimie, exhorting his heyre Henrie Sauage to applie that worke ſo beneficiall for himſelfe and his poſteritie. Father (quoth yong Sauage) I remember the prouerbe, Better a Caſtell of bones than of ſtones: where ſtrēgth & courage of valiant men are preſt to helpe vs, neuer will I (by the grace of God) comber my ſelfe with dead walles. My fort ſhall bee where ſoeuer yong bloods be ſtyrring, and where I finde rowmth to fight.

The father in a fume let lie the buylding, and forſware to goe any further forwarde in it. But yet the want therof and ſuch like, hath beene the decay as well of the Sauages, as of all the Engliſhe Gentlemen in Ulſter: as the lacke alſo of walled Townes is one of the principall occaſions of the rude wildeneſſe in other partes of Irelande.

This Sauage hauing prepared an armie againſt the Iriſhe, allowed to euerie Souldier before they ſhould buckle with the enimie, a mighty draught of Aqua vite, Wine, or olde Ale, and killed in prouiſion for their returne, Beefe, Veneſon, and fowle, great plentie: which doing diuers of his captaines miſliked, bycauſe they conſidered the ſucceſſe of warre to be vncertaine, and therefore eſteemed it better policie to poyſon the cates, or to do them away, than to keepe the ſame, and happely to feed a ſort of rogues with ſuch princely foode, if ought ſhoulde happen to themſelues, in this aduenture of ſo fewe againſte ſo manye. Hereat ſmyled the Gentleman and ſayde, Tuſhe, ye are too full of enuie: This worlde is but an Inne, to the which ye haue no ſpeciall intereſt, but are onely tenants at will of the Lorde. If it pleaſe him to commaunde vs from it, as it were from our lodging, and to ſet other good fellowes in our rowmthes, what hurt ſhall it be for vs to leaue them ſome meate for their ſuppers, let them hardly winne it and weare it. If they enter our dwellings, good maner woulde no leſſe but to welcome them with ſuch fare as the Countrey breedeth, and with all my heart much good may it do them. Notwithſtanding I preſume ſo farre vpō your noble corages, that verily my mind giueth me we ſhal returne at night, & bāket our ſelues with our owne ſtore, and ſo they did, hauing ſlain three. M. Iriſhmen.

In the yere. 1355 deceaſed Maurice Fitz Thomas Erle of Deſmond L. iuſtice of Ireland, that had that office of the kings grant for terme of life. 1355 The Earle of Deſmond lord iuſtice deceaſſeth.

After him ſucceeded in ỳ rowmth Thomas de Rokeſby, a knight ſincere & vpright of conſcience, who being cōtrolled for ſuffring himſelf to be ſerued in treen cups, anſwered: thoſe homely cups & diſhes pay truly for that they cōtein: I had rather drinke out of treen cups, & pay gold & ſiluer, than drink out of golde and make woodden payment. Thomas Rokesby Lorde iuſtice. His ſaying.

This yeare began great controuerſie betwixt Richard Rauſe Primate of Ardmegh, and the foure orders of begging Friers, which ended at length by the deaths of the ſayd Richarde Rauſe, and Richarde Kilminton, in the yeare. 1260. Rauſe deceaſſing in the Popes Court, and Kilminton in England. 1357 Diſſention betwixt the Primate of Ardmagh, and the foure orders of Friers.

Almerike de Saint Amand, John, or as other haue James Butler Erle of Ormōd, and Maurice Fitz Thomas Erle of Kildare, were appointed Lord Juſtices of Ireland by turnes. Three Lorde Iuſtices.

In Dymonds time, and in the. xxxiij. yere of king Edward the thirds raigne, order was taken that the Iriſh Lordes ſhould remaine & dwell in their Record Tur.

their houſes vpon the marches to defend the ſubiects from inuaſions of enimies. And further, proclamation went forth, that no mere Iriſh borne ſhould be made Maior, Bailife, porter, officer or miniſter, in any towne or place within the Engliſh dominiõs: nor that any Archbiſhop, Biſhop, Abbot, prior, or any other being of the kings allegiance, vpon forfeyture of al that he might forfeit, ſhould aduance any that was mere Iriſh borne to the rowmth of a Canon, or to haue any other eccleſiaſticall benefice that lay among the Engliſhe ſubiects.

The Earle of Kildare Lorde iuſtice.

To Maurice Thomas Erle of Kildare, when he was ordeyned Lord Juſtice, the kings letters aſſigned in yearely fee for his office fiue hundred pounds, with condition that the ſayde gouernor ſhould find .xx. great horſes to ſerue in the field, he himſelf to be the twentith man in going againſt the enimie: whiche alowance and conditions in thoſe dayes (ſo farre as I can geſſe) ſhould ſeeme to be ordinarie to the office.

Lionell Duke of Clarence.

Lionell Duke of Clarence, ſonne to king Edward the third, came ouer into Ireland to be lord Juſtice there. He was in right of his wife Erle of Ulſter. He publiſhed an inhibition to all of the Iriſh birth, not ouer to approch his army, nor to be in any wiſe imployed in ſeruice of the warres. He vanquiſhed Obren, but yet ſodenly no man vnderſtãding how, an hundred of his ſouldiers were wanting, as they lay in gariſon, the loſſe of whõ was thought to be occaſioned by that diſpleaſant decree afore rehearſed: wherevpon he toke better aduiſe, and receiued the Iriſh into like fauor as other lieutenants had them in before that preſent, ſhewing a tender loue towards them all, & ſo euer after proſpered in his affayres. He created diuerſe knights, as Preſton, now knowne by the name of the familie of Gormaunſton, Holywood, Talbot, Euſac, De la Hide, Patrike, Robert and John de Fraxinis. All theſe being Gentlemen of worthie fame in chiualrie.

The Eſchequer he remoued to Catherlagh, & beſtowed in furniſhing that towne .v.C. pounds.

1362 In the yeare .1362. John de Saint Paul Archbiſhop of Dublin departed this life the fifth Ides of September. And in the yeare following was Tho. Minot conſecrated Archbiſhop of ỳ place.

1367 Gerald Fitz Maurice Erle of Deſmond was appoynted Lord iuſtice, vntil the comming of the Lord William Winſore, the firſt lieutenant in Ireland, who came ouer in the yeare .1369.

The Lorde Winſerde lieutenant.

1369 This Winſore called a Parliament at Kilkenny, in the which was graunted to the king a ſubſidie of three thouſand pounds to be leuyed of the people, ſubiects to the king in that land: and in an other Parliament holden by him at Balydoill they graunted two thouſande pounds to be likewiſe leuyed. Which ſayde ſummes were graunted of the mere and free good willes of the Nobles and Communaltie of the lande, towardes the maintenaunce of the Kings expences in his warres. Yet the King in the .xliij. yeare of hys raigne, directing his letters vnto the ſayde Lorde Wynſore, commaunded him to ſurceaſe from leuying the foreſayde money, although afterwardes he commaunded againe that the arrerages ſhould be leuyed and payde to his lieutenant the ſayde Winſore.

Record Turris A Parliament. A Subſidie.

The third peſtilence in Ireland made away a great number of people in the yeare .1370. Mortalitie of people. 1370

The Lord Gerald Fitz Mozice Earle of Deſmond, and the Lord John Fitz Richard, and the Lorde John Fitz John, and many other noble men, were ſlaine by Obren, and Mac Conmard of Thomond in the moneth of July. Conhur.

1372 In the yeare .1372. ſir Richarde Aſhton was ſent ouer to be Lorde Juſtice in Irelande. Sir Richarde Aſhton lorde iuſtice.

In the yeare following great warre was reyſed betwixt the Engliſh of Meth, and Offerolle, in the whiche manye vppon both ſydes were ſlaine. 1373

In May, the Lorde John Huſſey Baron of Ealtrim, John Fitz Richarde Shirife of Meth, and William Dalton were ſlain in Kynaleigh. Slaughter.

1375 In the yeare .1375. Thomas Archbiſhop of Dublyn departed this life, and the ſame yere was Robert de Wikeforde conſecrated Archebyſhop there.

¶ Richard the ſeconde.

1381 EDmonde Mortimer Earle of Marche and Ulſter was made the Kings Lieutenant in Irelande. The Earle of Marche the kings lieutenant.

In the yeare .1383. a greate mortalitie raigned in that countrey. This was called the fourth peſtilence. 1383

1385 In the yeare .1385. Dublyn bridge fell. Beſide Edmond Mortimer Erle of March, Campion affyrmeth, that in this Richard the ſeconds dayes, there are Juſtices and lieutenants of Irelande ſpecially recorded, Roger Mortimer ſonne to the ſayd Edmond, Philip Courtney the kings couſin, James Earle of Ormonde, and Robert Vere Erle of Oxford, Marques of Dublyn lorde Chamberlaine, who was alſo created Duke of Irelande by Parliament, and was credited with the whole Dominion of the Realme by graunt for tearme of life, without paying anye thing therefore, paſſing all writes, and placing all officers as Chauncellor, Treaſurer, chiefe Juſtice, admirall, his owne Lieutenant and other inferiour charges vnder his owne ſeale.

1390 In the yeare .1390. Robert de Wikeforde Archebiſhoppe of Dublyn departed thys lyfe, and the ſame yeare was Robert Waldeby tranſlated vnto the Archebyſhop of Dublyn, an Auguſtine Frier.

In

In the yere. 1294. K. Richard ſore afflicted and troubled in minde with ſorrow, for the deceaſe of his wife Queene Anne that departed this life at Whitſuntide laſt paſt, not able without teares to beholde his Palaces and Chambers of eſtate, that repreſented vnto him the ſolace paſt, and doubled his ſorrow, ſought ſome occaſion of buſineſſe: and now about Michaelmaſſe paſſed ouer into Irelande, where dyuerſe Lordes and Princes of Ulſter renued their homages, and placing Roger Mortimer Erle of March his Lieutenant, returned about Shrouetide.

In the yeare. 1307. Richarde de Northalis Archebiſhop of Dublyn departed this life, that was the ſame yeare from an other See remoued thither. He was a Frier of the order of the Carmelites. 1307

The ſame yeare Thomas de Crauly was choſen & conſecrated Archbiſhop of Dublyn. Alſo ſir Thomas de Burgh, & ſir Walter de Birmingham flue. vj. C. Iriſh men, with their Captaine Macdoun. Moreouer, Edmond Erle of March Lorde Deputie of Irelande, with the ayde of the Erle of Ormond, waſted the countrey of an Iriſh Lord called Obren, and at the winning of his chiefe houſe he made. vij. knightes, to wit, ſir Chriſtofer Preſton, ſir John Bedlew, ſir Edmõd Loundris, ſir John Loundris, ſir William Mugent, Walter de la Hide, and Robert Cadel. But after this it chaunced, that on the Aſcention day, certaine Iriſh men flue. xl. Engliſh men, and among them theſe were accounted as principall, John Fitz William, Thomas Talbot, & Thomas Cambry. But ſhortly after Roger Mortimer Erle of March and Ulſter the kings Lieutenant was ſlain with diuerſe other, by Obren and other Iriſhmen of Leynſter at Kenlis. Then was Roger Gray elected Lorde Juſtice of Irelande. The ſame yere on the feaſt day of S. Marke the Pope, the duke of Surrey landed in Ireland, & with him came ſir Thomas Crauly the Archbiſhop of Dublin. King Richard informed of the vnruly parts and rebellious ſtirres of the Iriſhmen, minded to appeaſe the ſame, and ſpecially to reuenge the death of the Erle of March: whereupon with a nauie of two hundred ſayles he paſſed ouer into Irelande, and landed at Waterford on a Sunday being the morrow after S. Petronilla the virgins day.

Six hundred Iriſh mẽ ſlain.



The Fryday after his arriuall at Forde in Kenlis, within the Countie of Kildare, there were ſlaine two. C. Iriſhmen, by Jenicho de Artois a Gaſcoigne, and ſuch Engliſhmen as he had with him: and the morrow after, the Citizens of Dubling brake into the countrey of Obren, flue. xxiij of the cuinnies, & tooke. lxxx. men with children.

The. iiij. Kalends of July, king Richard came to Dublin and remayned there for a time, during the which diuerſe Lordes and Princes of the cõtrey came in and ſubmitted themſelues vnto him, by whom they were curteouſly vſed, and trayned to honourable demeanor and ciuilitie, as much as the ſhortneſſe of time would permit, as in ỹ Engliſh hiſtorie you may find ſet forth more at large.

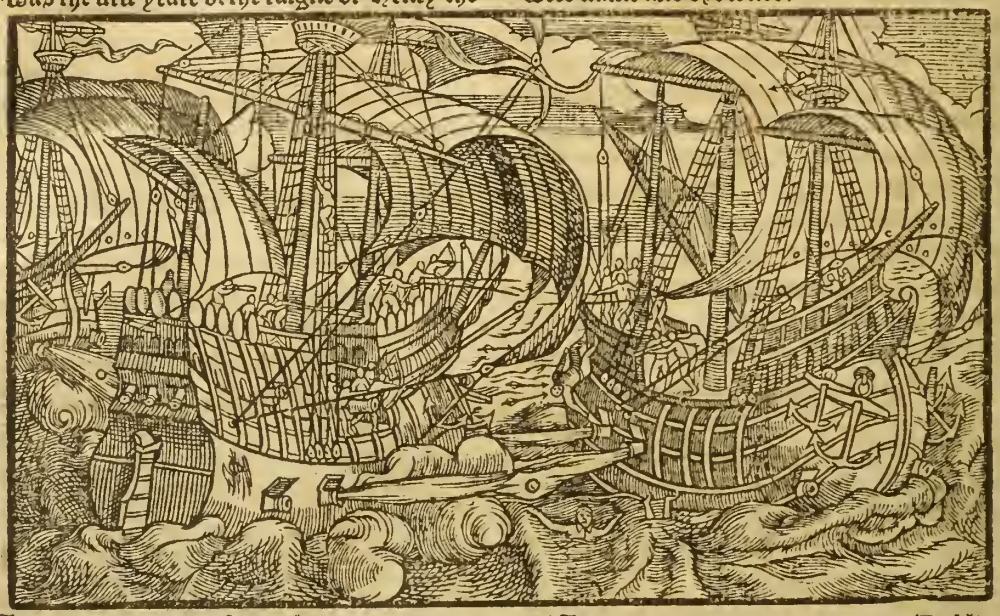
The King commeth to Dublyn.

See more hereof in England.

Whileſt king Richard thus lay in Dublin to reduce Ireland vnto due ſubiection, he was aduertiſed that Henry duke of Lancaſter, that lately before had bene baniſhed, was returned, and ment to bereaue him of the crown. The ſonne of which Duke, together with the Duke of Glouceſters ſonne, the King ſhutte vp within the Caſtell of Trim, and then taking the Seas, he returned and landed in Wales, where he founde hys defence ſo weake and vnſure, that finally he came into his aduerſaries handes, and was depoſed by authoritie of Parliament, and then was the ſayd Duke of Lancaſter admytted to raigne in hys place.

¶ Henrie the fourth.

1400 AT Whiſuntide in the yeare. 1400. whiche was the firſt yeare of the raigne of Henry the fourth, the Conſtable of Dublin Caſtell, and diuerſe other, at Stranford in Vlſter fought by Sea with Scottes, where many Engliſh men were ſlaine and drowned.



1401 In the ſecond yeare of king Henrie the fourth, ſir John Stanley the kings lieutenant in Irelande returned into Englande, leauing his vnder lieuetenant there ſir William Stanley.

Sir Iohn Stanley lord lieutenant.

The ſame yeare on Bartholmew euen, ſir Stephen Scrope, deputie vnto the lord Thomas of Lancaſter the kings brother, and Lorde lieutenant of Irelande, arriued there to ſupplie the rowmth of Alexander Biſhop of Meth, that exerciſed the ſame office vnder the ſayd Lord Thomas of Lancaſter, before the comming of this ſir Stephen Scrope, which ſir Stephen for his violence and extortion before time vſed in the ſame office vnder king Richard, was ſore cried out vpō by the voyces of the poore people, inſomuch that the Ladie his wife hearing of ſuch exclamations, would in no wiſe continue with him there, except he would receiue a ſolemne othe on the Bible, that wittingly he ſhoulde wrong no Chriſtian creature in that lande, that truely and duly he ſhoulde ſee payment made for all expenſes, and hereof (ſhee ſayd) ſhee had made a vow to Chriſt ſo determinately, that onleſſe it were on his part firmly promiſed, ſhe could not without peril of ſoul go with him. Hir huſband aſſented, and accōpliſhed hir requeſt effectually, recouered a good opinion for his vpright dealing, reformed his caters & purueyers, enriched the coūtry, mainteined a plentiful houſe, remiſſion of great offences, remedies for perſons endaungered to the prince, pardons of landes and liues he graunted ſo charitably, and ſo diſcreetly, that his name was neuer recited amōg thē without many bleſſings and prayers, and ſo cheerfully they were redy to ſerue him againſt the Iriſh vpō all neceſſarie occaſions. The Lord Thomas of Lancaſter the kings ſonne and Lorde lieutenant of Ireland, arriued the ſame yeare at Dublin, vpon Saint Vrices day.

Sir Stephen Scrope.

The Maior of Dublin Iohn Drake, with a band of his Citizens neare to Bre, ſlue foure M. of the Iriſh Outlawes (as Campion noteth out of the records of Chriſtes Church:) But Marlb. ſpeaketh onely of. 493. And theſe being all men of warre.

The Iriſh ouerthrowne by the Maior of Dublin.

The verie ſame day that this victorie was atchieued, to wit, the. xj. day of Julie, the Church of the Friers Preachers in Dublin was dedicate by the Archbiſhop of that Citie.

The ſame yeare in September, a Parliament was holden at Dublin, during the whiche in Vrgle Sir Bartholmew Verdon Knight, James White, Stephen Gernon, and other theyr complices, ſlue the Shirife of Louth Iohn Dowdall.

In the yeare. 1402. in May, ſir Walter Beterley Stewarde of Vlſter, a right valiant knight was ſlaine, and to the number of. xxx. other with him. The ſame yeare aboute the feaſt of Saint Martin, the L. Thomas of Lancaſter the kings ſonne returned into England, leauing the Lorde Stephen Scrope his Deputie there: who alſo in the beginning of Lent ſayled ouer into England, and then the Lordes of the land choſe the Earle of Ormond to be Lord Iuſtice.

Stephen Scrope.

The Erle of Ormond Lor iuſtice.

In the firſt yeare of Henrie the fourth, Iohn Colton Archbiſhop of Ardmagh, the. xxvij. of Aprill departed this life, vnto whome Nicholas Stoning ſucceeded.

1404 The Archbiſhop of Ardmagh deceaſed.

The ſame yeare on the day of Saint Vitale the martir, the parliament of Dublin began before the Erle of Ormond then lord Iuſtice of Irelād, where the ſtatutes of Kilkenny and Dublin were

confirmed

confirmed, and likewiſe the charter of Ireland.

In the firſt yeare of Henry the fourth, in the Month of May, three Scottiſh barks were take, two at greene caſtell, and one at Ilkey, with captaine Macgolagh.

The ſame yeare the Marchants of Dzodagh entred Scotland, and toke praies and pledges.

Alſo on the euen of the feaſt day of the .viij. bzethzen, Oghgard was burnt by the Iriſh.

And in June Syz Stephen Scrope that was come again into Ireland, returned eftſones into Englande, leauing the Earle of Dzmonde Lozde Juſtice of Irelande.

About the ſame time they of Dublin entred Scotland at Saint Ninian, and valiantly behaued themſelues agaynſte the enimies, and after croſſing the Seas, directed theyz courſe into Wales, and did muche hurt to the Welchmen, bringing from thence the ſhzine of Saint Cubins, and placed it in the Churche of the Trinitie in Dublin. James Butler Earle of Dzmonde dyed at Baligam, whileſt he was Lozde Juſtice, vnto whome ſucceeded Geralde Earle of Kildare.

The Citizens of Dublin inuade Scotland.

They inuade Wales.

The Erle of Ormond deceaſeth.

In the .viij. yeare of king Henrie, on Corpus Chriſti day, the Citizens of Dublin with the Countrey people about them, manfully vanquiſhed the Iriſh enimies, and ſlue diuerſe of them,



and toke two enſignes oz Standards, bringing with them to Dublyn the heades of thoſe which they had ſlaine.

The ſame yeare the Pzioz of Conall, in the plaine of Kildare, fought manfully with the Iriſh, and vanquiſhed two hundzed that were wel armed, ſleaing part of them, and chaſing the reſidue out of the field, and the Pzioz had not wyth him paſt the number of .xx. Engliſh men, but god (as ſaith mine Authoz) aſſiſted thoſe that put their truſt in him.

The ſame yeare after Michaelmas, Stephen Scrope Deputie Juſtice, to the Lozde Thomas of Lancaſter the kings ſonne, and his lieutenant of Ireland, came againe ouer into Irelande, and in the feaſt of Saint Hillarie was a Parliament holden at Dublyn, which in Lent after was ended at Trim. And Meiller de Bzimmingham ſlue Cathole Oconhur aboute the ende of Febzuarie.

In the yere .1407. a certain falſe and heathniſh wzetch, an Iriſh man, named Mac Adam Mac Gilmoze, that had cauſed .xl. Churches to be deſtroyed, as he that was neuer chriſtened, and therfoze called Cozbi, chaunced to take priſoner one Patrike Sauage, and receyued foz his raunſome two .M. Markes, though afterwardes hee ſlue him togither with his bzother Richard.

The ſame yere in the feaſt of the exaltation of the Croſſe, Stephen Scrope deputie to the Lozde Thomas of Lancaſter, with the Earles of Dzmonde and Deſmond, and the Pzioz of Kilmaynam, and diuerſe other captaynes and men of warre of Meith, ſet from Dublin, and inuaded the lande of Mac Murche, where the Iriſh came into the field and ſkirmiſhed with them, ſo as in the fozmer part of the day, they put the Engliſh power to the wozſe, but at length the Iriſhe were vanquiſhed & chaſed, ſo that Dnolan with his ſonne and diuerſe other were taken priſoners. But the Engliſh captaines aduertiſed here ẏ the Burkeyns, & Okerol in the countie of Kilkenny, had foz the ſpace of two days togither done much miſchief, they rode with al ſpeed vnto the town of Callã, & there encountring with the aduerſaries, manfully put thẽ to flight, ſlue Okerol, & .viij. C. others. There went a tale and beleued of many, that the Sunne ſtood ſtil foz a ſpace that day, tyll the Engliſhmen had ridden ſixe myles, ſo muche was it thoughte that GOD fauoured

Okeroll ſlaine.

the Engliſhe part in this enterpriſe, if wee ſhall beleeue it.

The ſame yeare the Lorde Stephan Scrope paſſed once againe ouer into Englande, and Iames Butler Erle of Ormonde was elected by the countrey Lord Iuſtice of Ireland.

In the dayes of this king Henry the fourth, the Inhabitants of Corke beeing ſore afflicted with perpetual oppreſſions of their Iriſh neighbors, cõplained themſelues in a generall writing directed to the lord of Rutland & Corke, the kings deputie there, & to the counſell of the realme then aſſembled at Dublin: which letter bycauſe it openeth a windowe to behold the ſtate of thoſe parties, and of the whole realme of Ireland in thoſe dayes, we haue thought good to ſet down here as it hath bin entred by Campion, according to the copie deliuered to him by Francis Agard Eſquire, one of ẏ Queenes Maieſties priuie counſell in Ireland.

A letter from Corke out of an old recorde that beareth no date.

IT may pleaſe your wiſedomes to haue pity vpon vs the kings poore ſubiects within ẏ coũtie of Corke, or elſe we are caſt away for euer. For where there are in this coũty theſe lords by name, beſide knights, eſquiers, gentlemen & yeomen, to a great number that might diſpend yerely. viij. C. poundes, vj. C. poundes. iiij. C. poundes, two. C. an hundred pounds, an hundred Marks, twentie pounds. xx. marks, ten pounds, ſome more, ſome leſſe, to a great number beſide theſe Lordes.

First the Lorde Marques Caro, his yearely reuenues was beſyde Dorzey hauen and other creekes, two. M. two. C. pounds ſterling.

The Lord Barneuale of Beerhauen his yerely reuenues was beſide Bodze hauen and other creekes, M. vj. C. pounds ſterling.

I thinke rather greene caſtell. The Lorde Uggan of the great Caſtell hys yearely reuenue beſide his hauens and creekes, xiij. thouſand poundes.

The Lord Balram of Enkort, his yearely reuenues beſide hauens and creekes. M. CCC. pound ſterling.

The Lorde Curcy of Kelbzetton, his yearely reuenues beſide hauens and creekes, a thouſande two hundred pound ſterling.

The Lorde Mandeuile of Barenſtelly, his yearely reuenues beſide hauens and creekes, M. two hundred pound ſterling.

The Lorde Arundell of the Strand, his yearely reuenues beſide haues and creekes, a thouſand, fiue hundred pounds ſterling.

The Lord Barod of the gard, his yearely reuenue beſide haues & creekes. M. C. poũds ſterling.

The Lord Steyney of Baltmore, his yearely reuenue beſides hauens & creekes. viij. C. li. ſterl.

The Lord Roch of Pole caſtell, his yearely reuenues beſyde hauens and creekes, ten thouſande poundes ſterling.

The kings Maieſtie hath the landes of the late yong Barry by forfeyture, the yearely reuenue wherof, beſide two riuers and creekes, and al other caſualties, is. M. viij. C. pound ſterling.

And that at the ende of this Parliament, your Lordſhip with the kings moſt noble coũſell may come to Corke, & call before you al theſe Lords, & other Iriſh men, and bind them in pain of loſſe of life, lands & goods, that neuer one of them do make warre vpon an other, without licence or commaundement of you, my lord deputie, & the kings counſel: for the vtter deſtruction of theſe partes, is that only cauſe. And once all the Iriſh men, & the kings enimies were driue into a great valley called Clane onighte betwixt two great mountains called Maccorr, or the leprous Iland: and there they liued lõg & many yeres vp̃ their white meat, till at the laſt theſe Engliſh lords fell at variance among thẽſelues, & thẽ the weakeſt part toke certain Iriſh men to take their part, & ſo vanquiſhed their enimies. And thus fell the Engliſh lordes at warre among themſelues, till the Iriſh men were ſtronger than they, & driue thẽ away, & now haue the cuntry whole vnder thẽ, but ẏ the lord Roch, the lord Barry, & the lord Curcy only remaine vp̃ the leaſt part of their anceſters poſſeſſions, & yong Barry is there vpõ the kings portion, paying his grace neuer a penny rent: wherfore we the kings poore ſubiects of the Citie of Corke, Kinſale, and Poghal, deſire your Lordſhip to ſende hither two good Iuſtices to ſee this matter ordred, and ſome Engliſh captains with. xx. Engliſhmẽ that may be captains ouer vs all, and we will riſe with thẽ to redreſſe theſe enormities all at our own coſtes. And if you will not come nor ſend, we will ſende ouer to our liege lorde the king and complaine on you all. Thus farre that letter.

The Citie of Corke. And as ſaith Campion, at this day the citie of Corke is ſo encombred with vnquiet neighbors of great power, ẏ they are forced to gard their gates continually, & to kepe thẽ ſhut at ſeruice times, at meales, & from ſunne ſetting to ſunne riſing, not ſuffring any ſtranger to enter the towne with his weapõ, but to leaue ẏ ſame at a lodge appointed. They dare vneth at any time walke abrode farre from the towne for their recreation, except at ſeaſons, and then with ſtrength of men furniſhed with armour and weapon for their ſafegarde. They match in wedlocke among themſelues, ſo that well neare the whole Citie is allied and ioyned togither in conſanguinitie.

But nowe to returne vnto the doings of the Erle of Ormonde that was placed Lord Iuſtice in Scropes rowmth. We find ẏ in the yere. 1408. he called a Parliament at Dublin, in which the ſtatutes of Kilkenny and Dublin were eftſones reuiued, and certain ordinances eſtabliſhed vnder the great ſeale of England againſt purueyors. 1408 A Parliament at Dublin.

The ſame yeare, the morrow after Lammas day

d Tho. day, the Lorde Thomas of Lancaſter ſonne to
after king Henry the fourth, Lorde Lieuetenaunt of
th ouer Irelande. landed at Carlingforde, and in the



weeke following, he came to Dublin, and put the Erle of Kildare vnder arreſt, cõming to him with three of his family. He loſt all his goodes being ſpoyled and rifeled by the Lorde Lieutenants ſeruants, and himſelfe deteyned ſtill in priſon in the Caſtell of Dublin, till hee had payde three hundred markes for a fine.

On the the day of S. Marcel the Martyr, deceaſſed ỹ lord Stephã Scrope at Trikeldermot.

The ſame yeare alſo was the Lord Thomas of Lancaſter at Kilmaynam wounded (I knowe not howe,) and vneth eſcaped with life, and after cauſed ſommonance to be giuẽ by proclamation, that all ſuch as ought by their tenures to ſerue the king, ſhould aſſemble at Roſſe. And after the feaſt of S. Hillarie, he helde a Parliament at Kilkenny for a tallage to be graunted. And after the. xiij. of March, he returned into England, leauing the Priour of Kylmaynam for his Deputie in Irelande.

This yere alſo Hugh Macgilmore was ſlaine in Cragfergus within the Church of the Friers Minors, which Church hee had before deſtroyed and broken downe the glaſſe Windowes to haue the Iron barres, through which his enimies the Sauages entred vpon him.

This yeare, beeing in the tenth of Henrie the fourth, in June Janico de Artoys with the Engliſh men ſlue. 80. of the Iriſh in Vlſter.

This yere king Henrie gaue the ſword to the citie of Dublin, which citie was firſt gouerned as appeareth by their ancient ſeale called *ſignũ præpoſituræ*, by a Prouoſt. And in the. xiij. of Henrie the thirde by a Maior and two Baylifes, whiche Baylifes were chaunged into Shrifes, by Charter graunted by Edward the firſt. 1547.

This Maioralitie, both for ſtate and charge of office, and for bountifull hoſpitalitie, exceedeth any citi in England, London excepted.

In the yeare following, the. xxj. day of May, a Parliament beganne at Dublin, whiche laſted three weekes, the Priour of Kilmaynam ſitting as Lorde Juſtice. 1410

The ſame yeare, the. xxij. day of June, the ſame Juſtice toke the Caſtels of Mibraclide, Oferol, and de la Mare.

Irelande this yeare was ſore afflicted for want of corne.

The Lorde Juſtice entred into the lande of Obren with. 1500. Kernes, of which number. 800 reuolted to the Iriſh, ſo that if the power of Dublyn had not beene there, it had gone euill with the Lorde Juſtice, and yet he eſcaped not without loſſe, for John Derpatrike was ſlaine there. A iourney made by the lorde iuſtice.

In the yeare. 1411. before Shroue Sunday, mariages were celebrated among the nobilitie in Irelande. William Preſton maryed the daughter of Edwarde Paris, and John Wogan matched with the eldeſt daughter of Chriſtofer Preſton, and Walter de la Hide, with the ſeconde daughter of the ſame Chriſtofer. 1411 Mariages.

In the yeare. 1412. about the feaſt of Tiburtius and Valerianus, which falleth on the. x. of Aprill Oconthir did much miſchiefe in Meth, and toke 160. Engliſh men. 1412 Oconthir.

The ſame yeare Odoles a knight, & Thomas Fitz Morice fought togither, & either ſlue other.



The. xxiij. of May, Robert Mountain Biſhop of Meth departed this life, to whom ſucceeded Edwarde de Iudiſey ſometime Archdeacon of Cornewall. This yeare on Saint Cutberts day king Henry the fourth departed this life. The Biſhop of Meth deceaſeth. The death of king Henrie the fourth.

¶ Henrie the fift.

IN the firſte yere of this king, the. xxb. of Sept. landed in Irelãd at Clawcarf, John Stanley the kings lieutenant of that lande. He departed this life the. xviij. of Januarie next enſuing, at Athirde in Latine called Atrium dei. After his deceaſe, Thomas Crauley Archbiſhop of Dublin was choſen L. iuſtice of Ireland. Janico de Artoys ledde forth a power agaynſte Magynors, 1413 Iohn Stanley the kings lieutenant in Irelande. Tho. Crauley Archbiſhop of Dublin.

a great Lord of Ireland, but neare to a place called Inor many Engliſhmen were ſlaine.

A Parliament. The morrow after S. Mathias day, a Parliament began againe at Dublin, which continued for the ſpace of .xv. dayes, in which meane tyme the Iriſhe did muche hurt by inuaſions made into the Engliſh pale, and burning vp all the houſes afore them that ſtode in theyr way, as their vſuall cuſtome was in tymes of other Parliaments, wherevpon a tallage was demaunded, but not graunted.

1414 In the yeare. 1414. the Engliſh men fought with the Iriſh neare to Kilka, and ſlue an hundred of the enimies, whileſt the Archbiſhop being Lord Juſtice in Triſtel Dermote, went in proceſſion with his Cleargie, praying for the good ſpeede of his men and other of the Countrey, that were gone forth to fight with the aduerſaries.

In the feaſt of S. Gordian and Epimachus, to wit, the .x. of May, were the Engliſh of Meth diſcomfited by Dconther & his Iriſh, where they ſlue Thomas Maureuar baron of Serin, & there were taken priſoners, Chriſtofer Fleming, John Dardis, & diuers other, beſide many ỳ were ſlain. Engliſh men ſlaine.



John Lorde Talbot of Sherfield. On Saint Martins euen, ſir John Talbot of Holomſhire, Lorde Furniuale, landed at Dalkey, the kings lieutenaunt in Ireland, a man of great honour.

1415 In the yeare. 1415. in Nouēber, Robert Talbot a right noble man, that walled the Suburbs of Kilkenny, departed this life. Alſo Patrike Baret Biſhop of Fernis deceaſed, and was buried among the Canons at Kenlis. Robert Talbot deceaſeth.

1416 This yeare in the feaſt day of Geruaſius and Protheſius which falleth on the .xix. of June, the Lord lieutenants wife, the Ladie Furniuall was brought to bed at Finglaſſe of a ſonne named Thomas. About the ſame time alſo, Stephen Fleming Archbiſhop of Ardmach departed thys life, after whō ſucceded John Suanig. On ỳ day of S. Laurence, the Lord Furniuals ſonne Tho. Talbot that was borne at Finglaſſe in Nouēber laſt paſt, departed this life, and was buried in the Quier of the frier preachers church in Dublyn. The Archbiſhop of Ardmagh deceaſeth.

About the ſame time the Iriſh fel vpō ỳ Engliſhmen, and ſlue many of them, among other Thomas Balimoze of Baliquelan was one.

The Parliament which the laſt yeare had bene called and holden at Dublyn, was this yeare remoued to Trim, and there began the .xj. of May, where it continued for the ſpace of .xj. dayes, in the which was graunted to the lord lieutenant, a ſubſidie in monie. The Parliament remoued to Trim. A ſubſedie.

1417 In the yeare following, the Archebiſhop of Dublyn paſſed ouer into England, and deceaſſed at Faringdon, but his bodie was buried in the new Colledge at Oxforde. This man is greatly prayſed for his liberalitie, hee was a good almes man, a great Clearke, a Doctor of Diuinitie, an excellent preacher, a great buylder, beautifull, tall of ſtature, and ſanguine of complexion. He was lxxx. yeares of age when he died, and had gouerned the Church of Dublyn in good quiet by the ſpace of twentie yeares. The Archbiſhop of Dublin deceaſed. His prayſe.

This yeare, ſhortly after Eaſter, the Lord depute ſpoyled the tenants of Henrie Crus, and Henrie Bethat. 1418

Alſo at Olane on the feaſt day of Saint John and Saint Paule, the Erle of Kildare, ſir Chriſtofer Preſton, and ſir John Bedlow were arreſted and committed to warde within the Caſtell of Trim, becauſe they ſought to communc wyth the Prior of Kilmaynam.

The .xxix. of July, Mathew Hulee Baron of Ealtrim deceaſed, and was buried at the Friers preachers of Trim.

1419 In the yeare. 1419. a counſell royall was holden at Naas, where was graunted to the Lorde Lieutenant a ſubſedie in money. A counſell or Parliament holden.

The ſame yeare vpon Cene Thurſday, Dthoel toke. 400. kine ỳ belonged vnto Balimoze, ſo breaking the peace contrarie to his othe.

The fourth Ides of May, Mac Wourch, chief captain of his nation, and of all the Iriſh in Leyniſter, was taken priſoner, and the ſame day was ſir Hugh Cokeſey made knight. Mac Murche taken priſoner

The laſt of May, the Lord lieutenant, and the Archebiſhop of Dublin with the Maior, razed the Caſtel of Kenini. The morow after the feaſt day of Prœceſſus and Martinianus, that is the .xx. of June, the lord William de Burgh, & other Engliſhmen, ſlue. b. C. Iriſh men, and toke Okelly. Okelly taken.

On the feaſt of Marie Magdalene, the Lorde lieutenāt Talbot returned into Englād, leauing his

his deputie there the Archbiſhop of Dublin.

This yeare about Saint Laurence day, diuerſe went forth of Irelande to ſerue the king in his warres of Normandie, as Thomas Butler that was Prior of Kilmaynam, and many other. Iohn Fitz Henry ſucceded the ſaid Butler in gouernment of the Priorie of Kilmaynam.

The Archbiſhop of Dublin that remayned as Lorde Deputie, ſlue. xxx. Iriſh men neare vnto Rodiſton. Alſo the. xiij. of Februarie, Iohn Fitz Henry Prior of Kilmaynam departed this life, & Willia Fitz Thomas was choſen to ſucceede in his place, and was confirmed the morrow after Saint Valentines day.

James Butler Erle of Ormond, appointed the kings lieutenant in Ireland in place of Iohn L. Talbot, & Furniual, landed at Waterford about the. iiij Ides of Aprill, and ſhortly after his comming ouer, cauſed a combat to be fought betwixt two of his couſins, of who the one was ſlain in ẏ place, and the other caried away ſore wounded.

On Saint Georges day, he held a counſell in Dublin, and ſummoned a Parliament to begin there the. vij. of June. In the meane while he fetched great bootes out of the Countreys of the Iriſh Lordes Otaly, Mac Mahun, & Magynoys. But firſt ere we go further to ſhew what Marlb. hath noted of the doings whileſt this Erle of Ormond gouerned as the kings lieutenant in Irelande, we haue thought good to ſet downe what Campion alſo writeth thereof, as thus:

A Parliament ſommoned.

In the red Moore of Athie (the Sunne almoſt lodged in the weſt, & miraculouſly ſtanding ſtill in his epicicle by the ſpace of three houres till the feat was accompliſhed, and no hole nor quakmire in all that bog annoying either horſe or mã of his part) he vanquiſhed Omore and his terrible army with a few of his owne meiny, & with the like nũ-

Iames Yong an Author alledged by Campion. The Sunne ſtayeth his courſe.



ber he ouercame Arthur Mac Murrow, at whoſe might & puiſſance al Leyniſter trẽbled. To the inſtruction of this mans worthineſſe, the cõpiler of certaine precepts touching the rule of a common welth exciteth his lord the ſaid erle in diuerſe places of that work incidently, ſometimes putting him in mind that the Iriſh are falſe by kind, ẏ it were expedient and a worke of charitie to execute vpon them wilfull & malicious tranſgreſſors, the kings lawes ſomwhat ſharply, ẏ Odempſi being winked at awhile, abuſed that ſmall time of ſuffrance to the iniurie of the erle of Kildare, intruding vniuſtly vpõ the caſtel of Ley, frõ whence ẏ ſaid deputie had iuſtly expelled him, & put the erle in poſſeſſion therof, that notwithſtanding their othes & pledges, they are yet no longer true than they feel themſelues the weaker. This Deputie tamed the Byrnes, the Burghs, Mac Banons, Oghaghuraght, Mores Mac Mahun, all the captaines of Thomõd, & all this he did in three Moneths, the Clergie of Dublin twiſe euery weeke in ſolemne Proceſſion praying for his good ſucceſſe againſt thoſe diſordred perſons, which now in euery part of Ireland degenerated from the Engliſh ciuility to their old trade of life vſed in that cõtrey, repyned at the Engliſh maner of gouernment. Thus far Cãpion. Diuers parliamẽts vpõ prorogatiõs were holdẽ in time ẏ this erle of Ormõd was gouernor. The firſt began at Dublin ẏ. vij. of June in this yere. 1420. which cõtinued about. xvj. days. At this parliament was granted to the L. lieutenant a ſubſidie of. vij. C. Marks. At the. xvj. days end, this Parliamẽt was adiourned til the Monday after Saint Andrews day. In ẏ ſame parliament the debts of the L. Iohn Talbot which were due to certain perſons for vitailes and other things takẽ vp whileſt he was L. lieutenãt there, were reconed vp, which L. Talbot verily for that he ſaw not ẏ creditors ſatiſfied before his cõming away, was partly euil ſpoken of in the Countrey.

1420

The Parliamẽt began.

The Caſtell of Colmolin.

The morrow after the feaſt of Simon and Jude, the Caſtell of Colmolyn was taken by Thomas Fitz Geralde. And on Saint Katherins euen, the ſonne and heyre of the Erle of Ormond Lord Lieutenant was borne, for the which there was great reioyſing,

The Earle of Ormondes ſon and heyre borne.

In the Parliament begon againe at Dublin the Monday after Saint Andrews day, an other ſubſidie of. CCC. markes was graunted vnto the Lord Lieutenant. And after they had ſit. xiij. dayes, it was eftſones adiourned till the Monday after Saint Ambroſe day. Then rumors were ſpred abrode, that Thomas Fitz John Erle of Deſmond was departed this life at Paris vpon Saint Laurence day, after whome ſucceded his vncle James Fitz Gerald, whom he had three ſeueral times renoūced, as one that was a waſter of his patrimonie, both in England and Ireland, and not like to come to any good prouf.

1421

A Parliament.

In the yeare. 1421. the Parliament began againe vpon the laſt prorogation the Monday after Saint Ambroſe day, in which Parliament it was ordeyned that certaine perſons ſhould be ſent to the king, to ſue that a reformation might bee had in matters touching the ſtate of the land. The chiefe of thoſe that were thus ſent, were the Archbiſhop of Ardmagh, & ſir Chriſtopher Preſton knight. Moreouer, Richard Dhedian biſhop of Caſhell, was accuſed by John Bele Biſhop of Liſmore and Waterford, who layd. xxx. Articles

The Biſhop of Caſſhell accuſed.

to his charge. Amongſt other, one was for that he loued none of the Engliſh nation, and that he beſtowed not one benefice vpon any Engliſh man, and counſelled other biſhops that they ſhould not beſtow any within their Dioces vpon any Engliſh man. Moreouer, an other Article was for counterfeyting the kings ſeale, and an other for that he went about to make himſelf K. of Mouſter, and had taken a ring from the Image of S. Patrike (which the Erle of Deſmond had offred) and giuen it to his lemman. Many other crymes were layd to him, by the ſayd Biſhop of Liſmore and Waterford, which he exhibited in writing.

Alſo in the ſame Parliament, there roſe cōtention betwixt Adam Pain biſhop of Clone, & an other prelate whoſe church he would haue annexed vnto his ſee. At length after the Parliament had continued for the ſpace of xviij. days, it brake vp. Herewith came newes of ẏ ſlaughter of the Lord Tho. of Lācaſter duke of Clarence, ẏ had bin L. lieutenant of Ireland, & vpō the. vij. of May, certaine of the Erle of Ormondes men were ouerthrown by the Iriſh, nere to the Abbey of Leys, & xxvij. Engliſhmen were ſlain there, of whom the chief were two gētlemē, the one named Purcel, & the other Grant. Alſo. x. were takē priſoners, and two. C. eſcaped to the foreſayde Abbey, ſo ſauing themſelues. About the ſame time, Mac Mahun an Iriſh lord, did much hurt within the coūtry of Vrgile, by burning and waſting all afore him.

The Duke of Clarence ſlain in Fraunce.

Mac Mahun.



Alſo vpon the morrow after Midſommer day, the Erle of Ormond Lord lieutenant entred into the Countrey about Leys vpon Ormoryis, & for the ſpace of foure dayes togither did muche hurt in ſleaing and ſpoyling the people, till the Iriſh were glad to ſue for peace.

¶ Henrie the ſixt.

LIeutenants to Henrie the firſt ouer the realme of Irelande were theſe, Edmonde Earle of March, and James Erle of Ormond his deputy. John Sutton Lord Dudley, & ſir Tho. Strange knight his deputie. Sir Thomas Stanley, and ſir Chriſtofer Plunket his deputie. [Thys ſir Thomas Stanley, on Michaelmaſſe day, in the twelfth yeare of King Henrye the ſixth, wyth all the Knightes of Meathe and Irrell, fought agaynſte the Iriſhe, ſlue a greate nunber, and toke Neill Odonell priſoner.]

Henry. Marle.

Here endeth Marleburgh, and all that foloweth is taken out of Campion.

Lion

Lion Lord Welles, & the Earle of Dzmonde his deputie. James Earle of Dzmonde by hym ſelfe, John Erle of Shrewelburie, and the Archbiſhop of Dublin Lorde Juſtice in his abſence. Richard Plantagenet Duke of Yorke, father to King Edwarde the fourth and Earle of Ulſter, had the office of Lieutenaunte by the Kings letters patents, during the tearme of tenne yeeres, who appoynted to rule vnder him as his deputies at ſundry times, the Baron of Deluin, Richarde Fitz Euſtace Knight, James Earle of Dzmōd, and Thomas Fitz Mozice Erle of Kildare. To this Richard Duke of Yorke and Ulſter then reſident in Dublin, was borne within the Caſtell there his ſecōd ſonne the Lord George, that was after Duke of Clarence: his Godfathers at the fontſtone were the Erles of Dzmond and Diſmonde. Whether the commotion of Jacke Cade an Iriſhman borne, naming himſelf Mortimer, and ſo pretending coſinage to diuers noble houſes in this land, proceeded from ſome intelligēce, with the Dukes friends here in Ireland, it is vncertayne: but ſurely the Duke was behemently ſuſpected, and immediately after began the troubles whiche through him were reyſed. Whyche broyles being couched for a time, the Duke helde himſelfe in Ireland, being lately by Parliamente ordeyned protector of the Realme of Englande: he left his agent in the Court, his brother ẏ Erle of Saliſburie, Lord Chancellor, to whom he declared the troth of the troubles then towarde in Ireland: which letter exemplyfyed by Sir Henry Sidney Lorde Deputie, a greate ſearcher and preſeruer of antiquities, as it came to Campions hands, and by hym ſet downe, we haue thoughte good likewiſe to preſent it here to your viewe.

To the right worſhipfull, and with all mine hart, intierly beloued brother, the Earle of Salisburie.

RIght Worſhipfull, and with all my harte, intierly beloued brother, I recommende me vnto you as hartily as I can. And like it you to witte, ſith I wrote laſt vnto the King our Soueraigne Lorde his highneſſe, the Iriſh enemie, ẏ is to ſay Magoghigam, and with him three or foure Iriſhe Captaynes, aſſociate with a greate felowſhip of Engliſh Rebells, notwithſtandyng that they were within the King our Soueraygne Lord his peace of greate malice, and againſte all truth haue maligned againſt their legiance, and vengeably haue brent a great towne of myne inheritance in Meth, called Ramore, and other villages thereaboutes, and murthered and bꝛēt both men, womē and children, withouten mercy: the whiche enimies be yet aſſembled in Woods and fortes, aweighting to do the hurt and greeuance to the Kings ſubiects, that they can thinke or imagine. For whiche cauſe, I write at this tyme vnto the Kings highneſſe, and beſeeche his good Grace for to haſten my payment for this lande, according vnto his letters of warrant nowe late directed vnto the Treaſorer of Englande, to the intente I may wage men in ſufficiente number, for to reſiſt the malice of the ſame enimies, and puniſh them in ſuch wiſe, that other which wolde do the ſame for lacke of reſiſtance, in time maye take example. For doubtleſſe, but if my paymente be had in all haſt, for to haue men of warre in defence and ſafegard of this land, my power cā not ſtretch to keepe it in the kings obeyſance, and bery neceſſitie will compell me to come into Englande to liue there vpon my powre liuelyhood: for I had leuer be dead than any inconuenience ſhoulde fall therevnto in my default: for it ſhall neuer bee chronicled nor remayne in Scripture by ẏ grace of God, that Ireland was loſt by my negligēce. And therefore I beſeeche you right Worſhipfull brother, that you will holde to your handes inſtantly, that my paymente may bee had at thys time in eſchewing all inconueniences. For I haue example in other places, (more pitie it is) for to dread ſhame, and for to acquit my troth vnto the Kings highneſſe as my duetie is. And thys I pray and exhort you good brother, to ſhewe vnto his good grace, and that you will be ſo good, that this language may bee enacted at this preſente Parliamēt for mine excuſe in time to come, and that you will be good to my ſeruant Roger Roe the bearer of theſe, and to my other ſeruaunts, in ſuch things as they ſhall purſew vnto the kings highneſſe, and to giue full faith and credence vnto the report of the ſaid Roger, touching the ſayde matters. Right worſhipful, and with all my hart intierly beloued brother, our bleſſed Lorde God preſerue and keepe you in all honor, proſperous eſtate, and felicitie, and graunte you righte good life & long. Writtē at Dublin ẏ. 15. day of June.

Roger Roe.

Your faithfull true brother
Richarde Yorke.

Of ſuche power was Magoghigam in thoſe dayes, who as he wan and kept it by the ſworde, ſo nowe his ſucceſſors in that ſtate liue but as meane Captaines, yeelding their winnings to ẏ ſtronger. This is the miſerie of lawleſſe people, reſembling the rudeneſſe of the rude world, wherin euery mā was richer and powrer than other, as he was in might & violence more or leſſe enabled. Here began factions of the nobilitie in Irelande, fauoring diuers ſides that ſtroue for the Crowne of England. For the Duke of Yorke in thoſe ten yeeres of his gouernemente, exceedingly wanne the hartes of the noblemen and Gentlemen of that land, of the whiche diuers were ſlayne with

Magoghigam his power.

him at Wakefielde, as the contrary part was the next yeere by his ſonne Edward Erle of Marche at Mortimers Croſſe in Wales. In which meane time the Iriſhe grewe hardy, and vſurped the Engliſhe countreys inſufficiently defended, as they had done by like opportunitie in the latter end of Richard the ſecond. Theſe two ſeaſons ſet thē ſo a flote, ẏ hēceforward they could neuer be caſt out from their forcible poſſeſſions, holding by playne wrong all Vlſter, and by certayne Iriſhe tenures no ſmall portions of Monſter and Connagh, leaſt in Meth and Leyniſter, where the ciuill ſubiects of the Engliſhe bloud did euer moſt preuayle.

Edwarde the fourth,
And Edward the fifth.

Lieutenaunts and Deputies in king Edward the fourth his dayes.

THomas Fitz Morice Earle of Kildare, Lord Iuſtice vntill the thirde yeere of Edward the fourth, after whiche time the Duke of Clarence, brother to the King, had the office of Lieutenant while he liued, and made his deputies by ſundry turnes, Thomas Erle of Deſmond, John Tiptoft Erle of Wurceter the Kings couſin, Thomas Earle of Kildare, and Henry Lord Grey of Ruthin. Great was the credit of the Giraldines euer whē the houſe of Yorke proſpered, and likewiſe the Butlers thriued vnder the bloud of the Lancaſters: for whiche cauſe the Earle of Deſmond remayned many yeres Deputie to George Duke of Clarence his good brother: but when he had ſpoken certayne diſdaynefull words againſte the late marriage of king Edward with the Lady Elizabeth Gray, the ſayd Lady beeing nowe Queene, cauſed his trade of life after the Iriſhe manner, contrary to ſundry olde ſtatutes enacted in that behalfe, to be ſifted and examined by John Earle of Wurceter his ſucceſſor, ſo that hee was atteynted of treaſon, cōdemned, and forthe ſame beheaded at Drogheda.

The Butlers.

The Erle of Wurceter.

1467



Campion out of Saint leger in his collections.

James the father of this Thomas Earle of Deſmond, being ſuffered and not controlled, during the gouernemēt of Richard Duke of Yorke his godcept, and of Thomas Erle of Kildare his kinſman, put vpon the Kings ſubiects within the countries of Waterford, Corke, Keary, and Limirike, the Iriſh impoſitions of Quinio and Liuery, Cartings, Cariages, lodings, Cocherings, Bonnaght and ſuch like, which cuſtomes are the very breeders, mayntayners and vpholders of all Iriſhe enormities, wringing from the poore tenantes euerlaſting ceaſſe, allowāce of meate and money, whereby their bodies and goodes were brought in ſeruice and thraldome, ſo that the mē of warre, Horſes, and their Galloglaghes lye ſtil vpon the fermors, eate them out, begger the coūtrey, foſter a ſort of Idle vagabonds, ready to rebell if their Lord commaund them, euer nouſled in ſtelth and robberies. Theſe euill preſidents giuen by the father, the ſonne did exerciſe, being L. Deputie, to whome the reformation of that diſorder ſpecially belonged. Notwithſtanding the ſame faulte beeing winked at in other, and with ſuch rigor auenged in him, was manifeſtly taken for a quarrell ſought and procured. Two yeeres after, the ſayd Earle of Wurceter loſt his head, while Henry the firſt take out of the Tower was ſet vp againe, ẏ king Edward proclaymed vſurper, and then was Kildare enlarged, whom likewiſe atteynted, they thought alſo to haue rydde; and ſhortly both the Earles of Kildare and Deſmond were reſtored to their bloud by Parliamēt: Sir Rouland Enſtace, ſometime Treaſorer and Lord Chancellor, was laſtly alſo Lord Deputie of Ireland. He founded S. Francis Abbey beſide Kilcollen bridge. King Edwarde a yeere before his death, honored his yonger ſon Richard Duke of Yorke, with the title of Lieutenant ouer thys lande, which he enioyed til his vnnaturall Vncle bereft both him and his brother King Edwarde the fifth of their naturall liues.

Iriſh impoſitions.

1469

Reſtitution in bloud.

1470

Flatsbery.

¶ Richard the third.

VVHen this Monſter of nature and cruell Tyrant Richard the third had murthered his two yong Nephewes, and taken vpon hym the Crowne and gouernement of England, hee preferred his owne ſonne Edward to the dignitie of Lorde Lieutenante of Ireland, whoſe deputie was Geraldine Earle of Kildare that bare that office all the reigne of King Richard, and a while in Henry the ſeuenth his dayes.

Richard the third.

¶ Henry the ſeuenth.

TO the which Earle came the wilie Prieſt, ſir Richard Simond, bringing with him a lad that was his Scholer, named Lambert, whome hee feygned to bee the ſonne of George Earle of Clarence, lately eſcaped forth of the Tower of London. And the boy could reckon vp his pedegree ſo redily, and had learned of the Prieſt ſuche Princely behauiour, that hee lightly moued the ſayde Earle, and many other ẏ nobles of Ireland (tendering

Henry the ſeuenth.

Sir Richard Simōd Prieſt.

Lambert coūterfeyt to be the Erle of Warwicke.

tendering as well the lignage royal of Richard Plantagenet Duke of Yorke, and hys sonne George their Countreymã borne, as also maligning the aduancement of the house of Lancaster in Henry the seuenth) eyther to thinke or to faine, ỳ the world might beleeue they thought verily this child to be Edward Earle of Warwike, the Duke of Clarence his lawfull sonne.

And although King Henry more than halfe marred their sporte, in shewing the right Earle throughout all the streetes of London, yet the Lady Margaret, Duches of Burgongne, sister to Edwarde the fourth, hyr Nephewe John de la Poole, ỳ Lord Louell, Sir Thomas Broughton Knighte, and dyuers other Captaynes of this conspiracy, deuised to abuse the coloure of this yong Earles name, for preferring their purpose: which if it came to good, they agreed to depose Lamberte, and to erect the very Earle indeede, nowe prisoner in the Tower, for whose quarrell, had they pretended to fight, they deemed it likely hee shoulde haue bin made away. Wherefore it was blazed in Irelande, that the King to mocke hys subiectes, had scholed a boy, to take vppon hym the Earle of Warwikes name, and hadde shewed him about London, to blinde the eyes of the simple folke, and to defeate the lawfull inheritour of the good Duke of Clarence theyr countreyman and protector duryng his life, vnto whose lignage, they also deriued title in right to the Crowne.

In all hast, they assembled at Dublin, and there in Christs Churche, they Crowned thys Idoll, honoring him with titles imperiall, feasting and triumphing, reysing myghtie shoutes and cryes, carrying him from thence to the Castell vpon tall mens shoulders, that hee myghte bee seene and noted, as hee was sure an honorable childe to loke vpon.

Heerewith, assembling their forces togither, they prouided themselues of Shippes, and embarquing therein, they toke the Sea, and landing in Lancashire, passed forwarde, till they came to Newarke vpon Trent: thereupon ensued the battell of Stoke, commonly called Martin Swartes field, wherein Lambert and hys maister were taken, but yet pardoned of life, and were not executed.

The Earle of Lincolne, the Lorde Louell, Martin Swart, the Almayne Captayne, and Maurice Fitz Thomas, Captayne of the Irish, were slayne, and all their power discomfited, as in the Englishe history it may further appeare.

Iasper Duke of Bedford, and Erle of Pembroke Lieutenant, and Walter Archbyshop of Dublin his Deputie. Iasper Duke of Bedford Lieutenant.

In this time, befell another like Irishe illusion, procured by the Duches aforesayd, and certayne nobles in England, whereby was exalted as rightfull King of Englande, and vndoubted Earle of Ulster, the counterfeyte Richarde Duke of Yorke, preserued from kyng Richards cruelties (as the adherentes faced the matter downe) and with thys Maygame Lorde, named indeede Peter (in scorne Perkin) Warbecke, they flattered themselues manye yeares after. Perkin Warbecke.

Then was Sir Edward Poynings Knight sente ouer Lorde Deputie, with commission to apprehende Warbeckes principall partners in Irelande: amongst whome, was named Giralde Fitz Girald Earle of Kildare, whose purgation the kyng (notwithstandyng dyuers surmising and auouching the contrarye) dyd accept. 1494 Sir Edward Poynings L. Deputy.

After muche adoe, Perkin beeing taken, confessed by hys owne writing the course of hys whole life, and al his proceedings in thys enterprise, whereof in the Englishe history, as wee haue borowed the same forthe of Halles Chronicles, yee may reade more, and therefore heere we haue omitted to speake further of that matter. Perkin Warbecke taken.

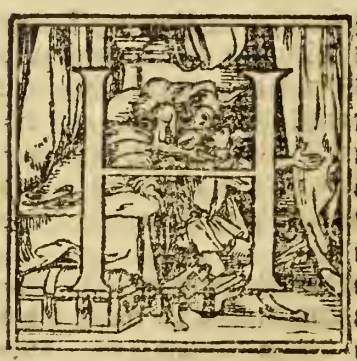
In the yeare. 1501. King Henrye made Lieutenant of Ireland his second sonne Henry, as then Duke of Yorke, who after reigned by the name of Henry the eyght. 1501 Henry Duke of Yorke, after King Henry the eyght, L. Lieutenaunt.

To him was appoynted Deputie, the foresayd Giralde Earle of Kildare, who accompanyed with John Blake Maior of Dublin, warred vpon William le Burgh, Obrene, and Mack Nemarre, Mcarroul, and foughte wyth the greatest power of Irishmen that hadde bin togither since the Conquest, vnder the hyll of Knocktowe, in Englishe, the hyll of the Axes, sixe miles from Galoway, and two myles from Bellielare Burghes manour Towne: Mack William and his complices were there taken, hys Souldyers that escaped the swoorde were pursued fleeing, for the space of fyue myles, great slaughter was made of them, and many Captaynes caughte, without the losse of one Englishman. The fielde of Knocktowe.

The Earle of Kildare at hys returne, was made Knighte of the noble order of the Garter, and lyued in worthy estimation all hys lyfe long, as well for thys seruice, as diuers other his famous exployte. The Earle of Kildare, knight of the Garter.

The thirde Booke of the Hiſtorie of Ireland, compriſing the raigne of Henry the eyght: continued by Richard Stanihurſt, and vvritten to the right honorable Sir Henrie Sidney Knight, Lord Deputie of Ireland, Lord preſident of VVales,

Knight of the moſt noble order of the Garter, and one of hir Maieſties priue Counſayle within hir Realme of Englande.



HOw comberſome (ryghte Honorable) & daungerous a taſke it is, to engroſſe & diſbulge the doings of others, eſpecially whē the parties regiſtred or their iſſue are lining: both common reaſon ſufficiently acknowledgeth, and dayly experience infallibly approueth. For Man by courſe of nature is ſo partially affected to himſelf, and his bloud, as hee will bee more agreeued with the Chronicler for recording a preuiſh treſpaſſe, than hee will be offended with his friende, for cōmitting an heynous treaſon.

Ouer this, if the hiſtorian be long, hee is accompted a triflер: if he be ſhort, he is taken for a ſummiſter: if he commende, he is twighted for a flatterer: if he reprooue, he is holden for a carper: if he be pleaſant, he is noted for a ieſter: if hee bee graue, he is reckened for a droupers: if he miſdate, he is named a fallyfyer: if he once but trippe, hee is tearmed a ſtumbler: ſo that lette hym beare himſelfe in hys Chronicle, as vprightly and as conſcionably as he may poſſible, yet hee ſhall bee ſure, to fynde them that wyll bee more preſt to blabbe forth his peeliſh faultes, than they will be ready to blaze out his good deſertes.

Others there bee, that although they are not able to reproue what is written, yet they will bee ſure, to caſt in hys diſhe what is forgotten. Heere, ſaye they, thys exployte is omitted: there that policie is not deteſted: heere thys ſaying woulde haue beene enterlaced: there that treacherie ſhoulde haue beene diſplayd.

Theſe and the lyke diſcommodities, wyth which Hiſtoriographers are vſually cloyd, haue borne backe diuers and ſundry willing mindes, who taking the way to bee thorny, the credite ſlipperie, the carpers to bee many, woulde in no caſe bee medlers, chooſing rather to ſitte by theyr owne fyre obſcurely at home, than to bee bayted with enuious tongs openly abrode.

Others on the contrary ſide, beeyng reſolute fellowes, and trampling vnder foote theſe curious faultfynders, would not ſticke to put themſelues forthe in preſſe, and maugre all theyr heartes, to buſkle forwarde, and ruſhe through the pykes of theyr quipping nippes, and bityng frumpes.

But I, takyng the meane betweene both theſe extremities, helde it for better, not to bee ſo feynte and peeuiſhe a meacocke, as to ſhrinke and couche myne head, for euery mizeling ſhoure, nor yet to beare my ſelfe ſo high in heart, as to praunce and iette lyke a proude gennet through the ſtreete, not weighing the barking of curriſh baudogges.

And therefore, if I ſhall be founde in my hyſtorie ſometyme too tedious, ſometime too ſpare, ſometime too fawning in commendyng the lyuing, ſometime too flatte in reprouing the dead: I take GOD to witneſſe, that myne offence therein proceedeth of ignorance, and not of ſette wilfulneſſe.

But as for the paſſing ouer in ſilence of dyuers cuentes (albeit the lawe or rather the libertie of an hyſtorie requireth, that all ſhoulde bee related, and nothing whuſted) yet I muſt confeſſe, that as I was not able, vppon ſo little leaſure, to knowe all that was ſaid or done, ſo I was not willing, for ſundry reſpects, to write euery trim tram, that I knew to be ſaid or done. And if any bee ſo ouerthwartly waywarded, as he wil ſooner long for ẏ I haue omitted, than he will be cōtented with that I haue chronicled, I cannot deuiſe in my iudgement a better way, to ſatiſfye his appetite, than vnto one Doly, a preſtour of Oxford, his anſwere: who being appointed to tricke out the tenne commaundementes, omitted one, and pourtraped but nyne, which faulte eſpied by hys maiſter, ẏ hyred him: Doly anſwered, that in very deede, he poynted but nine: howbeit, when he vnderſtood, ẏ his maiſter had well obſerued and kepte the nine commaundements,

ments, that already were drawen, hee gaue hys worde at better leysure throughly to finishe the tenth. And truely so must I say: I haue layde downe heere to the Reader his view, a briefe discourse, wherof, I trust, hee shall take no greate surfet. And when I am aduertised, that hee wyll digest the thinne fare, that heere is dight before hym: it may be, Godwilling, hereafter, that hee shal find my Booke, with store of more licorous deynties farsed and furnished, leaning to hys choyse, eyther nicely to pickle, or greedely to swallow, as muche as to his contentation shall best beseeme him.

Wherefore, my good Lorde, sith I may not denye, but that the worke is paynefull, and I doe forecast, that the misconstruction may be perilous: the toplesomnesse of the payne, I referre to my priuate knowledge, the abādoning of the peril, I committe to your honorable patronage, not doubting thereby, to be shielded agaynst the sinister glosing of malitious interpretors.

Thus betaking your Lordshippe to God, I craue youre attentiuenes, in perusing a cantell or parcel of the Irish Historie, that here ensueth.

GIrald Fitz Giralde, Earle of Kildare, sonne to Thomas Fitz Girald, of whom mention was made in the later ende of the second Booke, a mightie man of stature, full of honoure and courage, who had bin Deputie, and Lorde Iustice of Ireland first and last, three and thirtie yeares, deceassed at Kildare the thirde of September, and lyeth entombed in ẏ quire of Christes Church at Dublin, in a Chappell by hym founded.

Betweene him and James Butler Earle of Ormond (their owne ielousies fedde with enuy and ambition, kindled with certaine lewde factious abettors of eyther side) as generally to all noble men, so especially to both these houses bery incident, euer since the ninth yeare of Henrye the seuenth, bred some trouble in Irelande. The plot of whiche mutuall grudge, was grounded vpon the factious dissention, that was raysed in England, betwene the houses of Yorke & Lancaster, Kildare cleauing to Yorke, and Ormond relying to Lancaster. To the vpholding of whiche discord, both these noble men laboured, with teth and nayle, to ouercrowe, and consequently to ouerthrow one the other: And for asmuch as they were in honour Peeres, they wrought by hooke and by crooke to be in authoritie superiours. The gouernement therefore in the reignes of Henry the seuenth, being cast on the house of Kildare, James Earle of Ormond, a deepe and a farre reaching mā, giuing backe, like a butting Ramme, to strike the harder push), deuised to inueigle his aduersarie by submissiō and courtesie, being not then able to ouermatch him ẏ stoutenesse or preheminence. Whereupon, Ormonde addressed his letters to the Deputie, specifying a slaunder raysed on hym and his, that hee purposed to deface his gouernemente, and to withstand his authoritie, and for the clearing of himselfe and of his adherentes, so it stode with the Deputie hys pleasure, he woulde make his speedy repayre to Dublin, and there in open audience, woulde purge hymselfe of all suche odious crimes, of whiche he was wrongfully suspected.

To this reasonable request had the Lorde Deputie no sooner condiscended, than Ormond with a puissant army marched towardes Dublin, encamping in an Abbey in the suburbes of the Citie, named Saint Thomas Court. The approching of so greate an army of the Citizens suspected, and also of Kildares counsaylours greatly disliked, lastly the extortion, that ẏ lawlesse Souldyours vsed in the pale by seuerall cōplaintes detected: these three poyntes, with dyuers other suspitious circumstances laid and put togither, did minister occasion rather of further discorde, than of any present agreement.

Ormonde marcheth to Dublin.

Ormond persisting still in his humble suite, sent hys messenger to the Lord Deputie, declaring, that he was prest and ready to accomplishe the tenoure of his letters, and there did attende (as became him) his Lordship his pleasure. And as for the company, he brought with him from Mounster, albeit suspitious braynes did rather of a malitious craftinesse surmise the worst, thā of charitable wisedome dyd iudge the best, yet notwithstanding, vppon conference had wyth his Lordshippe, hee woulde not doubt to satisfye hym at full in all poyntes, wherewith hee coulde bee with anye coulour charged, and so to stoppe vppe the spring, from whence, all these enuious suspitions gushed. Kildare with this mild message entreated, appoynted the meeting to bee at S. Patricke his Churche: where, as they were ripping vp one to the other their mutuall quarrels, rather recounting the damages they susteined, than acknowledging the iniuries they offered: the Citizens and Ormond his army, fell at some iarre, for ẏ oppression & exaction with whiche ẏ souldiers surcharged them. With whome, as part of the Citizens bickered, so a round knot of archers rusht into the Churche, meanyng to haue murthered Ormond, as the Captaine and belweather of al these lawlesse rabble. The Erle of Ormond suspecting that he had bin betrayd, fled to the Chapitre house, put to the doze, sparring it with might and mayne. The Citizens in their rage, imagining that euery post in the Churche had bin one of ẏ Souldyers, shot habbe or nabbe at randon vppe to the Rode lofte, and to the Chancell, leauing some of theyr

The Citie in an vprore.

arrowes sticking in the Images.

Kildare pursuing Dymond to the Chapiter house doze, vndertoke on hys honoz, that hee should receyue no villanie. Whereupon, the recluse craning his Lozdships hand to assure hym his life, there was a clift in the Chapiter house doze, pierced at a trice, to the end both the Erles should haue shaken hands, and bee reconciled.

But Dymond surmising that this drift was entended foz some further treacherie, that if hee 10 woulde stretche out his hande, it had bin percase chopt off, refused that proffer, vntill Kildare streteht in his hand to him, and so the doze was opened, they both embraced, the stozme appeased, and all their quarrels foz that presente, rather discontinued than ended.

The Earles reconciled.

In this garboyle, one of the Citizens, surnamed Blanchfielde, was slayne.

Blanchfielde slayne.

This later quarrell beeyng lyke a greene wounde, rather bunglerly botcht, than soundly 20 cured, in that Kildare suspected, that so greate an army (which the other alledged, to be brought foz the guarde of his person) to haue bin of purpose assembled, to outface hym and his power in his owne Countrey: and Dymonde mistrusted, ỹ this treacherous practise of the Dublinians, was by Kildare deuised. These and the like surmises lightly by both the noble men misdeemed, and by the continuall twatling of flyring clawbackes in their eares whispered, bred 30 and fostered a malice betwixte them and theyr posteritie, many yeares incurable, which caused muche sturre and vnquietnesse in the Realme, vntill the confusion of the one house, and the noneage of the other, ended and buryed theyr mutuall quarrels.

The description of Ormond

Dymond was nothing inferioure to the other in stomacke, and in reach of policy, farre beyond him.

The description of Kildare.

Kildare was in gouernemente milde, to hys 40 enimies sterne, to the Irishe such a scourge, that rather foz despite of him, than foz fauoure of anye parte, they relyed foz a tyme to Dymond, came vnder hys protection, serued at hys call, perfozmed by starres (as theyr manner is) the duetie of good subiects.

Dymonde was secrete, and of great forecast, very stayed in speech, daungerous of euery trifle that touched his reputation.

Kildare was open and playne, hardly able 50 to rule hymselfe when hee were moued, in anger, not so sharp as shozt, being easily displeased, and sooner appeased.

Being in a rage with certayne of his seruãts, foz faultes they committed, one of hys horsemẽ offered maister Boyce (a Gentleman that reteyned to him) an Irish Hobby, on condition, that hee woulde plucke an heare from the Earle hys

Boyce.

berde. Boyce taking the proffer at rebound, stept to the Earle (with whose good nature hee was throughly acquainted) parching in the heate of his choler, and sayd: So it is, and if it like youre good Lozdshippe, one of youre Horsemen promised mee a choyce Horse, if I snippe one heare from your berde. Well quoth the Earle, I agree thereto, but if thou plucke anye moze than one, I promise thee to bring my fyst from thine eare.

The braunche of this good nature hathe bin deriued from him to an Earle of his posteritie, who beeing in a chafe, foz the wrong saucing of a Partridge, rose suddaynely from the Table, meanyng to haue reasoned the matter wyth hys Cooke: hauyng entred into the Kitchen, drownyng in obliuion hys chalenge, hee began to commende the buyldyng of the roome, wherein hee was at no tyme before, and so leauyng the Cooke vncontrold, he returned to his guests merily.

Thys olde Earle beeyng, as is afozesayde, some hote and some colde, was of the Englishe well beloued, a good Justicier, a suppressor of the Rebels, a warrioure incomparable, towards the nobles that he fansyed not, somewhat headlong and vnruly: beeyng charged before Henrye the seauenth, foz burning the Churche of Cashell, and manye witnesses prepared, to auouche agaynste hym the trouth of that article, hee suddaynely confessed the fact, to the greate wondering and detestation of the counsell: when it was loked how hee woulde iustifye the matter: by Jesus (quoth hee) I woulde neuer haue done it, hadde it not bin tolde me, that the Archebyshoppe was within: and bycause the same Archebyshoppe was one of hys busyest accusers there present, the Kyng merily laughed at the playnesse of the noble man, to see hym alledge that thing foz excuse, whiche most of all did aggrauate hys offence.

The last article agaynste hym, they conceiued in these tearmes: Finally, all Irelande can not rule thys Earle. No? quoth the Kyng, then in good fayth shall this Earle rule all Irelande.

Thus was that accusation turned to a iest: the Earle returned to hys Countrey Lord Deputie, who notwithstanding hys simplicitie in peace, was of that valoure and policie in warre, as his name bred a greater terrour to the Irish, than other mens armyes.

Kildare returneth Lorde Deputie.

In hys warres hee vsed, foz policie, a reteheesse kynde of diligence, or a headye carelessnesse, to the ende hys Souldyers shoulde not faynte in theyr attemptes, were the enimie neuer of so greate power. Beeyng generall in the fielde of Knocktowe, where in effect, all

Kildares policie in warre.

the

the Irish Rebelles of Ireland were gathered against the Englishe pale, one of the Earle hys Captaines presented him a bad of Kearnes, ruē as they wer ready to ioyne battayle, and without demaunded of the Earle, in what seruice hee would haue them employd? Mary (quoth hee) let them stande by and gyue vs the gaze.

Suche was hys courage, that notwithstanding his enimies were two to one, yet would hee sette so good a face on the matter, as hys Soulyers should not once suspect, that hee eyther needed, or longed for any further help.

Hauing triumphantly vanquished the Irishe in that conflict, hee was shortly after, as well for that, as other his valiāt exployts, made knight of the garter, and in the fifth yeare of Henry the eyght in that renowme and honoure hee dyed, wherein for the space of manye yeares, hee lyued.

No maruayle if this successe were a corsy to the aduerse part, which the longer it held glose, and bit the bridle, the more egrely it followed the course, hauing once gote scope and mouth at will, as shall bee hereafter at full declared.

Dymond bearing in mynde the treachery of the Dublinians, procured such as were the graue[st] Prelates of his Cleargie, to intimate to the Court of Rome the heathenish riot of the Citizens of Dublin in rushing into the Churche armed, polluting with slaughter the consecrated place, defacing the Images, prostrating the reliques, racing downe Aultars, with barbarous outcries, more like miscreaunt Sarazens, than Christian Catholiques. Whereuppon, a Legate was posted to Ireland, bending his course to Dublin, where some after, he was solemnely receyued by Walter Fitz Simons, Archbyshop of Dublin, a graue Prelate, for hys learnyng and wisedome chosen to be one of King Henry the seuenth hys Chaplaynes, in which vocation hee continued twelue yeares, and after was aduanced to be Archbyshop of Dublin.

The Legate vppon his arriuall, indicted the Citie for his execrable offence: but at length, by the procurement as well of the Archbyshoppe as of all the Cleargie, hee was weighed to gyue the Citizens absolutiō, with this caueat, that in detestation of so horrible a fact, and *ad perpetuam rei memoriam*, the Maior of Dublin should goe barefooted through the Citie in open Procession before the Sacrament, on Corpus Christi day, whyche penitente satisfaction was after in euerye suche Procession duely accomplished.

Girald Fitz Girald, sonne and heire to the aforesayd Earle of Kildare, was shortly after his father his decease, constituted Lorde Deputie of Irelande, before whome in the seuenth yeare of Henry the eyght, there was a Parliamente holden at Dublin, wherein it was established, that al such, as bring out of England the kings letters of priuate seale, for particular causes against any of the King his subiects in Irelande, should finde sufficient succtie in the King hys Chancerie in Irelande, to bee bound by recognisance, that the playntife shall satisfye the defendante, that purgeth or acquiteth himselfe of the matter to hym alledged for hys costes and damages susteyned by suche wrongfull vexation.

A Parliamente holden at Dublin.

This noble man being valiant and well spoken, was nothing inferiour to hys father in martiall prowesse, chasing in the time of his gouernemēt the family of the Tooles, battering O Carrell his Castels, and bringing in awe all the Irish of the land.

This Earle of good meaning, to vnite the houses in friendship, matched his sister Margaret Fitz Giralde, with Pierce Butler Earle of Ossorie, whome he also holp to recouer ỳ Erledome of Dymond, into the which, after the decease of the Earle James, a Basterde Butler, had by abatement intruded.

Pierce Butler, and Margaret Fitz Girald espoused.

Greate and manifolde were the miseries the Lady Margaret susteyned, hir husband Pierce Butler beeing so egrely pursued by the vsurper, as hee durst not beare vp head, but was forced to houer and lurke in Woodes and Forrestes.

The noble woman being great with childe, and vppon necessitie constreyned to vse a spare dyet (for hir onely sustenaunce was milke) she longed sore for wine, and calling hyr Lorde, and a trusty seruaunte of hys, James White, vnto hir, shee requested them both, to helpe hyr to some Wyne, for shee was not able any longer to endure so streight a like.

James White.

Truely Margaret, quoth the Earle of Ossorie, thou shalt haue store of Wine within thys foure and twentie houres, or else thou shalte feede alone on milke for me.

The nexte daye following, Pierce hauyng intelligence, that hys enimie the bace Butler would haue trauayled from Donnore to Kilkennie, notwithstanding hee were accompanyed with syxe horsemenne, yet Pierce hauyng none but hys Lackey, did forstalle hym in the way, and with a couragious charge, gored the Basterd through with his speare.

The Basterde Butler slayne.

Thys prosperous calme succeeding the former boysterous storme, the Lady Margaret began to take hearte, hir naturall stoutenesse floted, as well by the remembraunce of hir noble birth, as by the intelligence of hir honorable match.

Kildare all this while kept in authoritie, notwithstanding the pulles giuen againste him by secrete heauers, that enuyed his fortune, and sought to nourish the olde grudge, was at legth by their priuie packing, fetched vp to the Court of Englande by commission, and causeb hym to bee examined vppon diuers interrogatories touching the affayres of Irelande.

Kildare sent for into England.

Hee left in hys rowmth Maurice Fitz Thomas, of Lackragh Lorde Justice: and shortly after came ouer Lorde Lieutenaunte Thomas Howarde Earle of Surrey, who was after Duke of Northfolke, Grandfather to the last Duke, accompanyed with two hundred yeomen of the Crowne: before whome, shortly after his repaire thither, there was a Parliamente holden at Dublin, in whiche, there past an acte, that al wilful burning of corne, as wel in reekes in the fields, as in Villages and Townes, shuld be high treason.

Maurice Fitz Thomas Lord Iustice.

Surrey Lord Lieutenant of Irelande.

1521

A Parliamente holden at Dublin.

Item an acte agaynste lodyng wolles and flore, vppon payne of forfayture of the double value of the same, the one halfe to the Kyng, and the other halfe to him that will sue therefore.

Item that any person seised of lands, tentes, or tenementes in possession or in vse, vnto the yerely value of tenne markes aboue the charges, in fee simple, fee tayle, or for tearme of lyfe, copy holde, or auncient demeane, shall passe in euery attaint.

While the Lord Lieutenante sate at dynner in the Castle of Dublin, hee hearde newes that the Moores with a mayne army were euen at the entrie of the borders, readye to inuade the English pale.

The Moores in Rebellion.

Immediately menne were leuyed by Iohn Fitz Simons, then Maior of Dublin, and the nexte morowe ioyning them to his bande, the Lieutenant marched towardes the Frontiers of Leixe.

Iohn Fitz Simons.

The Moores vppon the Lieutenant hys approche, seuered themselues into sundry companies, and vnderstandyng that the carriage was dragging after the army, and slenderly mãned, certayne of them charged the Lieutenante hys seruauntes, and suche of the Citizens as were appoynted to guarde the carriage.

Patricke Fitz Simons, a strong sturdy yonker, kept the enimies such tacke, as he seazed part of them away, rescued the carriage, slewe two of the Rebelles, and broughte their heads wyth him to maister Maior his tent.

Patricke Fitz Simons.

The nexte morning, two of the Lieutenaunte his men, that flunke away from Fitz Simons, thinking that the carriage had bin lost, aduertised their Lorde, that Fitz Simons fledde away, and the Moores were so many in compasse, as it had bin but folly for two to bicker with so great a number.

The Lieutenante posted in a rage to the Maior his pauilion, telling hym, that his man Fitz Simons was a cowardly Traytor in rũning away when hee shoulde haue defended the carriage.

What am I, my Lord, quoth Patricke Fitz Simons, skipping in his shirt out of the tente, with both the heads in his hand. My Lorde, I am no cowarde, I stoode to my tacklings, when your men gaue me the slippe, I rescued the carriage, and haue heere sufficiente tokens of my manhoode, tumbling downe both the heads. Saist thou so Fitz Simons quoth the Lieutenant? I crie thee mercie, and by this George, I woulde to God it had bin my good hap, to haue bin in thy companie in that skirmish. So drinking to Fitz Simons in a bolle of wine, and honorably rewarding him for his good seruice, he returned to his pauilio, where hauing knowledge of Omore his reuole, he pursued him with a troupe of horsemen.

A valiant wife

The Lieutenant thus passing forward, was espyed by a gunner of Omores, who lodged close in a woodde side, and watching hys time, hee discharged his peece at the verye face of the Lieutenante, strake the viser off hys helmet, and pierced no further as God would.

The Earle of Surrey in daunger to haue bin slaine.

This did he (retchlesse in manner what became of himselfe, so hee might amaze the armye for a time) and surely hereby he brake the swiftnes of their following, and aduantaged the flight of his Captaine, which thing hee wanne with the price of his owne bloud. For the Souldyers would no further, till they hadde rausackt all the nookes of thys woodde, verily suspecting some ambush thereabout, and in seueral knottes ferretted out thys gunner, whome Fitz Williams and Bedlowe of the Roche, were fayne to mangle and hew in peeces, bycause the wretche would neuer yeelde.

Fitz Williams Bedlowe.

In the meane whyle, defyance was proclaymed with Fraunce and Scotlande both at once, whiche moued the Kyng to call home Surrey out of Irelande, that hee myghte employ hym in those warres. Hys prowesse, integritie, good nature, and course of gouernement, the Countrey muche commended.

1521

Surrey sent for home.

Piers Butler Earle of Ossory, was appoynted Lorde Deputie.

Piers Butler Earle of Ossorie Lord Deputie.

In the meane time, Kildare attending the King his pleasure for his dispatche, recouered fauoure through the instance of the Marques Dorset, whose daughter dame Elizabeth Grey, he espoused, and so departed home.

1524

Now was partaker of all ỹ Deputies counsell, one Roberte Talbot of Belgarde, whome

Robert Talbot of Belgard

the Si-

the Giraldines deadly hated: him they procured to keepe a Kalender of all their doings, who incensed brother against brother. In which rage, James Fitz Girald meeting the sayde Gentleman beside Ballimore, slew him euen then vpon his iourney towarde the Deputie to keepe his Christmas with him.

With this despitefull murther, both sides brake out into open enmitie, and especially the Countesse of Ossorie, Kildare his sister, a rare womã, and able for wisedome to rule a realme, had not hir stomacke ouerruled hir knowledge.

Heere began informations of newe treasons, passing to and fro, with complaintes and replyes.

But the Marques Dorset had wrought so for his sonne in law, that he was suffered to rest at home, and onely commissioners directed into Ireland, with authoritie to examine the roote of their griefes, wherein if they found Kildare any thing at all purged, their instructions were to depose the plaintife, and to sweare the other Lord Deputie.

Commissioners were these, Sir Raufe Egerton, a Knighte of Cheshire, Anthony Fitz Herbert, seconde Justice of the common place, & James Dētō, Deane of Lichefield, who hauing examined these accusatiōs, suddaynely toke the swoorde from the Earle of Ossorie, sware Kildare Lorde Deputie, before whome, Con Oneale bare the swoord that day.

Concerning the murtherer whome they myght haue hanged, they brought him prisoner into Englande, presented him to the Cardinall Wolsey, who was sayde to hate Kildare his blood: and the Cardinall intending to haue put him to execution, with more reproche and dishonour to the name, caused him to bee ledde about the streetes of London haltred, and hauing a taper in his hande, which asked so long time, that the Deane of Lichefielde stepped to the King, and begged the Gentleman his pardon.

The Cardinall was sore inflamed heerewith, and the malice not hitherto so ranke, was throughly ripened, and therefore hence forewarde, Ossorie brought forthe diuers proofes of the Deputie his disorder, for that (as hee alledged) the Deputie shoulde winke at the Earle of Desmonde, whome by vertue of the King his letters, he ought to haue attached.

Also, that he sought for acquaintance and affinitie with meere Irish enimies, that hee hadde armed them against him, then beeing the King his Deputie, hee hanged and headed good subiects, whome he mistrusted to leane to the Butlers friendship. Kildare was therefore presently commaunded to appeare, which he did, leauing in his roomth his brother Fitz Girald of Lexlip, whome they shortly deposed, and chose the Baron of Deluin, whome Oconor toke prisoner, and then the Earle of Ossorie (to shewe his habilitie of seruice) brought to Dublin an army of Irishmen, hauing captaines ouer them Oconor, Omore, and Mcarrol, and at Saint Mary Abbey, was chosen Deputy by the King his counsell. In whiche office being himselfe (saue only in feates of armes) a simple Gentleman, hee bare out his honoure, and the charge of gouernement very worthely, through the singular wisedome of his Countesse: a Lady of suche a port, that all estates of the Realme crouched vnto hir: so politique, that nothing was thought substantially debated without hir aduice: manlike and tall of stature: very liberall and bountifull: a sure friende, a bitter enimie, hardly disliking where she fansied, not easily fansying wher she disliked: the only meane at those days wherby hir husbande his Countrey was reclaymed from sluttishnes and slouenry, to cleane bedding and ciuilitie. But to these vertues was ynked suche a selfe liking, suche an ouerweening, and suche a maiestie aboue the tenure of a Subiect, that for assurance thereof, shee sticked not to abuse hir husbands honoure against hir brothers folly.

Notwithstanding I learne not that shee practised his vndoyng (whiche ensued, and was to hir vndoubtedly greate heauinesse, as vppon whome, both the blemishe thereof, and the substance of the greater part of that family depended after) but that she by indirect meanes lifted hir brother out of credite, to aduance hir husbād, the commō voice, and the thing it selfe speaketh. All this while abode the Earle of Kildare at the Court, and with muche adoe, found shift to bee called before the Lords to aunswere suddaynely. They sate vpon him diuerslie affected, and namely ỹ Cardinall Lord Chancellour misliking the Erle his cause, cōforted his accusers, & enforced the articles obiected, & what else so euer could be gathered thereof in these words:

Fitz Girald Lord Iustice.

The Earle of Ossorie chosen L. Deputie.

The Countes of Ossorie.

Kildare conuented before the Counsell.

The Cardinall L. Chancellor chargeth Kildare.

I wote well (my Lorde) that I am not the meetest at this boorde to charge you with these treasons, bycause it hathe pleased some of youre pewfellowes to report, that I am a professed enimie to all nobilitie, and namely to the Giraldines: but seeing euerye curst boy can say as muche when hee is controlled, and seeing these poyntes are so weightie, that they should not bee dissembled of vs, and so apparant, that they cānot be denyed of you, I must haue leaue (notwithstanding your stale flaunder) to bee the mouth of these honorable at this present, and to trumpe your treasons in youre way, howsoeuer you take me. First you remember, how ỹ lewde

'Earle of Desmond your kinsman (who passeth
'not whome hee serueth, mighte hee change hys
'master) sent his confederates with letters of cre-
'dence to Francis the Frenche Kyng: and ha-
'uyng but colde comfort there, went to Charles
'the Emperoure, profering the help of Mounster
'and Connaght, toward the conquest of Irelād,
'if either of them woulde helpe to winne it from
'our King. Howe many letters, what preceptes,
'what messages, what threats haue bin sent you
'to apprehende him, and yet not done? Why so?
'forsooth I could not catch him: nay nay Earle,
'forsooth you would not watche him. If hee bee
'iustly suspected, why are you partiall in so great
'a charge? if not, why are you fearefull to haue
'him tryed? yea for it will be sworne and deposed
'to your face, that for feare of meeting him, you
'haue winked wilfully, shunned his sighte, alte-
'red youre course, warned hys friendes, stopped
'both eares and eyes againste his detectors, and
'when so euer you toke vppon you to hunte him
'out, then was hee sure before hande to bee out of
'your walke. Surely, this iugling and false play
'little became either an honest man called to such
'honour, or a noble man putte in so greate truste.
'Had you lost but a Cowe or an Horse of youre
'owne, two hundred of youre reteyners woulde
'haue come at your whistle to rescue the pray frō
'the vttermost edge of Ulster: all the Irishe in
'Ireland must haue giuen you the way. But in
'pursuing so needeful a matter as this was, mer-
'cifull God, howe nice, how daungerous, howe
'wayward haue you bin? One while he is from
'home, another while he keepeth home, sometimes
'sicke, sometimes in the bordures, where you
'dare not venter. Iwisse my Lorde, there bee
'shrewde bugges in the bordures for the Earle
'of Kildare to feare, the Earle, nay the Kyng of
'Kildare: for when you are disposed, you raigne
'more lyke than rule in the land: where you are
'malitious, the truest subiects stand for Irishe e-
'nimies: where you are pleased, the Irish enimie
'standeth for a ductifull subiect: harts and hands,
'liues and landes, are all at your courtesie: who
'fawneth not thereon, he cannot rest within your
'smell, and youre smel is so ranke, that you take
'them out at pleasure.

Whilest the Cardinall was speaking, the Earle chaufed and changed coloure, and sundry profers made to aunswere euery sentence as it came: at last hee brake out, and interrupted hym thus.

Kildare interrupteth the Cardinals tale

'My Lord Chancellor, I beseech you pardon
'me, I am short witted, and you I perceyue in-
'tende a long tale: if you proceede in this order,
'halfe my purgation will be lost for lacke of car-
'riage. I haue no schole trickes, nor arte of me-
'morie: excepte you heare me while I remember
your wordes, your second processe will hammer
out the former.

The Lordes tender Kildare.

The Lordes associate, who for the most parte tenderly loued him, and knew the Cardinall his manner of tauntes so lothsome, as wherewith they were inured many yeares agone, humbly besought his grace, to charge him directly with particulars, and to dwell in some one matter, vntill it were examined throughly: that graunted, it is good reason (quoth the Earle) that youre grace beare the mouth of hys worde, but my Lorde, those mouthes that put these things into your mouth, are verye wyde mouthes, suche in deede as haue gaped long for my wracke, and nowe at length, for waunte of better stuffe, are fayne to fill their mouthes with smoke. What my cousin Desmonde hathe compassed, as I knowe not, so I beleeue his naked hearte, for holding out so long. If hee can bee taken by my agents, that presently waite for him, then haue mine aduersaries bewrayed their malice, and this heape of heynous wordes shall resemble a scarcrowe, or a man of strawe, that seemeth at a blushe to carrie some proportion, but when it is felt and peysed, discouereth a vanitie, serueng only to feare Crowes: and I verily trust, youre honours shall see the proofe by the thing it selfe, within these few dayes. But go to: suppose hee neuer be hadde, what is Kildare to blame for it more than my good brother of Ossorie? who notwithstanding his high promises, hauing also the King his power, is yet content to bring him in at leysure. Cannot the Earle of Desmonde shift, but I must be of counsell? cannot hee hyde him, except I winke? if hee bee close, am I hys mate? if he be friended, am I a Traytour? This is a doughty kynde of accusation, whiche they brge againste me, wherein they are stabled and mired at my firste dentall. You woulde not see him (say they) who made them so familiar with mine eyesight? or when was the Earle within my sight? or who stode by, when I let hym slippe? or where are the tokens of my wilfull hudwinke? but you sente him worde to beware of you: who was the messenger? where are the letters? conuince my negatiues, see how losely this idle geare hangeth togither. Desmonde is not taken. Well, you are in fault, why? bycause you are: who proueth it? no body: what coniectures? so it seemeth: to whome? to your enimies: who tolde it them? they will sweare it. What other ground? none: will they sweare it my Lord? why then of like they know it, eyther they haue mine hād to shewe, or can bring forth ẏ messenger, or were present at a conference, or priuie to Desmonde, or some body bewrayed it to them, or they themselues were my carriers or vicegerentes therein: whiche of these partes will they

He answereth the Cardinals obiection.

'they chose, for I know them too well. To reckon
'my selfe convict by their bare wordes or headlesse
'sayings, or frantike othes, were but a mere mock-
'erie. My Letter were some read, were any such
'wryting extant, my seruants and friends are rea-
'die to be sifted: of my cousin of Desmonde they
'may lie lewdly, since no man here can well con-
'trarie them. Touching my selfe, I neuer noted
'in them eyther so much wit, or so fast fayth, that
'I would haue gaged vpon their silence the life of
'a good hounde, much lesse mine owne. I doubt
'not, may it lyke your honours, to appose them,
'how they came to the knowledge of those mat-
'ters, which they are so readie to depose: but you
'shall finde their tongues chayned to an other man
'his trencher, and as it were knightes of the post,
'suborned to say, sweare, and stare the vttermoste
'they can, as those that passe not what they say,
'nor wyth what face they say it, so they saye no
'truth. But of an other side it grieueth mee, that
'your good grace whom I take to be wise & sharpe,
'& who of your blessed disposition wisheth me well,
'shoulde be so farre gone in crediting these corrupt
'informers, that abuse the ignorance of your state
'and Countrey to my perill. Little knowe you,
'my Lorde, how necessarie it is, not onely for the
'gouernour, but also for euery Noble man in Ire-
'lande to hamper his vncivil neighbours at discre-
'tion, wherein if they wayted for processe of lawe,
'and had not those lyues and landes you speake of
'within theyr reach, they might happe to lose their
'owne liues and landes, without lawe. You beare
'of a case as it were in a dreame, and feele not the
'smart that vexeth vs. In Englande there is not
'a meane subiect, that dare extend his hande to fil-
'lippe a peere of the Realme. In Irelande except
'the Lord haue cunning to his strength, & strength
'to saue his crowne, and sufficient authoritie to
'take theeues and varlets when they sturre, he shal
'finde them swarme so fast, that it will be to late
'to call for iustice. If you wil haue our seruice take
'effect, you must not tie vs alwayes to these iudi-
'ciall proceedings, wherewith your realme (thanked be God) is inured. Touching my kingdome
'I know not what your Lordship shoulde meane
'thereby. If your Grace imagin, that a kingdom
'consisteth in seruing God, in obeying the prince,
'in gouerning with loue the common wealth, in
'shouldering subiects, in suppressing Rebelles, in
'executing iustice, in brideling blind affections, I
'would be willing to be inuested with so vertuous
'and royall a name. But if therefore you terme
'me a king, in that you are perswaded that I re-
'pine at the gouernment of my soueraigne, or
'winke at malefactors, or oppresse ciuill liuers, I
'vtterly disclayme in that odious tearme, marueyl-
'ling greatly, that one of your Grace his profound
'wisdome, woulde seeme to appropriate so sacred
a name to so wicked a thing. But howsoeuer it
be, my Lorde, I woulde you and I had chaun-
ged Kingdomes but for one Moneth, I woulde
trust to gather vp more crummes in that space,
than twise the reuenues of my poore Earledome:
but you are well and warme, and so holde you,
and vpbrayde not me with such an odious terme.
I slumber in an hard Cabyn, whē you sleepe in
a soft bed of downe: I serue vnder the Kyng hys
Cope of heauen, when you are serued vnder a ca-
napie: I drinke water out of my skull, when you
drinke wine out of golden cuppes: my courser is
trayned to the fielde, when your Genet is taught
to amble: when you are begraced and beloued,
and crouched and kneeled vnto, then find I small
grace with our Irish borderers, excepte I cut thē
off by the knees.

At these gyrdes the Counsayle woulde haue
smyled, if they durst, but eche man bit his lippe,
and held his countenaunce: for howsoeuer some
of them inclined to the Erle of Ossorie, they ha-
ted all the Cardinall, who perceyuing that Kil-
dare was no babe, rose in a fume from the Coun-
sayle table, commytted the Earle, and deferred
the matter, till more direct probations came out
of Irelande.

The Cardinall not beloued.

The Duke of Norffolke bounde for Kildare.

The Duke of Norffolke who was late Lieu-
tenant in Ireland, perceyuing the Cardinal to be
sore bent agaynst the noble man, rather for the
deadly hatred hee bare his house, than for anye
great matter he had wherwith to charge his per-
son, stept to the king, & craued Kildare to be his
prisoner, offring to be bound for his forth cōming,
ouer and abouc all his landes, bodie for bodie.
Wherevpon to the Cardinall his great grieke, the
prisoner was bayled, and honourably by the duke
entertayned.

1528

The Irish in rebellion.

During his abode in the duke his house, O-
neyle, and Oconor, and all their friendes and a-
lyes, watching their time to annoy the pale, made
open insurrection agaynst the Earle of Ossorie
then Lord Deputie of Irelande, insomuche that
the nobleman mistrusting the fickleneſſe of Des-
mond on the one side, and the feare of these newe
start vp Rebels on the other side, stood halfe ama-
zed, as it were betwene fire and water. For re-
medie wherof, letters thicke and three folde were
addressed to the Counsaile of Englande, purpor-
ting that all these late hurly burlies were of pur-
pose raysed by the meanes of Kyldare, to the ble-
mishing and staynyng of his brother Ossorie his
gouernment. And to put the matter out of doubt,
it was further added, that Kildare commaunded
his daughter Elice Fitz Gerald, wife to the baron
of Slane, to excite in his name the aforesaid trai-
tours to this open rebellion.

Kildare a fresh impeached.

The Cardinall herevpon caused Kildare to
be examined before the counsaile, where he pressed

him so deepely with this late disloyaltie, that the presumption being, as the Cardinall did force it, vehement, the treason obious, the king suspicious, the eminite egre, the friendes feint, (which were sufficient grounds to ouerthrow an innocent person) the Earle was reprieued into the tower.

The Earle of Kildare committed.

The noble man betoke himselfe to God, and the king, he was heartily beloued of the Lieutenant, pitied in all the Court, and standing in so harde a case, altered little of his accustomed hue, comforted other noble men prisoners with him, dissembling his owne sorrow.

One night when the Lieutenant and he for their disport were playing at slidegrote or shoueborde, sodainly commeth from the Cardinall a *Mandatum*, to execute Kyldare on the Morrow. The Earle marking the Lieutenants deepe sigh, by S. Bryde, Lieutenant (quoth he) there is some madde game in that scrole: but fall how it will, this throwe is for an huddle. When the worst was tolde him, nowe I pray thee (quoth he) do no more but learne assuredly from the king his owne mouth, whether his highnesse be witting thereto, or not. For doubted the Lieutenant to displease the Cardinall: yet of verie pure loue to his friend, he posteth to the king at midnight, and deliuered his errand: for at all houres of the night the Lieutenant hath accesse to the Prince vpon occasions. The king controlling the saucinesse of the Priest (for those were his termes) deliuered to the Lieutenant his Signet in token of countermaunde, which when the Cardinall had seene, he beganne to breathe out vnseasoned language, which the Lieutenant was lothe to heare, and so left him pattring and chaunting the Deuill his *Pater noster*.

A mandatum to execute Kildare.

The Cardinal his presumptuousnesse blamed of the king.

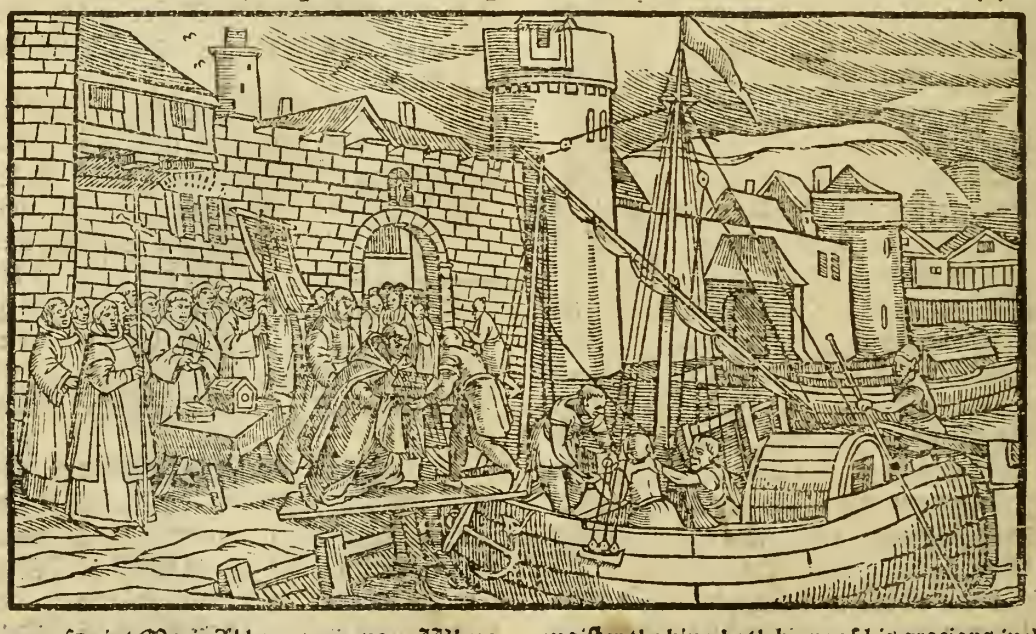
Thus broke vp the storme for that time, and the next yeare Wolsey was cast out of fauour, and within few yeares, sir William Skeffington was sent ouer L. Deputie, and brought with him the Erle pardoned and ryd from all his troubles.

1529

Sir William Skeffington Deputie of Irelande.

When it was bruted, that Skeffington, the Earle of Kildare, and Edward Staples Bishop of Meth landed neare Dublyn, the Maior and Citizens mette him with a solemne Procession, on Saint Marie Abbayes greene. Where maister Thomas Fitz Simons recorder of Dublyn made a pithie Oration to congratulate the Gouernour and the Earle his prosperous arryuall, to whom Skeffington shaped an answere in this wise.

Edward Staples Bishop of Meeth.



Thomas Fitz Simons.

Skeffington his answere.

"Maister Maior, and maister Recorder, you "haue at length this noble man here present, for "whom you sore longed, whyles he was absent. "And after many stormes by him sustayned, hee "hath nowe to the comfort of his friendes, to the "confusion of his foes, subdued violence with pa- "tience, iniuries with sufferance, and malice with "obedience: and such Butchers as of hatred thyr- "sted after his bloud, are nowe taken for outcaste "Maslines, littred in curtisi bloud. How well my maister the king hath beene of his gracious inclination affected to the Earle of Kildare, (his backe friende being by his iust desert from his Maiestie weeded) the credit wherein this noble man at this present resteth, manifestly declareth. Wherefore it resteth, that you thanke God and the King for his safe arriuall. As for his welcome, maister Recorder his courteous discourse, your great assemblies, your cheerfull countenances, your willing meetings, your solemne Processions, doe so faire shewe it, as you minister nee occasion on hys Lordship his behalf, rather to thanke you for your courtesie, than to exhort you to any further ceremonie.

He glanceth at the Cardinal who was taken to be a butcher his sonne.

Hauing ended his Oration, they road all into the Citie, where shortlye after the Earle of

Ossorie

Ossorie surrendred the swoorde to sir William Skeffington.

During the time that Kildare was in Englande, the sept of the Toles making his absence their harueste, ceased not to molest and spoyle his tenants, and therefore the Earle meaning not to wrap vp so lightly their manifold iniuries, was determined presently vpon his arriuall to exile the quittance: to the speditiue of which seruice he requested the aide of the Citizens of Dublyn: and expecting in Chyrstes Church their answere touching thys motion, the Maior and his brethren promised to assyst him with two C. Archers.

The late come Bishop of Meth being then present, moued question, whether the Citizens were pardoned, for crowning Lambert contrarie to theyr duetie of allegeance, and if they were not pardoned, he thought they might aduantage the king thereby. Whereat one of their sagest and expertest Aldermen, named John Fitz Simons, stept forth and sayde:

My Lorde of Meth, may I be so bolde as to craue what Countrey man you are? Mary sir (quoth the Bishop) I woulde you shoulde knowe it, I am a Gentleman, and an Englishe man. My Lorde (quoth Fitz Simons) my meaning is to learne, in what shire of Englande you were borne? In Lyncolnshyre, good sir, quoth Staples. Why then my Lorde, quoth Fitz Simons, we are no traytors, bycause it was the Earle of Lincolne, and the Lorde Louell that crowned him, and therefore if you be a Gentleman of Lincolnshyre, let that you be pardoned, for God and our King be thanked, we haue need of none.

At this answere Meth was set, and suche as were present were forced to smyle, to see what a round fall he caught in his owne turne.

In the seconde yeare of Skeffington his gouernment, it happened that one Henrie White, seruant to Benet a Marchant of Dublyn, was pitching of a Cart of hay in the high streete, and hauing offred boyes play to passengers that walked to and fro, he let a bottle of his hay fall on a souldiers Bonet, as he past by his Cart: the souldiour taking this knauishe knacke in dudgeon, hurled his Dagger at him, and hauing narowly miss the princocks, he sticked it in a post not farre off. White leapt downe from the Cart, and thrust the souldiour through the shoulder wyth hys pyke. Whereupon there was a great vproare in the Citie, betweene the Souldiours and the apprentises, insomuch as Thomas Barby beyng the Maior, hauing the King his swoorde drawne, was hardly able to appease the fray, in which vproare were wounded, and none slaine.

The Lorde Deputie issued out of the Castel, and came as farre as the Pyllorie, to whome the Maior posted through the prease with the swoorde naked vnder his arme, and presented White that was ỹ brewer of all this garboyl to his Lordship, whom the Gouernour pardoned, as well for hys courage in bickering, as for his retchles simplicity and pleasantnesse in telling the whole discourse. Wherby a man may see how many bloudie quarels, a brawling swashbuckler may pyke out of a bottle of hay, namely when his braynes are forebitten with a bottle of nappie Ale. White pardoned.

About this time ther was a great sturre reised in Englãd, about the king his diuorse, who thinking it expedient in so tickle a woorlde to haue a sure post in Irelande, made Kildare Lorde Deputie, Croommer, the Primate of Armach, Lorde Chancellour, and sir James Butler Lord Treasorer. Kildare Lorde Deputie. Croommer. Butler.

Skeffington supposing, that he was put beside the cushion by the secrete canualling of Kildare his friendes, conceyued thereof a great iealousie, being therein the deeper drenched, bycause that Kildare hauing receyued the swoorde, woulde permit Skeffington, who was late gouernour, now like a meane priuate person, to daunce attendance among other suiters in his house at Dublyn, named the Carbry. Skeffington offended with Kildare.

Skeffington playing thus on the bit, shortly after sayled into England, vpon whose departure the Lorde Deputie summoned a Parliament at Dublin, where there past an Act againste leazers of corne: Item, for the vniting and appropriation of the personage of Galtrim, to the Priorie of Saint Peters by Trim. He sayleth into Englande.

1532

A Parliament summoned at Dublin.

In the Parliament tyme, Oneale on a sodaine inuaded the Countrey of Vriell, ryfling and spoyling the king his subiects, at which tyme also was the Earle of Ossorie greatly vexed by the Giraldines, by reason of the olde quarelles of either side a fresh reuiued. Vriell inuaded by Oneale.

The next yeare, the Lorde Deputie going against Dearroule, was pitifully hurt in the side, with a Gunne at the Castell of Byrre, so that he neuer after enioyed his lymmes, nor deliuered his woordes in good plight, otherwise like ynough to haue bene longer forborne, in consideration of his many noble qualities, great good seruices, and the state of those tymes. Kildare hurt.

Streight wayes complaynctes were addressed to the king of these enormities, and that in most heynous maner that could be deuysed, boulting out his doings as it were to the least brake of sinister surmises, turning euerie priuate iniurie to be the king his quarell, and making euerie Puddings pricke as huge in shewe as Sampsons hys Piller. Whereupon Kildare was commaunded by sharpe letters to repayre into Englande, leauing such a person for the furniture of that realm, and the gouernance of the lande in his absence, for whose doings he would answere. Kildare accused. He is sent for to Englande.

Being

Being vpon the sight of this letter prepared to sayle into England, he sate in counsaile at Dublyn, and hauing sent for his sonne and heyre the Lorde Thomas Fitz Giralde (a yong stripling of xxj. yeares of age, borne in England, seame to the Lorde Souch his daughter, the Erle of Kildare his firste wife) in the hearing of the whole worde thus he spake.

Thomas Fitz Girald.

'Sonne Thomas, I doubt not, but you know 'that my soueraigne Lord the King, hath sent for 'me to Englande, and what shall betyde me, God 'knoweth, for I know not. But howsoeuer it 'falleth, both you and I know, that I am well 'stept in yeares: and as I may shortly die, for that 'I am mortal, so I must in hast decease, bicause I 'am olde. Wherefore in as much as my Wynter 'is well neare ended, and the Spring of your age 'nowe budded, my will is that you behaue your 'selfe so wisely in these your greene yeares, as that 'to the comfort of your friendes, you may enioy 'the pleasure of your Sommer, gleane and reape 'the fruite of your Haruest, that with honour you 'may growe to the catching of that hoarie Win- 'ter, on whiche you see me your father fast pic- 'king.

Kildare his exhortation to his sonne the L. Thomas.

'And whereas it pleaseth the king his Maie- 'stie, that vpon my departure here hence, I shoulde 'substitute in my rowme such one, for whose go- 'uernment I would answere: albeit I knowe, 'that your yeares are tender, your wit not settled, 'your iudgement not fully rectified, and therefore 'I myght bee with good cause reclaymed, from 'putting a naked swoorde in a yong mans hande: 'yet notwithstanding, forasmuch as I am your 'father, and you my sonne, I am well assured to 'beare that stroke with you in steering your ship, as 'that vpon any information I may commaunde 'you as your father, and correct you as my sonne 'for the wrong handling of your helme.

'There be here that sit at this bourd, far more 'sufficient personages for so great a charge than 'you are. But what then? If I shoulde cast this 'burthen on their shoulders, it might bee, that 'hereafter they would bee so sarre with enuie ca- 'ryed, as they would perceaue hazard the losse of 'one of their owne eyes, to be assured, that I should 'be depriued of both mine eyes. But forasmuche 'as the case toucheth your skinne as neare as 'mine, and in one respect nigher than mine, by- 'cause (as I sayde before) I rest in the Winter, 'and you in the Spring of your yeares, and nowe 'I am resolued day by day to learne, rather howe 'to die in the feare of god, than to liue in the pompe 'of the worlde, I thinke you will not be so braine- 'sicke, as to stabbe your selfe through the body, on- 'ly to skarrifie my skinne with the poynt of your 'blade. Wherefore, my sonne, consider, that it is 'easie to raze, and harde to buylde, and in all your affayres be schooled by this worde, that for wise- dome is able, and for the inter affection it bea- reth your house will be founde willing, to lesson you with sounde and sage aduise. For albeit in authoritie you rule them, yet in counsaile they must rule you. My sonne, you know that my late maimes kicketh: my talke rather wise I would haue gra- tified longer on this matter. For a good tale may be twise tolde, and a sounde aduise reasones itera- ted, taketh the deper impression in the attentiue hearer his minde. But although my fatherly af- fection requireth my discourse to be longer, yet I trust your good inclination asketh it to be shorter, and vpon that assurance, here in the presence of this honourable assembly, I deliuer you thys swoorde.

Thus he spake for his last farewell with tric- kling teares, and hauing ended, he stoode, embra- ced the Counsaile, committed them to God, and immediately after he was embarked.

Kildare sayleth into Englande.

But although with his graue exhortation the frozen heartes of his aduersaries for a short spirt thawed, yet notwithstanding they turned sone after all this gay *Gloria patri*, to a further fetche, saying that this was nothing else but to dazell their eyes with some iugling knacke, to the ende they shoulde aduertise the king of his loyall spee- ches, adding further, that he was tow tow euill, that coulde not speake well. And to force the prepen- sed treasons, they layde to his charge, with fur- ther surmises, they certified the counsaile of Eng- lande, that the Erle before his departure, furni- shed his owne Piles and fortes with the King his Artillerie and Munition taken forth of the Castel of Dublin.

His oration misconstrued.

He is accused for taking the king his artillerie.

The Erle being examined vpon that article before the Counsaile, although he answered that the fewe potte Gunnes and Chambers hee toke from thence, were placed in his Castell to streng- then the borders agaynst the inroades of the Irish enimie, and that if he intended any treason, he was not so folish, as to fortifie walles and stones, and to commit his naked bones into their hands, yet notwithstanding he deliuered his speeches by reason of his Palsey, in such staggering and maf- fling wise, that such of the Counsaile as were not his friends, perswading the rest that he had sunke in his owne tale, by imputing his lisping and dragging answere, rather to the guilt of consci- ence, than to the infirmitie of his late maime, had him committed, vntill the king his pleasure were further knowne.

Kildare committed.

But before we wade any further in this mat- ter, for the better opening of the whole ground, it woulde be noted, that the Earle of Kildare a- mong diuerse hidden aduersaries, had in these his later troubles foure principall enimies, that were

Kildare his chiefe enimies

the

the Belweathers and Caterpyllers of his ouerthrow, as in those dayes it was commonly bruted.

The first was John Alen Archebishoppe of Dublin, a Gentleman of a good house, Chaplayne to Cardinall Wolsey, and after by the Cardinall his meanes constituted Archbishop of Dublin, a learned Prelate, a singular good Cānonist, a good housholder, of the people indifferently beloued, and more woulde haue bene, had he not ouerbusied himself in supplanting the house of Kildare.

And although it were knowne, that his fierce grudge towards the Giraldines, proceeded from the great affection he bare his Lorde and maister the Cardinall, insomuch as he would not sticke, were he able, for the pleasuring of the one to vndoe the other, yet suche occasions of greater hatred after ensued (namely for that hee was displaced from beeyng Lorde Chauncellour, and Cromer the Primate of Armache by Kildare his drifte setled in the office) as notwithstanding the Cardinall his combe were cut in England, yet did hee persist in pursuing his wonted malice toward that seat.

The seconde that was lynked to this confederacie, was sir John Alen Knight, first Secretarie to this Archbishop, after became mayster of the Rolles, lastly Lorde Chauncellor. And although sir John Alen were not of kinne to the Archebishop, but onely of the name, yet notwithstandyng the Archebishop made so greate reckenyng of him, as well for his forecaste in matters of weyght, as for hys faythfulnesse in affayres of trust, as what soeuer exployte were executed by the one, was forthwith deemed to haue bene diuised by the other.

The thirde of this crewe was Thomas Cannon, Secretarie to Skeffington, who thinkyng to be reuenged on Kildare for puttyng his Lord and maister beside the Cushen, as hee surmysed, was very willyng to haue an Dare in that Boate.

The fourth that was suspected to make vp the muster, was Robert Cowly, first Baylife in Dublin, after seruaunt to the Ladie Margaret Fitz Giralde Countesse of Dzmond and Desmond, lastly maister of the Rolles in Ireland, and finally hee deceassed at London.

This Gentleman for his wisedome and policy was very inwarde with the Lady Margaret Countesse of Desmond, as one by whose aduise shee was in all hir affayres directed. Wherupon some suspicious persones were perswaded and brought in mynde, that hee was the sower of all the discorde that rested betweene the two brethern Kildare and Desmond, as though hee coulde not bee rooted in the fauour of the one, but that hee must haue professed open hatred to the other.

These foure as byrdes of one feather, were supposed to bee open enimies to the house of Kildare, bearyng that sway in the common wealth as they were not occasioned, as they thought, eyther to craue the friendshippe of the Giraldines, or greatly to feare theyr hatred and enmitie.

There were beside them diuerse other secrete vnderminers, who wrought so cunningly vnder the thumbe, by holdyng with the Hare, and runnyng with the Hounde, as if Kildare had prospered, they were assured, theyr malice would not haue bene in maner suspected, but if hee had bene in hys affayres stabled, then theyr fine deuises for theyr further credite shoulde haue bene apparented. Wherefore the beauyng of hys backe friendes not onely surmised, but also manifested, by Kildare, the Lorde Thomas being Lorde Justice, or vice Deputie, in his father hys absence, fetcht both the Alens so roundly ouer the hippes, as well by secrete drifte as open tauntes, as they were the more egerly spurrde, to compasse his confusion. For the Lord Justice and the Counsayle, with diuerse of the Nobilitie at a solemne banquet, discoursing of the auncientie of houses, and of theyr armes, sir John Alen spake to the Lorde Justice these wordes.

The L. Thomas encreaseth the Alens agaynst him.

My Lorde, your house giueth the Marmoset, whose propertie is to eate his owne tayle. Meanyng thereby as the Lorde Thomas supposed, that Kildare did vse to pill and poll hys friendes, tenants and reteyners. These wordes were no sooner spoken, than the Lorde Thomas strikyng the ball to Alen agayne, answered, as one that was somewhat slipper tongued, in this wise.

The properties of the Marmoset.

You say truth sir, in deede I heard some say, that the Marmoset eateth his owne tayle. But although you haue bene fedde by your tayle, yet I woulde aduise you to beware, that your tayle eate not you.

Shortly after this quippyng gamegall, the Lorde Justice and the Counsaile road to Drogheda, where hauyng for the space of three or foure daies soiourned, it happened that the Counsaylours awayted in the Counsayle Chamber the gouernour his comming, vntill it was hard

vpon

vpon the stroke of.xij. The Archbishop of Dublyn rawly digestyng the Vicedeputie his long absence, sayde:

My Lordes, is it not a pretie matter, that all wee shall stay thus long for a boy? As he vttered these speeches, the Lorde Justice vnluckily was commyng vp the Stayres, and at hys entrie taking the wordes hoate from the Bishop his mouth, and iterating them very coldly hee sayde:

The Archbishop his taũt.

My Lordes, I am heartily sory, that you stayed thus long for a boy. Whereat the Prelate was appalled, to see how vnhappily he was galde with his owne caltrop.

These and the like cutting speeches, enkindled suche coales in both theyr stomackes, as the flame coulde not any longer be smouldered, but at one clift or other must haue fumed. The enimies therefore hauing well nighe knedded the dough that should haue beene baked for the Giraldines bane, deuised that secrete rumors should sprinckle to and fro, that the Earle of Kildare his execution was intended in Englande, and that vpon his death the Lorde Thomas and all his bloud should haue bene apprehended in Irelande.

The enimies conspire the ouerthrow of the Giraldines

The occasion of Thomas Fitz Giralde his rebellion.

As this false muttering flewe abrode, it was holpen forwarde by Thomas Cannon, and other of Skeffington hys seruauntes, who sticked not to write to certayne of theyr friends, as it were, very secrete letters, howe that the Earle of Kyldare theyr mayster hys secrete enimie (so they toke hym, bycause hee gotte the gouernment ouer hys heade) was already cut shorter, as his issue presently shoulde bee, and nowe they trusted to see theyr mayster in hys gouernment, after whiche they sore longed, as for a preferment, that woulde in shorte space aduauntage them. Suche a letter came to the handes of a simple Priest, no perfect Englishman, who for haste hurled it among other Papers in the Chimneys ende of hys Chamber, meaning to peruse it better at more leysure. The same very night, a Gentleman retayning to the Lord Thomas, the lord Justice or Vicedeputie, as is before specified, toke vp his lodgyng with the Priest, and raught in the morning when he rose for some Paper, to drawe on his strayte stockings, and as the Diuell would, he hit vpon the letter, bare it away in the heele of his stocke, no earthly thyng misdeeming. At night againe he founde the Paper vnfretted, and musing thereof he beganne to poare on the writing, which notified the Earle his death, and the apprehension of the Lorde Thomas. To horse goeth he in all hast, brought the letter to James Delahide, who was a principall counsaylour to the Lorde Thomas in all his doings. Delahide hauing scantly ouerread the letter, making more hast than good speede, posted to the Lorde Thomas, imparted him that letter, and withall putting fire to flaxe, before hee diued to the bottome of this treacherie, hee was contented to swim on the skum and froth thereof, as well by soothing vp the tenour of the letter, as by inciting the Lorde Thomas to open rebellion, cloaking the odious name of treason, with the zealous reuengement of his fathers wrongfull execution, and with the warie defence of his owne person.

James Delahide.

The Lorde Thomas being youthfull, rash, and headlong, and assuryng himselfe, that the knot of all the force of Ireland was twisted vnder his gyrdle, was by Delahide his Counsaile so farre caryed, as he was resolued to cast all on fire and seuen. Wherefore hauing confedered with Oneale, Oconor, and other Irish Potentates, he road on Saint Barnabies day, accompanied with seuenscore horsemẽ in their shirtes of Maile, through the Citie of Dublin, to the Dam his gate, crost ouer the water to Saint Marie Abbey, where the Counsayle accordyng to appoyntment, awayted his comming, not being priuie to his intent, onely Crommer the Lord Chauncellour excepted, who was secretly aduertised of his reuolt, and therefore was very well prouided for him, as hereafter shall be declared.

This Crommer was a graue Prelate, and a learned, well spoken, milde of nature, nothing wedded to factions, yet a well willer of the Giraldines, as those by whose meanes he was aduaunced to that dignitie.

Croommer Lo. Chancellor.

When the Lord Thomas was set in counsaile, his horsemen and seruants rusht in to the counsaile Chamber armed and weaponed, turning their secrete conference to an open parlee. The Counsaile hereof amazed, and silence with securitie commaunded, the Lorde Thomas in this wise spake.

Howsoeuer iniuriously wee be handled and forced to defend our selues in armes, whẽ neither our seruice nor our good meaning towardes our prince his Crowne auayleth, yet say not hereafter, but in this open hostilitie which here we professe and proclayme, we haue shewed our selues no villaynes, nor churles, but warriours and Gentlemen. This sworde of estate is yours, and

Thomas Fitz Girald his rebellious Oration.

'and not mine, I receyued it with an othe, and
'haue vsed it to your benefite. I should desteyne
'mine honour, if I turned the same to your an-
'noyance. Nowe haue I neede of mine owne
'swoord, which I dare trust. As for the common
'swoord it flattereth me with a painted scabberde,
'but hath in deed a pestilent edge, already bathed
'in the Giraldines bloud, & now is newly whet-
'ted in hope of a further destruction. Therefore
'saue your selues from vs, as from open enimies,
'I am none of Henrie his Deputie, I am his fo.
'I haue more mind to conquer, than to gouerne,
'to meete him in the field, than to serue him in
'office. If al the hearts of England and Ireland,
'that haue cause thereto, would ioine in this qua-
'rell (as I hope they wil) then should he soone aby
'(as I trust he shal) for his cruelties and tyranny,
'for which the age to come may lawfully score
'him vp among the auncient Tyrants of most
'abhominable and hatefull memorie.

Hauing added to this shamefull Oration many other slaunderous & foule tearmes, which for diuerse respects I spare to pen, he would haue surrendered the swoord to the Lord Chancellor, who, as I sayd before, being armed for the Lord Thomas his cõming, and also being loath, that his slacknesse should seeme disloyall, in refusing the swoorde, or his frowardnesse ouer cruell in snatching it vpon the first proffer, toke the Lord Thomas by the wrest of the hand, and requested him for the loue of God, the teares trilling downe his cheekes, to giue him for two or three woordes the hearing, which graunted, the reuerend father spake as ensueth.

My Lorde, although hatred be commonly
'the handmayden of truth, because we see hym,
'that plainely expresseth his minde, to be for the
'more part of most men disliked: yet notwithstã-
'ding I am so well assured of your Lordship his
'good inclination towardes me, and your Lord-
'ship so certaine of mine entire affection towardes
'you, as I am emboldned, notwithstanding this
'companie of armed men, freely and frankly to
'vtter that, which by me declared, and by youre
'Lordship followed, wil turne God willing, to the
'auayle of you, your friends, alies, & this coũtrey.
'I doubt not, my Lord, but you know, that it
'is wisdome for any man to looke before he leape,
'and to sownde the water before his ship hul ther-
'on, and namely where the matter is of weight,
'there it behoueth to follow sounde, sage and ma-
'ture aduise. Wherefore, my Lorde, sithe it is no
'Maygame, for a subiect to leuie an armye a-
'gainst his prince: it lyeth your Lordship in hand
'to breath longer on the matter, as well by fore-
'casting the hurt whereby you may fall, as by re-
'uoluing the hope wherewith you are fed. What
'should moue your Lordship to this sodaine at-
tempt, I know not. If it be the death of your fa-
ther, it is as yet but secretly muttered not manf-
fully published. And if I should graunt you, that
your zeale in reuenging your father his execu-
tion were in some respect to be commended: yet
reason would you should suspend the reuenge vn-
til the certaintie were knowne. And were it, that
the report were true, yet it standeth with the du-
tie and allegeance of a good subiect (from whom
I hope in God, you meane not to dissemer your
selfe) not to spurne and kicke against his prince,
but contrariewise, if his soueraigne be mightie,
to feare him: if he be profitable to his subiects,
to honour him: if he commaunde, to obey him:
if he be kinde, to loue him: if he bee vicious, to
pitie him: if he be a Tyrant, to beare with him,
considering that in suche case it is better with
patience to bowe, than with stubburnnesse to
breake. For sacred is the name of a king, and
odious is the name of a rebellion: the one from
heauen deriued, and by God shielded, the other
in hell forged, and by the Diuell executed. And
therefore who so wyll obserue the course of Hy-
stories, or weigh the Iustice of God in puni-
shing malefactours, shall easily see, that albeit
the Sunne shyneth for a tyme on them that
are in Rebellion, yet suche sweete beginnings
are at length clasped vp with sharpe and sowre
endes.

Now that it appeareth, that you ought not
to beare armoure agaynst your King, it resteth
to discusse whether you bee able, although you
were willing to annoy your King. For if a-
mong meane and priuate foes it be reckened for
a folly in a secrete grudge to professe open ha-
tred, and where hee is not able to hynder, there
to shewe a willing mynde to hurte: muche
more ought your Lordshippe in so generall a
quarell as thys, that concerneth the King, that
toucheth the Nobilitie, that appertayneth to the
whole common wealth, to forsee the King his
power on the one side, and your force on the o-
ther, and then to iudge if you bee able to cocke
with him, and to put hym beside the Cushion,
and not whyles you striue to sit in the Saddle,
to lose to your owne vndoyng, both the Horse
and the Saddle.

King Henrie is knowne to bee in these our
dayes so puissant a Prince, and so victorious a
worthie, that he is able to conquere forey ne do-
minions: and thinke you, that he cannot defend
his owne? He tameth kings, and iudge you that
he may not rule his owne subiectes? Suppose
you conquere the lande, doe you ymagine that
hee will not recouer it? Therefore my Lorde,
flatter not your selfe ouer muche, repose not so
great affiance either in your troupe of horsmen,
or in your bande of footmen, or in the multitude
of,

The subiects dutie towards his king.

The name of a king sacred.

Rebellion frõ whence it springeth.

‘ of your partakers. What face soeuer they put
‘ now on the matter, or what successe soeuer for a
‘ season they haue, bycause it is easie for an army
‘ to vanquish them that doe not resist, yet hereaf-
‘ ter when the king shall send his power into this
‘ Countrey, you shall see your adherents like slip-
‘ per chaungelings plucke in theyr hornes, and
‘ such as were cõtent to beare you vp by the chin,
‘ as long as you could swim, when they espie
‘ you sinke, they will by little and little shrinke
‘ from you, and percase will ducke you ouer head
‘ and eares. As long as the gale puffeth full in
‘ your sayles, doubt not but diuerse wil anerre vn-
‘ to you, and feede on you, as Crowes on carion.
‘ But if any storme happen to blustor, then will
‘ they be sure to leaue you post alone sticking in
‘ the myre or sands, hauing least helpe, when you
‘ haue most neede. And what will then ensue
‘ of this. The braunches will be pardoned, the
‘ rote apprehended, your honour disteyned, your
‘ house attainted, your armes reuersed, your Ma-
‘ nours razed, your doings examined, at whiche
‘ time God knoweth, what an heartburning it
‘ will be, when that with no colour may bee de-
‘ nied, which without shame cannot be confessed.
‘ My Lorde I poure not out Oracles as a soth-
‘ sayer, for I am neyther a Prophet, nor the sonne
‘ of a Prophete. But it may be, that I am some
Cassandraes prophecie. ‘ frãtique Cassandra being partner of hir spirit in
‘ foretelling the truth, and partaker of hir misfor-
‘ tune, in that I am not when I tell the truth be-
‘ leeued of your Lordship, whome God defende
‘ from being Priamus.

‘ Weigh therefore, my Lord, the nobilitie of
‘ your auncestors, remember your father his late
‘ exhortation, forgette not your duetie to your
‘ Prince, consider the estate of this poore Coun-
‘ trey, with what heapes of curses you shall bee
‘ loden, when your souldiours shall rifle the poore
‘ Subiectes, and so farre endamage the whole
‘ Realme, as they are not yet borne, that shall
‘ hereafter feele the smart of this vprore. You haue
‘ not gone so farre, but you may turne home, the
‘ king is mercifull, your offence as yet not ouer-
‘ heynous, cleaue to his clemencie, abandon this
‘ headlong folly. Which I craue in most humble
‘ wise of your Lordship, for the loue of God, for
‘ the duetie you owe your Prince, for the affection
‘ you beare the Countrey, and for the respecte
‘ you haue to youre owne safetie, whome God
‘ defende from all trayterous and wicked at-
‘ tempts.

Hauing ended his Oration, which hee sette forth with suche a lamentable action, as his chekes were all beblubbered with teares, the horse-men, namely such as vnderstoode not Englishe, began to diuine what the Lorde Chauncellour ment with all this long circumstance, some of them reporting that hee was preaching a Sermon, others sayd, that he stoode making of some Heroicall Poetrie in the prayse of the Lorde Thomas. And thus as euery Idiot shot his foolishe bolt at the wise Counsalour his discourse, who in effect did nought else but drop precious stones before Hogges, one Bard de Melan, an Bard de Melan Irishe rithmour, and a rotten sheepe able to infect an whole flocke, was chatting of Irish verses, as though his tongue had runne on pattens, in commendation of the Lorde Thomas, inuesting him with the tytle of silken Thomas, bycause his horsemens iacks were gorgeously embrodered with silke: and in the ende he tolde him that hee lingred there ouerlong. Whereat the Lorde Thomas being quickned, did cast his eye towardes the Lorde Chauncellour, and sayde: Silken Thomas.

‘ My Lorde Chauncellour, I come not hi- ‘ He replyeth.
‘ther to take aduice what I shoulde doe, but to
‘ giue you to vnderstande what I minde to doe.
‘ It is easie for the sounde to counsaile the sicke:
‘ But if the sore had smarted you as much as it
‘ festereth me, you woulde bee percase as impaci-
‘ ent as I am. As you woulde wishe me to ho-
‘ nour my Prince, so duetie willeth mee to reue-
‘ rence my father. Wherefore he that will with
‘ such tyrannie execute mine innocent parent, and
‘ withall threaten my destruction, I may not, nor
‘ will not hold him for my king. And yet in truth Henrie Lorde of Irelande.
‘ he was neuer our king, but our lord, as his pro-
‘ genitours haue beene before him. But if it bee
‘ my hap to miscarie, as you seeme to prognosti-
‘ cate, catche that catche maye, I will take the
‘ Market as it ryseth, and will chose rather to die
‘ with valiauntnesse and libertie, than to liue vnder
‘ king Henrie in bondage and villanie. And yet it
‘ may be, that as strong as hee is, and as weake
‘ as I am, I shal be able like a flesh worme to itch
‘ the bodie of his Kingdome, and force him to
‘ scratch deepely before he be able to pike me out
‘ of my seame. Wherefore my Lorde, I thanke
‘ you for your good counsaile, and were it not that
‘ I am too crabbed a note in descant to bee nowe
‘ tuned, it might be, that I woulde haue warb-
‘ led sweeter harmonie than at this instaunt I
‘ mean to sing.

With these words he rendred vp the sword, Thomas reddreth vp the sworde. and flung away like a bedlem, beeing garded with hys brutishe droue of braineslicke Rebelles.

The Counsaile sent secretely vpon his departure to maister Maior and his breethren, to apprehende, if they conueniently might, Thomas Fitz Giralde, and his confederates. But the warning was so skarborrow, the enimie so strong, the Citie by reason of the plague that raunged in towne and in country, so dispeopled,

as

as their attempt therein would seeme but vaine and friuolous.

Ouer this, the weaker parte of the Rebelles would not penne vp themselues within the Citie walles, but stood houering aloft off towards Ostmantowne greene, on the toppe of the hyll where the gallouse stoode (a fitte center for suche a circle) till tyme they were aduertised of theyr Captayne Thomas his returne.

This open Rebellió in this wise denounced, parte of the Counsell, namely Alen Archbyshop of Dublin, Finglasse chiefe Baron, hyed wyth bagge and baggage to the Castell of Dublin, whereof Joan White was Constable, who after was dubbed Knight by the Kyng in England, for hys worthy seruice done in that byroze.

Thomas and his crew, supposing that in ouerrunning the whole land, they should finde no blocke to stumble at sauing the Earle of Ossorie, agreed to trie, if by any allurements he could be trayned to their cõfederacy. And for as much as the Lorde James Butler was linckt with Thomas Fitz Giralo in great amitie and friendshippe, it was thought best to giue him the onsette, who if he were wonne to sway with them, they woulde not weigh two chippes the forze of his father, the Earle of Ossory.

Thomas forthwith sent his messengers and letters to his cousin the Lord Butler, couenanting to deuide wyth hym halfe the Kingdome, would he associate him in this enterprise, wherupon, the Lorde Butler returned Thomas hys brokers with this letter.

TAking penne in hand, to write you my resolute aunswere, I muse in the very firste line, by what name to call you, my Lord, or my Cousin: seeing your notozious treason hath distayned your honour, and your desperate lewdenesse shamed youre kinred: you are so liberall in parting stakes with mee, that a man woulde weene, you had no right to the game: so importunat in crauing my company, as if you would perswade me to hang with you for good fellowship. Do you thinke that James was so madde, as to gape for Gogions, or so vngracious, as to sell his trueth for a peece of Ireland? Were it so (as it cannot bee) that the chickens you recken, were both hatched and feathered, yet bee thou sure, I had rather in this quarrell dye thine enimie, than liue thy partner: for the kindnesse you proffer me, and good loue in the ende of your letter, the best way I can, I purpose to requite, that is, in aduising you, though you haue fetched your feaze, yet to loke well ere you leape. Ignorance and errour wyth a certayne opinion of duetie, haue carried you vnawares to this follie, not yet so ranke, but it may be cured. The King is a dessell of bounty and mercy, youre wordes agaynste his Maiestie shall not be accompted malitious, but rather belched out for heate and impotency, except your selfe, by heaping offences, discouer a mischeuous and wilfull meaning. Farewell.

Thomas Fitz Giralo netled with this round aunswere, was determined to inuade the Coũtrey of Kilkenny, firste forcing an othe vpon the Gentlemen of the pale: and suche as woulde not agree thereto, he toke prisoners.

Fingall whiche was not before acquainted with the recourse of the Irishe enimie, was lefte open, to bee preded and spoyled by the Toles, who were therein assisted by Johan Burnell of Balgriffen, a Gentleman of a faire liuing, settled in a good battle soile of Fingall, taken for one not denoyde of witte, were it not that hee were ouertaken with this treason.

Fingall spoyled.

Iohan Burnell of Balgriffen.

The Dublinians hauing notice, that the enimie made hauocke of their neighbors of Fingal, issued out of the Citie, meaning to haue intercepted them at the bridge of Kilmaynan, and hauing encountred wyth the Irishe, neere the woode of Salcock, what for the number of the Rebelles, and the lacke of an experte Captayne to leade the army of Dublin in battayle araye, there were fourescore of the Citizens slayne,

The Dublinians discomfited.



and the prede not rescued.

In this conflicte, Patricke Fitz Simons, wyth dyuers other good housholders miscaried.

This victory bred so greate an insolencye in Thomas Fitz Giralde, as hee sente his messengers to the Citie, declaring that albeit they offered him that iniurie, as that he could not haue

Messengers sent from Thomas to Dublin.

free passage with hys companye to and fro in the pale, and therefore would he vse the benefyte of his late skirmishe, or bee aunswerable in iust reuenge to their due deserte, he mought by lawe of armes put their Citie to fire and sword: yet this notwithstanding, if they would but permit his men to lay siege to the Castell of Dublin, he would enter in league with them, and would vndertake to backe them in such fauorable wise, as the stoutest Champion in his army shoulde not be so hardy, as to offer the basest in their Citie so much as a fillip.

The Citizens considering that the Towne, by reason of the sickenesse, was weakened, and by this late ouerthrowe greately discouraged, were forced to make a vertue of necessitie, by lighting a candle before the Deuill, til tyme the Kyng hys pleasure were knowen, to whome wyth letters they posted one of their Aldermen, named Francis Herbert, whome shortly after, Francis Herbert sent into England. ẏ King for his seruice dubbed knight, enfeoffing him with parte of Christopher Eustace of Balintlan his landes, who had vnaduisedly a sote in this Rebellion. But before ẏ Citizens would returne aunswere to Thomas, as touching this message, they secretly aduertised maister Johan White, Connestable of the Castell, of this vnlawfull demaunde. Eustace of Balicutlan.

The Connestable weighing the securitie of the Citie, and little regarding the force of the enimie, agreed willingly thereto, so that he might be sufficiently stored with men and vittayles.

The Archbyshop of Dublin meaneth to sayle into England. Johan Alen Archbyshop of Dublin, fearyng that all would haue gone to wracke in Ireland, being then in the Castell, brake his minde touching hys sayling into Englande to one of hys seruauntes named Bartholmewe Fitz Giralde, whome, notwithstanding hee were a Giraldine, hee helde for hys trustiest and inwardest counsaylour. Bartholmew Fitz Girald.

Bartholmew vndertaking to be the Archbyshop his Pilot, vntill he were past the barre, encouraged his maister to embarke himselfe harde by the Dames gate. And as they were hulling in the Channell that euening, they were not ware, vntill the Barke strake on the sands neere Clontarfe.

The Archbyshop with his man stale secretely to Tartayne, there meaning to lurke, vntyll the wind hadde serued to sayle into Englande, where hee scantly fiue houres soiourned, when Thomas Fitz Girald knew of his arriuall, and accompanyed with James Delahide, sir Johan Fitz Giralde, Oliuer Fitz Giralde his Uncles, timely in the morning, being the .28. of July, he posted to Tartayne, beset the house, commaunded Johan Teling, and Nicholas Waffer to apprehend the Archbishoppe, whome they halled out of his bedde, brought him naked in his shirt, barefooted and bare headed, to their Captayne, whome when the Archbyshop espyed, incontinently he kneeled, and with a pitiful countenãce, and lamentable voice, he besought him for ẏ loue of God not to remember former iniuries, but to weigh his present calamitie, and what malice so euer he bare his person, yet to respect his calling and vocation, in that his enimie was a Christian, and hee among Christians an Archbishop. As he spake thus, bequeathing his soule to God, his body to the enimies mercy. Thomas being striken with some compassion, and withall inflamed with desire of reuenge, turned hys Horse aside, saying in Irish (*Sir wem è boddeagh*) which is as muche in Englishe, as awaye with the Churle, or take the Churle from mee, whyche doubtles he spake, as after he declared, meaning the Archbishop should bee deteyned as prisoner. But ẏ caitiffes that were present, rather of malice than of ignorance, misconstruing his words, murthered ẏ Archbishop without further delay, brayned and hackt hym in gobbets, hys blood with Abell crying to God for reuenge, whiche after befell to all such as were principals to this horrible murther. The place is euer since hedged and embayed on euery side, ouergrowen and vnfrequented, for detestation of the fact. This Alen as before is declared, was in seruice with Cardinall Wolsey, of deepe iudgement in the lawe Canon, the onely match of Stephan Gardiner, an other of Wolseys Chaplaynes, for auoiding of which emulation, he was preferred in Irelãd, rough and rigorous in iustice, deadly behated of ẏ Giraldins, for his maisters sake and his owne, as he that crossed them diuers times, and muche bridled both father and sonne in their gouernements, not vnlike to haue promoted their accusations, and to haue bin a forger of the letter before mentioned, whiche turned to his finall destruction. Alen Archbyshop of Dublin, murthered at Tartayne.

The Rebelles hauing in this execrable wise embrued their handes in the Archbishoppe hys bloud, they rode to Houth, toke Sir Christofer Lord of Houth prisoner, and vpon their returne from thence, they apprehended Maister Luttrel, chiefe Iustice of the common place, conueying him with them as their prisoner. The Lord of Houth taken prisoner. Iustice Luttrell taken.

The Dublinians during this space, hauing respite to pause, sent into the Castell by nyghte sufficient store of victuals, at which time, Johan Fitz Simons, one of theyr Aldermen, sente to Maister Cunstable twenty tunne of wine, four and twenty tunne of beere, two thousande dryeling, fiftene hoggesheads of poudred beefe, and twenty chambers, with an iron chayne for the drawbridge of the Castell, ẏ was newly forged in his owne house, for ẏ auoiding of all suspitiõ. Johan Fitz Simons.

1534

Teling. Waffer.

The

The Castell beyng wyth men, munition, and vittaples, abundantly furnished, answere was returned to Thomas Fitz Girald, purpoz-ting a consent for ẏ receyuing of his Souldiers, which graunted, he sent thither James Field of Luske, Nicholas Waller, Johan Deling, Edward Roukes (who was likewise a Pirat, scouring the coast, and greatly annoying all passengers) Broade and Purcel with an hundred souldiers attendant on thē, as on their Captaynes. These valiant ruffrekinnes planted neere Preston his Innes, right ouer against the Castell gate two or three Falcons, hauyng with suche strong rampiers entrenched their company, as they little weighed the shot of the Castell, and to withdrawe the Connestable from discharging ẏ ordinance, they threatned to take the youth of ẏ Citie, and place them on the toppe of theyr trēches for maister Constable to shote at, as at a marke he would be loath to hitte.

The English pale in this wise weakened, the Citizens appeased, and the Castell besieged, Thomas Fitz Girald and his confederates were resolued to trie if the Lord Butler would stand to his doughty letter, and sith he woulde not by faire meanes be allured, he should be maugre his head by foule meanes compelled to assist them in this their generall attempt.

Thomas vpon this determination, being accompanyed wyth O Neale, dyuers Scottes, James Delahide, his principall Counsayloure; Johan Delahide, Edw. Fitz Girald his vncle, Sir Richarde Wellshe, person of Loughsewdy, Johan Burnel of Balgriffen, James Gernon, Walter Walsh, Rob. Walsh, Maurice Walsh with a mayne army, inuaded the Earle of Ossory, and the Lord Butler his landes, brenned & wasted ẏ Countrey of Kilkennie to Thomas Towne, the poore inhabitants being constreined to shunne hys force, rather than to withstande his power. Fitz Girald his approch towardes these confines bruted, the Earle of Ossory, and his son the L. Butler, with all the Gentlemen of the Countrey of Kilkēny, assembled neere Jeripō, to determine what order they myght take, in withstanding the inuasion of the Rebelles. And as they were thus in parley, a Gentleman of ẏ Butlers accompanyed with sixteene horsemen, departed secretely from the Falckmote, and made towardes Thomas Fitz Girald and hys army, who was then ready to incamp himselfe at Thomas Towne. Whē the challenger was eferied, and the certayne number knowen, sixteene of Fitz Giralde his Horsemen dyd charge him, and presently followed them seuen score Horsemen, with two or three banners displaid, pursuing them, vntil they came to the hil, where all the Gentlemen were assembled, who beyng so suddaynely taken, coulde not stand to bicker, but some fledde this way, some that way, the Earle was scattered from his company, and the Lord Butler vnawares was hurte, whome when suche of the Rebelles knewe, as fauoured him, they pursued him, but coldly, and lette hym escape on Horsebacke, taking hys way to Downemore (neere Kilkennie) where hee lay at Chirurgerie.

Thomas Fitz Girald inuadeth the Cōtrey of Kilkenny.



The Earle of Ossory fleeth.

The Lorde Butler wounded.

During the tyme that Thomas with his army was ransacking the Earle of Ossory hys lands, Francis Herbert returned from Englād to Dublin with the Kyng and Counsells letters to Maister Shillingforth then Maior, and his brethren, with letters likewise to maister White the Constable, to withstande (as theyr duetie of allegiance bound them) the trayterous practises of Thomas and hys complices, & that with al speede they should be succoured vpon the sight of these letters. M. Thomas Fitz Simons

Frances Herbert returneth from England.

Shillingforth.

Thomas Fitz Simons.

Recorder of the Citie, a Gentleman that shewed himselfe a politique and a cõfortable Cõsayler in these troubles, paraphrasing the Kyng his grations letters, with diuers good and sound constructions, emboldned the Citizens to breake their new made leagne, which with no Traytor was to be kept.

No league to be kept with Traytors.

The Aldermen and communaltie, wyth thys pithie perswasion easily weighed, gaue forthwith order, that the gates should be shutte, their perculliſſes dismounted, the Traitors that besieged the Castell apprehended, flagges of defyance vpon their walles placed, and an opẽ breach of truce proclaymed. Field and his compaynes, who did not all this while batter aught of the Castell, but only one hole that was bored through the gate with a pellet, which lighted in the mouth of a demy Canon, planted within the Castell) vnderstanding that they were betrayed, begaune to shrinke their heads, trusting more to their heeles than to their weapõs, some ranne one way, some another, diuers thoughte to haue bin housed, and so to lurke in Lozelles denne, who were thrust out by the head and shoulders: few of them swaumme ouer the Liffy, ỹ greater number takẽ and emprisoned. Forthwith post vppon post rode to Thomas Fitz Girald, who then was rifling the Countrey of Kilkenny, certifying him that all was marde, the fat was in the fire, he brought an olde house about his owne eares, the Palrockes of Dublin kept not touche with him, the english army was ready to bee shipt, Herbert with the Kyng hys letters returned, now it stode him vpon to shew himselfe a man or a mouse.

The Dublinians breake with Thomas Fitz Girald

Field and his company taken.

Thomas with these tidings amazed, made speedy repaire to Dublin, sending his Pursuãts before hym, to commaunde the Gentlemen of the Englishe pale to meete hym with all theyr power neere Dublin. And in his way towards the Citie, hys company toke diuers children of the Dublinians, that kept in the Countrey, (by reason of the contagion that then was in the Towne) namely Michaell Fitz Simons, Patricke Fitz Simons, William Fitz Simõs, all sonnes to Walter Fitz Simons late Maior, at whiche tyme was also taken James Stanihurst, with diuers other yonglings of the Citie.

The youth of Dublin taken prisoners.

Hauing marched neere Dublin, hee sente Doctor Trauerse, Peter Lince of the Knocke, and Oliuer Grace, as messengers (for I maye not rightly tearme them Ambassadors) to the Citizẽs, who crossing the Liffy from the blacke Friers to the key, explayned to the Maior and Aldermen theyr errand, the effect whereof was, eyther to stand to their former promise, or else to restore to their Captayne his menne, that they wrongfully detayned in goale.

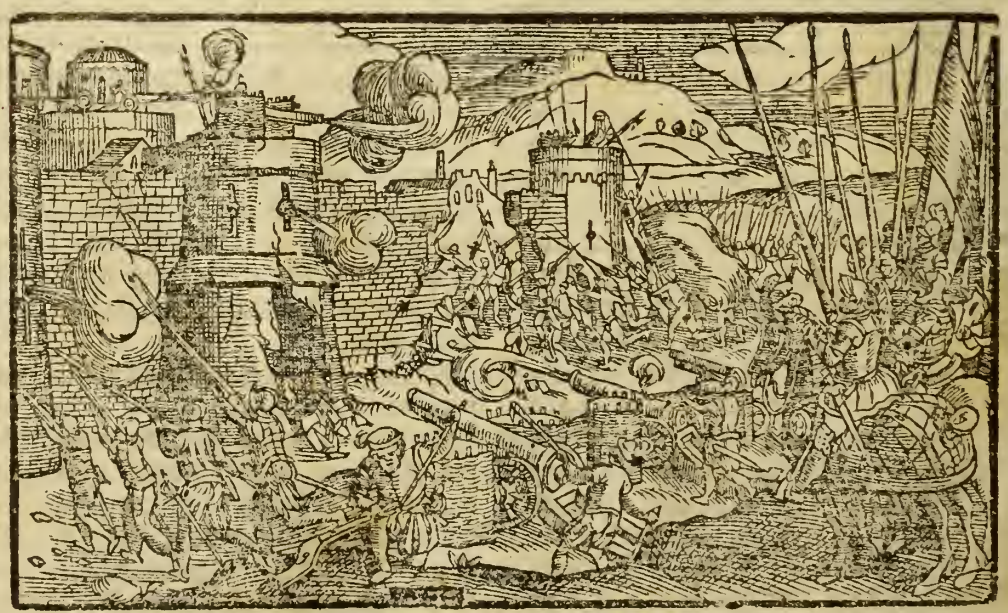
Messengers sent to Dublin Trauerse. Lince. Grace.

The first and last point of this request flatly by the Citizẽs denyed, the messengers returned, declaring what colde entertaynement they had in Dublin.

Thomas herewith frying in his grease, caused part of his army to burne the Barke wherein Herbert sayled from Englande, whiche done without resistance, the vessell roade at anchor neere Saint Mary Abbey, they endeuoured to stoppe all the springs that flowed to the towne, and to cutte the pypes of theyr conduites, whereby they shoulde be destitute of freshe water.

Dublin besieged.

Shortly after, they layde siege to the Castell



in the Shipstreete, from whence they were hastily by the ordinance feazed, and all the thatche houses of the Streete were burnt with wilde fire, whych maister White deuised, because the enimie should not be there rescued.

The Shipstrete fired.

When no butter could sticke on their bread

in

in that parte of the Citie, the greater number of the Rebelles assembled to Thomas court, and marched to Sainte Thomas his streete, razing downe the partitions of the rewe of houses before them on both sides of the streete, findyng none to withstande them, for the inhabitantes fledde into the Citie, so that they made a long lane on both the sides like a gallerie, couered all ouer head, to shield as well their horsemen, as their footemen from gunshot.

This done, they brent the newe streete, planted a falcon right againste the newe gate, and it discharged, pierced the gate, and kild an apprentice of Thomas Stecuens Alderman, as hee wente to bring a bason of water from the hygh pipe, whiche by reason the springs were damde vp, was at that time drie.

Richard Stanton, commonly called Dicke Stanton, then gaylour of the new gate, a good seruitoure, an excellente markman, as his valiant seruice that time dyd approue. For besides that hee galde dyuers of the Rebelles as they woulde skippe from house to house, by causing some of them with hys peece, to carrie theyr erraundes in their buttockes, hee perceyued one of the enimies, leueling at the windowe or spike at which he stoode: but whether it were, that the Rebell his pouder faylde him or some gimbol or other was out of frame, Stanton toke hym so truely for his marke, as hee strake him with hys bullet full in the forehead vnder ỹ brimme of hys scull, and withall, turned vp his heeles.

Stanton not satisfyed with his death, issued out at the wicket, stripte the harlet mother naked, and broughte in his peece and hys attire.

The desperateneſſe of thys facte displyked of the Citizẽs, and greately stomacked by the Rebelles, before Stanton returned to his standing, the enimies broughte faggottes and fyers to the new gate, and incontinently fyred them.

The Townesmen perceyuing that if ỹ gate were brent, the enimies woulde bee encouraged vpon hope of the spoyle, to venter more fiercely, than if they wer encountred without ỹ walles, thoughte it expedient presently to charge them: to this exployte they were the more egrely moued, because that notwithstanding Thomas his Souldyers were many in number, yet they knewe that the better parte of his company bare but hollowe hartes to the quarrell: for the number of the wise Gentlemen of the pale did little or nothing encline to his purpose. And therefore when hee besieged the Citie, the most parte of those arrowes, which were shot ouer the walles, were vnheaded, and nothyng annoyed them: some shotte in letters, and foretolde them of all the treacherous stratagemes that were in hammering.

That espyed the Citizens, and gathering the faintneſſe of his Souldyers thereby, blazed abrode vppon the walles triumphante newes, that the King hys army was arriued, and as it hadde bin so in deede, suddaynely to the number of foure hundred, rushed out at the newe gate through flame and fyre vppon the Rebelles, who at the first sighte of armed men, weening no lesse, but the truethy was so, otherwise assured, that the Citie woulde neuer dare to reencounter them, gaue grounde, forsoke theyr Captaynes, dispersed and scattered into dyuers corners, theyr Falcon taken, an hundred of their stoutest galloglasses slayne. The Citizens bicker with the Rebelles.

Thomas Fitz Giralde fledde to the grey Friers in Sainte Frauncis his streete, there coucht that nyghte, vnknowen to the Citie, vntyll the next morning, hee stale priuily to his armye not farre off, who stoode in wonderfull feare, that he was apprehended. Thomas Fitz Girald fleeth.

Thomas hys courage by thys late ouerthrowe, somewhat cooled, and also beeyng assuredly tolde, that a fleete was espyed a farre off, bearyng full sayle towardes the coast of Irelande, hee was sone entreated, hauyng so manye items in the fyre, to take egges for hys money: and wythall, hauyng no forrayne succoure, eyther from *Paulus tertius*, or Charles the fyft, whyche dayly hee expected, hee was sore quayled, beeyng of hymselfe, though strong in number of Souldyers, yet vnfurnished of sufficiente munition and artillerie, to stande and wythstande the Kyng hys army in a pitcht fielde, or a mayne battaile.

Vppon thys and other considerations, to make as fayre weather as hee coulde, hee sente James Delahyde, Lime of the knocke, William Bath of Dollardestowne, Doctor Trauerse, Thomas Fielde of Paynestowne, as messengers to the Citizens, to treate with them of a truce, who beeyng let in at the newe gate, repayred to William Kelly his house, where maister Maior and hys brethren were assembled. Delahide. Lime. Bath. Trauerse field.

The Articles propounded by them to the Citizens, were these. The Articles propounded to the Citizens.

In primis, that Thomas Fitz Girald hys men, who were deteyned in prison, should be deliuered.

2 Item, that the Citizens shoulde incontinently deliuer him at one payment, a thousande poundes in money.

3 Item, that they shoulde delyuer him fyue hundred pounds in wares.

4 Item, to furnish him with munition and artillery.

5 Item, to addresse their fauorable letters to

the King for their Captaine his pardon, and all his confederates.

The Citizens aunſwer theſe articles.

The Maior and Aldermen hauing ripely debated the tenour of theſe Articles, agreed, that maiſter Fitz Simons their Recorder, ſhould anſwere to the firſte, that they would not ſticke, to ſet his ſeruaunts at libertie, ſo he woulde redeliuer them the youth of the Citie which was nothing elſe in effect, but tit for tat.

As for the ſeconde and thirde demaunde, they were ſo greatly by his warres empoueriſhed, as they myght hardly ſpare money or wares: and as touching implementes for warre, they were neuer ſuch fond niddicockes, as to offer any mā a rodde to beate their owne taples, or to betake their maſtiues to the cuſtodie of the Wolues, marueilling much, that their Captayne woulde ſo farre ouerſhote himſelfe, as to bee taken with ſuch apparant repugnancie. For if hee intended to ſubmitte himſelfe to the King his mercy, and to make them humble meanes to his highneſſe for the obteining of his pardon, he ought rather to make ſute for ſome good vellam parchmente for the ingroſſing thereof, than for munitiō and artillerie to withſtande his Prince: wherefore that three vnlawfull demaundes reiected, they would willingly condiſcend to the firſt and laſt, as well requeſting hym to deliuer them the youth of the Citie, as to ſubmitte himſelfe and his company to the King his mercy, promiſing not only with their fauourable letters, but alſo with their perſonall preſences to further, as far as in them lay, hys humble ſute to the King and Counſell.

William Bath

As they parled thus to and fro, William Bath of Dollardeſtowne, a Student of the cōmon lawes ſpake: My maiſters, what needeth all thys long circumſtance, lette vs all drynke of one cuppe, whiche wordes were ſhortly after vpon Skeffington his arriuall, ſo crokedly gloſed, as by drinking of a ſoure cuppe, hee loſt the beſt ioynte of hys body. For albeit vpon his tryall, hee conſtrued his wordes to importe an vniforme conſente, towards the obteyning of Fitz Giralde hys pardon, yet all this coulde not couloure hys matter in ſuche wiſe, but that hee and

Euſtace of Balicutlan.

Euſtace of Balicutlan, wer executed at the Caſtell of Dublin.

The meſſengers knowing their Captaine to bee at a lowe ebbe, were agreed to take the offers of the firſt and laſt conditions, and that to

Hoſtages taken.

the accompliſhing of theſe Articles, hoſtages ſhoulde bee gyuen of eyther parte.

Doctor Trauerſe. Talbot. Rochforde Rery.

The meſſengers deliuered to the Citizens Doctor Trauerſe and others, the Citizens deliuered them Richard Talbot, Aldreman, Rochforde and Rery.

These were committed to the cuſtody of Dauid Sutton of Rabride, who redeliuered the to the Citizens, immediately after vpon the certayne rumour of Skeffington his repaire. Dauid Sutton.

Thomas growen to thys poynte with the Dublinians, rayſed his ſiege, cauſed his artillerie to be cōueyd to Howeth, marching after with his army, to the ende he might well as bulche the Engliſh Shippes, if they durſt auerre the coaſt, as to bicker with the Souldiers vpon their arriuall. But before he toke his iourney to Howeth, he rode to Maynoth, to ſee that the Caſtell ſhuld be of all ſides fortifyed, where being done to vnderſtand, that a companye of white cotes, with redde croſſes, landed at Dublin ſecretely in the dead of the night, and alſo that another band ariued at Howeth, and were ready to marche towardes Dublin, hee poſted incontinently wyth two hundred horſemen towardes the water ſyde, encountred neere Clontarfe, the Hamertons, two valiant and courageous Gentlemen, hauing in theyr company foureſcore Souldyers, where they foughte ſo valiantly for theyr liues, as ſo fewe footemen coulde haue done againſte ſo greate a troupe of horſemen: for they did not onely mangle and hacke dyuers of the Rebelles, but alſo one of the Hamertones woūded Thomas Fitz Girald in the forehead. The white coates land at Dublin. The Hamertones ſlayne. Thomas Fitz Girald wounded.

Some reporte, that one of the Mooſgraues, who was of kinne to Fitz Giralde, was ſlayne in this conflict, whoſe deathe hee is ſaid to haue taken greately to hearte. The Rebelles fleſht with the ſlaughter of the Engliſhe, hyed with al ſpeede to Howeth, ſhotte at the Shyppes that rode at anchor, cauſed them to flie from thēce, and to make towardes Skerriſh, where landed both the Eglebees, and the Dakers with theyr horſemen Roukes, Fitz Girald his Pirat, was ſent to ſcoure the coaſt, who toke an Engliſhe barke laden with very faire geldings, and ſente them to hys Captayne. Mooſgraue. Eglebees. Dakers. Engliſh geldings taken.

After that Thomas hadde returned with this booty, and the ſpoyle of ſuche as were ſlayne to Maynoth, Sir William Brereton Knyghte, with hys ſonne John Brereton, was enſhoared at Howeth with two hundred and fiftie Souldyers, very well appoynted, and maiſter Saliſbury with two hundred archers. Sir William Brereton Iohn Brereton Saliſbury.

Laſtly landed at the ſlippe neere the bridge of Dublin, Sir William Skeffington knight, Lorde Deputie, whome the Iriſhe call the Gunner, becauſe hee was preferred from that office of the King hys maiſtee Gunner, to gouerne them, and that they can euill brooke to bee ruled of anye that is but meanely borne. Sir William Skeffington Lord Deputy landeth.

The Maior and Aldermen receyued the gouernor wyth ſhot, & great ſolemnity, who yeelding them heartye thankes, for theyr true and loyall

loyall seruice, deliuered them the King & Counsell his letters, purporting the same effect in writing, that he before expresst in words.

Barnewell Lord of Trimlestowne, who had the custody of the sword, dyd surrender it to Sir William Skeffington, according to the meaning of the King his letters patents on that behalfe.

Thomas Fitz Giralde hauing intelligence that the whole army was arriued, warded the Castel of Maynoth so strongly, as he toke it to be impregnable. And to the ende he might gyue the gouernoure battayle, he rode towards Connaght, to leuie all such power of the Irish, as either for wages, or for good will he could winne, to assist him. The Lord Deputie forewarned of his drift, matched with the English army, and the power of the pale to Maynoth, and layde siege to the Castell on the North side, towardes the parke. But before any peece was discharged, Sir William Brereton, by the Deputie his appoyntment, did sommone the Castell, offering suche as kepte it, to depart with bagge and baggage, and besides their pardon, to bee liberally rewarded for their good and loyall seruice. But such as warded the Castell, scornefully scoffing the Knight his offer, gaue him heartie thankes for his kindnesse, which they sayd, proceeded rather of his gentlenesse, than of their deseruing, wishing him to keepe vp in store such liberall offers for a deere yeare, and to write his commendations home to his friends, and withal, to keepe his head warme, for at their hands he was lyke to haue but a colde sute: finally not to take suche keepe of their safetie, in that they were assured, that he and his fellowes shoulde bee sooner from the siege rased, than they from the holde remoued. Upon this round aunswere, the ordinances were planted on the North side of the Castell, whiche made no great batterie for the space of a fortnight, yet the Castell so warely of eache side enuironed, as the Rebelles were imbard from al egresse and regresse. Chriſtopher Parese, foster brother to Thomas Fitz Girald, to whome of especiall trust, the charge of ỹ Castel was chiefely committed, proffering his voluntarie seruice, (which for the more part is so thankelesse & vnsauory, as it stinketh) determined to goe an ale beyond his fellowes, in betraying the Castell to the gouernoure. In this resolution, he shot out a letter endorsed to the Lorde Deputie, the effect whereof was, that hee would deuise the meanes the Castell shoulde be taken, so that hee myghte haue a summe of money for hys paynes, and a competent stay during his life. This motion by letters to & fro agreed vpon, Parese caused such as kept the warde, to swill and boll so much, as they snorted al the night like grunting Hogges, little misdeeming that whilest they slepte, anye Judas had bin waking within the Castel. The occasion of this extraordinary exceeding, was coloured, for snatching into the Castell a field peece the day before, from the army, for whiche, they kept such pot reuels, and triumphāt carousing, as none of them coulde discerne his beddes head, from the beddes feete.

Parese taking his tide and time, made signe to the army, betwene the twilight and dawning of the day, who hauing skaling ladders in arcadinesse, wolde not ouerslip the opportunitie offered. Holland, petite captaine to Salisbury, was one of the forewardest in this exploite, who leaping downe from the wall, fell by mishap into a pipe of feathers, where he was vp to the armepittes, so stiffely sticking therein, & also so vnwealdy in his armour, as there could not helpe himselfe neither in or out. Sir William Brereton and his bande hauing skaled the walles cried on a sodaine, S. George, S. George. Three drunken swadders that kepte the castell thought that this shoute was noughte else but a dreame, til time they espied the walles full of armed mē, & one of thē withal perceiuyng Hollād thus entangled in ỹ pype, bestowed an arrow vpō him, which by good hap did misse him. Hollād forthwith rescued by his fellowes, shot at the other, & strake him so full vnder the skull, as he left him sprauling. The resistance was faint, when the Souldyers entred, some yeelding themselues, others that withstood them slayne. Sir William Brereton ranne vp to the highest turret of the Castel, and aduaunced his Standerd on the top thereof, notifying to the Deputie, ỹ the fort was wonne. Great and rich was the spoile, such store of beddes, so many goodly hangings, so riche a Wardrob, such braue furniture, as truely it was accompted for housholde stuffe and vtensiles, one of the richest Earle his houses, vnder the Crowne of Englande. The L. Deputie entred ỹ Castell in the after noone, vpon whole repaire, James Delahyde, and Hayward, two singing men of the Earle his Chappell, that were taken prisoners, prostrated themselues on the ground, pitifully warbling a song, named *Dulcis amica*.

The gouernour rauished with the sweete and delicate voyces, at the instaunce of Girald Tylemer chiefe Justice, and others of the counsell, pardoned them. Chriſtopher Parese not mildoubting but ỹ he should haue bin dubd knight for his seruice done that day, presented hymselfe before the Gouernoure, with a cheerefull and familiar countenance, as who should say, beere is he that did ỹ deede. The Deputie very coldly & halfsternely casting an eye towards him said: Parese, I am to thank thee on my master ỹ K., his behalfe, for this thy profered seruice, which I,

Holland, Petie Captaine to Salisburie.

The Castell taken.

Brereton scaleth the walles

Brereton aduaunceth hys Standerd.

The Lorde Deputie entreth the Castell.

James Delahide.

Hayward.

Dulcis amica.

Girald Aylmer.

Parese commeth before the Gouernoure.

'acknowledge to haue bin a sparing of greate 'charges, and a sauing of many baliant Souldy- 'ers liues to his highnesse, and when his Maie- 'stie shall bee thereof aduertised, I dare be bolde 'to say that hee will not see thee lacke during thy 'life.

'And bycause I may be the better instructed 'how to reward thee during my gouernement, I 'would gladly learne, what thy Lorde and mai- 'ster bestowed on thee. Parese set a gogge with these milde speeches, and supposing the more he recited, the better hee shoulde bee rewarded, leste not vntolde the meanest good turne, that euer he receyued at his Lords hands.

'Why Parese, quoth the Deputie, couldest 'thou finde in thine hearte to betray his Castell, 'that hath bin so good Lord vnto thee? truly, thou 'that art so hollow to him, wilt neuer be true to 'vs, and therewithall, turning his talke to his of- 'ficers, he gaue them commaundement, to dely- uer Parese the summe of money that was pro- mised him vpon the surrender of the Castel, and after, to choppe off his head. Parese at this colde salutation of farewell and behango, turning his simpring to wimpring, sayd:

'My Lord, had I wist you would haue dealte 'so straitely with me, your Lordship shoulde not haue wonne this fort with as little bloudshed, as you dyd.

Whereat, M. Boice, a Gentleman of wor- ship, and one that reteyned to that olde Earle of Kildare, standing in the preasse, saide in Irishe, *Antragh*, whiche is asmuch in English, as too late, whereof grewe the Irish prouerbe, to thys day in ỳ language vsed, Too late quoth Boice, as we say, beware of had I wist, or after meate mustard, or you come a day after ỳ faire, or bet- ter done than sayde. The Deputie demaunded them that stode by what was that he spake, M. Boyce willing to expounde his owne wordes, stept forth and answered, my Lord, I said no- thing, but that Parese is seized of a towne neere the water syde named Baltra, and I woulde gladly know how he wil dispose it before hee bee executed. The gouernoure not mistrusting, that M. Boice had glozed (for if he had vnderstood ỳ true signification of the tearme, it was very like that too late had not bin so sharp to Parese, but too soone had bin as soure to him) willed the mo- ney to bee tolde to Parese, and presently caused him to be cut shorter by the head: declaring ther- by, that although for the time he embraced the benefyte of the treason, yet after he could not di- gest the treacherie of the Traytor.

Boice.

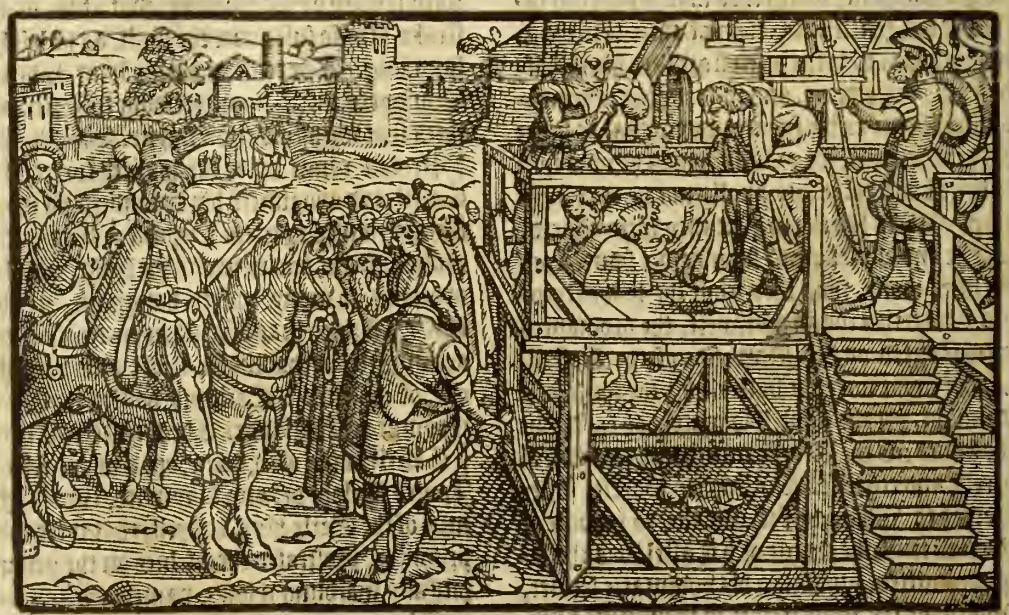
Antragh.

The Prouerb, Too late quoth Boyce.

Baltra.

Parese beheaded.

A notable iudgement.



The Deputie returneth to Dublin.

Thomas Fitz Girald marcheth towards Maynoth.

The Deputie hauing left a garrison in ỳ Ca- stell, returned with the army triumphantly to Dublin. Thomas Fitz Girald not misdoubting but suche as hee left in the Castell were able to stand to their tacklings, leuied an huge army in Oconoure his Countrey, and in Connaght, to the number of seuen thousande, marching with them towards Maynoth, minding to haue re- moued the king his army from the siege, but be- ing certified, that Parese his foster brother, yel- ded vppe the Castell to the Deputie, the better part of his company gaue him the slippe. Al this notwithstanding he made with such as would sticke to him to Clane.

The Lord Deputie hauing intelligence of his approch, left Sir William Brereton at Dublin to defende the Citie, and marched with the ar- my to the Naas, where he tooke seuen score of Thomas his galloglasses, and led them all vn- armed toward Jonestowne. The skoutewatch espying Thomas to march neere, imparted it to the gouernour, who incontinently commaun- ded eache man to kyll hys prisoner before the charge, whyche was dispatcht, only Edmond

Brereton leste to defende Dublin.

Galloglasses taken and slayne.

Oleyne

Oleyn escaping mother naked by flight to Thomas his companie, leauing his shyrt in his keepers hande. Both the armies aduaunced themselues one agaynst the other, but the horsemen of eyther syde coulde not charge, by reason of a marish or quakemyre that parted the. Wherfore the Deputie caused two or three field peeces to be discharged, which skattered Thomas and his rablement, insomuch as he neuer in such open wise durst after beare vp head in the English pale, but rather by slartes and sodaine stratagemes, would now and then gal the English. As when the Castell of Rathimgan was won, whiche was sone after the surrender of Maynoth, hee caused a droue of Cattell to appeare timely in the morning hard by the towne. Such as kept the Fort suspecting it to be a bootie, were trayned for the more part out of the Castel, who were surprised by Thomas, that lay hard by in Ambushe, and the greater number of them slaine.

In other tyme hee fired a Village harde by Trim, and deuised such of his horsemen that coulde speake English, beeing clad and horsed like Mortherne men, to ryde to Trim, where a garnison lay, with hue and crie, saying that they were Captaine Salisburie his souldiours, and that the traytour Thomas Fitz Giralde was burning a village harde by. The souldiours suspecting no coſnage, issued out of the towne, who were by his men charged, and a great number of them slaine, some chased to the towne, and forced to take Sanctuarie in the Church yarde, which those dayes was highly reuerenced.

These and the like knackes vsed Thomas, being for his owne person so well garded, and for defect of a maine armie so naked, as neyther he was occasioned to feare the English, nor the English forced to weigh him.

During this tyme, there arriued with a fresh supplie of horsemen and Archers, sir William Sentlo knight, and his sonne, sir Rice Manswell knight, sir Edward Grifeth knight, who were dispersed to sundrie partes of the Pale, to defende the Countrey from the enimyes inuasion. William Sentlo, Rice Manswel Edward Grifeth.

When the heate of this Rebellion was in this wise asswaged, the Lorde Deputie finding out no deuice to apprehende the Captaine, employed his industrie to intrap his confederates.

Burnel of Balgriffen seeing all go to wrack, fled to Mounster, where hee was taken by the Lorde Butler Viscount Thurles, and being conueied to England was executed at Tiburn. Burnell of Balgriffen taken and executed.

Doctor Trauerse, who was left as hostage with the Citizens, was by them deliuered to the Lord Deputie, and after with Roukes the Pirate executed at the gallowes on Ostmantowne greene. Trauerse executed. Roukes executed.



Sir Walter Delahyde knight and his wife the Ladie Gennet Eustace, were apprehended, and brought as prisoners by maister Brabson Vicetreasorer from their towne of Moyclare to the Castell of Dublin, bycause theyr sonne and heyre James Delahyde was the onely bruer of all this rebellion, who as the gouernour suspected, was set on by his parents, and namely by his mother. Delahis onet p-d.

The knight and his wife, lying in durresse for the space of twelue Monethes, were at seuerall tymes examined, and notwithstanding all presumptions and surmises that coulde bee gathered, they were in the ende founde guiltlesse of their sonne his folly. But the Ladie was had in examination apart, and intyced by fayre meanes, to charge hir husbande with hir sonne hys rebellion, who being not wonne thereto with al the meanes that coulde be wrought, was menaced to be put to death, or to be rackt, and so with

extremitie to be compelled, whereas with gentlenesse she could not be allured to acknowledge these apparant treasons, that neyther hir husbande nor she coulde without great shew of impudencie denie.

Gennet Eustace dieth.

The gentlewoman with these continuall stormes heartbroken, deceassed in the Castell: from thence hir bodie was removed to the gray Friers with the Deputie his commaundement, that it should not be enterred, vntill his pleasure were further knowne, adding withall, that the carkasse of one who was the mother of so arrant an Archtraytor, ought rather to be cast out on a Dunghill to be carion for Rauens and Dogs to gnaw vpon, than to be layd in any Christian graue. The corps lying foure or fiue dayes in this plight, at the request of the Ladie Gennet Golding, wife to sir John White knight, the gouernour licenced, that it should be buried.

fington ded.

Sir William Skelsington a seuere and vpright Gouernour dyed shortly after at Kilmaynan: to whome succeeded Lorde Deputie the

ard Gray deputie.

Lorde Leonard Gray, who immediately vpon the taking of his othe, marched with his power towardes the confines of Mounster, where Thomas Fitz Girald, at that tyme remayned.

Breerton skirmisheth with Fitz Girald.

With Fitz Giralde sir William Breerton skirmished so fiercely, as both the sides were rather for the great slaughter disaduantaged, than eyther part by any great victorie furthered. Maister Breerton therefore perceyuing that rough Nettes were not the fittest to take such peart byrdes, gaue his aduice to the Lorde Deputie to growe with Fitz Girald by faire meanes to some reasonable composition. The Deputie liking of the motion, craued a parlee, sending certaine of the Englishe as hostages to Thomas hys campe with a protection directed vnto him, to come and go at will and pleasure.

Thomas Fitz Girald submitteth himselfe to the deputy.

Being vpon this securitie in conference with the Lorde Gray, hee was perswaded to submyt himselfe to the King his mercie, with the gouernours faythfull and vndoubted promise that he should be pardoned vpon his repayre into Englande. And to the ende that no treecherie might haue bene misdeemed of eyther side, they both receyued the Sacrament openly in the campe, as

The sacrament receyued.

an infallible seale of the couenants and conditions of eyther part agreed.

Thomas sayleth into England.

1535

Herevpon Thomas Fitz Giralde fore against the willes of his Counsaylours dismist his armie, and roade with the Deputie to Dublyn, where he made short abode when hee sayled to Englande with the fauourable letters of the gouernour and the Counsayle. And as hee woulde haue taken his iourney to Windsore where the Court lay, he was intercepted contrarie to his expectation in London way, and con-

He is committed to the Tower.

ueyed with hast to the Tower. And before his imprisonment were bruted, letters were posted into Irelande, straytly commaunding the Deputie vpon sight of them, to apprehend Thomas Fitz Girald his vncles, and to see them with all speede conuenient shipt into England. Which the Lorde Deputie did not slacke. For hauing feasted three of the Gentlemen at Kylmaynan, immediately after their banquet (as it is nowe and then seene, that sweete meate will haue sowre sauce) he caused them to be manacled, and led as prisoners to the Castell of Dublin: and the other two were so rouhdly snatcht vp in villages hard by, as they sooner felt theyr owne captiuitie, than they had notice of theyr brethrens calamitie.

Thomas his vncles taken.

The next winde that serued into Englande these fiue brethren were embarked, to wit Iames Fitz Giralde, Walter Fitz Girald, Oliuer Fitz Girald, John Fitz Girald, & Richard Fitz Girald. Three of these Gentlemen, Iames, Walter, and Richarde, were knowne to haue crossed their Nephew Thomas to their power in his Rebellion, and therefore were not occasioned to misdoubt any daunger. But such as in those dayes were enimies to the house, incensed the king so sore against it, perswading him, that he should neuer conquer Irelande, as long as any Giraldine breathed in the Countrey, as for making the pathway smoth, he was resolued to loppe off as well the good and sounde Grapes, as the wilde and fruitelesse Beries. Whereby appeareth howe daungerous it is to be a rubbe, when a King is disposed to sweepe an Alley.

Thus were the fiue brethren sayling into Englande, among whome Richarde Fitz Giralde being more bookish than the rest of his brethren, and one that was much giuen to the studies of antiquitie, wayling his inwarde griefe, with outward myrth comforted them wyth cheerefulnesse of countenance, as well perswading them that offended to repose affiaunce in God, and the King his mercie, and such as were not of that conspiracie, to relie to theyr innocencie, which they should hold for a more safe & strong Barbican, than any rampire or Castell of Brasse.

Innocencie a strong fort.

Thus solacing the sely mourners sometyme with smiling, sometime with singing, sometyme with graue & pithie Apophthegmes, he craued of the owner the name of the Barcke, who hauing answered, that it was called the Cow, the gentleman sore appalled thereat sayd:

The Cow.

Now good brethren I am in vtter dispaire, of our returne to Ireland, for I beare in mynde, an olde prophecie, that fiue Earles brethren, should be caryed in a Cowes bellie to England.

and

' and from thence neuer to returne.

Whereat the reſt began a freſh to houle and lament, which doubtleſſe was pitifull, to behold fiue valiant Gentlemen, that durſt meete in the fielde fiue as ſturdie Champions as coulde bee picked out in a realme, to bee ſo ſodainly terrified with the bare name of a wodden Cow, or to feare lyke Lions a ſilly Cocke his combe, being moued, as commonly the whole Countrey is, with a vaine and fabulous old wiues dreame. But what blinde prophecie ſoeuer hee read or heard of any ſuperſtitious Beldame touching a Cowe his belly, that which hee foretolde them was found true. For Thomas Fitz Giralde the thirde of Februarie, and theſe fiue brethren bys vncles, were drawne, hanged, and quartered at

1536
Thomas Fitz Girald and his vncles executed.



Tiburne, whiche was incontinently bruted as well in Englande and Irelande, as in forayne ſoyles. For Dominicke Power, that was ſent from Thomas to Charles the fift, to craue bys ayde towards the conqueſt of Irelande (lyke as Chale in Graull, otherwiſe called Charles Reinolde, was directed to *Paulus tertius*) preſenting the Emperour with twelue great Haukes and fourtene fayre Hobbies, was aduertiſed by bys Maieſtie, that he came too late, for his Lord and maiſter, and fiue of his Vncles were executed at London the thirde of Februarie: How be it the Emperour procured King Henrie to pardon Dominicke Power, which notwithſtanding he obteyned, yet woulde he not returne to Irelande, but continued in Portugall, hauing a ducket a day of the Emperour during his life, which he ended at Lisborne,

Stow. Pa. 434.

James Delahyde, the chiefe Counſaylour of Thomas Fitz Giralde, fled into Scotlande and there deceaſſed.

To this miſerable end grew this lewd rebellion, which turned to ỹ vtter vndoing of diuerſe auncient Gentlemen, who trayned with fayre wordes into a ſoles Paradice, were not onely diſpoſſeſſed of theyr landes, but alſo depriued of theyr liues, or elſe forced to forſake theyr countreys.

Fitz as not Kil.

Is for Thomas Fitz Giralde, who (as I wrote before) was executed at Tyburne, I would wiſh the carefull Reader, to vnderſtand that he was neuer Earle of Kildare, although ſome writers, rather of erroꝛ than of malice, tearme him by that name. For it is knowne that his father lyued in the Towre, when hee was in open Rebellion, where for thought of the yong man his follye hee dyed, and therefore Thomas was attaynted in a Parliament holden at Dublyn, as one that was deemed, reputed, and taken for a traytour before his fathers deceaſſe, by the bare name of Thomas Fitz Giralde. For this hath beene obſerued by the Iriſh Hyſtoriographers euer ſince the conqueſt, that notwithſtanding all the preſumptions of treaſon wherewith any Earle of Kyldare coulde eyther faintly be ſuſpected, or vehemently charged, yet there was neuer any Erle of that houſe read or heard of, that bare armour in the fielde agaynſt his Prince. Which I write not as a barriſter hyred to pleade theyr cauſe, but as a Chronicler moued to declare the truth.

No Earle of Kildare bare armour at any time agayaſt his prince.

This Thomas Fitz Giralde, as before is ſpecified, was borne in Englande, vpon whom nature poured beautie, and fortune by byrth beſtowed Nobilitie, which had it beene well employed, and were it not, that his rare gyftes had bene blemiſhed by his later euill qualities, hee would haue proued an ympe worthie to bee engraft in ſo honourable a ſtocke. Hee was of ſtature tall and perſonable, in countenance amiable, a white face, and withall ſomewhat ruddie, delicately in eche lymme featured, a rolling tongue,

The deſcription of Thomas Fitz Giralde.

tongue and a riche vtterance, of nature flexible and kinde, verie sone caryed where hee fansied, easily with submission appeased, hardly wyth stubbornnesse weyed, in matters of importance an headlong hotespurre, yet natheless taken for a yong man not deuoyde of witte, were it not, as it fell out in the ende, that a fole had the keeping thereof.

The aduentures of the yong Fitz Girald, sonne to the Lady Gray Countesse of Kildare.

But to returne to the course of the Hystorie, when Thomas and his vncles were taken, hys second brother on the father his syde, named Girald Fitz Girald (who was after in the raigne of Queene Marie restored to the Earledome of Kildare, in which honor as yet he liueth, being at that time somewhat past twelue, and not full thirtene yeares of age, lay sick of the smal pocks, in the Countie of Kildare, at a towne named Donoare, then in the occupation of Girald Fitz Giralde. Thomas Leuroufe, who was the childe his schoolemaister, and after became Bishop of Kildare, mistrusting vpon the apprehension of Thomas and his Vncles, that all went not currant, wrapt the yong pacient as tenderly as he could, and had him conueyed in a cleefe with all speede to Ophaly, where soiourning for a short space with his sister the Ladie Mary Fitz Giralde, vntill he had recouered his perfite health, his schoolemaister caryed him to Odon his Countrey, where making his aboade for a quarter of a yeare, he trauayled to Odzene hys Countrey in Mounster, and hauing there remayned for halfe a yeare, hee repayred to hys aunte the Ladie Elenore Fitz Giralde, who then kept in Mack Carty Reagh, hir late husband his territories.

Donoare.

Thomas Leuroufe.

Elenore Fitz Giralde.

This noble woman was at that time a widow, alwayes knowne and accounted of eche man, that was acquainted with hir conuersation of life, for a paragon of liberalitie and kindnesse, in all hir actions vertuous and godly, and also in a good quarell rather stout than stiffe. To hir was Odoneyl an importunate suyter, and although at sundrie tymes before she seemed to shake him off, yet considering the distresse of hir yong innocent nephew, how hee was forced to wander in Pilgrimwise from house to house, eschuing the punishment that others deserued, smarted in his tender yeares with aduersitie, before he was of discretion to enioy any prosperitie, she began to encline to hir woer his request, to the ende hir nephew should haue bene the better by his countenaunce shouldered, and in fine indeted to espouse him, with this caueat or prouiso, that he shoulde safely shield and protect the sayde yong Gentleman in this his calamitie. This condition agreed vpon, shee rode with hir nephew to Odoneyl his countrey, and there had him safely kept for the space of a yeare.

But shortly after, the Gentlewoman either by some secrete friend enformed, or of wisedome gathering, that hir late maryed husbande entended some treacherie, had hir nephew disguised, storing him like a liberall and bountifull Aunt, with seuen score Portegueses, not onely in baloure, but also in the selfe same coyne, incontinently shipped him secretly in a Brytons bessell of Saint Malouse, betaking him to God, and to their charge that accompanied him, to wit, maister Leuroufe, and Robert Walsh sometime seruant to his father the Earle.

The Ladie Elenors liberalitie.

Fitz Giralde sayleth to Fraunce.

The Ladie Elenor hauing thus, to hir contentation bestowed hir nephew, she expostulated verie sharpely with Odoneyle as touching hys villanie, protesting that the onely cause of hir match with him proceeded of an especiall care to haue hir nephew countenanced: and now that he was out of his lashe, that myn ded to haue betrayed him, he should well vnderstande, that as the feare of his daunger moued hir to annere to such a clownish Curmudgen, so the assurannce of his safetie, should cause hir to sequester hirselfe from so butcherly a cutthrote, that would be like a pelting mercenarie patche hyred, to sell or betray the innocent bloud of his nephew by affinitie, and hirs by consanguinitie. And in hys wise trussing vp bag and baggage, she forsoke Odoneyle, and returned to hir countrey.

The passengers with a prosperous gale arriued at Saint Malouse, which notified to the gouernour of Brytayne, named Monsieur de Chasteau Brian, he sent for the yong Fitz Giralde, gaue him verie heartie entertaynment during one Monethes space.

Chasteau Brian.

In the meane season the gouernor posted a Messenger to the Court of Fraunce, aduertising the King of the arriuall of this Gentleman, who presently caused him to be sent for, and had him put to the Dolphyn named Henrie, who after became king of France.

Sir Iohn Wallop (who was then the English Ambassadour) vnderstanding the cause of the Irish fugitiue his repayre to Fraunce, demaunded him of the French king, according to the newe made league betwene both the princes, which was, that none shoulde keepe the other his subiect within his dominion, contrarie to either of their willes, adding further, that the boy was brother to one, who of late for his notorious rebellion in Ireland, was executed at London.

Sir Iohn Wallop demaundeth Fitz Giralde.

To this answered the King, first, that the Ambassadour had no Commission from hys Prince to demaunde him, and vppon his Maiestie his letter he shoulde knowe more of his mynde: secondly that hee did not detayne him, but the Dolphyn stayed him: lastly, that howe grieuously soeuer his brother offended, hee was

The king denyeth him.

well

well assured, that the silly boy neither was nor coulde be a traytour, and therfore there rested no cause why the Imbassadour shoulde in suche wise craue him, not doubting that although hee were deliuered to his king, yet he woulde not so farre swarue from the extreeme rigour of Iustice, as to embrew his handes in the innocent his bloud, for the offence that his brother had perpetrated.

Maister Wallop hereupon addressed his Letters to Englande, specifying to the Counsaile the French kings answere, and in the mean tyme the yong Fitz Girald hauing an vncklyng of the Imbassadour his motion, fledde secretely to Flaunders, scantly reaching to Valencie, when James Sherelocke, one of Maister Wallop his men, did not onely pursue him, but also did ouertake him, as he soiourned in the sayd towne.

Whereupon maister Leurouse, and such as accompanied the childe, kept to the Gouernour of Valencie, complaynyng that one Sherelocke a sneaking spie, lyke a pyketh anke promoting Varlet, did dogge their maister from place to place, and presently pursued him to the towne: and therefore they besought the gouernour, not to leaue such apparant villanie vnpunished, in that he was willing to betray not onely a guiltlesse child, but also his owne Countryman, who rather ought for his innocencie to bee pitied, than for the deserte of others so eagerly to bee pursued.

The Gouernour vpon this complaint sore incensed, sent in all hast for Sherlocke, had him sodainly examined, and finding him vnable to colour his lewde practise with any warrantable defence, he layd him vp by the heeles, rewarding his hote pursute with colde interteynment, and so remained in gaole, vntill the yong Fitz Giralde requiting the prisoner his vnnaturall cruelties with vndeserued curtesey, humbly besought the gouernor to set him at libertie.

This brunt escaped, Fitz Giralde trauayled to Bruselles, where the Emperour kept his Court.

Doctour Pates being Imbassadour in the low Countreys, demaunded Fitz Giralde of the Emperour on his maister the King of Englandes behalfe. The Emperour hauing answered that he had not to deale with the boy, and for ought that he knewe, was not mynded to make any great abode in that Countrey, sent hym to the Bishop of Liege, allowing him for his pension an hundred Crownes Monethly. The Bishop interteyned him very honourably, had him placed in an Abbey of Monks, and was so carefull of his safetie, that if any person suspected, had trauayled within the circuit of his glebe, hee should be straytly examined, whether he would, or from whence he came, or vpō what occasion he trauayled that way.

Hauing in this wise remayned at Liege for halfe a yeare, the Cardinall Pole (Fitz Giralde his kinnesman) sent for him to Rome, whereupon the Gentleman as well with the Emperour his licence, as with surrendring his pension, trauayled to Italy, where the Cardinall woulde not admit him to his companie, vntill he had atteyned to some knowledge in the Italian tong. Wherefore allowing him an annuitie of three C. crownes, he placed him with the Bishop of Verona, and the Cardinall of Mantua, and after with the duke of Mantua.

Gardinal Pole sendeth for Fitz Giralde.

Leurouse in the meane while was admitted through the Cardinall Pole his procurement to be one of the Englishe house in Rome, called Saint Thomas his Hospitall.

Leurouse placed in the English Hospitall.

Robert Walshe, vpon his maisters repayre to Italy, returned to Ireland.

Robert Walsh returneth to Ireland.

Fitz Giralde hauing continued with the Cardinall, and the Duke of Mantua, a yeare and an halfe, was sent for by the Cardinall Pole to Rome, at which tyme the Duke of Mantua gaue him for an annuall pension three hundred Crownes.

The Cardinall greatly ioyed in his kinnesman, had him carefully trayned vp in his house, interlacing with such discretion his learning and studies, with exercises of actiuitie, as he shoulde not be after accounted of the learned for an ignorant idiot, nor taken of actiue Gentlemen for a deade and dumpish meacocke. If he had committed any fault, the Cardinall would secretly commaund his Tutors to correct him, and all that notwithstanding, hee woulde in presence dandle the boy, as though he were not priuie to his punishment: and vpon any complaint made he vsed to checke Fitz Giralde hys maister openly for chastising so severely his pretie darling.

Cardinal Pole his order in trayning yong Fitz Girald.

In this wise hee rested three yeares togither in the Cardinall his house, and by that tyme hauing stept so farre in yeares (for hee was pricking fast vpon nineteene) as he began to knowe himselfe, the Cardinall put to his choyse, eyther to continue his learning, or by trauayling to seeke his aduentures abroade. The yong stripling (as vsually kinde doth creepe) rather of nature addicted to valiantnesse, than wedded to bookishnesse, chosed to be a trauaylour: and presently with the Cardinall his licence, repayred to Naples: where falling in acquaintance with Knightes of the Rhodes, he accompanied them to Malta, from thence he sayled to Tripoly (a Fort appertayning to the aforesayde order, coasting vpon Barbarie) and there he aboade sixe

Fitz Giralde trauayleth to Naples.

Tripoly.

weekes

Mounbrison. weekes with Mounbrylon, a commaunder of the Rhodes, who had the charge of that holde.

It that tyme the knightes serued valiantly agaynst the Turkes and Miscreants, spoyled and sacked their villages and townes, that lay neare the water syde, toke diuerse of them prysoners, and after solde them to the Christians for bond slaues.

Fitz Girald returneth to Rome. The yong Fitz Giralde returned with a rich bootie to Malta, from thence to Rome, hauing spent in thys voyage, not fully one yeare.

The Cardinall enhaunceth Fitz Giraldes pension. Proude was the Cardinall to heare of hys prosperous exployctes, and for his further aduauncement, he enhaunced his pencion of three hundred Crownes, to three hundred poundes, ouer and aboue three hundred crownes, that the Duke of Mantua allowed him.

He is Master of the horse to the Duke of Florence. Shortly after he preferred him to the seruice of the Duke of Florence, named Cosmo, with whom he continued maister of his horses three yeares, hauing also of the Duke three hundred Duckets for a yearely pension during life, or vntill he were restored, in like maner as the Cardinall Pole and the duke of Mantua in their annuities had graunted him.

During the time that he was in seruice with the Duke of Florence, he trauayled to Rome a thyrsuing, of set purpose to be merie: and as hee road an hunting with Cardinall Ferneise the Pope his nephew, it happened that in chasing He falleth into a deepe pit. the Bucke, he fel into a pitte .xxix. fatham deepe, and in the fall forsaking his horse within two fathams of the bottom, he toke holde by two or three rootes, gripping them fast, vntill his armes were so wearie, as he coulde hang no longer in that paine. Wherefore betaking himselfe to God, he let goe his gripe by little and little, and fell softly on his horse, that in the bottome of the pit lay starke dead, and there he stoode vp to the Ancles in water, for the space of three houres. When the chase was ended, an exceeding good Greyhound of his named Grikhound, not finding His Greyhound findeth him out. his maister in the companie, followed his tracke vntill hee came to the pitte, and from thence woulde not depart, but stoode at the brimme incessauntly howling. The Cardinall Ferneise and his traine missing Fitz Girald, made towardes the dogge, and surueying the place, they were verily perswaded that the Gentleman was squised to death.

Trecappan. Hauing therefore posted his seruantes in hast to a village harde by Rome (named Trecappan) for Ropes and other necessaries, he caused one of the companie to glide in a Basket, downe to the bottom of the hole. Fitz Giralde reuiued with his presence, and willing to bee remoued from so darksome a dungeon to the open ayre, besought the other to lende him his rome, wherevpon he was haled vp in the Basket, as well to the generall admiration of the whole companie, as to the singular gratulation of the Cardinall and all his friends, rendring most heartie thankes to God his diuine Maiestie, for protecting the Gentleman with his gracious guerdon.

And thus surceassing to treate any further of his aduentures, vntill the date of time trayne my penne to a longer discourse, I will returne to the inhabitants of the English Pale, who after the death of Thomas Fitz Giralde, through rigour of iustice, and the due execution of lawes, were greatly molested. For ouer this, that such as were knowne for open and apparant traytours in the commotion, were for the more part executed, or with rounde summes fined, or from the realme exiled: certaine gentlemen of worship were sent from Englande, with Commission to examine eche person suspected wyth Thomas his treason, and so according to theyr discretion, eyther with equitie to execute, or with clemencie to pardon all such as they could proue to haue furthered hym in his disloyall Commotion. Commissioners sent to Ireland.

Commissioners were these, sir Anthonie Their names. Sentleger knight, sir George Paulet knight, maister Moyle and maister Barnes.

A Parliament. 1539 Much aboute this tyme was there a Parliament holden at Dublin before the Lord Leonarde Gray Lorde Deputie, beginning the first of May, in the .xxviij. yeare of the raigne of Henrie the eight. In this Parliament there past

An Act
- For the attainder of the Erle of Kildare, and Thomas Fitz Giralde, with others.
- For the succession of the King and Queene Anne.
- Of absenties, wherein was graunted to the king the inheritance of such landes in Irelande, whereof the Duke of Norffolke, and George Talbot Earle of Waterford and Solop were seysed, with the inheritances of diuerse other corporations and couents demurrant in England.
- For the repeale of Ponings Act.
- Authorising the king, his heyres and successours to be supreme heade of the Church of Irelande.
- That no subiects or reliants of Irelande shall pursue or commence, vse, or execute any maner of prouocations, appeales or other processe from the Sea of Rome, vpon paine of incurring the premunire.

Agaynst

In Act
- Agaynst such as slaunder the King, or his heyres apparant.
- For the first fruites.
- Of sir Walter Delahyde knight his landes in Carbeyre graunted to the king.
- How persons robbed shall bee restored to theyr goodes.
- Restrayning trybutes to be graunted to Irishmen.
- Agaynst Proctors to be any member of the Parliament.
- Agaynst marying or fostering with or to Irishmen.
- Agaynst the authoritie of the Sea of Rome.
- For the twentith part.
- For the English order, habite, and language.
- For the suppressing of Abbayes.
- For the lading of Woll and flockes.
- For the proufe of Testaments.
- Of faculties.
- Declaring the effect of Ponings Act.
- Of penall statutes.
- For the weres upon Barrou, and other waters in the Countrey of Kilkenny.
- For the personage of Dongaran.
- For leazers of corne.

As for the olde Earle of Kildare, who in this Parliament was attainted for diuerse presumptions in the preamble of the sayde Act rehearsed, certaine it is, that the reuolt of his sonne Thomas Fitz Giralde, smote him so deepely to the heart, as upon the report thereof hee deceassed in the Tower, wishing in his death bed, that eyther he had died before he had heard of the rebellion, or that his brainlesse boy, had neuer liued to rayse the like commotion.

de Erle Kildare his before dth.

This Earle, of such as did not stomacke his proceedings, was taken for one that bare himselfe in all his affayres verie honourably, a wise, deepe, and farre reaching man: in warre valyant without rashnesse, and politique wythoute treacherie. Such a suppressour of rebelles in his gouernment, as they durst not beare armour to the annoyance of any subiect, whereby he heaped no small reuenues to the crowne, enryched the king his treasure, garded with securitie the pale, continued the honour of his house, and purchased enuie to his person.

uice.

His great hospitalitie is to this day rather of eche man commended, than of any one followed. He was so religiously addicted to the serning of God, as what tyme soeuer he trauayled to any part of the Countrey, such as were of his Chapell, should be sure to accompanie him. Among other rare gyftes, hee was with one singular qualitie endued which were it put in practise by such as are of his calling, might minister great occasion as well to the abandoning of flattring cary tales, as to the stayed quietnesse of noble potentates.

ospitali- d deuo-

For if any whispered under *Benedicite* a sinister report or secrete practise, that tended to the distreyning of his honour, or to the perill of hys person, he would straytly examine the informer, whether the matter he reported were past, or to come. If it were sayde or done, he was accustomed to lay sore to his charge, where, and of whom he heard it, or how he could iustifie it. If he found him to haite in the proufe, he would punish him as a pikethanke makebate, for being so maliciously caried, as for curryng fauour to himselfe, he would labour to purchase hatred to another: But if the practise were future, and hereafter to be put in execution, then would hee suspende the credite, vsing withall such wary secrecie, as vntill the matter came to the pinche, the aduersarie should thinke that hee was moste ignorant, when he was best prouided. As being in Dublyn forewarned, that John Oluerkan with certaine desperate Varlets conspired his destruction, and that they were determined to assault him upon his returne to Maynoth, hee had one of his seruants named James Graunt, that was much of his pitche, and at a bluish did somewhat resemble him, attyred in his ryding apparaile, and namely in a skarlet Cloake, wherewith he vsed to be clad. Graunt in thys wise masking in his Lordes attyre, roade as hee was commaunded in the beaten highe way towardes Mainoth, with sixe of the Earle his seruantes attending upon him. The Conspiratours awayting towards Lucan the cumming of the Earle, encountered the disguised Lorde, and not doubting but it had beene Kildare, they began to charge him, but the other amazed therwith, cryed that they toke theyr marke amisse, for the Earle roade to Mainoth on the further side of Liffie. Wherewith the murtherers appalled fled away, but incontinently were by the Earle apprehended, sustreyning the punishment that such caytifes deserued.

The olde Erle of Kildare hys policie when his death was conspired.

John Oluerkã, James Graunt.

This noble man was so well affected to his wife the Ladie Gray, as he would not at any tyme buy a sute of apparell for himselfe, but hee would sute hir with the same stuffe. Whiche gentlenesse she recompenced with equall kindenesse. For after that he deceassed in the Tower, she did not only euer after liue as a chast and honourable Widue, but also nightly before shee went to bed, she would resort to his picture, and there with a solemne conge, she would bid hir

The Ladie Grayes kindnesse to hir husband.

Lorde

Lorde goodnight. Whereby may bee gathered with howe great loue shee affected his person, that had in such price his bare picture.

In other Act that did passe in this Parliament touching absenties, proceeded of this occasion.

Giralde Aylmer.

Maister Girald Aylmer, who first was chief Baron of the Exchequer, after chiefe Justice of the Common place, was occasioned, for certain his affayres, to repaire to the Court of Englād. Where being for his good seruice greatly countenanced by such as were in those dayes taken for the pillers of the weale publike, namely of the Lorde Cromwell it happened that through his Lordship his earnest meanes, the king made maister Aylemer chiefe Justice of his Bench in Irelande. This aduauncement disliked by certaine of Waterford and Wexford, that were not friended to the Gentleman, they debated him in suche dispitefull wise, as the Earle of Shrewsburie, who then was likewise Earle of Waterforde, was by theyr lewde reportes caryed to chalenge the king, so farre as with his duetie of allegeance he durst, for bestowing so weightie an office vpon so light a person, beyng such a simple John at Stile as he tearmed him, no wiser than Patche, the late Lord Cardinall his fole. The king hereupon expostulated with the Lorde Cromwell, who being throughly acquainted with the Gentleman his rare wisedome, aunswered, that if it woulde stande with his Maiesties pleasure to enter into conference with him, hee shoulde bee sure to finde him no babe, notwithstanding the wrong informations of suche as laboured to thwart or crosse hym. Whereto the King vpon further leysure agreed, and shortly after according to his promise, bestowed two or three houres with maister Aylemer, who vpon the Lorde Cromwell his forewarning, was so wel armed for his highnesse, as he shewed himselfe in his discourse, by answering *ad omnia quare*, to be a man worthie to supplie an office of so great credite.

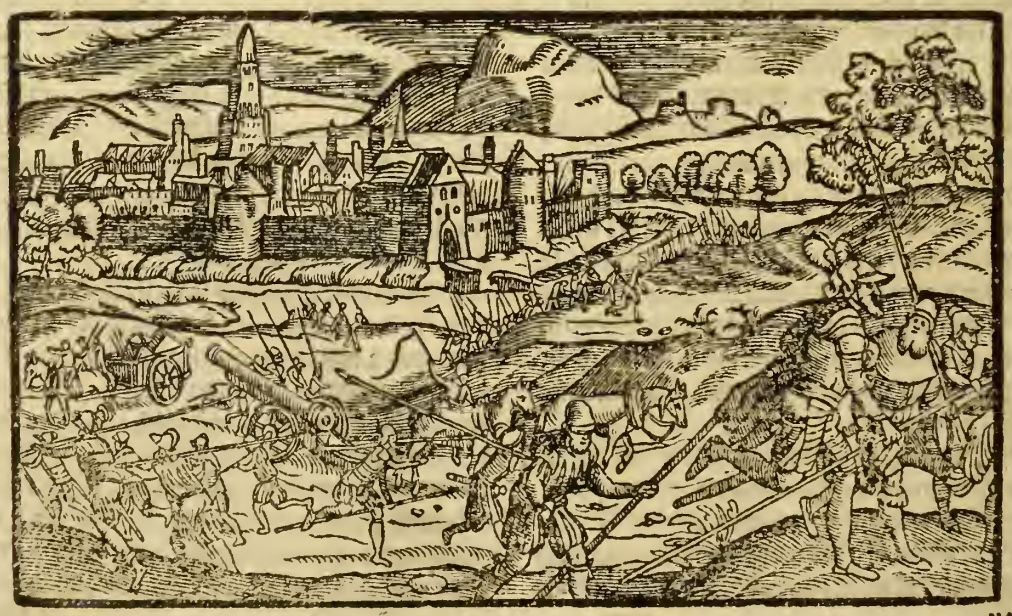
In this conference the King demaunded him, what he toke to be the chiefe occasion of disorder of Irelande, and howe hee thought it might best be reformed?

Truly and it like your Maiestie (quoth Aylmer) among sundrie reasons that might be probably alledged for the decay of that your Kingdome, one chiefe occasion is, that certaine of your Nobilitie of this your realme of England are seysed of the better part of your Dominion in Irelande, whereof they haue so little keepe, as for lacke of theyr presence, they suffer the sayde landes to be ouerrunne by Rebelles and traytours. Wherefore if your highnesse would prouide by Act of Parliament, that all suche landes which by reason of their absence may not be defended, should be to your highnesse by the consent of the Nobilitie and Communaltie graunted, you might thereby enrich your crowne, represse rebels, and defend your subiects from all trayterous inuasion.

The king tickled with this plausible deuise, yeelded maister Aylemer heartie thankes for his good counsaile, and in this Parliament had the tenour thereof put in effect. Which redowned chiefly to the Lorde of Shrewsburie hys disaduauntage, as one that was possest of diuerse auncient Lordshippes and Manours in that countrey.

Oneale rebelleth.

Soone after this Parliament, Oneale ymagining that he was able to make hys partie good againste the English Pale, conspyred with Odoneyle Maggadneth, Oraghan, Mack Kwylen, Ohanlan, and other Irish Lords, and on a sodain inuaded the Pale, came to the Na-



uan,

nan, burnt all the townes of eche side consuming, after marched to Taraghe, musteringe wyth great pride hys armie upon the toppe of the hill: and hauing gathered togither the spoyle of the Pale without resistance, bee beganne to recule Northwarde, making his full account to haue gone scot free.

The Lord Leonard Gray being then Lord Deputie forecasting the worst, certified the king and counsaile of Oneal his rebellion, and withall humbly besought a fresh supply of souldiors to assist the pale in resisting the enimie, and that sir William Bzereton (who was discharged & returned into Englande) shoulde bee sent into Irelande, as one that for his late seruice was highly commended of the Countrey.

The King and Counsaile condiscending to the Deputie his request, appoynted sir William Bzereton to hie thither with speede, hauing the charge of two hundred and fiftie Souldiours of Chesshire men. In which seruice the Gentleman was founde so prest and readie, that notwithstanding in mustering his bande, he fell by mishap off his horse, and therewithall brake his thigh in two places, yet rather than hee woulde retire homeward, he appointed the Mariners to hale him up to theyr Barke by Pulleyes, and in such impotent wise arriued in Irelande, suppressing the feeblenesse of his bodie, with the courageous valour of his minde.

The Lorde Deputie in the meane while marched wyth the force of the Pale, the Maior and the Citizens of Dublin to Drogheda, from thence likewise accompanied with the Maior and Townesmen, he marched Northward to Bellahoa, where Oneale and his companie on the further side of the water, laye encamped with the spoyle of the Pale.

The Deputie by Spyes and secrete Messengers hereof certified, caused the armie to trauaile the better part of the nyght, in so muche as by the dawning of the day, they were neare the Ryuer side: where hauing eferied the enimies, namely Magaunoshe, and the Galloglasses, that were placed there to keepe the straytes, (for Oneale wyth the mayne armye lurked in a Groue not farre off,) they beganne to sette themselues in battayle array, as menne that were resolued wyth all haste and good speede to suppryse the enimye wyth a sodayne charge.

At which tyme James Flemming Baron of Slane (commonlye called blacke James) garded wyth a rounde companye, as well of horsmen as footmen, humbly besought the Deputie, to graunt him that day the honour of the onsette. Whereto when the Lorde Gray had agreed, the Baron of Slane wyth cheereful countenaunce, imparted the obteyning of hys suyte, as pleasant tydings to Robert Halfpennie, who wyth his auncestours was Standert bearer to the house of Slane. But Halfpennie seeing the further syde of the water so beset with armed Galloglasses, as he tooke it, as likely an attempt to raze downe the strongest Fort in Irelande wyth a fillippe, as to rushe through suche quicke Iron walles, flatlye aunswered the Baron, that hee woulde rather disclayme in his office, than there to gyue the onsette, where there rested no hope of lyfe, but an assured certaintie of death. And therefore hee was not as yet so wearie of the worlde, as lyke an headlong hotespurre voluntarilye to runne to hys vtter and vndoubted destruction. Wherefore hee besought his Lordship, to set his heart at rest, and not to impute his denyall to basenesse of courage, but to warynesse of safetie, althoughe hee knewe none of anye slayed mynde, but woulde sooner chose to sleepe in an hole sheepe hys pelte, than to walke in a torne Lyon hys skinne, namely when all hope of lyfe was abandoned, and the certaintie of death assuredly promised. Robert Halfpennie.

The Baron with this answere at his wittes ende, roade to Robert Betoa of Downeore, brake with him as touching Halfpennie hys determination, and withall requested hym (as he did tender hys honour) nowe at a pinche to supply the rowme of that dastardly cowarde, as he did terme him. Robert Betoa.

Betoa to thys aunswered, that although it stoode wyth good reason, that suche as heretofore tasted the sweete in peace, shoulde nowe be contented to sippe of the sowre in warre: yet notwythstanding, rather than the matter shoulde to hys honour lye in the dust, he promised to breake through them, or else to lye in the water: and withall beeing surpassinglye mounted, for the Baron gaue hym a choyse horse, hee tooke the Standarde, and wyth a sodayne shewte, hauing wyth him in the foreranke Mabe of Mabestowne (who at the first brunt was slaine) hee flung into the water, and charged the Irishe that stoode on the further shore. Mabe of Mabestowne slaine.

After followed the Gentlemen and Peomen of the Pale, that wyth as great manhood charged the enimies, as the enimies with courage resisted their assault.

To this stoutenesse were the enimies more boldly pricked, in that they had the aduauntage of the shore, and the gentlemen of the Pale were constrayned to bicker in the water.

But the longer the Irish cõtinued, the more they

they were disaduauntaged, by reason that the English were so assisted with fresh supplyes, as their enimies coulde not any longer withstande them, but were compelled to beare backe, to forsake the banke, and to giue the armie free passage.

The Irish dis. comfited. Oneale putte to flighte.

The Englishe taking heart vpon their fayntnesse, brake through the Gelloglasses, slue Maggannouse their Captaine, pursued Oneal with the remnaunt of his Lordes, leauing be-



hinde them for lacke of safe cariage the spoyle of the Pale, scantly able to escape wyth hys owne life, being egrely pursued by the army vntill it was Sun set.

King. Barnevvall. Basnet. Fitz Simons.

In this conflict Mathew King, Patricke Barnewall of Kylmahyocke, Sir Edwarde Basnet Priest, who after became Deane of Saint Patrickes in Dublin, and was swoorne one of the priuie Counsaile, and Thomas Fitz Simons of Curduffe, were reported to haue serued verie valiantly.

The Maiors of Dublin and Drogheda dubd knightes. Aylmer. Talbot.

Moreouer James Fitz Simons Maior of Dublin, Michael Cursey Maior of Drogheda, Girald Aylmer chiefe Justice, & Thomas Talbot of Malahide, were dubbed knights in ỹ field.

The valiantnesse of the Lord Gray.

But of all others, the Lord Gray then Lord Deputie, as hee was in authoritie superiour to them all, so in courage and manlynesse hee was inferiour to none. He was noted by the armye to haue endured greate toyle and paine before the skirmishe, by posting bareheaded from one bande to another, debacing the strength of the enimies, enhaunsing the power of the Pale, depressing the reuolt of rebellious traitours, extolling the good quarell of loyall subiectes, offring large rewardes, which with as great constancie he performed, as with liberalitie he promised. Ouer this he bare himselfe so affable to his souldiours, in vsing them like feiendes and fellowes, and terming thē with curteous names, and mouing laughter with pleasant conceyts, as they were incensed as well for the loue of the person, as for the hatred of the enimie, wyth resolute mindes to bicker with the Irishe. In whiche conflict the Deputie was as forwarde as the moste, and bequitte himselfe as valiaunt a Seruitour as the best.

The Gouernour turning the opportunitie of this skirmishe to his aduauntage, shortly after roade to the Northe, preding and spoyling Oneale with his confederates, who by reason of the late ouerthrow, were able to make but little resistance.

In this tourney he razed Saint Patricke his Churche in Downe, an olde auncient Citie of Ulster, and burnt the monuments of Patricke, Briged, and Colme, who are sayd to haue bene there entumbed, as before is expressed in the description of Ireland.

This fact lost him sundrie heartes in that countrey, alwayes after detesting and abhorring his prophane tyrannie, as they did name it. Whereupon conspyring wyth such of Mounster as were enimyes to his gouernment, they booked vp diuerse complaintes agaynste him, which they did exhibit to the king and counsell. The Articles of greatest importaunce layde to his charge were these.

The Lord Gray accused.

The articles that were layd to his charge.

In primis, that notwithstanding hee were straitly commaunded by the king his Maiestie, to apprehend his kinnesman, the yong Fitz Girald, yet did he not onely disobey the kings letters, as touching that point, by playing boapepe, but also had priuie conference with the said Fitz Girald, and lay with him two or three seuerall nights before he departed into France.

Item, that the chiefe cause that moued him to inueigle Thomas Fitz Giralde wyth suche fayre

layze promples proceded of sette purpose to haue him cutte off, to the ende there shoulde be a gap set open for the yong Fitz Girald, to aspire to the Earledome of Kildare.

Item, that hee was so greedily addicted to the pilling and polling of the King his Subiectes, namelye of suche as were resiaunt in Mounster, as the beddes he lay in, the cuppes he dranke in, the plate with which he was serued in any gentlemans house, were by his seruants agaynst right and reason packt vp, and carted with great extortion away.

Item, that without any warrant from the King or Counsaile, he prophaned the Church of Saint Patrickes in Doune, turning it to a Stable, after plucked it downe, and shipt the notable ring of belles that did hang in the Steple, meaning to haue sent them to Englande, hadde not God of his iustice preuented hys iniquitie, by sinking the Vessell and passengers, wherein the sayde Belles should haue bene conueyed.

These and the lyke Artycles, were wyth such odious presumptions coloured by his accusers, as the King and Counsayle remembring his late faultes, and forgetting hys former seruices (for commonly all men are of so harde happe, that they shall bee sooner for one trespasse condemned, than for a thousande good deseртes commended) gaue commaundement that the Lorde Gray shoulde not onely bee remoued from the gouernment of the Countrey, but also had him beheaded on the Tower hil the xxviij. of June.

The Lord Gray beheaded.

1541.



But as touching the first Article, that brought him most of all out of conceyte wyth the King, I moued question to the Earle of Kyldare, whether the tenour thereof were true or false? His Lordshyp thereto answered *bona fide*, that hee neuer spake with the Lorde Gray, neuer sent messenger to him, nor receyued message or letter from him.

Whereby may bee gathered, with how many daungers they are inwrapped that gouerne Prouinces, wherein diligence is thwackt with hatred, negligence is loaden with tauntes, seueritie with perilles menaced, liberalitie with thankeleſſe vnkindneſſe contemned, conference to vndermining framed, flatterie to destruction forged, eche in countenaunce smyling, diuerse in heart pouting, open fawning, secrete grudging, gaping for suche as shall succeede in gouernment, honouring Magistrates with cappe and knee, as long as they are present, and carping them with tongue and penne, as soone as they are absent.

The Lord Leonard Gray, as is aforesayd, discharged, Sir William Brereton was constituted Lorde Iustice, whose short gouernment was intangled with no little trouble. For albeit he and Oneale fell to a reasonable composition, yet other of the Irishe Lordings, namely Oconour and his adherents, that are content to liue as subiectes, as long as they are not able to holde out as rebelles, conspired togither, and determined to assemble their power at the hyll of Fowre in west Methe, and so on a sodaine to ransacke the Pale.

Sir William Brereton Lorde Iustice.

The Lorde Iustice forthwith accompanied with the armie, and with two thousand of the Pale, of which no small number were ecclesiasticall persons, made towardes the rebelles, who vpon the approche of so greate an armie gaue ground and dispersed themselues in woods and marrishes. The Lorde Iustice this notwithstanding inuaded Oconour his Country, burnt his tenements, and made all his trenches with the multitude of Pioners so passable, as

foure hundred Cartes, beside light cariage, were led without let through the Countrey. Oconnour sone after submitted himselfe, and sent his sonne Cormacke to the Lorde Justice as hostage for his future obedience and loyaltie to the king his highnesse.

Oconour submitteth himselfe to the Lorde Iustice.

After this iourney was ended, Sir Anthonie Sentleger knight of the order was constituted Lord Deputie, and Sir William Brereton lord high Marshal, who within one halfe yeare after he was preferred to be Marshall, trauayling by the Lord Deputie his appointment to Limmerick to bring in James Erle of Desmond, who stood vpon certaine tickle poyntes with the gouernor, ended his life in that iourney, and lyeth entumbed at Kilkenny in the Quire of Saint Kenny his Church.

Sir Anthonie Sentleger Lord deputie
Sir William Brereton Lord high Marshall.

He dyeth.

1542

In the.xxxiij. yeare of the raigne of Henry the eight, there was a Parliament holden at Dublin before Sir Anthony Sentleger, in which there passed:

An Act
- That the king and his successors to be kings of Ireland.
- For gray marchantes.
- That the plaintife may abridge his plaint in assise.
- That consanguinitie or affinitie being not within ỹ fifth degree, shall be no principall chalenge.
- That maketh it felony to any man to run away with his maister his casket.
- For the annihilating of precõtracts in mariage.
- For al Lordes to distreyn vpon the lands of them holden, & to make their auowrie not naming the tenant but their land.
- For capacities.
- For seruants wages.
- For Iointenantes.
- For recouerie in auoyding leases.
- For Tythes.
- For attournements.

This Parliament was prorogued vntill the xv. of Feb. & after was continued at Limmerick before the said deputie, at which time there past.

An Act
- For the adiournement of the Parliament, and the place to holde the same, and what persons shall bee chosen Knightes and Burgeses.
- For the election of the L. Justice.
- Touching mispleading and ieopfailes.
- For landes giuen by the king.
- For the suppression of Kilmainam and other religious houses.

This Parliament was likewise prorogued, and after was continued and holden before the sayde gouernour at Dublin, the sixthe daye of Nouember, in the.xxxiiij. yeare of the raigne of king Henry the eight, wherein there passed:

1543

An Act
- For the deuision of Meth into two shires.
- For persons standing bounde in any Court for their apparaunce, and being in seruice, to bee discharged by writ.

This Parliament was further prorogued vntill the.xvij. of Aprill, and at that time before the sayd Gouernour it was holden and ended, in which there passed an Act touching the manour and Castle of Dongaruan to be united and annexed to the crowne for euer.

To this Parliament resorted diuerse of the Irishe Lordes, who submytting themselues to the Deputie his mercy, returned peaceably to their Countreyes.

But James Erle of Desmond sayled into Englande, and before the King and Counsayle purged himselfe of all suche Articles of treason, as were falsly layd to his charge, whose cleare purgation and humble submission the king accepted very gratefully.

James Erle of Desmonde.

Shortly after Desmond his returne homeward, the great Oneale was created Earle of Tyron, and his base sonne Mathewe Oneale Baron of Dongaruan. For in those days John Oneale, commonly called Shane Oneale, the onely sonne lawfully of his bodie begotten, was little or nothing esteemed.

Oneale Erle of Tyron.

Oneale hauing returned to Irelande with this honour, and the king his fauour, Obryne with certaine other Irishe Lordes sayled into Englande, submitting their lyues and landes to the king his mercie.

This Obryne was at that tyme created Earle of Clincare, in which honour his posteritie hitherto resteth.

Obryne created Earle of Clincare.

1544

Shortly after the returne of these Lordes to their Countrey, King Henrie being fully resolued to besiege Bollongne, gaue commaundement to Sir Anthonie Sentleger deputie, to leuie an armie of Irish men, and with all expedition to sende them to England.

The Irishemen for to the siege of Bollongne.

To these were appointed Captaynes the Lord Power, who after was dubbed knight. Surlock, and Finglasse, with diuerse others. They mustred in Saint James his Parke seuen hundred.

In the siege of Bollongne they stoode the armye in verye good steade. For they were not onely contented to burne and spoyle all the villages thereto adioyning, but also they would raunge twentie or thirtie miles into the maine lande,

lande, and hauing taken a Bull, they vsed to tie him to a stake, and scorching hym with fagottes, they woulde force him to roare, so as all the Cattell in the Countrey woulde make towardes the Bull, all which they wouldelightly leade away, and furnish the campe with store of biefe.

If they toke anye Frenche man prysoner, least they shoulde bee accounted couetous in snatching wyth them hys intyre bodye, hys onelye raunsome shoulde bee no more but hys heade.

The French wyth this extraordinarie kind of warfarring astonyed, sent an Imbassadour to King Henrie, to learne whether he broughtmenne wyth hym or Diuelles, that coulde neyther bee wonne wyth rewardes, nor pacifyed by pitie: whiche when the King had turned to a least, the French menne euer after, if they coulde take anye of the Irishe scattering from the companie, vsed syrst to cutte off theyr genitours, and after to tormente them with as greate and as lingring paine as they could deuise.

After that Bollongne was surrendred to the King, there encamped on the West syde of the Towne beyonde the Hauen an armye of French menne, among whome there was a Thrasonicall Golias, that departed from the armye, and came to the brincke of the Hauen, and there in ietting and daring wise chalenged anye one of the Englishe armye that durst be so hardie, as to bicker with him hand to hande.

And albeit the distance of the place, the depth of the Hauen, the nearnesse of hys companie emboldned him to thys chalenge, more than any great valour or pithe that rested in him to indure a combate, yet all this notwithstanding, an Irishe manne named Mycholl Welshe, who after retayned to the Earle of Kyldare, loathing and disdeyning his prowde bragges, flung into the water, and swamme ouer the Ryuer, fought wyth the chalenger, strake him for dead, and returned backe to Bollongne wyth the Frenchman his heade in hys mouth, before the armie coulde ouertake hym. For which exployte, as hee was of all his companie highly commended, so by the Lieutenant he was bountifully rewarded.

Much aboute this tyme the Earle of Lennor, beyng wrongfully inquirted in Scotlande, and forced to forsake his Countrey, became humble petitioner to King Henrie, as well to relieue him in his distressed calamitie, as to compasse the meanes, how he might bee restored to his landes and liuing.

The King his highnesse moued wyth compassion, posted the Earle ouer to Irelande, with letters of especiall trust, commaunding sir Anthonie Sentleger then Deputie, to assist and further the Scottish outcast, with as puissant an armie, as to his contentation should seeme good.

James Butler Earle of Ormond.

The Deputie vpon the receyte of these letters, sente for James Butler Earle of Ormonde and Osserie, a noble manne, no lesse politique in peace, than valiaunt in warre, made hym priuye to the Kyng hys pleasure, and wythall in his Maiesties name dyd cause the charge hereof vppon the sayde Earle, as one that for hys tryed loyaltie was willing, and for his honour and valour able to attempt and atchieue so rare and famous an exployte.

The Lorde of Ormonde as wylling to obey, as the Gouernour was to commaunde, leuyed of hys Tenauntes and Retaynours, fiue hundred Gallowglasses, foure hundred Kearnes, three score Horsemen, and foure hundred and fortie shot: so in the whole he mustered on Ormontowne greene neare Dublyn, fiftene hundred souldiours.

The Lorde Deputie yeelding hys honour suche thankes in wordes, as hee deserued in deede, leuyed in the Pale fiftene hundred Souldiours more, to bee annexed to the Earle hys companye. Ouer them he constituted Sir Iohn Trauerse Capitayne, but the Earle of Ormonde was made Generall of the whole armie.

Sir Iohn Trauerse knight.

When the Souldiours were wyth Munition and victualles aboundauntlye furnyshed, the Earle of Ormonde and the Earle of Lennor toke shypping at Skerish, hauing in theyr companie twentie and eight Shippes well rigged, sufficiently manned, and stronglye appoynted.

From thence they sayled Northwarde, and roade at anchor without the hauen of Oldfleete beyond Katregfergus.

The Earle of Ormonde and the Earle of Lennox in danger to bee drovvned.

Where hauing remayned bulling wythoute the mouth of the Hauen contrarye to the aduise of the Maisters of theyr Shippes (who prognosticated the speedie approche of a storme, and therefore did wishe them to take a good harborowe) it happened, that the sayde night there arose so boysterous a Tempest, that the whole fleete was lyke to haue beene ouerwhelmed.

The Maryners betaking theyr passengers and themselues to the mercye of God, dyd cutte theyr mayne Mastes, lette slippe theyr Anchors, and were weather driuen to the hauen of Dunbrytaine in Scotlande, where as they were like to runne their shippes on ground, and consequently they all shoulde either haue beene

plunged in the water, or else haue beene slaine on the lande by a greate number of Scottes that awaited theyr approche, God with hys gracious clemencye preuenting theyr immi-nent calamitie, sent them not onely a wished calme, but also a prosperous gale of wynde, that blewe them backe in safetie to the Irishe coast, from whence they were scattered.

The Earle of Lennox aduertised by certain of his frendes that met with him on the Sea, that the Scottes contrarie to theyr promise, dealt verie doubly with him (for although they gaue theyr worde to surrender vppe to hym the Castell of Dunbrytaine, yet they did not onelye fortifie that holde, but also were readie to encounter wyth hys Souldiours vppon theyr arryuals) he concluded to returne to Irelande.

The Earle of Ormonde verie loath, that so greate an attempt shoulde take so little effecte, dealt wyth him verie earnestly, notwithstanding his counsayle were bewrayed, to inuade hir enimies, and his Lordshippe shoulde be sure to finde the armie so forwarde in assisting hym in so famous an enterprise, as they would shew themselues more willing to bicker wyth hys foes in Scotlande, than without skirmishing to returne to Irelande. For the Earle of Ormonde was of this nature, that as hee woulde not beginne any martiall broyle rashly or vnaduisedly, so he woulde not seeme to put it vppe lightly or easily.

The Earle of Ormonde his propertie.

Further whereas the Earle of Lennox stood in hope, that the Lorde of the out Iles would ayde hym, it was thought by Ormonde not to be amysse, to expect his comming, and so ioyning his company to the armie, there rested no doubt, but that the Scottishe enimies woulde bee forced to plucke in theyr hornes, although at the first bluish they seeme to put a good face to the matter.

Lennox somwhat with this perswasion ryed, gaue his consent to expect the Lorde of the oute Isle his determination, who notwithstanding all the fetche of the enterprice were discried, would not slip from his word but personally sayled to the Irish fleete, with three Gallies verie well appointed.

The Lorde of the out Iles sayleth to the Erle of Lennox.

The noble man was with such martiall triumphes receyued, as warlike souldiours coulde on the sea afford him. But of al others, both the Earles gaue him heartie interteynment for his true and honourable dealing, that to bee as good as his worde, woulde not seeme to shrinke from his friend in this his aduersitie.

And shortly after as they craued his aduise, what were best to bee done, eyther to lande in Scotlande, or else to returne homeward, hys flatte resolution was, at that tyme to retyre, bycause theyr drift was detected, theyr feyned friendes fainted, the Castels were fortified, and the Shoares on all partes wyth swarmes of Scottes peopled. Wherefore he thought it better policie, to giue out in open rumours, that they meant not at any hande to inuade Scotlande, but to retire to their Countrey.

And after that the Scottishe Souldiours shoulde be dismyst, which woulde bee incontinent vpon theyr returne, by reason of the excessiue charges, then myght the Earle of Lennox with lesse preparation, and more secrecye gyue a freshe onsette, that the enimyes shoulde sooner feele his force, than heare of his arriuall.

Ormonde and Lennox land.

Ormonde and Lennox landed with the greater parte of the armie and appoynted the Shippes to bende theyr course to Dublyn.

The Lorde of the out Iles, and his three Gallyes sayled with the Fleete, for he was not able by reason of the feeblenesse of his bodie to trauaile by lande, or scantly further to prolong his life, whiche hee ended at Howth presently vppon hys arriuall, and was with greate solemnitie buryed in Saint Patricke his Church at Dublyn, vppon whose death this Epitaph was framed:

The Lorde of the out Iles dyeth.

Vig manus, mea patriæ dum redditur exsul,
Exsul in externa cogor & ipse mori.

His Epitaph

Both the Earles marched wyth the armye on foote to Carregfergus, where they brake company. For Lennox and sir John Trauerse taking as hee thought the shorter, but not the safer way, trauayled through the Ardes, with the number of fiue hundred Souldiours, where the Irishe inhabitantes skyrmished with them, and put them to suche straite plunges (for they woulde gladly haue seene what a clocke it was in theyr Budgets) as they wished they had not parted from the rest of the armye.

The Irish skirmish with the Erle of Lennox.

The Earle of Ormonde with his Souldiours (which were a thousande fiue hundred, as before is expressed) marched on foot to Belefast, which is an arme of the sea, a quarter of a mile broade, or little lesse, and albeit their weather were bitter and ouer nipping, and no small parcell of the water were congealed with frost, yet the Earle and his armie waded ouer on foote, to the great daunger as well of his person, as of the whole companie, whiche doubtlesse was a valiaunt enterprise of so honourable a personage.

The Earle of Ormonde his toylsome trauaile.

From thence hee passed to Strangforde, and through Lecale to Dondalke, where he discharged his Souldiours, and hauing presented himselfe to the Gouernour at Dublyn, he roade homeward to the Countie of Kilkenny.

Shortly

Shortly after, sir Anthonie Sentleger lorde Deputie, and the Earle of Ormonde fell at debate, insomuch as eyther of them layde articles of treason one to the others charge.

The chiefe occasion of their mutuall grudge, proceeded of certaine newe and extraordinarie impositions, wherewith the Deputie woulde haue charged the Subiectes. Whereat the Erle of Ormonde as a zealous defender of his countrey, beganne to kicke, and in no sort coulde bee wonne to agree to any such vnreasonable demaunde.

Herevpon Ormonde perceyuing, that the Gouernour persisted in his purpose, addressed Letters of complaynte to suche as were of the priuie Counsayle in Englande, whiche letters were by one of Sir Anthonie his friendes intercepted at Sea, and presented to him to bee perused.

Sir Anthonie hauing ouerread the writings, sent Maister Basnet in post haste with the packet to Kylkenny, where the Earle of Ormonde kept his Christmasse, requesting hys Lordshippe to take in good parte the opening of hys Letters, which was done rather to learne the effect of his complaynte, than in any sort to inbar his writings from comming to the counsaile his handes.

The Earle answered that his quarell was so good, his dealing so ope, as he little weighed, who toke a view of his letters. And for hys part, what he wrote hee ment not to vnwrite, but in such sort as they came from the Gouernour, they should be sent to the Counsaile, and if theyr honours woulde allow any Subiect to bee so hardie, as to entercepte and open Letters that were to them indorsed, hee coulde not but dygest any such iniurie, that they woulde seeme to beare.

With this aunswere Basnet returned, and the Earle performed his promise. Whereupon the Gouernour and he were commaunded, to appeare before the priuie Counsaile in Englande, where they were sundrie times examined, and their accusations ripely debated. In fine, the Counsaile equallye to bothe partes in theyr complaints affected, and weighing withall rather the due desert of both their loyall seruices, than the vaine presumption of their mutuall accusations, wrapped vp theyr quarelles, and made them both friendes, with such indifferencie, as neyther part should bee eyther with anye conquest exalted, or with anye foyle debased.

And for so muche as sir John Alen knight, then Lorde Chauncellour of Irelande, was founde to limpe in this controuersie, by playing as it was supposed, more craftily than wisely, with both the handes, in that hee seemed to bee rather a fosterer of theyr malice, than an appeaser of theyr quarelles, hee was likewise sent for into Englande, and being tript by the Counsaile in his tale, was committed to the Fleete, wherein he remayned a long tyme.

In this trouble the Earle of Ormond was greatly ayded by sir William Wise Knight, a worshipfull Gentleman, borne in the Citie of Waterforde, who deserning in deede the prayse of that vertue, whereof he bare the name, grewe to bee of great credite in the Court, and stoode highly in king Henrie his grace, whiche hee wholy vsed to the furtherance of his friends, and neuer abused to the annoyance of his foes. Sir VVilliam VVise knight.

This Gentleman was verye well spoken, mylde of nature, wyth discretion stoute, as one that in an vpright quarel would beare no coles, seldome in an intricate matter graueled, being found at all assayes to be of a pleasant and present wit.

Hauing lente to the King his Signet to seale a Letter, who hauing powdred Ermines engrayled in the Seale, why howe now Wise quoth the King, what? hast thou Lise here? And if it like your Maiestie, quoth sir Willia, a louse is a riche Coate, for by giuing the Louse, I part Armes with the French King, in that he gyueth the Floure de Lice. Whereat the king heartily laughed, to heare how pretily so byting a taunt (namely proceeding from a Prince) was sodaynly turned to so pleasaunte a conceyte.

Anon after the agreement made betweene Ormonde and Sentleger, the Earle his Seruants (which hee kept at that time in his lyuerey to the number of fiftie) besought his Lordship to take at the Lymehouse his part of a supper, which they prouided for him. The noble man wyth honour accepting their dutifull offer, supped at theyr request, but not to their contentation at the place appoynted. For whether it were that one caytife or other did poyson the meate, or that some other false measures were vsed (the certaintie wyth the reuenge whereof to God is to bee referred) the noble man wyth thirtie and fiue of his seruaunts presently that night sickned, one James White, the Earle his Stewarde, with sixtene of his fellowes died, the remnant of the seruauntes recouered, but theyr Lorde, whose health was chiefly to bee wished, in the floure of his age deceassed of that sickenesse, at Elie house in Holborne, muche aboute the .xxviij. of October, and was buried in Saint Thomas of Acres his Churche, whose death bred sorrow to his friendes, little comfort to his aduersaries, great losse to his Countrey, and no small griefe to all good men. The Earle of Ormonde deceaseth. 1546

This

His description. This Earle was a goodly and personable noble man, full of honour, which was not onely lodged inwardly in his mynde, but also hee bare it outwardly in countenaunce. As franke and as liberall as his calling required. A deepe and a farre reaching head. In a good quarell rather stout than stubborne, bearing himselfe with no lesse courage, when he resisted, than with honourable discretion, where he yeelded. A fauourer of peace, no furtherer of warre, as one that preferred vnlawfull quietnesse before vpright troubles, beeing notwithstanding of as greate wisedome in the one, as of valour in the other. In earnest and a zealous vpholder of his countrey, in all attempts rather respecting the publique weale, than his priuate gaine. Whereby he bounde his Countrey so greatlye vnto him, that Irelande might with good cause wish, that eyther he had neuer beene borne, or else that hee had neuer deceassed, so it were lawfull to craue him to bee immortall, that by course of nature was framed mortall. And to giue sufficient proufe of the entyre affection he bare his Countrey, and of the zealous care he did cast thereon, he betoke in his death bed his soule to God, his carkasse to Christian buriall, and his heart to his Countrey, declaring thereby, that where his minde was setled in his life, his heart should be there entombed after his death. Which was according to his will accomplished. For his heart was conueyed to Irelande, and lyeth engraued in the Quire of the Cathedrall Church in Kilkennie, where his auncestors for the more part are buried. Vpon which kinde legacie this Epitaph was deuised.

His Epitaph.

Cor patriæ fixum viuens, iam redditur illi,
Post mortem, patriæ quæ peracerba venit.
Non sine corde valet mortalis viuere quisq̃,
Vix tua gens vita permanet absq; tua.
Quæ licet infœlix extincto corde fruatur,
Attamen optato viuere corde nequit.
Ergo quid hæc faciat? quem re non posit amorem
Cordi vt tam charo reddere corde velit.

The effect of which Epitaph is thus Englished.

The liuing heart where lay engraue
the care of Countrey deere,
To Countrey liuelesse is restorde
and lies engrauen heere.
None heartlesse liues: his countrey then
alas what ioy is left,
whose hope, whose hap, whose hart he was,
till death his life bereft.
And though the soyle here shrowdes the heart,
which most it wisht to enioy,
Yet of the change from nobler seate,
the cause doth it annoy.
What honour then is due to him,
for him what worthie rite?
But that eche heart with heartiest loue,
his worthiest heart may quite.

This Earle was of so noble a disposition, as he would soner countenaunce and support his poore well willer in his aduersitie, than hee would make or fawne vpon his welthie friend in prosperitie.

The kindnesse of Iames Earle of Ormonde to his friendes.

Hauing bid at London, not long before his death, the Ladie Gray Countesse of Kildare to dinner, it happened that a souldiour, surnamed Power, who lately returned freshe from the Emperour his warres, came to take his repast with the Earle before the messenger. When the Erle and the Countesse were set, this roysting rutterkin, wholy then standing on the Soldado boigh, placed himselfe right ouer against the Countesse of Kildare, hard at the Earle of Ormonde his elbow, as though hee were haile fellow, well met. The noble man appalled at the impudent saucinesse of the malapert souldiour, (who notwithstanding might be borne withal, because an vnbidden guest knoweth not where to sit) besought him courteously to giue place. The Earle when the other rose, taking vpon him the office of a Gentleman Vsher, placed in Power his seate, his cousin Edwarde Fitz Giralde, now Lieutenant of hir Maiesties Pencioners, who at that time being a yong stripling, attended vpon his mother the Countesse, and so in order he set euery Gentleman in his degree, to the number of fifteene or sixteene, and last of all the companie, he licenced Power, if he would, to sit at the lower ende of the Table, where hee had scantly elbow rowme.

Edward Fitz Girald.

The Countesse of Kildare perceyuing the noble man greatly to stomacke the Souldiour his presumptuous boldnesse, nipt him at the elbow, and whispering softly, besought his Lordship not to take the matter so hote, because the Gentleman (the ment Power) knewe, that the house of Kildare was of late attainted, and that hir children were not in this their calamitie in such wise to be regarded.

No Ladie, quoth the Earle, with a lowde voyce, and the teares trilling downe his cheeres, say not so, I trust to see the day, when my yong cousin Edwarde, and the remnant of your children (as little reckning as hee maketh of them) shall disdain the cõpanie of any such skipJack. Which prophecie fell out as truly as he foretold it, only sauing that it stoode with God his pleasure, to call him to his mercie before he could see that day, after which doubtlesse he longed and looked, I meane the restitution of the house of Kildare.

After this noble Earle his vntimely decease, Sir Anthonie Sentleger was returned into Irelande Lorde Deputie, who was a wise and a wary Gentleman, a valiant seruitour in warre, and a good Justicer in peace, properly learned, a good

Sir Anthonie Sentleger returneth Lorde Deputie.

good maker in the Englishe, hauing grauitie so enterlaced with pleasauntnesse, as with an exceeding good grace he would attaine the one without pouting dumpishnesse, and exercise the other without loathfull lightnesse.

There fell in his time a fat benefice of which he as Lord deputie had the presentation. When diuerse made sute to him for the benefice, and offred with dishonestie to buy that which with safetie of conscience he could not sell, hee answered merily, that he was resolued not to commit Simonie: yet notwithstanding he had a nagge in his Stable that was worth fortie shillings, and he that would giue him fortie pounds for the nagge, should bee preferred to the benefice. Which he rather of pleasure uttered, than of any unconscionable meaning purposed to haue done.

His gouernment had beene of the Countrey very well lyked, were it not, that in his time he began to assesse the Pale with certaine new impositions, not so profitable (as it was thought) to the Gouernours, as it was noysome to the subiectes. The debating of which I purpose to referre to them, who are discoursers of publique estates, and the reformers of the comon wealth, praying to God, that hee with his grace direct them so faythfully to accomplish the duties of good Magistrates, that they gouerne that powre battred Iland, to his diuine honour, to his maiesties contentation, to the suppressing of Rebels, to the vpholding of subiectes, and rather to the publique weale of the whole countrey, than to the priuate gaine of a few persons.

Thus farre (gentle reader) as mine instructions directed me, and my leysure serued mee, haue I continued a parcell of the Irish hystorie, and haue stretched it to the raigne of Edwarde the sixth. Whereupon I am forced to craue at thyne handes pardon and tollerance: pardon for any errour I shal be found to haue committed, which vpon friendly admonition I am ready to reforme: tollerance, for that part of the hystorie which is not continued, till time I be furnished and fraught with matter, as that I may employ my trauaile to serue thy contentation. And albeit I might with some enquirie, rumble vp these latter yeares, and so make the booke to beare a shewe of a complete Hystorie, yet notwithstanding, I am so precisely set vpon so tickle a taske, and so fickle a grounde, that rather concern.th the liuing, than apperteyneth to the deade, as I woulde be lothe to be taken in anye part therof, not onely to stumble, but also once to trippe. For as the Philosopher reproued the astronomer, which was so busie in gazing on the skie, as that he tumbled headlong in a pitte that was digged at his feete, supposing that hee which was ignorant of so neare a marke, was not like to prognosticate future euentes by Planets and Starres that were so farre distant of: so if a Chronicler shoulde misreport exployctes that were enterprised but hestern day, the reader might probably surmise, that hee which is rawe in these latter yeares, were like to bee verie vnripe in rehearsing matters that happened many yeares past. These and the like reasons, reclaymed mee from perfecting at this present the Irish Hystorie, requesting thee, gentle Reader, friendly to accepte, what is alreadie written, which I craue, as one that wisheth thee rather pleasure in the reading, than regardeth hys owne payne in the penning of the sayde Treatise.

FINIS.



The yeares of our Lorde.

The names of the Gouernors, Lieutenants, Lord Iustices, *and Deputies of Ireland, since the conqueſt thereof* by king Henrie the ſecond.

1174 Richard Strangbow Erle of Pembroke gouernor, hauing Reymond le Grace ioyned in commiſſion with him.

1177 Reymond le Grace Lieutenant by himſelfe.
William Fitz Aldelme lieutenant, hauing John de Curcy, Robert Fitz Stephans, and Miles Logan ioyned in commiſſion with him.
Hugh Lacie Lieutenant.

1182 John Lacy Conſtable of Cheſter, } Gouernors
Richard de Peche }
Hugh Lacie againe Lieutenant.
Hugh Lacie the ronger Lorde Iuſtice.

1227 Henry Loandonis Archb. of Dublin L. Iuſtice.
1228 Morice Fitz Girald Lord chiefe Iuſtice.
1253 John Fitz Geoffrey knight, Lorde Iuſtice.
Alain de la Zouch Lorde Iuſtice.
1258 Stephen de Long Eſpe Lord Iuſtice.
William Deane Lorde Iuſtice.
1261 Sir Richard Rochell or Capell Lord Iuſtice.
1267 Dauid Barry Lorde Iuſtice.
1268 Robert Vfford Lorde Iuſtice.
1269 Richarde de Exeter Lord Iuſtice.
1270 James Lorde Audley Lorde Iuſtice.
1272 Morice Fitz Morice Lorde Iuſtice.
Walter Lorde Genuille Lord Iuſtice.
Robert Vfforde againe Lord Iuſtice.
1281 Fulborne Biſhop of Waterford Lord Iuſtice.
John Sandford Archbiſhop of Dublin L. Iuſtice
William Veſci Lorde Iuſtice.
1295 William Dodingſels Lorde Iuſtice.
Thomas Fitz Morice Lorde Iuſtice.
1298 John Wogan Lorde Iuſtice.
1314 Theobald Verdon Lorde Iuſtice.
1315 Edmond Butler Lorde Iuſtice.
1317 Roger Lorde Mortimer Lorde Iuſtice.
Alexander Bignor Archb. of Dublin L. Iuſtice.
1319 Roger Lord Mortimer ſecond tyme L. Iuſtice.
1320 Thomas Fitz John Erle of Kildare L. Iuſtice.
1321 John Birmingham Erle of Louth L. Iuſtice.
1323 John lorde Darcie Lord Iuſtice.
1327 Roger Outlaw Prior of Kilmaynan L. Iuſtice.
Anthonie Lord Lucie Lord Iuſtice.
1332 John Lord Darcy ſecond time Lord Iuſtice.
1337 John Lord Charleton Lord Iuſtice.
1338 Thomas Biſhop of Hereford Lord Iuſtice.
1339 John lord Darcy ordeyned Lord Iuſtice by patent during his life, by Edward the thirde.
Raufe Vfford Lord Iuſtice.
1346 Robert Darcy Lord Iuſtice.
John Fitz Morice Lorde Iuſtice.
Walter lord Bermingham Lord Iuſtice, his deputies were John Archer prior of Kilmaynan, Baron Carew, and ſir Thomas Rokelby.
Maurice Fitz Thomas Earle of Deſmond had the office of Lorde Iuſtice for terme of his life, of king Edward the third his graunt.
1355 Thomas Rokelby knight Lord Iuſtice.
1357 Almerick de Saint Amand } appointed L.
John Butler Erle of Ormond } I. by turnes.
Maurice Fitz Th. erle of Kild.
Lionel duke of Clarence Lord Iuſtice.
Gerald Fitzmaurice Erle of Deſmond L. I.
Willia L. Winſor the firſt lieutenant in Ireland
Richard Aſhton Lord Iuſtice.
Roger Mortimer } Iuſtices & lieutenats ſpe-
Philip Courtney } cially recorded in Ri-
James erle of Ormo chard the ſeconds dayes.
Robert Vere Earle of Oxforde Marques of Dublin, created duke of Irelande.
Roger Mortimer Erle of March Lieutenant.
Roger Mortimer erle of March & Vlſter lieut.
Roger Gray Lorde Iuſtice.
John Stanley knight Lorde Lieutenant.
1401 Thomas of Lancaſter brother to king Henry the fourth Lord Lieutenant, whoſe Deputies at ſundrie tymes were, Alexander Bi. of Meth, Stephen Scrope knight, and the Prior of Kilmaynam.
1403 James Butler Erle of Ormond Lord Iuſtice.
Girald Erle of Kildare Lord Iuſtice.
1407 James Butler Erle of Ormonde, ſonne to the foreſayd James Lord Iuſtice.
1413 John Stanley againe Lord Lieutenant.
Thomas Crauley Arch. of Dublin lord Iuſtice.
1414 John Lord Talbot of Shierfield Lieutenant.
1420 James Butler erle of Ormond, the ſecond time Lieutenant.
Edmond Erle of March, James Erle of Ormond his deputie.
John Sutton L. Dudley, ſir Th. Straunge knight his deputie.
Sir Thomas Stanley, ſir Chriſtopher Plunket his deputie, } Lieutenãtes to king H. the ſixt.
Lion Lorde Welles the Earle of Ormond his deputie.
James erle of Ormõd by himſelf
John Earle of Shrewſburie, the Archbiſhop of Dublin in his abſence Lorde Iuſtice.
Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke, father to king Edwarde the fourth, had the office of Lieutenant by king Henrie the ſixt his letters patents for ten yeares. His deputies at ſundry times were. The Baron of Deluin, Richard FitzEuſtace knight, James erle of Ormond, & Thomas FitzMorice erle of Kildare.
Thomas FitzMorice Erle of Kildare Lord Iuſtice in king Edward the fourth his dayes, vntill the third yeare of his raigne. After which George duke of Clarence brother to the king had the office of Lieutenant during his life, & made his deputies by ſundrie tymes theſe.
Thomas Erle of Deſmonde, } Deputies to the duke of Clarence.
John Tiptoft erle of Worceter, }
Thomas Erle of Kildare, }
Henry Lord Gray of Ruthine. }
1470 Sir Rouland Euſtace Lord Deputie.
Richard duke of Yorke ponger ſon to king Edward the fourth Lieutenant.
Edward ſon to Richarde the third Lieutenant, his deputie was Gerald Erle of Kildare.
Jaſper duke of Bedford and Erle of Pembroke Lieut. his deputy was Walter Archb. of Dub.
1494 Edward Poynings knight, Lord deputie.
1501 Henrie duke of Yorke, after king by the name of Henrie the eight, Lieutenant, his deputie Girald Erle of Kildare.
Girald Fitz Girald Erle of Kildare L. deputie.
1520 Thomas Howard Earle of Surrey, after duke of Norfolke, Lieutenant.
1523 Piers Butler Earle of Oſſorie Lord deputie.
Girald Fitz Girald erle of Kildare again L. dep.
The Baron of Deluin Lord deputie.
1529 Piers Butler Erle of Oſſorie again L. deputie.
William Skeffington knight Lord deputie.
Girald Fitz Girald erle of Kildare again L. dep.
William Skeffington again Lord deputie.
1534 Leonard Lord Gray, Lord deputie.
1540 Sir William Brereton knight, Lord Iuſtice.
1541 Sir Anthonie Sentleger knight, Lord deputie.

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chard the seconde king of Englande goeth ouer into Irelande. 65. taketh homage of diuerse Lords and Princes of Ulster. ibi. returneth into Englande ibid. passeth the second time ouer into Irelād with a great nauy. 65. commeth to Dublin. ibid. returneth. ibid.
chard Archbishop of Dublin, resigneth by reason of a vision he saw in his sleepe. 50
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uthurgi stagnum, Ruthurgus his Poole. 2

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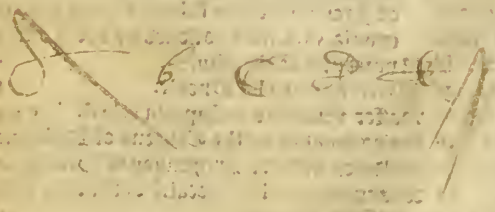
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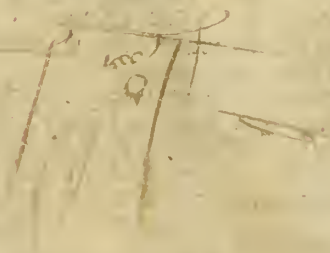
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FINIS.





Faultes and ouerſightes eſcaped in the printing of the *Hyſtorie of Scotlande.*

Page.2.linc.7.for.39.rede.36. The ſame Page, and.27.lin, for Mundus afterwards Bzachara, rede Munda, and now Mondego, which Cittie ſome ſuppoſe firſte Bzachara, and after Berſale, as Hector Boece hath. The ſame page the laſt marginall note, for Bzigantia, reade Bzigantium.

Page.5. the firſte colum in the Margent, ouer againſt the.54.line write 2208.H.B. and ouer againſt ỳ ſame line to aunſwere.55.write.60.H.B. and ouer againſt the.56. line, to anſwer the yeare of oure Lorde. 697. write.695.H.B. The ſame Page colum.2. line.18.for.133.reade.1033. The ſame page and colum line.48. ſweare, reade forſweare.

Page. 6.col. 2.in the Margent ouer againſt the third line, for.3363.reade 4867.

Page.7.col.2.lines.17.19.20.21.write in the Margent, 4869.H.B. to anſwere, 3640.330, H.B. to aunſwere 327.420, H.B, to aunſwere.420. for in the yeare of ỳ building of Rome Harriſon & Hector Boece agree. 437. to aunſwere.790.

Page.9.colum.1. the laſt line, robbed the Scottes ſo that, read robbed the Scots, laying the blame on the Pictes, as if they had bin the treſpaſers.

Page.12.col.1.linc.34.for were, rede where.

Page.17.colum.1.line.21.for Lough Bzuum, reade Lochbzoun. The ſame pa. colum.2. ouer againſt the 48.line, write in the margent. 546. H.B. to aunſwere. 529. yeares of Rome there in the line.

Page. 18. col.1.line.1.for Scots and Pictes, reade Scots as Pictes.

Page.23.col.1. line.25. and continued, put out and.

Page.24. col.2. line. 34. his handes for feigning, reade the Tirantes hands who feigning.&c.

Page 28. col. 1. line 38. for further, reade forthwith.

Page 30.col. 1. linc 58. for the ninthe yere, reade the nine and twentith.

Page 31.colum.2.line 24.for Aldion, reade Albion.

Page 38.colum.2 line 40.for Werne, reade Wernes.

Page 44.col.2.line 54.for 54. reade 58.for ſo it agreeth with Maiſter Harriſons accompte.

Page 48.col.1. line 1. for with them, reade with him.

Page 53.col.1.line 30.for Aſpithes, reade Aſpites. The ſame Page and colum line 33. and in places, put out in.

Page 54. col. 1.line 2. for huſbandmen, reade poore fyſhermen of the Countrey.

Page 57.colum 2.line 56.in ſteede of for that he aught, reade ſo that he mighte.

Page 59.colum.2.the number in the margent is ſet too lowe. 3. ſhoulde aunſwere.15.in the eyghth line.&c.

Page 65.co.2.line.53.for their whole number, read the whole number.

Page 68.col.2.lin 54. for hilles and mountaines, read thicke woodded and mariſhes.

Page 72.col.2.line 46.for ſuperſtition reade ſuperſtitious.

Page 89.colu.2.line 46 for Cantire reade Kile.

Page 89.co.2.line 12. for and vnderſtanding, read ſo as vnderſtanding.

Page 100.co.1. line 44.for deſtroye, reade reſiſt. The ſame page col.2. line 42. for the backe, reade their backes.

Page 102. col. 2. line 14. for Helene Vrſula, in ſome it is amended.

Page.104.col.1, line 50. for paſſed by fyre, reade were put to the fyre.

Page 110. though wrongly noted 118. ouer againſt the 44. and 45. line, put in the margent Conanus was alſo ſent with the Archbiſh. but he died on the Sea as they ſailed thitherwards.

Page 119.col.2. line 32. for infarſed, reade inſerted.

Page 122. col. 1. line 5.6.&.7.for the auncient ordinance &c. read accordyng to the auncient ordinance, ſo as the countreys beyond Humber were appoynted to remayne.

Page 150.col.1.line 41 42 & 43.for aboute the ſame tyme Eugenius K. of Scots ſent, read, In the beginning of his reigne he ſent.

Page 166.col.1. line 14. for greately nowe, reade holpe greatly nowe.

Page 178. col.2. line 45. king Edwyn put out king.

Page 192.col.2.line 28. for with hys miniſters, read with hir miniſters.

Page 199.col.2.in the margent ouer againſte the 4. line for an Engliſhman, reade a Welchman of Sainte Dauid.

Page 221.col.1.line 9.for he had bin, reade he hauing bin.

Page 250. col.2.line 16.for him, rede hir.

Page 290.colum 2.line 12.for which, reade as. The ſame page colum 2. line 7.for deſired, rede deſire.

Page 327. col. 2. line 43. put out ſauage.

Page 333.col. 2.in the margente the laſt note, for Scotland, reade England.

Page 334. col 1. in the Margente ouer againſt the fourteenth line, for Delphine, reade Dubline, in ſome leaues it is amended.

Page 346.col.2.line.12. and therfore in the reward, put out the, and rede in reward.

Page 369.for 1403.vpon a Tewſday, reade 1402.vpon a Thurſday.

Page 388.col.2.line 44. Tetucer, alias Campiher.

Page 389.col.2.linc.44. Dowlas for Douglas.

Page 402.col.2. line. 33. for Earle of Auendale, reade Lorde Auendale, and ſo likewiſe in other places.

The ſame page and colume line 34. & 35. for the Lord of Lute, read the Laird of Luz, & lin. 36. for the Lord of Cragwallace, reade the Lairde of Cragwallace.

Page 406. col. 1. line 7. for Sanquhan reade Sanquhar. The ſame page and colum line 24. for battel, reade debatable.

Page 413.col.2.line 6. for the Lorde, reade the Laird.

Page 423.col.1.line 15. for Kilwenny reade Kilwenning, line 17. for Caſtels, read Caſſels, line 18. put out Addell, line 20. for Arſkill, reade Erſkyn. line 24. for Sir Dauid, reade Sir Dauid Hume.

Page 433.colum.2.line 55. for Edenburgh, reade Jedworth.

Page 437.col.2.lin 15. for argument, reade agreement.

Page 438.co.1.lin.20. for Henry, rede to one Henry. The ſame page col. 2. line 45. for ſaue, rede ſtay.

Page 439.col.1.linc 2. and 3. for Lord of Hounſton, reade Laird of Houſton.

Page 44.col.2.line 50. not conuicte, but put in priſon, there to remaine at the Kings pleaſure.

Page 462.col.2.line 30. for Houſon, reade George Strueling of Gloret.

Page 465.col.1.line.19. but the fight growing, reade ſo that the fyghte grewe.

Page 487. col. 1. line 39. for Amalaſche, reade Amalaſche.

Page 508. col. 2. line 44. for Borde, reade Forde.

Faultes escaped in the imprinting of the description of Ireland.

Fol.1.col.1.line.36.for the glose,read the glosse.

Fol.4.col.2.lin.38.for so much framed,read so much as framed.

Fol.5 col.1.line 36. for woulde tracte, read he would tract.

Fol.8.col.2. line 31. for triniall, read triuiall.

Fol.12.col.1.line.59.for turned a commune,read turned to a commune.

Fol.13 col.2.line 50. for were formed, read were forced.

Fol.16 col.1. line 7. for dumbe, reade doome.

End.col.2.line 30.for only,read ougly

Fol.17.co.1.line 43.for to courageously,so couragiously.

End col. 2. line 5. for euerside, reade eitherside.

End.col.end.line 37.for springeth,read springeth.

Fol.20.col.4.line. 10.for empeache of, read empeache me of.

Fol.23.col.1.line 3.for Altrio Dei, read Atrio Dei.

End.col.end.line 48. for redamus, read redamas.

Fol.24.co.2.line.37.for malrarum,read multarum.

Fol.27.col. 2. line. 1. for redamunda, read redamanda.

End.co.end.lin.3.for Canſidicoque,read Cauſidicoque.

Fol.28.col.2.line 10. for rithmoques, read rithmoures.

Faults especially to be corrected.

Fol.23.b.col.2.line 15.for S. Mighel read Marward.

Fol.28.col.1.line.50.for water Cresses which they terme,read water Cresses and three leaued grasse, which they terme.

Faultes and ouersightes escaped in the printing of this *Historie of Irelande.*

Fol.20.co.2.lin.30. for Archbishop of S. Reuins,read Abbot,and so likewise in the insergent.

Fo.21.lin.33.for Amalachelinus,read Omalaghlym.

Fol.23.line.40. for Welchmen, reade Cambrians.

End.li.47.for Dermot,read Dermon.

Fol.24.line 3.for Erle of Pembroke, read Chepstowe.

Fol.26.li.40 for Henwode,read Wode

Fo.27.line 43.for Mac Dermon,read Mac Morogh.

Fol.28.line. 18. for Mywcham,reade Newham.

Fol.31.line 54.for knightes,read gentlemen of seruice.

Fol.30.lin.3.for Brachan,read Bractan.

End.line 4. for Moling, read Molin.

Fol.32.line 52.for Reimond le Grace, Read Reymond le Grosse.

Fol.38.line 29. for Guynkinlo, reade Guyndoloche.

Fol.39.line 25. for Corg,read Corcke

Fol.40. line 10.for Richard de Pechi, read Richard de Pet.

Fol.41.line 11. for against the forenamed kings,read againe to the forenamed kings.

Fol.44. line 5.for Oconhur, read Oconnor.

Fol.46.line 43. for Richard Deceter, read Richard de Exeter.

Fol.48.line.2. for Maurice de Caro, read Maurice de Carew.

End.line.27. for Phitanes, reade Oselanes.

Fol.49 line 6.for Oconhur, read Oconnor,or Oconhor.

Fol.49.line 59.for Oscolles, reade Oskellye.

Fol.51.lin.69.for Margoghidan, read Mac goghidan.

Fol.58.line.15.for Oconhur, read Oconnor.

Fo.56.62..45. and 49. for Mac Carthye,read Mac Arthe.

Fol.65.lin. 37.for Cadel,read Cadael

Fol.67.lin.43.for Mac Murche, read Mac Morogh.

Fol.68. line. 30. for Marques Caro, read Marques Carew.

Fol.70.line 10.for Oconhur, read Oconnor.

Fol.71. line. 7. for Maginoys, read Mac geynes.

Fol.64.col.2.lin.32.put out was made and write died.

Fol.65.col 2.lin.10.for Edmond, read Roger.

In the register of the gouernours and lieutenants betwixt Richard Ashton and Roger Mortimer Anno. 1381. put in Edmonde Erle of March

FINIS.

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